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PRESENTATION

In compliance with the Capes-PrInt Project's agenda, we bring our readers another volume from Diadorim *Voices and writing in the different spaces of the Portuguese language*. In this edition, in addition to an interview, we have the pleasure of having 05 articles about language studies: 05 about African Literatures, 02 about Brazilian Literature and 01 about Portuguese Literature. The contributions came from several national (PUC/RJ, UFF, USP, UnESP, UFPR and UFLA) and international (Indiana University, King's College London and University of Lisbon) university spaces. This reflects the journal's broad reach beyond Rio de Janeiro, Brazil and South America.

As a first contribution, we opened the journal with an interview by Luciana Namorato (Indiana University - USA) to Maya Falks, author and creator of the *blog Bibliofilia Cotidiana*, which publishes book reviews as well as cultural criticism. In the interview, the author discusses the inspiration for one of her works - Sanctuary - as well as her career. Maya examines the work "Sanctuary" in the largest group of her publications: "What I want to avoid, at any cost, is that the reader feels indifferent to my work", declares the author.

Contemplating linguistic studies in the field of phonology, Amanda Macedo Balduino (University of São Paulo) presents a relevant study on a linguistic variety of Portuguese that is still little described. Thus, in his article *Nasality triggered by /ɲ/ in two portuguese varieties of São Tomé and Príncipe*, Balduino describes and analyzes the nasality in the Portuguese spoken in this variety, based on Autosegmental Phonology and Laboratory Phonology methodology.

With the article *Chinese Voices in Portuguese: CALL needs for oral skills learning*, Adelina Castelo (University of Lisbon) identifies that Computer Assisted Language Learning Materials should be made available to Chinese learners of Portuguese as a Foreign Language to improve "oral skills autonomously". The survey included an online questionnaire in order to identify the difficulties in the production and oral understanding of Chinese learners from their own perceptions. The methodology meets the needs of Chinese students, giving them more autonomy.



In his article *Founding effect in Tupian languages*, Cilene Rodrigues (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro) proposes the performance of territorial expansions in the phonological inventory of Tupi-Guarani languages. In his study, considering the Madeira and Guaporé River basins in the Amazon as the Proto-Tupi site of origin, he investigates “whether there is an interaction between the physical distance from this point of origin and the size of the phoneme inventory of the modern Tupi-Guarani languages spoken in southwestern South America”. The results show the performance of the founding effect, differentiating the Tupi-Guarani languages of the Madeira-Guaporé region from the Tupi-Guarani languages of the southwest. In addition, they dialogue “with investigations on mental representations of consonants and vowels”. According to the studies, “vowels are markers of structural relations”, and as a result, it is expected that “there is less parametric variation among the Tupi-Guarani languages investigated than among the Tupian languages spoken in Madeira-Guaporé”.

Based on the theoretical framework of generative grammar, Ana Maria Martins (University of Lisbon) discusses in *Some notes on post-verbal subjects in declarative (and other non wh-) sentences* the syntactic and interpretative properties of declarative sentences with immediate post-verbal subject in European Portuguese. The objective was to determine whether the VSX order represents distinct types of syntactic structures, and whether they are associated with different interpretative effects. In general terms, the author concludes that “in one type of syntactic structure, the verb and subject remain within the IP domain, while in the other type the verb and, in certain cases, the subject DP move to functional positions in the CP domain, i.e., the left periphery of the sentence”, i.e., there are different interpretations.

In a work focused on new technologies and teaching, Edmilson Francisco, Ilsa do Carmo Vieira Goulart and Patrícia Vasconcelos Almeida (Federal University of Lavras), in the article *Blogs: innovative possibility for teaching Portuguese?*, problematize the use of a *blog* as a tool for teaching Portuguese as a first language. In their descriptive-qualitative study, the authors based themselves, among others, on “cuttings made of the concepts of Sociodiscursive Interactionism”. They conclude that the *blog* is an attempt to keep up with technological advances “without using the resource to its full potential for Portuguese language teaching”.

We began our literary studies with an article by Vincenzo Cammarata (King’s College London) *Between fiction and reality: an investigation into the anti-colonial message of Bantu religious practices in ‘Quicumbi assanhada’ by Arnaldo Santos*, Angolan literature. Cammarata investigates the linguistic strategies used by the author to “decolonize Angolan literature through Bantu matrix spiritual discourse”. Thus, Arnaldo Santos develops “an anti-colonial literature that subverts the order imposed by the Portuguese regime, before the independence of the Angolan country.

Mozambican literature is addressed by Ubiratã Souza (University of São Paulo) in his article *Other Sides of the New Moon: a historical reading of the election of Rui de Noronha as*

the first Mozambican poet. To this end, Souza investigates critical reviews of Noronha's works by white intellectuals, as well as texts that reveal the author's insertion in the black and mestizo literary scene at the beginning of the 20th century. According to Souza, this election is "relevant for the understanding of the debates related to the formation of an autonomous literature in moments of cultural assimilation, racism and intense ethnocentrism in colonies".

Mônica Ganhão (University of Lisbon) also focuses on Mozambican literature in her article *Role-playing and mask in 'The Visits of Dr. Valdez' by João Paulo Borges Coelho*. According to the author, the themes of the mask and the role-playing are directly linked "to the power games of the period of transition from colonial rule to independence in Mozambique". In an analysis of the work of João Paulo Borges Coelho, the author intends to demonstrate how "the masks form part of both the colonial past and the independent present and future, and how they become an impeachment to the creation of true and emotional interpersonal connections".

In an analysis of the work of the Mozambican Mia Couto, the article by Adriana Gonçalves da Silva (Minas Gerais State University) - *Memory and responsiveness in Jerusalem de Mia Couto* - proposes a reading of the (suppression of) memory in the plot of Jerusalem. For the author, the silencing imposed by the character Silvestre Vitalício represents the erasing of memories "experienced by the Mozambican homeland". However, the analysis of the work allows us to show that the erasure does not occur, which can be evidenced in the responsive attitudes of the other characters in the plot.

In her article entitled *Silenced violence no feminino: a reading of 'Essa dama bate bué!' by Yara Monteiro*, Sandra Sousa (University of Central Florida) analyzes violence against women in the colonial period and the civil war that marked the post-independence in Angola. According to the author, the work reveals how "writing about personal issues also means writing about politics", in addition to analyzing the creation of female characters who exercise violence against other women through their children. In the author's words, "this novel demonstrates the interconnection between public and private violence and its effect on social and psychological life".

Brazilian literature is contemplated in the article by Marcelo Branquinho Massucatto Resende (São Paulo State University) *What we call identity: a reading of Giovana Madalosso's 'Everything can be stolen'*. The author applies the idea of performativity to the characters of the narrative, as well as reveals his apparent dialogue with José de Alencar's *O guarani*. In this way, he questions "the construction of gender identities, but also that of national identities and the very ontology of the subject in the characters of the narrative".

Still on Brazilian literature, the article *Transculturality in Ariano Suassuna's theater: voices in dialogue* by Carla Oliveira Giacomini (Federal Fluminense University) aims to demonstrate a dialogue between the works *Auto da Compadecida*, by Ariano Suassuna, and the *Auto da Barca do inferno*, by Gil Vicente, through the perspective of carnival literature. The

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author reveals “the Iberian influence in Suassuna’s theatrical production” and discusses “the voice of the subordinate through laughter”. Giacomini highlights Suassuna’s place “in Latin American cultural production”.

We also highlight the article on Portuguese literature produced by Bruno Vinicius Kutelak Dias and Antonio Augusto Nery (both from the Federal University of Paraná): *Saint and prostitute: an analysis of Melânia Sabiani in ‘A pécora’, by Natália Correia*. The authors analyze the character Melânia Sabiani: elevated to a saint to hide her affair with the local priest, and at the same time excluded from society to live the role of a prostitute and maintain the “religious farce”. In the words of the authors, the saint is “praised and serves as a model to be followed by all,” while the prostitute is “excluded from the social environment,” a “reason for shame and degradation”.

We hope that this useful material can contribute to the dissemination of research in language and literature, increasingly fostering interaction between various centers within and outside the national scenario.

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APRESENTAÇÃO

Em cumprimento à agenda do Projeto Capes-PrInt, trazemos aos nossos leitores mais um volume da Diadorim *Vozes e escritas nos diferentes espaços da língua portuguesa*. Nessa edição, além de uma entrevista, temos o prazer de contar com 05 artigos sobre estudos linguísticos, 05 de Literaturas Africanas, 02 de Literatura Brasileira e 01 de Literatura Portuguesa. As contribuições vieram dos mais diversos espaços universitários nacionais (PUC/RJ, UFF, USP, UNESP, UFPR e UFLA) e internacionais (Universidade de Indiana, King's College London e Universidade de Lisboa). Isso reflete o amplo alcance da revista para além do Rio de Janeiro, do Brasil e da América do Sul: Estados Unidos, Reino Unido e Lisboa.

Como primeira contribuição, abrimos a revista com uma entrevista de Luciana Namorato (Universidade de Indiana - EUA) à Maya Falks, autora e criadora do *blog* Bibliofilia Cotidiana, que publica resenhas de livros, bem como crítica cultural. Na entrevista, a autora discorre sobre a inspiração para uma de suas obras – Santuário –, bem como sobre sua carreira. Maya examina a obra “Santuário” no conjunto maior de suas publicações: “O que quero evitar, a qualquer custo, é que o leitor se sinta indiferente à minha obra”, declara a autora.

Contemplando estudos linguísticos no âmbito da fonologia, Amanda Macedo Balduino (Universidade de São Paulo) apresenta relevante estudo acerca de uma variedade linguística do português ainda pouco descrita. Assim, em seu artigo *Nasalidade engatilhada por /ɲ/ em duas variedades do português de São Tomé e Príncipe*, Balduino descreve e analisa a nasalidade desencadeada por /ɲ/ no português falado nessa variedade, com base na Fonologia Autossegmental e na metodologia da Fonologia de Laboratório.

Com o artigo *Vozes chinesas em português: necessidades em CALL para a aprendizagem das competências orais*, Adelina Castelo (Universidade de Lisboa) identifica que Materiais de Aprendizagem de Língua Assistida por Computador devem ser disponibilizados a aprendizes chineses de Português Língua Estrangeira para melhoria das “competências orais de forma autônoma”. A pesquisa contou com questionário on-line, a fim de identificar as dificuldades na produção e na compreensão oral dos aprendizes chineses, a partir de suas próprias percepções.



De fato, a metodologia possibilita um melhor atendimento às necessidades dos alunos chineses, dando-lhes mais autonomia.

Em seu artigo *Efeito fundador nas línguas Tupi*, Cilene Rodrigues (Pontifícia Universidade Católica-RJ) propõe a atuação das expansões territoriais no inventário fonológico das línguas Tupi-Guarani. Em seu estudo, considerando as bacias dos Rio Madeira e Guaporé na Amazônia como local de origem do Proto-Tupi, investiga “se há interação entre distância física deste ponto-origem e tamanho do inventário fonêmico das línguas Tupi-Guarani modernas faladas no sudoeste da América do Sul”. Os resultados evidenciam a atuação do efeito fundador, diferenciando as línguas Tupi-Guarani da região Madeira-Guaporé em relação às línguas Tupi-Guarani do sudoeste. Além disso, dialogam “com investigações sobre representações mentais de consonantes e vogais”. Segundo os estudos, “as vogais são marcadores de relações estruturais”, e, em função disso, se prevê que “há menos variação paramétrica entre as línguas Tupi-Guarani investigadas do que entre as línguas Tupi faladas no Madeira-Guaporé”.

Com base no quadro teórico da gramática gerativa, Ana Maria Martins (Universidade de Lisboa) discute em *Algumas notas sobre sujeitos pós-verbais em frases declarativas (e outras não qu-)* as propriedades sintáticas e interpretativas de frases declarativas com sujeito imediatamente pós-verbal no português europeu. O objetivo foi determinar se a ordem VSX representa tipos de estruturas sintáticas distintas, e se estão associadas a diferentes efeitos interpretativos. Em linhas gerais, a autora conclui que “num tipo de estrutura sintática, o verbo e o sujeito mantêm-se dentro do domínio de IP, enquanto no outro tipo o verbo e, em certos casos, o DP sujeito se move para posições funcionais no domínio de CP, ou seja, a periferia esquerda da frase”, ou seja, há interpretações distintas.

Num trabalho voltado às novas tecnologias e ensino, Edmilson Francisco, Ilsa do Carmo Vieira Goulart e Patrícia Vasconcelos Almeida (Universidade Federal de Lavras), no artigo *Blogs: possibilidade inovadora para o ensino do português?*, problematizam a utilização de um *blog* como ferramenta para o ensino do português como língua materna. Em seu estudo descritivo-qualitativo, os autores basearam-se, entre outros, em “recortes feitos dos conceitos do Interacionismo Sociodiscursivo”. Concluem que o *blog* constitui uma tentativa de acompanhar os avanços tecnológicos “sem a utilização do recurso em toda a sua potencialidade, para o ensino de língua portuguesa”.

Começamos os estudos literários com o artigo de Vincenzo Cammarata (King’s College London) *Entre ficção e realidade: uma investigação sobre a mensagem anticolonial das práticas espirituais bantu em ‘Quicumbi assanhada’ por Arnaldo Santos*, literatura angolana. Cammarata investiga as estratégias linguísticas usadas pelo autor para “descolonizar a literatura angolana por meio do discurso espiritual de matriz bantu”. Dessa forma, Arnaldo Santos desenvolve “uma literatura anticolonial que subverte a ordem imposta pelo regime português, antes da independência do país angolano”.

A literatura Moçambicana é abordada por Ubiratã Souza (Universidade de São Paulo), em seu artigo *Outros lados da lua nova: uma leitura histórica da eleição de Rui de Noronha como primeiro poeta moçambicano*. Para isso, Souza investiga as recensões críticas das obras de Noronha feitas por intelectuais brancos, bem como textos que revelam a inserção do autor no meio literário negro e mestiço no início do século XX. De acordo com Souza, essa eleição é “relevante para a compreensão dos debates ligados à formação de uma literatura autônoma em momentos de assimilação cultural, racismo e intenso etnocentrismo em colônias”.

Mônica Ganhão (Universidade de Lisboa) também focaliza a literatura moçambicana em seu artigo *A máscara e a encenação em ‘As visitas do dr. Valdez’ de João Paulo Borges Coelho*. De acordo com a autora, as temáticas da máscara e da encenação estão diretamente ligadas “aos jogos de poder do período de transição do regime colonial para a independência em Moçambique”. Em análise da obra de João Paulo Borges Coelho, a autora pretende demonstrar como “as máscaras formam parte tanto do passado colonial, como do presente e futuro independente, e como se tornam um impedimento para a criação de ligações interpessoais verdadeiras e emotivas”.

Em análise da obra do moçambicano Mia Couto, o artigo de Adriana Gonçalves da Silva (Universidade do Estado de Minas Gerais) – *Memória e responsividade em Jerusalém de Mia Couto* – propõe uma leitura da (supressão da) memória na trama de *Jerusalém*. Para a autora, o silenciamento imposto pela personagem Silvestre Vitalício representa o apagamento das recordações “vivenciado pela pátria moçambicana”. No entanto, a análise da obra permite mostrar que o apagamento não ocorre, o que pode ser evidenciado nas atitudes responsivas das demais personagens da trama.

Em seu artigo intitulado *Violências silenciadas no feminino: uma leitura de ‘Essa dama bate búé!’ De Yara Monteiro*, Sandra Sousa (University of Central Florida) analisa a violência contra as mulheres no período colonial e da guerra civil que marcou a pós-independência em Angola. Segundo a autora, a obra revela como “escrever sobre questões pessoais significa também escrever sobre política”, além de analisar a criação de personagens femininas que exercem violência contra outras mulheres através de seus filhos. Nas palavras da autora, “este romance demonstra a interligação entre a violência pública e privada e o seu efeito na vida social e psicológica”.

A literatura brasileira está contemplada no artigo de Marcelo Branquinho Massucatto Resende (Universidade do Estado de São Paulo) *Aquilo que chamamos de identidade: uma leitura de ‘Tudo pode ser roubado’, de Giovana Madalosso*. O autor aplica a ideia de performatividade aos personagens da narrativa, bem como revela seu aparente diálogo com *O guarani*, de José de Alencar. Desse modo, questiona “a construção de identidades de gênero, mas também a de identidades nacionais e a própria ontologia do sujeito nos personagens da narrativa”.

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Ainda sobre a literatura brasileira, o artigo de Carla Oliveira Giacomini (Universidade Federal Fluminense) visa a demonstrar um diálogo entre as obras *Auto da compadecida*, de Ariano Suassuna, e o auto da *Barca do inferno*, de Gil Vicente, por meio da perspectiva da literatura carnavalesca. A autora revela “a influência ibérica na produção teatral de Suassuna”, além de discutir “a voz do subordinado por meio do riso”. Giacomini destaca o lugar de Suassuna “na produção cultural da América Latina”.

Destacamos ainda o artigo sobre literatura portuguesa produzido por Bruno Vinicius Kutelak Dias e Antonio Augusto Nery (ambos da Universidade Federal do Paraná): *Santa e prostituta: uma análise de Melânia Sabiani em ‘A pécora’, de Natália Correia*. Os autores analisam a personagem Melânia Sabiani: elevada a santa para ocultar seu caso com o padre local, e ao mesmo tempo excluída da sociedade para viver o papel de prostituta e manter a “farsa religiosa”. Nas palavras dos autores, a santa é “louvada e serve como modelo a ser seguido por todos”, ao passo que a prostituta é “excluída do meio social”, “motivo de vergonha e degradação”. Na obra de Natália Correia, analisam os autores, “o empoderamento e a emancipação feminino frente a esse sistema” são “praticamente impossíveis”.

Desejamos que este profícuo material possa contribuir para a divulgação da pesquisa em língua e literatura, fomentando cada vez mais a interação entre diversos centros dentro e fora do cenário nacional.

Editora-chefe

Eliete Figueira Batista da Silveira

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SANTUÁRIO: SEEING BRAZIL THROUGH A SMALL TOWN
AN INTERVIEW WITH MAYA FALKS
SANTUÁRIO: O BRASIL EM UMA CIDADEZINHA DO INTERIOR
UMA ENTREVISTA COM MAYA FALKS

*Luciana Namorato*¹

KEYWORDS: Brazilian literature; Novel; Writing process

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Literatura brasileira; Romance; Processo de escrita

“Back in the old days, in a small house in the deep, deep, deep interior town of Santuário...” Thus begins the recent novel by Brazilian writer Maya Falks, published by Macabéa Edições in July 2020. The book is accompanied by a map of the fictional town and a travel brochure. By way of twenty stories, the reader becomes acquainted with the muddy streets, religious festivals, and convoluted relationships that depict Santuário in all its poetry and brutality. The peaceful town, according to the cover blurb by Regina Dalcastagné, “reveals itself, little by little, as the ground of tragedies and acts of violence that begin inside the characters’ homes and extend themselves to the town’s political, social, and religious life.”

Maya Falks is the author of the poetry collections *Poemas para ler no front* (Poems to Read in the Front, 2019) and *Versos e outras insanidades* (Verses and Other Insanities, 2017), as well as the novels *Histórias de minha morte* (Stories of My Death, 2017) and *Depois de tudo* (After All, 2015). Falks is also the creator of the Bibliofilia Cotidiana project, a blog that publishes book reviews as well as cultural critique (<https://bibliofiliacotidiana.blogspot.com>). In the following interview, the author discusses the inspiration of *Santuário* and describes the book’s evolution from a set of independent short stories to its final form as a novel. Falks also reflects on her writing career and examines this work in the broader context of her other publications. “What I want to avoid, at any cost, is that the reader feels indifferent towards my work,” declares the author.

¹ Professor of the Department of Spanish and Portuguese - Indiana University.



Luciana Namorato: Tell us about your experience composing *Santuário*. What inspired you to begin writing this novel? How did your initial idea for the novel unfold?

Maya Falks: Years ago, I submitted a collection of short stories for a SESC (Serviço Social do Comércio, a non-profit organization in Brazil) Award, which I did not win. Later on, talking with a bookseller friend about this collection, I mentioned that I had written it in a way that each story was quite independent from the other. This friend then implied that it was perhaps a mistake to do so; that the stories should instead follow a thematic line. I thought a lot about it. Then, in 2019, after a long period of depression, I decided to resume my literary journey through short stories. A book of short stories. So I started to imagine a thread, a thematic line. At the time, I was at my family's house in a small resort town in the northern coast of Rio Grande do Sul, a place with basically no infrastructure. I started to imagine that a small town could offer me the thread that I needed. Immediately, there came to my mind the soap operas that I watched as a child. My favorite soap operas were precisely the ones that took place in very small towns, where one could find all sorts of human characters in a reduced space. These towns are interesting because they function as a type of microcosm for human existence. One can understand a lot about our country just by observing life in these places.

Human relationships—including the ones that fit into clichés—simply fascinate me, so I decided to follow the human relationships in this small town as my guiding thread. I started to write each story with this idea in mind, with the goal of exposing different facets of human behavior. I deliberately chose to compose a number of characters in a caricatural way. The writing process was very pleasant, perhaps because I wrote the stories without any pretense. To this day, I am still amazed by the creative potential embedded in *Santuário*. I honestly could spend the rest of my life telling stories about this town, without ever getting tired. It is simply that fun to me.

Luciana Namorato: *Santuário* does not follow the traditional structure of the novel genre. Each chapter of the novel could easily be read as an independent short story. How did you decide that you were writing a novel, instead of a collection of short stories?

Maya Falks: I confess that, at first, I was not aware of how much the stories complemented each other. In fact, I had not realized that I was writing a novel until my publisher read the book and immediately classified it as a novel. At that point, I decided to add two new chapters, in order to further develop one of the main characters. The publisher also proposed to change the sequence of the stories in order to make the narrative more chronological. The tour guide that accompanies the novel was an idea that occurred to me only during the book's pre-sale. I must say I am very happy with the final result.

Luciana Namorato: The Turkish novelist Orhan Pamuk argues that every novel has a “center,” or an insight about life. In your opinion, what is the “center” of *Santuário*?

Maya Falks: I believe the novel’s center is the hypocrisy embedded in human relationships. All stories end up bringing a little bit of that, either through a character’s behavior or through some reference to a real-life event. For example, one of the chapters mentions the “Casa da Dinda,” or the godmother’s house, in direct reference to the mansion that belonged to Brazil’s former president Fernando Collor de Mello, impeached in 1992 for corruption. Other examples include a mother lying to her daughter in order to guilt trip her into getting married early, or an influential man who trafficked women. *Santuário* itself embodies this hypocrisy. It presents itself as a conservative town, oriented toward religious and family values, but while it does have a brothel, it lacks a hospital. In fact, hypocrisy already begins with the town’s name. A sanctuary is a peaceful and sacred place, and *Santuário* is definitely neither peaceful nor sacred. Human relationships are complex and nuanced, and I used my characters to expose this.

Luciana Namorato: In addition to *Santuário*, you are the author of two books of poems and two other novels. Do you see a common theme running through your work?

Maya Falks: I would say that my publications share a common impulse towards breaking society’s taboos. Death, mental health, and sexual violence are recurring themes in my work, because people still resist talking about these topics. I like to explore the ugly side of society, to make “dirty” literature, to tread in mud, but without abandoning the lightness of poetry. I am not opposed to entertainment literature, but I do believe in art as a tool for social transformation, and no transformation can take place in silence, while pretending that problems do not exist. And since these are painful subjects, I like to use irony and sarcasm in order to allow for some comic relief, because I also like to make people laugh. As an author, I am not afraid to expose my own weaknesses. The novel *Histórias de minha morte*, for instance, was censored in schools in my hometown of Caxias do Sul for openly dealing with “uncomfortable” themes, such as racism and sexual violence. But this is precisely what moves me as an author. In that regard, I feel satisfied. What I want to avoid, at any cost, is that the reader feels indifferent towards my work.

Luciana Namorato: How do you compare you as a writer today and the Maya Falks that you project for the future?

Maya Falks: Right now, Maya is rediscovering herself as an artist. For a long time, I believed that I should follow a straight line, without deviation from style and themes that I previously explored. *Santuário*, however, showed me that I can play with words freely. In this novel, for instance, I exercised a variety of narrative styles. I also experimented with drawing, even though I am not an illustrator. *Santuário* sort of freed me, and this is precisely what I will be looking for from now on: freedom. The future Maya will hopefully be the product of this

liberation. She will be more experienced in the art of letting go with a pen in her hand, she will keep looking for new ways of telling old stories. I cannot say for sure if my future books will be better than the past ones, but I feel confident in the choices I have made so far. One thing I can say for sure: The Maya of the future will be as passionate about literature as the Maya of today.

FALKS, M. Mares para navegar. In: _____. *Santuário*. Rio de Janeiro: Macabéa, 2020, p. 70-74.

MARES PARA NAVEGAR

Não havia mar em Santuário. Nunca houve. Ao contrário das lendas que morriam com os velhos da cidade, Santuário nunca tinha sido deslocada do litoral para o interior pela força de um feiticeiro que resolvera punir a cidade toda porque sua amada o trocara por um surfista. A lenda ia mudando de versão a cada geração, e todo mundo sabia que era mentira, mas dona Mocinha insistia que conhecia os envolvidos.

Noutra época, as crianças gostavam de sair da escola e correr para a casa de dona Mocinha para comer um pedaço de bolo ouvindo as histórias dos antigos. Alguns reconheciam bisavós ou tataravós nas histórias, mas os pais sempre negavam sua veracidade. “Dona Mocinha já é velha, está senil”, diziam eles.

Para as crianças, aquilo pouco importava, nem o melhor doceiro da cidade fazia bolos como os de dona Mocinha, nem os melhores contadores de histórias, convidados pela escola, sabiam como atrair tanto a atenção da criançada como fazia aquela velhinha de cabelos presos em coque desde sempre.

Dona Mocinha nunca se casou. Diziam que seu grande amor morrera na guerra, mas ninguém sabia que guerra fora essa. A história dela era um grande enigma para todos—nem idade nem sobrenome, tudo o que sabiam é que parecia ter nascido velha, com seu avental bordado em sua pequena casinha ao lado da pracinha, e única detentora da receita do melhor bolo do mundo.

Mas o tempo passou até para ela, que era velha desde o começo das eras. A voz cansou, as mãos entortaram, e as novas crianças já não paravam em sua casinha para comer bolo e ouvir histórias. A única coisa que restou da dona Mocinha que toda a cidade conhecia era o saudosismo de um mar que nunca esteve lá.

Falava das águas em ondas como se tivesse nascido dentro delas. “Ah, as águas azuis com sua espuma branca e as conchas que se escondiam na areia molhada”, criava ela em sua imaginação, alimentada por filmes ainda do cinema mudo.

Certa feita, dona Mocinha começou a falar da sereia que fora sua amiga de infância, lá quando o mar ficava a poucas milhas da igreja, onde hoje ficam as plantações. Dizia que o belo canto dessas criaturas inspirava as madrugadas dos apaixonados de Santuário. Nessa altura da vida, a velha tinha vincos ao redor dos lábios capazes de guardar os mais antigos segredos, e ela tomava por testemunha o padre Estácio, que emparelhava com ela em idade e demência.

Padre Estácio não dizia nem desdizia a pobre velha—e nunca revelou se era por respeito a Mocinha ou por ter alguma ponta de verdade nas lendas que encantaram tantas gerações. Mas em Santuário não havia nem lago nem açude. O mais próximo de mar era a piscina no quintal de Nona Quitéria, madrinha do ex-prefeito que há muito não era visto em lugar algum da cidadezinha.

Dona Mocinha, a figura mais amada e talvez testemunha ocular do dilúvio bíblico, não era eterna como acreditavam as crianças do passado, que hoje já eram pais e até avós, e um dia o doutor da cidade vizinha desenganou a pobre velha, dizendo que, do corpo dela, só funcionava mesmo a lembrança do mar que nunca existira naquelas bandas.

Foi uma tristeza de dar dó. Dona Mocinha, apesar de tudo, era uma velha sozinha, não deixaria nem filhos, nem netos, nem sequer suas histórias, que iriam com ela para debaixo da terra. Foi então que um daqueles que a tinham com carinho teve uma ideia e foi correndo falar com Nona Quitéria, buscando aprovação. Ela, outra velha já meio mais lá do que cá, adorou e ligou para dois ou três que agilizaram o plano.

A movimentação agitou Santuário—motores e caminhões de areia entrando pela garagem de Nona Quitéria deixaram todo mundo curioso. No dia marcado, antes de dona Mocinha bater as botas, foi levada em comitiva para o quintal da madrinha e acomodada em uma colorida cadeira de praia posicionada sobre uma areia fofinha, onde seus pés se sentiam em casa. Aos poucos, as rugas dos lábios foram se abrindo como um leque, revelando um sorriso semidesdentado e uma emoção genuína que fez escorrerem, no rosto vincado, lágrimas de felicidade. Com ajuda do motor, a piscina da madrinha ganhou ondas, e as crianças montavam castelinhos ao redor de dona Mocinha.

A velha senhora suspirou, respirando a “maresia” e ouvindo na memória o canto das sereias. Antes que o dia terminasse, Mocinha já navegava em mares profundos para nunca mais voltar, estampando na face serena o sorriso mais sincero que alguém já viu.

SEAS TO SAIL

Translated by Luciana Namorato

There was no sea in Santuário. There never has been one. Contrary to the legends passed down by the town's elders, Santuário had not been moved from the coast to the interior by the force of a wizard who had decided to punish the whole town because his lover had left him for a surfer. A different version of the legend appeared with each new generation, and everyone knew it was a lie, but dona Mocinha insisted she knew the individuals involved in the story.

In the past, the children would run to Mocinha's house as soon as school ended to eat a slice of cake while they listened to stories of the past. Some people recognized their great-grandparents or their great-great-grandparents in her stories, but their parents always denied the veracity of the tales. "Dona Mocinha is already old and she is senile," they would say.

But the children could not care less, because the best baker in town did not made better cakes than dona Mocinha, and the best storytellers, invited by the schools, did not know how to keep the kids' attention like that old lady with her hair always kept in a bun.

Dona Mocinha never got married. People say her true love died in the war, but no one knew in which war. Her story is a mystery to everyone—no age, no last name, all they knew was that it seemed like she had been born old, wearing her embroidered apron in her small house next to the town's square, and that she was the owner of the recipe for the best cake in the world.

But time passed even for her, who was old since the beginning of time. Her voice was now tired, her hands were now crooked, and young children no longer stopped by her house to eat cake and listen to her stories anymore. Dona Mocinha's only legacy was the town's yearning for a sea that had never been there.

She would speak of the waves as if she had been born inside them. "Oh, the blue sea with its white foam and the shells hidden in the wet sand," she would create in her imagination, fed by old silent films.

One day, dona Mocinha started talking about a time when a mermaid was her friend, a time when the sea was just a few miles from the church, where nowadays one finds the plantations. She would say that the mermaid's beautiful song inspired the nights of Santuário's lovers. At that point in her life, the old woman had creases around her lips that were able to keep the oldest secrets. Her only witness was priest Estácio, since the two of them were close in age and dementia.

Priest Estácio would neither confirm nor deny the things that the poor old woman said—and he never revealed if his silence was out of respect for Mocinha, or if there was some truth in the legends that enchanted so many generations. But in Santuário there was no lake and no dam. The closest to a sea was the swimming pool in the backyard of Nona Quitéria, the godmother of the former mayor, who recently had not been seen anywhere in the little town.

Dona Mocinha, the most beloved figure in town and perhaps eyewitness to the biblical flood was not eternal as the children once believed. Children that today were parents or even grandparents. And one day the doctor from the neighboring town gave up hope on the old woman, saying that the only thing in her whole body that still worked was the memory of a sea that never existed in that region.

Everyone's heart sank. Dona Mocinha was just a lonely old woman. She would leave no children, no grandchildren, not even her stories, which all would be buried with her. It was then that someone who held her dear had an idea and went quickly to talk with Nona Quitéria in search of approval. Since Quitéria was very much like Mocinha, an old woman at death's door, she loved the idea and called two or three people to put the plan into action.

The commotion roused Santuário from its slumber—the motors and sand trucks that entered Nona Quitéria's garage made everyone curious. At the scheduled date, just before dona Mocinha's passing, she was accompanied by an entourage into the godmother's backyard and accommodated in a colorful beach chair, which was positioned on top of fluffy sand, where her feet felt at home. Little by little, the creases around dona Mocinha's lips opened like a fan, revealing a toothless smile and a feeling of joy so genuine that tears welled up in her creased face. With the help of a motor, the godmother's pool gained waves, and children made sandcastles around dona Mocinha.

The old lady sighed, breathing the ocean smell and listening, from her memory, to the mermaid's song. Before the day ended, Mocinha already was sailing the deep seas, never to return. In her face, the sincerest smile ever seen.

FALKS, Maya. Aos versos. In: _____. *Poemas para ler no front*. São Paulo: Patuá, 2019, p. 31.

AOS VERSOS

Voltemos aos versos
Às armas que trago comigo
Entre rimas pobres e almas podres
Entre a imensidão do deserto e o oceano
Voltemos às estrofes mal acabadas
Bombardeadas, banhadas em sangue
Da alma inocente desprendida do corpo
Da ferida aberta, da boca gelada
Nas marcas que ficam, voltemos aos versos
Às súplicas de um perdão dispensável
Pelo crime jamais cometido
As balas do meu canhão são feitas de letras
Da pólvora, o cheiro queimado da inspiração
Da ponta da pena a estratégia rimada
Da mão do oponente, meu corpo ao chão
Voltemos aos versos, porque há de ter um belo epitáfio em meu túmulo

TO VERSES

Translated by Luciana Namorato

Let us return to verses
To the weapons I carry on me
Among simple rhymes and rotten souls
Between the desert's vastness and the ocean
Let us return to poorly finished stanzas
Bombarded stanzas, bathed in the blood
Of an innocent soul, detached from the body
Of an open wound, of a cold mouth
In the marks left, let us return to verses
To the pleas of a dispensable pardon
For a crime never committed
The balls of my cannon are made of letters
From gunpowder, the burning smell of inspiration
From the tip of a quill, the rhymed strategy
From the opponent's hand, my body on the ground
Let us return to verses, because my grave shall have a beautiful epitaph



**NASALITY TRIGGERED BY /ɲ/ IN TWO PORTUGUESE VARIETIES
OF SAO TOME AND PRINCIPE
NASALIDADE ENGATILHADA POR /ɲ/ EM DUAS VARIEDADES
DO PORTUGUÊS DE SÃO TOMÉ E PRÍNCIPE**

Amanda Macedo Balduino¹

ABSTRACT

This study describes and analyzes the nasality triggered by /ɲ/ in the Portuguese spoken in São Tomé (PST) and in the Portuguese spoken in Príncipe (PP). PST and PP are Portuguese varieties from São Tomé and Príncipe (STP) that present particular linguistic characteristics. Considering the context of linguistic contact into which PST and PP are inserted, we aim to (i) propose a phonological analysis of nasality triggered by /ɲ/ in PST and PP, and (ii) investigate the presence of ambisyllabic structures. Based on Autosegmental Phonology (Goldsmith 1976; 1990) as the phonological theory and laboratory phonology (Ohala, 1995) as the methodology and considering the phonotactic analysis of vowels, we observed that nasality can be triggered by /ɲ/, a nasal consonant that occupies an ambisyllabic structure. Thus, the palatal nasal nasalizes left contiguous vowels in stressed and unstressed syllables. This nasalization process is possible because /ɲ/ is in coda, resulting in a CVN syllable structure and triggering tautosyllabic nasality. Even though it is optional, the nasality triggered by /ɲ/ occurs independently of the vowel quality and the word stress, as described for BP (Wetzels, 1997).

KEYWORDS: Portuguese; São Tomé and Príncipe; Nasality; Vowel Inventory.

RESUMO

Este estudo descreve e analisa a nasalidade desencadeada por /ɲ/ no português falado em São Tomé (PST) e no português falado em Príncipe (PP). O PST e o PP são variedades da língua portuguesa de São Tomé e Príncipe (STP) que apresentam características linguísticas específicas. Considerando o contexto de contato linguístico no qual o PST e o PP estão inseridos, pretendemos, portanto, (i) descrever a nasalidade engatilhada por /ɲ/ para o PST e o PP e (ii) investigar a presença de estruturas ambissilábicas acionadas por /ɲ/. Com base na Fonologia Autosegmental (Goldsmith 1976; 1990), como teoria, e na fonologia de laboratório (Ohala, 1995) enquanto aporte metodológico, observamos, a partir da análise fonotática das vogais, que a nasalidade vocálica pode ser engatilhada por /ɲ/, uma consoante nasal de estrutura ambissilábica. Assim, a nasal palatal nasaliza as vogais contíguas a sua esquerda, mesmo em sílabas tônicas. Esse processo de nasalização é possível por /ɲ/ estar em coda, resultando em uma estrutura de sílábica do tipo CVN e desencadeando, por isso, nasalidade tautossilábica. Mesmo sendo opcional, a nasalidade engatilhada por /ɲ/ ocorre de modo independente à qualidade da vogal e ao acento lexical, como descrito para o PB (Wetzels, 1997).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Português; São Tomé e Príncipe; Nasalidade; Inventário Vocálico.

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Introduction

The aim of this paper is to discuss the status of nasality triggered by the palatal nasal /ɲ/ in two varieties of Portuguese spoken in São Tomé and Príncipe: Santomean Portuguese (PST) and Principean Portuguese (PP).² We analyze the phonotactic behavior of vowels in a phonetic environment that could or could not trigger nasality and discuss whether nasality triggered by /ɲ/ suggests ambisyllabic structures in these varieties. Although the existence of nasalized vowels in PST and PP may be the result of a phenomenon of nasality (see Balduino, 2018), the phonological role of /ɲ/ in nasalization was not considered in works such as Balduino (2018) and Araujo and Balduino (2019). In this study, we aim to fill some gaps related to the description of nasality in these varieties by analyzing phonological environments capable of conditioning nasality. Thus, we consider, through the phonotactic behavior of target segments, whether word stress, vowel quality, and/or syllable structure can determine this phenomenon.

Even though PST and PP are varieties widely spoken and transmitted as a mother language in São Tomé and Príncipe, there are few descriptive studies on these varieties. In the literature, recent studies such as those of Gonçalves (2010, 2016), Figueiredo (2010), Christofolletti (2013), Agostinho (2016), Bouchard (2017), Brandão et al. (2017), Balduino, Bandejas and Freitas (2017), Balduino (2018; 2019), Braga (2018), Nascimento (2018a; 2018b), Passos (2018), Araujo and Balduino (2019), Gomes (2019), Gomes, Alves and Fernandes (2019), Santiago and Agostinho (2020), Agostinho, Soares and Mendes (2020), Vieira and Balduino (2020), and Santiago *et al.* (to be published) can be cited. Most of these works have aimed to describe PST. There are, however, few studies on PP (see Agostinho 2016; Balduino 2018, 2019; Araujo; Balduino 2019; Santiago 2019; Agostinho; Soares; Mendes 2020; Santiago et al. to be published). Therefore, this study is justified for it contributes with a description and a phonological analysis of these varieties, thus expanding the literature on nasality and linguistic analysis of PST and PP.

In the following section we discuss the current situation of Portuguese in São Tomé and Príncipe. Then, in the second section, we provide a background on nasalization in different varieties of Portuguese and an overview of the vowel inventory in PST and PP. We then present in section 4 the methodology adopted. In section 5 we discuss nasality triggered by /ɲ/. Finally, the sixth section presents the most important findings.

Santomean Portuguese (PST) and Princepense Portuguese (PP)

The Democratic Republic of São Tome and Principe (STP) is located in the Gulf of Guinea, western coast of Africa. STP is one of the nine countries where Portuguese is considered an official language since 1975. Besides Portuguese, there are other languages spoken in the

2 FAPESP (2017/26595-1).

archipelago, considered as national languages. These languages are autochthonous to the Islands and correspond to Portuguese-based Creole languages, namely Santome (código ISO 639-3: CRI), Lung’Ie (ISO 639-3: PRE) and Angolar (ISO 639-3: AOA) (Ferraz, 1979; Maurer 2009; Hagemeijer 2009; Agostinho 2015; Bandeira 2017). Kabuverdianu (ISO 639-3: KEA), a transplanted language from Cape Verde, is also spoken in Sao Tome Island and in Principe Island. The coexistence of these languages provides a multilingual environment with a frequent contact among them. Consequently, this may result in structural variations which affect all languages, including Portuguese.

The multilingual linguistic situation of STP is a result from the colonization process. Colonized and settled by Portugal for centuries (from the 16th to the 20th century), STP had socio-historical conditions necessary to provide a proper environment for the origin of creole languages. That is, there was a huge diversity of African languages spoken by slaves who met Portuguese-language speakers (colonizers) in a context that demanded communication. Thus, the contact among different ethnic groups resulted, in general terms, in the development of new languages. Such varieties were widely used by the population that lived in the islands. Children acquired them as their native language.³ As a result, other languages are still spoken in STP besides Portuguese as a heritage from the colonization period.

Despite being a legacy of the European colonization, Portuguese – in the way which is spoken in STP – has changed (Bouchard, 2017). Thus, to assume Portuguese spoken in STP as the same language spoken in Portugal would be an inaccuracy, since it has some linguistic variations compared to the European Portuguese (EP), which is a standard variety in STP. This is the case of diphthongs, for example. According to Christofolletti (2013):

“(...) it was found the uniqueness of the phonetic- phonological system of PVS⁴, because, unlike the PE, considered prestigious in the country, PVS performs the monophthongization of diphthongs (...)”⁵ (Christofolletti, 2013: VIII)

The Portuguese spoken in São Tomé and Príncipe has recently received some attention (Gonçalves 2010, 2016; Figueiredo 2010; Christofolletti, 2013; Agostinho 2016; Bouchard,

3 According to Bandeira (2017), Santome, Lung’Ie and Angolar emerged from The Proto-Creole of Gulf of Guinea (PGG), a protolanguage developed in STP during the first phase of its colonization, a period during which socio-historical, geographical, and demographic conditions were positive to creolization (Bandeira, 2017, p. 118). The consolidation of different groups of PGG speakers led to the emergence of three distinct daughter languages in STP. Lung’Ie is a language used on the Príncipe Island. The fugitive slaves, in turn, formed a maroon community, distancing themselves from the capital and building their own community where the Angolar language emerged. Santome or Forro, spoken in the capital, is the third daughter language of PGG in STP (see Bandeira, 2017). Finally, Fa d’Ambô is the fourth daughter language of PGG. It is spoken on the Ano Bom Island, an islet of the Republic of Equatorial Guinea (RGE).

4 PVS – used by the author as Vernacular Portuguese of São Tomé.

5 “Ademais, foi constatada a singularidade do sistema fonético-fonológico dessa variedade africana de português, pois, diferente da norma europeia, considerada de prestígio no país, o pvs realiza a monotongação dos ditongos (...)” (Christofolletti, 2013: VIII).

2017; Brandão et al., 2017; Balduino; Bandeira; Freitas, 2017; Balduino, 2018, 2019; Braga, 2018, Gomes, 2019; Nascimento, 2018; Passos, 2018; Araujo; Balduino, 2019; Gomes; Alves; Fernandes 2019; Santiago; Agostinho, 2020). Nevertheless, even taking into account these studies, there are still few works on the African varieties of Portuguese. According to Hagemer (2016), Portuguese varieties from São Tomé and Príncipe, Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde are less described and have recently been object of academic studies. There is still an imbalance between the areas: areas such as syntax and morphosyntax have been privileged, while areas of phonetics and phonology have been disfavored (Santiago and Agostinho, 2020, p. 40). One of the aims of this paper is to contribute with the description of vowel inventory and vowel nasality, phenomena observed in Portuguese varieties spoken in STP.

Different varieties of Portuguese spoken in STP have distinct structures compared to European (EP) and Brazilian Portuguese (BP), such as the production of diphthongs (Christofoletti, 2013), rhotics (Agostinho, 2016; Bouchard, 2017; Brandão *et al.*, 2017; Brandão; Paula, 2018; Agostinho; Soares; Mendes, 2020), vowels (Gomes, 2018; Rocha and Nascimento, 2018; Santiago, 2019; Santiago *et al.*, to be published), and different phonological processes (Balduino; Bandejas; Freitas, 2017; Balduino, 2018, 2019; Braga, 2018; Nascimento, 2018; Araujo; Balduino, 2019; Balduino; Vieira, 2020; Vieira; Balduino, 2020). Thus, we aim here to discuss the status of nasality triggered by /ɲ/ in two urban varieties: the Portuguese spoken in the city of São Tomé (PST) and the Portuguese spoken in the city of Santo Antonio, Príncipe Island, (PP). Based on studies such as Balduino (2018) and Araujo and Balduino (2019), we propose a phonological analysis of oral and nasalized vowels by investigating the possibility of nasalization triggered by the nasal palatal /ɲ/.

The division between PST and PP is justified not only by the geographic distance between the islands, since the island of Príncipe is 160 kilometers away from the city of São Tomé, but also by a distinct and singular linguistic ecology of each variety. PST coexists with Santome and Angolar, however PP is in contact mainly with Lung'le and Kabuverdianu.

These languages have similar phonological systems. However, some differences can be observed (see Bandeira, 2017). Santome, Lung'le, and Angolar have seven oral vowels /i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u/, but only Lung'le and Angolar have long vowels: /ii, ee, εε, aa, ɔɔ, oo, uu/ (see Agostinho, 2015; Bandeira, 2017). According to Ferraz (1979) and Maurer (2009), Santome and Lung'le have phonemic nasal vowels. However, Balduino *et al.* (2015) showed that nasality is a result of nasal spreading. Thus, there is no nasal vowel in the phonological system of Santome and Lung'le: nasality is due to a phonological process that results in five nasalized vowels [ĩ, ê, ẽ, õ, û]. In addition, Agostinho, Balduino and Araujo (2020) pointed out some particular characteristics in Lung'le nasality which are not reported in the literature on Santome and Angolar phonology. The authors showed that the epenthetic vowel [i] in pretonic syllables is optionally nasalized if followed by /ɲ/, an ambisyllabic consonant: “The solely identified case in which the unstressed vowel incorporates the nasalization of a nasal consonant occurs with

pre-vocalization” (Agostinho; Balduino; Araujo, 2020, p. 20). Moreover, [ɲ] can also trigger progressive nasality in Lung’Ie (Agostinho; Balduino; Araujo, 2020). For Angolar, Bandeira (2017) stated that all seven vowels can be phonetically nasalized in stressed syllables preceded by a nasal consonant contained in the following syllable: [ĩ, ê, ã, õ, ù]. Kabuverdianu, in turn, have eight oral vowels /i, e, ε, a, ɐ, ɔ, o, u/ and five nasalized vowels [ĩ, ê, ã, õ, ù] (Quint, 2000; Freitas; Bandeira, 2020, p. 16).⁶

Although all the languages mentioned above do not have phonological nasal vowels, nasality seems to manifest itself in different ways in each of them. Angolar, for example, is the only language that has seven nasalized vowels (Bandeira, 2017). In turn, only in Lung’Ie there is an epenthetic vowel [i] nasalized in pretonic syllables (Agostinho, Balduino and Araujo, 2020). In Santome and Angolar, [ɲ] is known to spread nasality exclusively to stress syllables (Bandeira, 2017). Considering that even small differences can be relevant in a contact situation, we analyzed PST and PP separately. In addition, there is the affirmation of an ethnic identity in different cultural translations and social customs of Santomean and Principean citizens (see Nascimento, 2008), which is reinforced by the political autonomy status of the Príncipe Island. Such facts could provide distinct structural analyses for each variety, thus justifying the individual analysis we conduct in this study.

In summary, PST and PP are varieties of Portuguese that compose a wide set that includes EP, BP, and other varieties of Portuguese. In the following section, we present a general overview of the vowel inventory of PST and PP. For this, we are guided by previous studies on the analysis of the vowel system of such varieties.

The Vowel Inventory in PST and PP

In PST and PP there are seven oral vowels, as Table 1 shows (cf. Christofolletti; Araujo, 2018; Santiago, 2019; Santiago *et al.*, to be published).

Table 1. Stressed Vowels in PST and PP.

	[coronal]	[dorsal]	[dorsal]
High	I		u
Mid-High	E		o
Mid-Low	ε		ɔ
Low		A	

Stressed vowels in PST and PP can be systematized in [coronal] segments (such as [i, e, ε]) and in [dorsal] segments (such as [a, ɔ, o, u]). However, in pretonic (see 1) and non-final posttonic syllables (see (2)), the inventory shown in Table 1 is reduced, since the opposition between [e, ε] and [o, ɔ] is canceled. Thus, we only identified five vowels, [i, e, a, o, u] in

non-final unstressed syllables (cf. Christofolletti and Araujo, 2018; Gomes, 2018; Nascimento, 2018a, 2018b; Santiago et al., to be published).

In pretonic syllables, different phonological processes targeting mid vowels are identified in PST and PP. Nascimento (2018a) and Santiago *et al.* (to be published) describe phenomena such as vowel harmony and vowel raising in both varieties, demonstrating that pretonic syllables favor vowel neutralization, as shown in (1) and (2).

(1) a. *precoce* [pre'kɔsɪ] ~ [prɛ'kɔsɪ] 'precocious'

b. *obobo* [obo'bɔ] ~ [ɔbɔ'bɔ] 'obobo'

(2) a. *sofá* [so'fa] ~ [su'fa] 'couch'

b. *menina* [me'ninɐ] ~ [mi'ninɐ] 'girl'

In (1.a), we notice that the variation in **precoce** [pre'kɔsɪ] ~ [prɛ'kɔsɪ] 'precocious' indicates neutralization of [coronal] vowels: [e] ~ [ɛ]. Conversely, **obobo** [obo'bɔ] ~ [ɔbɔ'bɔ] (1.b) exemplifies neutralization of [dorsal] vowels: [o] ~ [ɔ] (Santiago *et al.*, to be published). According to Santiago et al. (to be published), PP presents [ATR] harmony. This phenomenon occurs because of the agreement of the [ATR] feature between pretonic and stressed vowels. Therefore, vowel harmony in PP demonstrates certain types of constraints on triggers and targets: (i) triggers must be stressed, (ii) targets are only upper-mid vowels [e, o] in pretonic syllables, and (iii) harmony is applied for the feature [ATR]. Nascimento (2018), conversely, attests a different type of height harmony in PST, which is triggered by stressed vowels for the feature [high]: **menino** [mi'ninɔ] ~ [me'ninɔ] 'boy,' **mosquito** [muʃ'kitɔ] ~ [moʃ'kitɔ] 'mosquito.' The production of [i] and [u] by raising most likely occurs in a phonetic environment where a high vowel (homorganic or not) is in the contiguous syllable (cf. Rocha; Nascimento, 2018). Such fact suggests a phonological assimilation for the harmonic feature [high], which operates over a string of different segments in PST (cf. Rocha, 2018). Although the data examined by Rocha and Nascimento (2018) indicate that high stressed vowels favor the raising of pretonics, it does not explain data such as **sofá** [su'fa] observed by Santiago *et al.* (to be published). Thus, it is possible that raising is not motivated by vowel harmony in PST and PP (Santiago *et al.*, to be published; Balduino, to be published).

The examples in (2.a) and (2.b) show that [e] can be neutralized into [i], and [o] can be neutralized into [u] without phonological assimilation of harmonic features in pretonic syllables (Santiago *et al.*, to be published). In PP, Santiago et al. (to be published) analyzes vowel raising as a process that affects upper-mid vowels in pretonic and non-final posttonic syllables, being characterized by the elimination of the height opposition between [e] ~ [i] and [o] ~ [u]. This result is also related to PST (Christofolletti, 2013; Gomes, 2018; Christofolletti; Araujo, 2018; Nascimento, 2018). In addition, non-final [e] and [o] in posttonic syllables are often deleted

in PST and PP (Balduino, to be published). The deletion of mid vowels in non-final posttonic syllables is a productive phenomenon in PST, as in **chácara** [ˈʃakɾɐ] ~ [ˈʃakɑɾɐ] ‘farm’ and **abóbora** [a.ˈbɔbrɐ] ~ [a.ˈbɔburɐ] ‘pumpkin.’ This process is widely implemented when vocalic deletion results in a grammatical cluster usually composed by an obstruent (p, b, d, t, k, g, f, v) and a liquid (l, r) (Gomes, 2018, p. 169).

Finally, posttonic syllables in word-final position eliminate the opposition between mid and high vowels, resulting in a subsystem of only three vowels [ɐ, ɪ, ʊ] (Balduino, to be published). In addition to the reduction of word-final unstressed vowels, [ɪ] and [ʊ] can also suffer vowel devoicing into [ɪ̥] and [ʊ̥], respectively (Santiago *et al.*, to be published). In PP, this phenomenon is marked by the loss of vowel voicing, as well as of most acoustic properties of the vowel, such as its regular formative structure. Moreover, not only the unstressed position is a necessary condition for the occurrence of devoicing, but also the voiceless quality of the contiguous consonant in onset seems to favor it (see Meneses, 2017). In PST, this process also occurs and is also attested in pretonic syllables (see Balduino, to be published). Finally, [a] is observed in posttonic syllables in word-final position in PST and PP (Balduino, to be published), indicating that [a] reduction is not mandatory in these varieties.

To describe PST and PP vowel inventory, a distinction between stressed and unstressed vowels is needed, since vowel quality is intrinsically related to word stress, a fact also observed in varieties such as BP and EP (see Câmara Jr., 1970; Mateus; D’Andrade, 2000). Furthermore, different phenomena are shared among those varieties. The raising of mid vowels in unstressed syllables, for example, is a common process in PST and PP, and also in EP and some varieties of BP. Differently from EP and similarly as some varieties of BP, however, phenomena such as vowel harmony suggest that mid vowels have a high number of occurrences of opening in pretonic syllables. The lower-mid vowels [ɛ] and [ɔ] are attested in the pretonic inventory of PST and PP.

Deletion of unstressed vowels is also common in all Portuguese varieties considered. In EP, the deletion of unstressed vowels is a productive process that affects unstressed vowels. In BP, on the contrary, this phenomenon is observed, but it is not as productive as vowel neutralizations (Mateus; D’Andrade, 2000; Gomes, 2018). In PST and PP, both processes seem to be productive, but it is necessary to analyze these phenomena expanding the data before we can propose categorical generalizations, which is a matter for future studies. So far, we have noticed that although PST and PP are in contact with different languages, both share the same vowel inventory.

Table 2 shows the overall inventory of vowels. The highlighted segments correspond to phonetic realizations that emerge in the unstressed inventory as an outcome of phonological phenomena discussed in this paper.

Table 2. Unstressed Vowels in PST and PP

Pretonic			Posttonic			Word-Final Posttonic		
i		u	i		u	ɪ, ɪ̃		ʊ, ʊ̃
e		o	e		o			
ɛ		ɔ					ɐ	
							ɐ	
	a			a			a	

In this section, we showed that the vowel inventory of PST and PP is composed by seven oral vowels: [i, e, ɛ, a, ɔ, o, u]. In unstressed syllables, these vowels are common targets of neutralization and deletion processes in PST and PP. These phenomena affect mainly mid vowels, which are often modified by raising, lowering, devoicing, or even deletion. In the following section we present a brief theoretical summary on nasality in the Portuguese language considering varieties such as EP, BP, PST, and PP.

Processes of Nasality in Portuguese

Vowel nasality is a synchronic phonological process in European and Brazilian Portuguese. Although this phenomenon has been discussed according to different theoretical proposals, two main hypothesis should be highlighted: monophonemic and biphonemic. The monophonemic hypothesis (Ludtke, 1933; Leite, 1974; Medeiros, 2007) assumes [nasal] vowels as phonological segments. For this reason, the nasality identified in Portuguese vowels is interpreted as intrinsic. On the contrary, the biphonemic hypothesis supports the lack of phonological nasal vowels in Portuguese, since nasality is believed to be the result of an assimilation process triggered by a nasal consonant inside a vowel + nasal consonant /VN/ sequence (Câmara Jr., 1953, 1970; Moraes; Wetzels, 1992; Wetzels, 1997; Mateus; D’Andrade, 2000).

The second hypothesis is usually discussed in accordance with non-linear theories. Autosegmental Phonology, for example, explains the coarticulatory character of nasalized vowels based on (i) spreading of features and (ii) temporality of the syllable (Moraes; Wetzels, 1992; Wetzels, 1997; Mateus; D’Andrade, 2000; Balduino, 2018; Araujo; Balduino, 2019). The nasal consonant is responsible for spreading its [nasal] feature to the adjacent vowel regressively, which then becomes nasalized. After the vowel assimilates the nasal feature, two outcomes are possible: the nasal consonant may be deleted or may remain in the word. Deletion depends on the position of the nasal consonant in the syllable. If the nasal consonant is in coda, the vowel immediately on the left is nasalized and only after that the nasal segment is deleted. In this case, [+nasal] vowels (ṼN) become longer than [-nasal] vowels (V). This could occur because nasalized vowels would correspond to the temporal unit of the vowel sound plus the temporal unit of the deleted nasal consonant. In this paper, we call this phenomenon as tautosyllabic nasality, representing nasalized vowels as ṼN, where V can be replaced by any oral vowel and

N corresponds to a nasal consonant in coda.

Conversely, nasality triggered by a nasal onset does not result in a longer duration in nasalized vowels, as the nasal segment is not deleted. In opposition to tautosyllabic nasality, this process is optional and the nasal consonant in onset does not always spread its nasality to the vowel immediately on its left. Generally, in BP and EP, this process is obligatory if the target vowel is in a stressed syllable, as the first [a] in **cama** ['kẽ.ma] ‘bed,’ but it is optional in unstressed syllables, as in **camada** [ka.'ma.da] ~ [kẽ.'ma.da] ‘tier’ (Miguel, 2006, p. 187). Even though this nasalization phenomenon is also regressive, the nature of the process is distinctive from tautosyllabic nasality: it is promoted by a consonant in onset. We call this phenomenon heterosyllabic nasality, representing nasalized vowels as $\tilde{V}.N$.

Nasality in PST and PP has been studied by Balduino (2018), and Araujo and Balduino (2019). Based on the duration and the formants of nasal ($\tilde{v}N$), nasalized ($\tilde{v}.N$) and oral (V) segments, Araujo and Balduino (2019) related both nasalization processes in PST and PP: tautosyllabic nasality, triggered by a nasal coda, and heterosyllabic nasality, promoted by a nasal onset. According to the authors, both processes are coarticulatory in nature and arise from a regressive dissemination of the [+nasal] feature onto the previous oral vowel. However, while tautosyllabic nasality is compulsory, results in lexical contrast, and causes the deletion of the nasal coda – resulting in a longer $\tilde{v}N$ than V (48% for PST and 60% for PP) –, heterosyllabic nasality is not applied to pretonic syllables, is optional in stressed syllables, and always keeps the nasal consonant in onset (Araujo; Balduino, 2019, p. 41).

In addition to tautosyllabic and heterosyllabic nasality, there is a third process of nasalization in EP and BP which is triggered by the palatal nasal consonant. For Wetzels (1997), the palatal nasal occupies an ambisyllabic structure since it is simultaneously associated with onset and coda positions in a syllable. According to this reasoning, the palatal nasal always nasalizes its left contiguous vowel in PB and PE. Because /ɲ/ is in coda, characterizing a CVC syllable structure, tautosyllabic nasality is triggered. The nasalization process in these cases is mandatorily implemented, occurring independently of the vowel quality and the word stress (Wetzels, 1997). Even though Araujo and Balduino (2019) proposed a general analysis for nasalized vowels, there is no mention to the behavior of vowel nasalization triggered by the palatal nasal in their study. To expand the studies on vowel nasality in Portuguese, we aim to examine vowel nasality triggered by the palatal nasal in PST and PP. In the following section, we present the methods and the corpus considered for achieving such objective.

Methodological and Theoretical Aspects

This study is based on a corpus collected during fieldwork conducted in the cities of São Tomé, capital of São Tomé and Príncipe, and Santo Antonio, capital of the Príncipe Island, in October and November of 2016 and January and February of 2019. The corpus comprises 31

lexical items⁷ (31 for PST and 31 PP) and oral vowels or nasalized vowels triggered by the palatal nasal. The words were recorded inside carrier sentences such as **Eu falo X baixinho** (I say X softly), where X was replaced for the target item. All words were repeated three times by each speaker and the first round of repetition was discarded. We recorded three female speakers for each variety, resulting in 62 occurrences per informant (or 186 occurrences per variety). Additional information about speakers can be verified in Table 3.

Table 3 - Speakers of PST and PP.

PST				PP			
<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>LI</i>	<i>Sex</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Education Level</i>	<i>LI</i>
Female	19	High	Portuguese	Female	16	High	Portuguese
Female	18	High	Portuguese	Female	18	High	Portuguese
Female	18	High	Portuguese	Female	20	High	Portuguese

The corpus obtained by controlled methods created random segmental and suprasegmental contexts for obtaining the linguistic variable in evidence. Thus, we analyzed the data using Laboratory Phonology (Ohala, 1995). Laboratory Phonology (Ohala, 1995) is a methodological approach which incorporates the techniques of phonetics. In this way, experimental methods can be developed to empirically prove the results obtained and monitor the data more assertively. In this study, this has been done by using the software Praat (Boersma; Weenink 2015). This tool is widely used for acoustic analyses and focuses on the analysis of speech and its sound properties such as sound waves, formants, spectrograms, length in milliseconds, intonation, and other characteristics of phones or phonemes. In fact, the many possibilities offered by praat make it an interesting and necessary software to measure the target segments of this study.

Using the software Praat (Boersma; Weenick 2015), we analyzed the spectrogram of each occurrence. We observed nasalization considering sound environment, such as segments co-articulated to the nasalized vowel, and the direction of nasal spreading, verifying the possibility of a progressive spread of the [nasal] feature of /ɲ/. Additionally, we also examined some suprasegmental factors, such as syllable stress. The occurrence of words collected through carrier sentences was then compared with items extracted from semi-spontaneous speech data.⁸ The data collected by sociolinguistic interviews were fundamental for analysis of oral vowels and examination of data carrying /ɲ/ in uncontrolled speech.

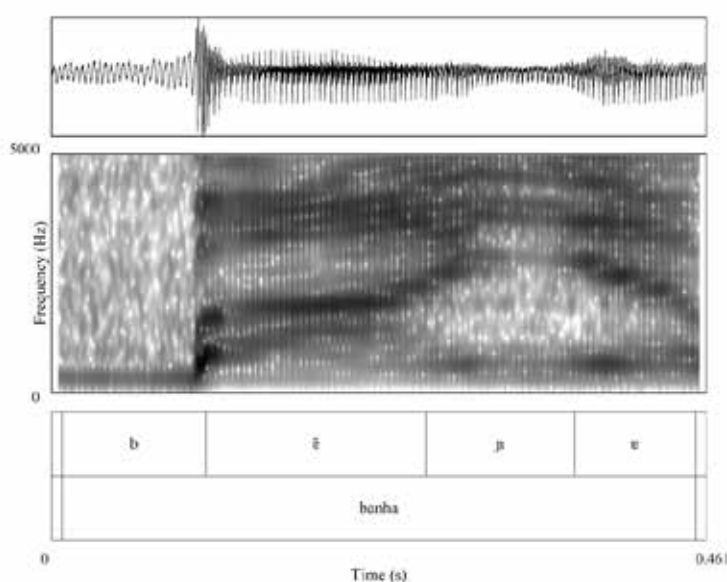
Figure 1 shows a spectrogram of [ɲ]. Acoustically, nasals have formant patterns similar

⁷ Words recorded: Amanhecer - ‘to dawn;’ Apanhar - ‘to catch;’ Banho - ‘shower;’ Banheira - ‘bathtub;’ Banha - ‘lard;’ Caminho - ‘path;’ Conhecimento - ‘knowledge;’ Cozinhar - ‘to cook;’ Cunhado - ‘brother in-law;’ Desenho - ‘drawing;’ Desenhara - ‘to draw;’ Dinheiro - ‘money;’ Engenharia - ‘engineering;’ Focinho - ‘snout;’ Galinha - ‘chicken;’ Galinheiro - ‘hennery;’ Ganhar - ‘to win;’ Manha - ‘wile;’ Manhoso - ‘sly (Masc.);’ Manhosa - ‘sly (Fem.);’ Minha - ‘mine/my;’ Minhoca - ‘earthworm;’ Punho - ‘fist;’ Reconhecer - ‘to recognize;’ Senhora - ‘lady/Mrs.;’ Sonho - ‘dream;’ Sonhar - ‘to dream;’ Tenho - ‘I have;’ Tinha - ‘I had;’ Unha - ‘nail;’ Vergonha - ‘shame;’ Vinho - ‘wine.’

⁸ This complementary *corpus* was collected from 60-minute sociolinguistic interviews in which the first 15 minutes were discarded.

to vowels, but with less intensity. Besides, the articulation of nasal consonants also produces anti-formants in the vocal tract (Zampaulo, 2019, p. 38). The analysis of the spectrogram of the nasal palatal was important to identify items in which the nasal was actually produced. Then, we used the transition into vowel formants as the main acoustic clue to establish the production of [ɲ]. Distinctly from [n] and [m], [ɲ] shows a long transition period into neighboring vowels (Zampaulo, 2019, p. 38), as shown in Figure 1 by the first and the second formant transition (F1 and F2, respectively). Such clue was fundamental to distinguish cases in which the nasal was not produced or performed as a glide [j]. Although the F2 movement of [j] is similar as that of [ɲ], the palatal nasal shows a low intensity in its central portion. This region, in the spectrogram, would correspond to oral airflow blocking. Finally, if there was production of [ɲj], the nasal murmur would present a distinct acoustic configuration: in addition to the shorter duration of [n], the transition of the formants is also distinct, especially for F2 (see Vieira, 2017).

Figure 1- Wave Form and Spectrogram of [ɲ] – banha ['bɛ̃ɲɐ] ‘lard.’⁹



The results obtained by the acoustic study were reviewed according to phonological theories such as Autosegmental Phonology (Goldsmith, 1976, 1990; Moraes; Wetzels, 1992; Wetzels, 1997).

Analysis: nasality in PST and PP

In this section, we discuss nasality triggered by the palatal nasal in PST and PP. The process is described based on controlled speech. Such speech material allowed us to examine the phenomenon considering sound environment, domain, trigger, and the consequences of these linguistic factors on nasalization processes in the varieties spoken in STP.

⁹ All the Figures of spectrograms were created with a praat script: Praat_script_for_drawing_a_waveform_spec. https://www.academia.edu/15862176/Praat_script_for_drawing_a_waveform_spectrogram_and_F0_contours_textfile_

Nasalized Vowels: /ɲ/ as a trigger

PST and PP have five nasalized vowels [ĩ, ẽ, ẽ̃, õ, ã] identified in stressed and unstressed syllables, as in (1) and (2), respectively.

- (1) a. [ĩ] linda ['lĩdɐ] 'pretty'
b. [ẽ] tempo ['tẽpɔ] 'number'
c. [ẽ̃] canto ['kẽ̃tɔ] 'lamp'
d. [õ] longe ['lõzɪ] 'pumpkin'
e. [ã] junto ['zũtɔ] 'comma'
- (2) a. [ĩ] pintado [pĩ'tadɔ] 'pintado'¹⁰
b. [ẽ] tentar [tẽ'tar] 'to try'
c. [ẽ̃] anterior [ã̃teri'ɔr] 'before'
d. [õ] bondade [bõ'dadɪ] 'goodness'
e. [ã] untar [ũ'tar] 'to grease'

We have argued that nasality is not an inherent phonological property of the vowel in PST and PP, but instead nasality results from a coarticulatory phenomenon (see Balduino, 2018; Araujo; Balduino, 2019). Vowel nasality in both varieties is triggered by adjacency to a nasal consonant of Portuguese - /m/ and /n/ - that may be associated with a tautosyllabic coda (see example in 3) or with an onset of a different syllable (see example in 4).

- (3) a. cantar /kaNtaR/ [kẽ.'tar] ~ [kẽ̃n.'tar] 'to sing'
b. lanche /laNʃe/ ['lẽ.ʃi] ~ ['lẽ̃n.ʃi] 'snack'
- (4) a. cama /kama/ ['kẽ̃.mɐ] ~ ['ka.mɐ] 'bed'
b. tema /tema/ ['tẽ̃.mɐ] ~ ['te.mɐ] 'theme'
c. banana /banana/ [ba.'na.nɐ], *[bẽ̃.'na.nɐ] 'banana'
d. caneta /kaneta/ [ka.'ne.tɐ], *[kẽ̃.'ne.tɐ] 'pen'

The tautosyllabic nasality in (1), (2) and (3) occurs regardless of word stress. However, heterosyllabic nasality is determined by stress, since the phenomenon cannot be produced if the target is in unstressed syllables, as in (4). Nasality is not purely an accidental process, but it is implemented under segmental or suprasegmental constraints in PST and PP.

Based on 372 occurrences of words with palatal nasal (186 for each variety), we observed that /ɲ/, in the same way as /m/ and /n/, triggers nasality in PST and PP. Initially, vowel nasality was established from hearing. Then, some acoustic cues were evaluated: (i) duration, since nasalized vowels, in general, are longer than oral vowels (see Araujo and Balduino, 2019), (ii)

10 Typical fish of São Tomé and Príncipe cuisine.

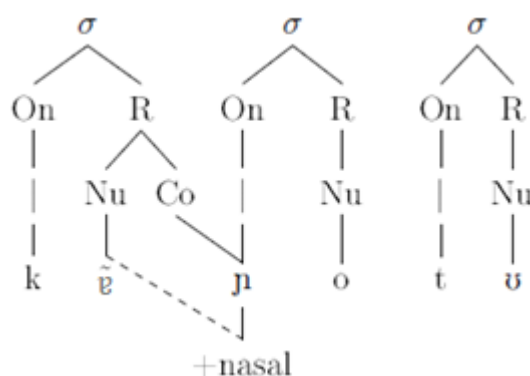
in cases where [ɲ] is not observed, it is possible to verify the presence of a nasal murmur similar to [ɲ], and (iii) the F1 of an oral [a] tends to be lower than [ẽ]. Examples are given in (5).

- (5) a. *banho* /baɲo/ [ˈbẽɲo] ~ [ˈbaɲo] ‘shower’
 b. *unha* /uɲa/ [ˈũɲɐ] ~ [ˈuɲɐ] ‘nail’
 c. *ganhar* /gaɲaR/ [gẽˈɲaɾ] ~ [gaˈɲaɾ] ‘to win’
 d. *dinheiro* /dineRo/ [dĩˈɲeɾo] ~ [diˈɲeɾo] ‘money’
 e. *canhoto* /kaɲoto/ [kẽˈɲoto] ~ [kaˈɲoto] ‘left-handed’

The nasality is triggered by /ɲ/ in stressed (see 5.a–b) and unstressed targets (see 5.c–e). It indicates that this phenomenon is more similar to tautosyllabic than to heterosyllabic nasality since unstressed syllables are the domain of the phenomenon. In addition, data in (4) allow us to conjecture the possibility of /ɲ/ being in coda in PST and PP. As heterosyllabic nasality is not implemented in unstressed syllables in both varieties, if the palatal nasal were associated only to the onset, words such as **ganhar** [gẽˈɲaɾ] ‘to win’ (5.c) and **dinheiro** [dĩˈɲeɾo] ‘money’ (5.d), produced with the nasalized unstressed vowels ([ẽ] and [ĩ]), would be ungrammatical. In case /ɲ/ is only in onset, the expected outcome of data in (5.c) and (5.d) would be unstressed oral vowels: **ganhar** [gaˈɲaɾ] ‘to win’ and **dinheiro** [diˈɲeɾo] ‘money,’ which are possible but not unique occurrences.

Figure 2, based on Wetzels’ (1997) analysis for BP, shows the ambisyllabic behavior of /ɲ/ using the tree notation for syllable structure. The vowel [ẽ] of words such as **canhoto** [kẽ.ˈɲo.tɔ] ‘left-handed’ is nasalized because of the ambisyllabicity [ɲ]. Thus, [ɲ] is associated to the onset and also to the coda, resulting in a first closed syllable [kẽɲ] (CVN) and in a second open syllable [ɲo] (NV).

Figure 2 - Tree representation of /ɲ/ in the word **canhoto** [kẽ.ˈɲo.tɔ] ‘left-handed.’



Author’s elaboration based on the proposal of Wetzels (1997).

In PST and PP, nasality triggered by /ɲ/ is a result of a coarticulatory phenomenon, as has been suggested by studies on nasality triggered by /m/ and /n/ (see Balduino, 2018; Araujo; Balduino, 2019). For this reason, the feature [+nasal] or [-nasal] is not an inherent phonological property to the vowel in both varieties. As well as other nasal consonants in PST and PP, the

process triggered by /ɲ/ is conditioned by the coarticulation between the vowel and the nasal consonant. This coarticulation normally happens because of the articulatory movement involved in the speech production of /ɲ/, since producing a nasal consonant requires velum lowering, palatal vellum port opening, and allowing airflow through the nose and the mouth (Styler, 2008, p. 9).

According to Styler (2008, p. 9), given that the tongue and the velum can move independently, it is more anatomically efficient to decouple the two gestures, beginning the velar gesture earlier and outside of the boundaries of the nasal consonant. This coarticulation is such that in CVN/CVɲ/CV.m/Cv.n structures the velum may be lowered before the vowel has been fully produced, nasalizing the previous vowel (Styler, 2008, p. 9). Even though velum lowering is common in PST and PP, it is not a compulsory movement and nasality is more recurrent according to the proximity between the nasal consonant and the target vowel. Thus, despite this optionality, nasality is more likely to occur in tautosyllabic structures. On the contrary, if the target vowel and the nasal trigger are in different syllables, stress determines nasalization.

Regardless of the point of articulation of the nasal consonant that triggers nasality, as well as whether the phenomenon is tautosyllabic or heterosyllabic, nasality is anticipatory in PST and PP. The nasal assimilation is regressive. No lexical items such as in (6) are identified. Additionally, the nasality triggered by the palatal nasal is not obligatory. This is a distinct behavior from BP, whose nasality is always attested if triggered by /ɲ/ (see Wetzels, 1997; Collischonn; Wetzels, 2017).

- (6) a. *banho* /baɲo/ [ˈba.ɲo] ~ [ˈbẽ.ɲõ] ‘shower’
b. *unha* /uɲa/ [ˈũɲɐ] ~ [ˈuɲɐ] ‘nail’
c. *ganhar* /gaɲaR/ [gẽˈɲaɾ] ~ [gaˈɲaɾ] ‘to win’

As already pointed out, distinctly from /m/ and /n/, the palatal nasal seems to show a distinct phonotactic behavior in both varieties: ambisyllabicity. This is not an inherent characteristic to these varieties, since /ɲ/ has been analyzed as a consonant associated simultaneously with a coda and an onset in Brazilian Portuguese (cf. Wetzels, 1997; Collischonn; Wetzels, 2017).

PST and PP are varieties whose syllable coda can be /l, R, N, S/ and present diverse phonetic productions (see Balduino, 2019; Vieira; Balduino, 2020). An evidence supporting the ambisyllabicity of /ɲ/ is that words carrying [ɲ] are only observed word-medially and do not occur in sequences comprising coda /l, R, N, S/ + /ɲ/ or /l/ (see 7).

- (7) a. *banho* /baɲo/ *[ˈbaɭ.ɲo] ‘shower’
b. *unha* /uɲa/ *[ˈuɾ.ɲɐ] ‘nail’
c. *ganhar* /gaɲaR/ *[gɐs.ˈɲaɾ] ‘to win’

The absence of words such as *['baɫ.nɔ], *['ur.nɐ] and *[gɐs.'ɲar] in (7) suggests that the coda is already filled by /ɲ/. Other nasal consonants, /m/ and /n/, do not suffer this same constraint. They are identified in words such as in (8), in which nasal consonants are in onset regardless of the previous coda being filled or not.

- (8) a. palma /palma/ ['paɫmɐ] 'palm'
 b. palmeira /palmeRa/ [paɫ'merɐ] 'Palm tree'
 c. carne /kaRne/ ['karnɪ] 'meat'

Still regarding the ambisyllabicity of /ɲ/, we observed some outputs carrying [j] as a consequence of a phenomenon of vocalization. These examples suggest that the trigger consonant /ɲ/ can be produced as [j] after spreading its nasal feature (see 9).

- (9) a. banho /baɲo/ [bɛ̃'jɔ] 'shower'
 b. unha /uɲa/ ['ũjɐ] 'nail'
 c. vergonha /vergoɲa/ [ver'gõjɐ] 'shame'

In (9), /ɲ/ may or may not be produced since the vocalization of /ɲ/ into [j] is also possible. Figure 3 shows this phenomenon by the spectrogram of [j].

Figure 3 - Wave Form and Spectrogram of [j] – **galinha** [ga'liɲɐ] 'chicken.'¹¹

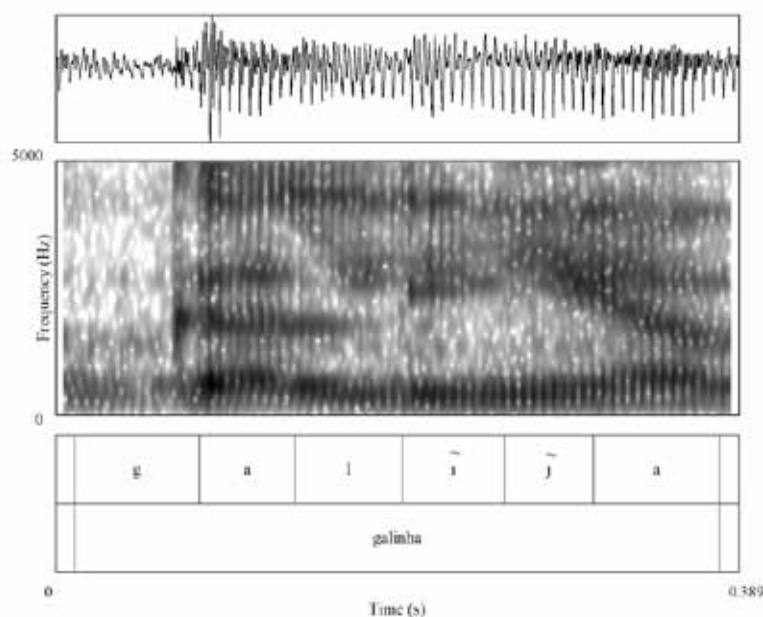


Figure 3 shows a spectrogram of **galinha** [ga'liɲɐ] 'chicken.' Different from the spectrogram of [ɲ], there is not a long transition period into neighboring vowels and the consonant since [ɲ] is produced as [j]. Thus, the expected transition between F1 and F2 is replaced for the

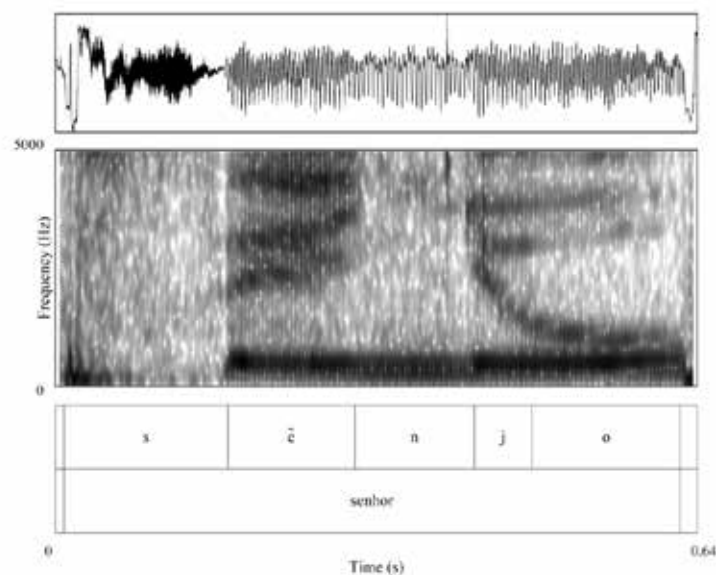
11 Praat_script_for_drawing_a_waveform_spec.https://www.academia.edu/15862176/Praat_script_for_drawing_a_waveform_spectrogram_and_F0_contours_textfile

maintenance of these formants, since [i] and [j] have similar F1 and F2 values.

When a coronal glide [j] is performed, the syllable structure is preserved by maintaining the onset, and the target vowel of nasality remains nasalized. The palatal nasal regressively nasalizes to the preceded vowel and is subsequently vocalized, losing its consonantal features associated to the onset. Even when /ɲ/ is produced as [j], nasalization may be possible, as nasality spreading occurs before vocalization. Therefore, /ɲ/ can be vocalized in onset and even deleted of the coda after the assimilation of nasality by the target vowel, as in (9). If /ɲ/ were only in onset, the nasal deletion would be impossible. Words with /m/ and /n/ in onset preserve the nasal consonant and phonological processes such as deletion and vocalization are not identified: **cama** ['kẽmɐ] ~ ['kamɐ], but *['kẽɐ], *['kẽjɐ] 'bed'.

Figure 3 shows an example in which a nasal palatal is vocalized, but we cannot notice a nasal murmur. Figure 4, however, shows an example where the vocalization of /ɲ/ is accompanied by the production of [n]. Occurrences as this, although less frequent, allow us to think about the hypothesis that /ɲ/ → [nj] may be a possible result of weakening of /ɲ/ in PST. In PP, data as these were not observed.

Figure 4 - Wave Form and Spectrogram of [nj] – **senhor** [sẽ'njo] 'chicken'.¹²

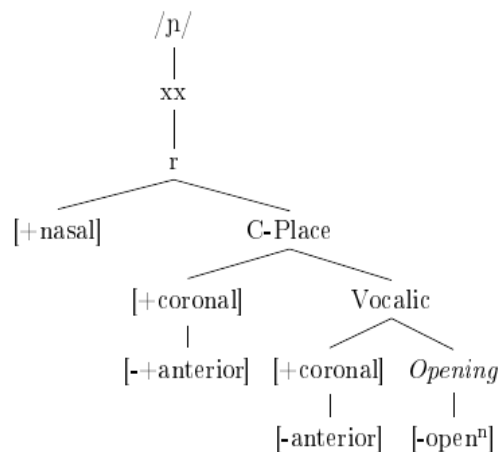


Based on the features of the palatal nasal, it is possible to understand /ɲ/ → [j] as a consequence of the disassociation of the consonantal features (or c-place) of /ɲ/. The palatal nasal is usually understood as a complex segment, presenting in its structure a primary and secondary articulation (see Matzenauer, 1996), both associated with two temporal units (xx)

¹² Praat_script_for_drawing_a_waveform_spec.https://www.academia.edu/15862176/Praat_script_for_drawing_a_waveform_spectrogram_and_F0_contours_textfile

(see Wetzels, 1997; Collischonn; Wetzels, 2017), as Figure 5 shows.

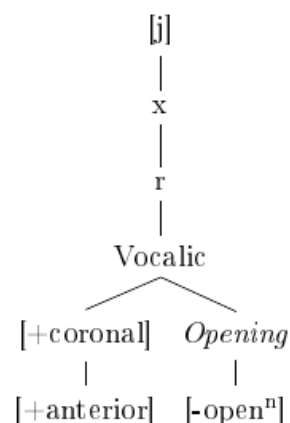
Figure 5 - The Geometrical Organization of /ɲ/.



Author's elaboration based on the proposal of Collischonn; Wetzels (2017).

Due to the complex structure of /ɲ/, the geometrical organization of the palatal nasal features implies a simultaneous association with a primary consonantal node and a secondary vowel node (see Clements; Hume, 1995). It occurs in such a way as to favor the production of [j], as the features of vowels comprise the secondary node. During the vocalization of /ɲ/, the complex articulation that characterizes the palatal nasal is undone. Then, the palatal nasal has the c-place node disassociated and lose its consonantal features - except for the [nasal] feature, which can be associated with the vowel of the preceded nucleus. As a result, [j] is produced (see Figure 5). In case of [ɲ] output, c-place is disassociated from v-place, but it does not lose its consonantal features, resulting in [n]. The secondary articulation is thus divided into two: one consonantal, generating [n], and another vocalic, resulting in [j].

Figure 5- The Geometrical Organization of [j].



Author's elaboration based on the proposal of Collischonn; Wetzels (2017).

In this paper we observed that /ɲ/ behaves in some respects differently from /m,n/.

Even though all nasal consonants in PST and PP trigger nasality, when triggered by /ɲ/ the phenomenon is similar to tautosyllabic nasality and is not conditioned by the stressed syllable as heterosyllabic nasality. Considering the multilingual context in which PST and PP are spoken, we noted that nasality in these varieties can be similar phonologically to the nasality in local languages. In Lung’Ie and Santome, for example, a regressive nasalization of the vowel preceded by [ɲ] is also possible (Bandeira 2017; Agostinho, 2015; Agostinho; Balduino; Araujo, 2020). According to Bandeira (2017) and Agostinho, Balduino and Araujo (2020), in cases of nasality the ambisyllabic consonant may or may not spread its nasal feature to the preceded vowel, as also occurs in PST and PP. The differences were, however, established mainly in relation to the phonetic aspects, as Table 4 shows.

Table 4 - Nasality triggered by /ɲ/ in Lung’Ie, Santome, Angolar, PST, and PP: similarities and differences.

Lung’Ie <i>(Agostinho, 2015; Agostinho, Balduino and Araujo, 2020)</i>	Santome <i>(Bandeira, 2017)</i>	Angolar <i>(Bandeira, 2017)</i>	PST	PP
Stressed syllables as domain	Stressed syllables as domain	Stressed syllables as domain	Stressed and unstressed syllables as domain	Stressed and unstressed syllables as domain
Optional	Optional	Optional	Optional	Optional
Regressive and progressive spreading of [nasal]	Regressive spreading of [nasal]	Regressive spreading of [nasal]	Regressive spreading of [nasal]	Regressive spreading of [nasal]
[i, e, a, o, u] as targets	[i, e, a, o, u] as targets	[i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u] as targets	[i, e, a, o, u] as targets	[i, e, a, o, u] as targets
[ĩ, ě, ẽ, õ, ũ] as output	[ĩ, ě, ẽ, õ, ũ] as output	[ĩ, ě, ẽ, ẽ, õ, õ, ũ] as output	[ĩ, ě, ẽ, õ, ũ] as output	[ĩ, ě, ẽ, õ, ũ] as output
-----	-----	-----	/ɲ/ _ [j]	/ɲ/ _ [j] /ɲ/ _ [ɲj]

As Table 4 shows, although in Lung’Ie the nasality triggered by /ɲ/ is regressive and progressive, in PST and PP we observe only regressive nasality. In addition, the process is optional in unstressed syllables, which is not feasible in local languages. Contrasting PST with PP, the only difference was the production of [ɲj] as a /ɲ/ allophone in PST. Thus, it is possible that aspects related to linguistic contact play a role in the way nasality is implemented in PST and PP. Although this factor is not part of the scope of this paper, it should be further considered in future studies on nasality in PST and PP.

To summarize, PST and PP have different processes of nasalization. Similar as EP and BP, the data of PST and PP show that the palatal nasal occupies an ambisyllabic structure and is simultaneously associated with onset and coda positions in a syllable. Thus, the palatal nasal can nasalize left contiguous vowels, whether or not in stressed syllables. It is possible because /ɲ/ is in the coda, resulting in a CVN syllable structure and triggering tautosyllabic nasality. Thus, even though it is optional, the nasality triggered by /ɲ/ occurs independently from the vowel quality and the word stress, as described for BP (Wetzels, 1997; Collischonn and Wetzels, 2017).

Final Remarks

Portuguese – in the way spoken in STP – has changed (Bouchard, 2017; Agostinho; Soares; Mendes, 2020). Thus, to assume Portuguese spoken in STP as the same language as that spoken in Portugal is inaccurate, since it presents some linguistic variations compared to the European Portuguese (EP), which is the variety officially propagated by local education institutions and educational materials in STP. PST and PP are new varieties of Portuguese. They share structures with other Portuguese varieties, such as EP and BP, but also have their own characteristics. This is the case of vowel nasality triggered by /ɲ/. The data indicate that /ɲ/ triggers nasalization and occupies two positions in different syllables: coda and onset. Such ambisyllabic behavior enables nasality promoted by /ɲ/ to occur in unstressed syllables, which is only possible for tautosyllabic nasality. Besides nasality, we observe that the vowel inventory of PST and PP comprises seven oral vowels: [i, e, ε, a, ɔ, o, u]. However, these vowels are common targets of neutralization and deletion processes in unstressed syllables. These phenomena mainly affect mid vowels, which are often deleted or modified by raising, vowel harmony, and devoicing. The results presented in this paper are still preliminary and a wide scope of analysis of these phenomena remains open for PST and PP.

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**CHINESE VOICES IN PORTUGUESE: CALL NEEDS
FOR THE ORAL SKILLS LEARNING
VOZES CHINESAS EM PORTUGUÊS: NECESSIDADES EM CALL
PARA A APRENDIZAGEM DAS COMPETÊNCIAS ORAIS**

Adelina Castelo¹

ABSTRACT

This study aims at identifying which CALL (Computer-assisted Language Learning) materials should be made available to the Chinese learners of Portuguese as a Foreign Language (PFL) for them to improve their oral skills in a more autonomous way. Adopting an approach of needs analysis and clients' views inquiry, it is based on an online questionnaire completed by 418 Chinese volunteer participants who are learners of PFL. The participants' perceptions about (a) their own difficulties in pronunciation and oral understanding and (b) the CALL materials needed to address these oral skills were analysed in three ways: as a whole; according to the participants' proficiency level in PFL; according to their geographical region. The results allowed for a reflection on the relevance of using these inquiries and for the proposal of a prioritisation list for the creation of new CALL materials. This list gives special importance to the tasks perceived as the most difficult by the participants (distinction of voicing, liquids and vowel height, understanding of text and word) and to the CALL types of materials considered the most needed (word recognition system, recorded rhymes, poems, tongue twisters, songs or texts with written transcription).

KEYWORDS: Portuguese as Foreign Language, Chinese learners, pronunciation, oral skills, CALL materials.

RESUMO

Este estudo visa identificar que materiais de CALL (Aprendizagem de Língua Assistida por Computador) devem ser disponibilizados aos aprendentes chineses de Português como Língua Estrangeira (PLE) para que eles melhorem as suas competências orais de forma mais autónoma. Adotando uma abordagem de análise de necessidades e consulta de opiniões dos clientes, baseia-se num questionário on-line preenchido por 418 participantes voluntários chineses que são aprendentes de PLE. As percepções dos participantes sobre (a) as suas próprias dificuldades na pronúncia e na compreensão oral e (b) os materiais de CALL necessários para abordar essas competências orais foram analisadas de três maneiras: como um todo; de acordo com o nível de proficiência dos participantes em PLE; de acordo com a sua região geográfica. Os resultados permitiram refletir sobre a relevância do uso desses inquéritos e propor uma lista de prioridades para a criação de novos materiais de CALL. Esta lista dá especial importância às tarefas percecionadas como mais difíceis pelos participantes (distinção de vozeamento, de consoantes líquidas, de altura da vogal, compreensão de textos e de palavras) e aos tipos de materiais de CALL considerados mais necessários (sistema de reconhecimento de palavras, gravações de rimas, poemas, trava-línguas, canções ou textos com transcrição escrita).

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: português como língua estrangeira, aprendentes chineses, pronúncia, competências orais, materiais de CALL.

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Introduction

Portuguese as a Foreign Language (PFL) and, consequently, foreign voices speaking in Portuguese are present in many places worldwide and not just in the Lusophone countries. For instance, the presence of the Portuguese language in mainland China and the two Special Administrative Regions of the People's Republic of China (Hong Kong and Macao) has seen an enormous increase since the beginning of the 2000s: the amount of tertiary institutions offering the study of the language increased from five in 2000 to more than sixty in 2020 (CASTELO; SUN, to appear – see also JATOBÁ, 2015, 2020; LI, 2015; ANDRÉ, 2016; G. LIU, 2017; YAN; ALBUQUERQUE, 2019). This rapid growth has given rise to several challenges, such as the lack of experienced teachers and the need for didactic materials adjusted to this specific group of learners (e.g. ANDRÉ, 2016; YAN; ALBUQUERQUE, 2019). Although lately many didactic materials addressed to this public have been produced, these present several limitations (e.g. M. LIU, 2017; JATOBÁ, 2019) and there is still a need for more materials (e.g. YAN; ALBUQUERQUE, 2019), especially to promote oral skills (listening, pronunciation, speaking) in an autonomous way through the use of CALL (Computer-assisted Language Learning). For example, new reflections, proposals, and materials on how to specifically teach pronunciation of PFL to Chinese speakers have lately appeared (e.g. XU, 2012; ÁGUA-MEL, 2016; JATOBÁ, 2017; CASTELO, 2018; ZHANG, 2019), but there is still a great need for CALL materials for improving pronunciation of PFL among Chinese-speaking learners.

The importance of developing listening and speaking is evident in a world full of multilingual and multicultural interpersonal contacts. As far as pronunciation is concerned, several reasons justify its importance: a high level of intelligibility and comprehensibility facilitates communication while speaking (e.g. DERWING & MUNRO, 2005; SAITO, 2007; ALVES, 2015) and may even make the listening easier, as there seems to be a strong association between production and listening discrimination and comprehension (e.g. BEST; TYLER, 2007; GRANT, 2014; HUENSCH, 2016); a high level of accentedness tends to have negative consequences in the listeners' judgement of the foreign language speaker (e.g. MOYER, 2014). However, speakers with an intermediate or even advanced proficiency level in Portuguese exhibit problems in terms of pronunciation (e.g. OLIVEIRA, 2006; JATOBÁ, 2017; SHANG, 2017; ZHOU, 2017) and listening discrimination (e.g. YANG; RATO; FLORES, 2015; SHANG, 2017).

In developing a foreign language in general and the oral skills in particular, some means and attitudes should be especially valued: to invest much time in intensive practice (ELLIS, 2005); to adopt an autonomous attitude in learning (KRUK; PAWLAK, 2014; ROKOSZEWSKA, 2014); to make use of the available CALL tools (THOMSON, 2011); to have access to much input, output and feedback (ELLIS, 2005), namely for learning pronunciation (CASTELO, 2017). Specifically for teaching pronunciation, the literature also recommends to teach both

segmental (segments and phonological processes) and suprasegmental features (i.e. related to units larger than the segment such as syllable, stress, word, intonation) (e.g. WEI, 2006), to use reading aloud and tongue twisters (e.g. XU, 2012) or songs (e.g. NOBRE-OLIVEIRA, 2007; ASHTIAN; ZAFARGHANDI, 2015), and to have recourse to specific types of training for learning pronunciation such as the high-variability phonetic training (BARRIUSO; HAYES-HARB, 2018) and a combination of both intuitive-imitative and analytic-linguistic approaches (e.g. HASHEMIAN; FADAEI, 2011). Besides, the development of listening comprehension should promote not only bottom-up processes (from word recognition to text comprehension), but also top-down ones (from text to word) (RICHARDS, 2009; GRAHAM, 2017), and the word recognition processes depend much on mandatory perceptual processes shaped by previous linguistic experience (KOLINSKY, 1998). In fact, the availability of CALL tools for practicing oral skills autonomously would allow the learners to combine several efficient means and attitudes in their learning process. These tools could offer them a great amount of input and feedback on the output, the possibility of intensive practice and autonomy, the use of specially designed training programs, and the access to smaller or larger input units (from word to text level) to improve listening comprehension.

Taking into account the facts previously mentioned, this study aims at identifying which CALL materials should be made available to the Chinese learners of PFL for them to improve their oral skills in a more autonomous way. For that purpose, I will adopt a framework based on needs analysis (e.g. VILAÇA, 2012) and the proposal by Levis (2017) for pronunciation teaching and research, according to which practitioners and researchers should take into account the “client evaluations” (i.e. the learners’ and teachers’ opinions) on what works for them in order to create the best teaching conditions (LEVIS, 2017, p. 4). In fact, in order to develop didactic materials that are as adjusted and useful as possible to their target students, it is very important to start with an analysis of these learners’ needs (e.g. TOMLINSON; MASUHARA, 2005). As systematised by Long (2005), this needs analysis can use different sources (e.g. literature, learners, teachers and applied linguists) and methods (e.g. questionnaires, (un) structured interviews, (non-)expert intuitions, (non-)participant observation, genre analysis). Choosing the learners as the source for language needs analysis is not always the best option, as they might not know what they need, for instance due to their lack of experience in a specific situation (e.g. LONG, 2005). However, more and more researchers realise the importance of using learners’ views to assess their needs and the adjustment of different teaching strategies and materials (e.g. ALGHAZO, 2015; COUPER, 2012). Having this background, in the present study, I will use a questionnaire to ask for the learners’ views about their difficulties and their needs for CALL materials in order to develop oral skills, and I will also assess the possible impact of the PFL approximate proficiency level and region of study in the difficulties and needs reported by the respondents.

There are already some studies on the difficulties of Chinese learners of PFL based on

their teachers' opinions (WANG, 1991; CASTELO *et al.*, 2018) or their oral perception and production (YANG; RATO; FLORES, 2015; ZHOU, 2017). These studies mainly indicate problems in vowel height (e.g. WANG, 1991; CASTELO; FREITAS, 2019), vowel resonance as oral or nasal (e.g. WANG, 1991), consonant voicing (e.g. NUNES, 2015; YANG; RATO; FLORES, 2015; SHANG, 2017), and specific consonants like [ɲ], [ʒ], [ʎ] and/or [r] (e.g. WANG, 1991; XU, 2012; JATOBÁ, 2017; ZHOU, 2017). A study on teachers' views on the learners' difficulties identifies voicing, sentence understanding, vowel height, liquid (L/R) distinction, stress and intonation as the main problems at the initiation level (by decreasing level of severity) and voicing, vowel height, liquid (L/R) distinction, sentence understanding and word understanding as the main issues on advanced levels of linguistic proficiency (see CASTELO *et al.*, 2018). All this data is useful but it is important to enlarge the sample of respondents, in order to better comprehend the Chinese context of PFL. As far as the needs for CALL materials are concerned, to the best of my knowledge, there is no data on the topic for this context of PFL.

This paper will include the presentation of: (i) methods and participants; (ii) results related to difficulties in oral skills; (iii) results related to needs for CALL materials; (iv) discussion of the results, directed to define a priority list of needs for CALL materials; (v) concluding remarks.

Methods and participants

A questionnaire with seven questions was created (see Table 1).

Table 1 – Topics of the questionnaire

Question number	Question topic
1.	Level of study of PFL (e.g. Year 1 of Bachelor Degree, BA1; Year 2 of Bachelor Degree, BA2; ...; Year 1 of Master Degree, M1; ...; already graduated; other...)
2.	Town of study
3.	Autonomy level in L2 learning
4.	Autonomy level in L2 pronunciation and listening comprehension learning
5.	Difficulties in L2 pronunciation and listening comprehension
6.	Needed audio and multimedia materials to practice pronunciation and listening comprehension
7.	Important properties in audio and multimedia materials to practice pronunciation and listening comprehension

In this paper, only the results of questions 1, 2, 5 and 6 are considered. Question 5 listed

twelve difficulties and participants had to classify each possible difficulty using a scale from 0 (not difficult) to 3 (very difficult). For question 6, there were ten possible audio or multimedia materials (i.e. a simpler way of mentioning the CALL materials to the respondents) and participants had to classify the need of each possible material using a scale from 1 (not needed) to 5 (very much needed). For both questions 5 and 6, the participant could also choose “Other” and explain which one, but these answers are not considered in the present paper. The choice of the items proposed in each question (twelve difficulties in question 5, ten types of material in question 6) took into account the literature review about difficulties associated with these learners and the strategies proposed for practicing oral skills (see Introduction).

A few notes are important here. The Chinese learners of PFL, thus the target audience of this questionnaire, constitute an heterogeneous group in terms of linguistic background (spoken dialects/languages), studied variety (Brazilian or European), immersion experience in a Lusophone country, proficiency level, or university study programmes, and it would be interesting to know the impact of these variables on the difficulties in oral skills and needs for CALL materials reported by the learners. However, the questionnaire of this specific study did not include questions on these topics for two reasons: (i) it should have a limited number of questions (as a strategy to encourage as many learners as possible to complete it); (ii) its goal was only to identify the general and strongest tendencies in this heterogeneous large group (and not in more specific and small groups), so that the most needed CALL materials can be identified. For these reasons, the only questions on students’ personal identification are “Level of study of PFL” (to get an idea on their approximate level of proficiency) and “Town of study”.

This questionnaire was translated into Chinese by two Mandarin Chinese native speakers² (in order to make sure all the intended participants could understand the questions completely) and transformed into a questionnaire in *SurveyMonkey*. The link to this questionnaire was then sent to several contacts (teachers of PFL in China, former students, *WeChat* groups with teachers and students of PFL), asking them to promote the response to the questionnaire among their students and/or colleagues. Therefore, I used a convenience sample based on a volunteer task. Firstly, the goal was to enlarge the sample as much as possible to identify the more general tendencies and this was more feasible by asking the help of people I already knew and were more willing to collaborate. Secondly, the people who eventually decided to complete the questionnaire would probably be also more interested in using CALL materials and reflecting on their language skills development, and this made the data provided by participants more relevant. Being collected at one point in time with participants from different language proficiency levels, this cross-sectional study may provide insights into the difficulties and CALL materials needs experienced by the distinct groups of learners.

418 volunteer participants completed the online questionnaire in July 2019³. They were

2 I would like to thank my colleagues Sun Ye and Wang Chengxu for their generous help.

3 I would also like to thank all the participants for their generous contribution.

mainly living in China (except for some respondents living by then in Portugal, Angola, Brazil or the Philippines). The results for questions 5 and 6 are analysed in terms of means: a difficulty in question 5 will have a mean between 0 and 3; a CALL material in question 6 will have a mean between 1 and 5. Due to issues in the first version of the online questionnaire, a very limited number of options have missing answers (e.g. there is no response to the degree of difficulty of the option “understand words” in the question 5 of respondent number 1).

Results related to difficulties in oral skills

Table 2 shows the results of all participants in terms of mean difficulty levels for different oral tasks (of pronunciation and understanding). The mean difficulty levels appear in descending order.

Table 2 – Mean difficulty levels for different tasks of pronunciation and oral understanding (all participants)

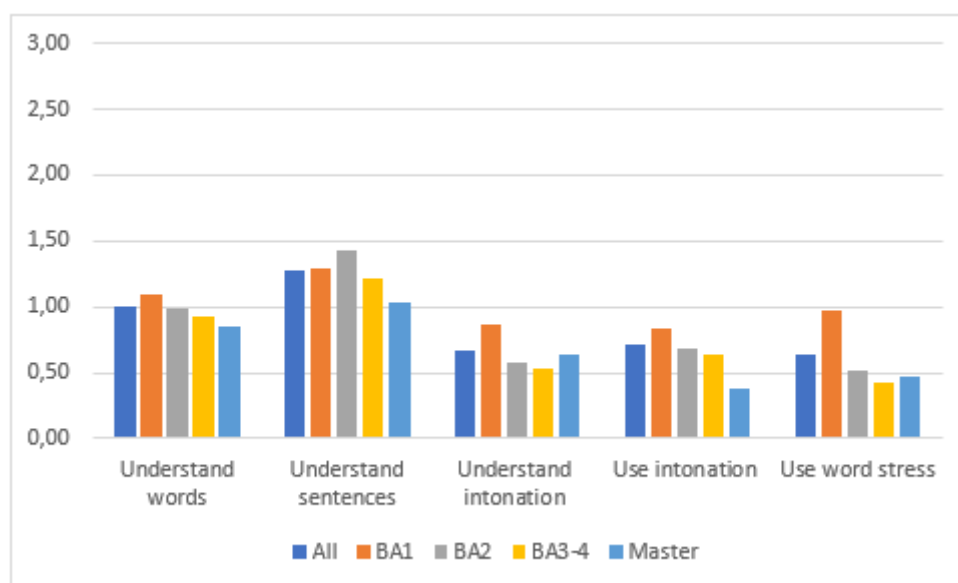
Oral tasks (pronunciation and understanding)	Mean difficulty levels (0 minimum – 3 maximum)
Distinguish (in understanding and pronunciation) B ≠ P, D ≠ T, G ≠ C ---- i.e. [b]≠[p], [d]≠[t], [g]≠[k]	1,81
Distinguish (in understanding and pronunciation) L ≠ R (e.g. <i>cala</i> ≠ <i>cara</i>) ---- i.e. [l]≠[r]	1,61
Distinguish (in understanding and pronunciation) mid and low vowels (e.g. E, Ê ≠ E, É; O, Ô ≠ O, Ó) ---- i.e. [e]≠[ɛ], [o]≠[ɔ]	1,28
Understand sentences	1,28
Understand words	1,00
Pronounce LH (e.g. <i>velho</i>), NH (e.g. <i>manhã</i>), R / RR (e.g. <i>mouse</i> , <i>carro</i>) ---- i.e. [ʎ], [ɲ], [ʀ]	0,81
Pronounce nasal vowels (e.g. <i>Ã</i> / AN / AM, EN / EM...; <i>campo</i> , <i>gente</i> ...) ---- i.e. [ẽ], [ẽ̃]...	0,79
Use intonation correctly (e.g. distinguish interrogative phrases from declarative phrases)	0,71
Understand intonation (e.g. understand if you hear an interrogative or declarative phrase)	0,67
Pronounce nasal diphthongs (e.g. <i>ÃO</i> , <i>ÃE</i> , <i>ÕE</i> ; <i>mãO</i> , <i>mãE</i> , <i>põE</i> ...) ---- i.e. [ẽw̃], [ẽj̃], [õj̃]	0,67
Use word stress correctly (say words with the stress on the correct syllable)	0,64
Pronounce Z (e.g. <i>cozinha</i>), J (e.g. <i>jardim</i>) ---- i.e. [z]≠[ʒ]	0,47

According to all respondents, the three most difficult oral tasks include distinguishing voicing (“Distinguish ... B ≠ P, D ≠ T, G ≠ C”), liquid consonants (“Distinguish ... L ≠ R”) and vowel height (“Distinguish ... mid and low vowels – e.g. E, Ê ≠ E, É; O, Ô ≠ O, Ó”), which are tasks related to segments. The fourth and fifth most difficult tasks are related to suprasegmental features: to understand sentences and words.

The least difficult task is the pronunciation of [z] and [ʒ] (with a mean difficulty level of only 0,47 out of 3). The use of the suprasegmental word stress and intonation are also among the least difficult. The segments of nasal vowels and diphthongs as well as [ʎ], [ɲ] and [ʀ] are also assigned a low difficulty level.

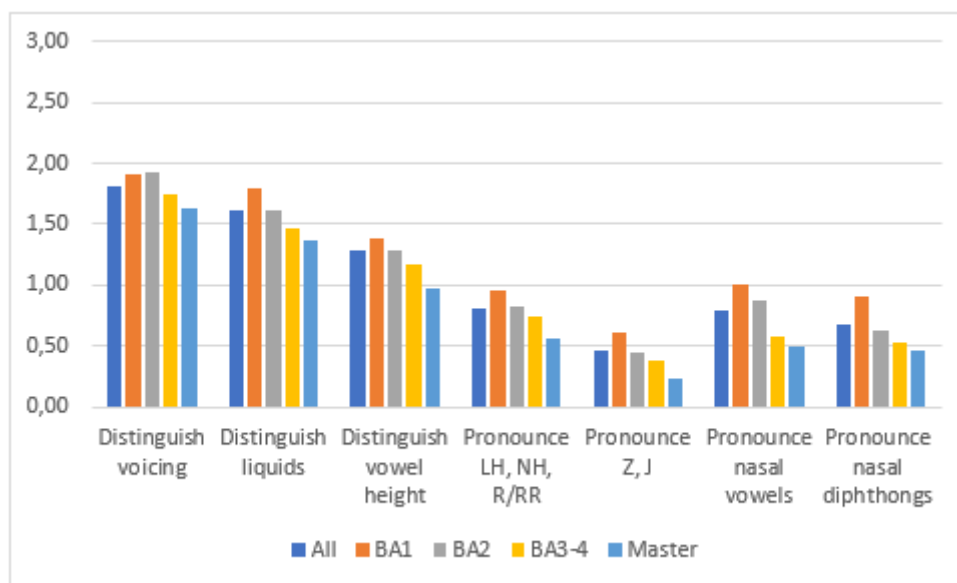
In order to observe if there is an impact of participants’ approximate proficiency level on the perceived difficulty degree for different tasks, some participant groups were established: students of Year 1 of Bachelor Degree (BA1, N=119); students in Year 2 of Bachelor Degree (BA2, N=105); students of Years 3 and 4 of Bachelor Degree (BA3-4, N=127); students of Years 1 and 2 of Master’s Degree (Master, N=19)⁴. So, the mean difficulty level for different tasks according to the approximate proficiency level of those participant groups is presented in Chart 1 (for suprasegmental tasks) and in Chart 2 (for segmental tasks).

Chart 1 – Mean difficulty levels for different suprasegmental tasks, according to the proficiency level of some participant groups



⁴ Since the number of participants in some proficiency levels was not so big or corresponded to more specific situations, I decided to create only three groups with the Bachelor Degree students and one composed of the Master students. Students of Years 3 and 4 were placed together, as they may be associated to an Upper-Intermediate level, contrasting with Elementary level (end of Year 1), Intermediate (end of Year 2) and Advanced (Master). Certainly, the data collecting method does not allow us to check the real proficiency level of the students, but the University Year can serve as an objective measure to get an approximate proficiency level. As a consequence of establishing only four different groups with Bachelor and Master degrees, the answers of several participants were not included in this analysis.

Chart 2 – Mean difficulty level for different segmental tasks,
according to the proficiency level of some participant groups



The above charts show almost the same order in the top five of most difficult tasks in all proficiency levels with the BA1 students presenting a single difference: BA1 students consider (1) voicing distinction, (2) liquid distinction, (3) vowel height distinction, (4) sentence understanding, and (5) word understanding as the descending order of perceived difficulty degree; all remaining groups perceive sentence understanding as the 3rd most difficult task and vowel height distinction as the 4th one.

The five tasks perceived as the least difficult also show great similarities among the different participants groups. For most groups the easiest tasks are (1) [z], [ʒ] pronunciation, (2) word stress use, (3) intonation use / nasal diphthongs pronunciation, (4) nasal vowels pronunciation, and (5) [ʎ], [ɲ], [ʀ] pronunciation. However, word stress use is perceived as more difficult in BA1 and Master students than in the other groups (it is ranked as the 5th easiest task in BA1 group and 3rd in Master group, instead of 2nd).

The degree of tradition in teaching PFL (measurable as the number of years the universities are offering courses in PFL) is dissimilar in the various towns where the students were studying at the moment of responding the questionnaire. In order to observe if there is an impact of this degree of tradition on the perceived difficulty level for different tasks, some participant groups were established according to the place where they were studying: students in Portugal (N=25), Macao (N=123), Beijing (N=70), Shanghai (N=35) and “recent” places (N=37). While Portugal and Macao have the strongest tradition in teaching the Portuguese language, in Beijing it is taught since 1960 and it is offered now in 11 universities and in Shanghai since 1977 (CASTELO; SUN, to appear). For the present analysis, a group of “recent” places was established including the provinces of Hainan, Hubei and Jiangxi, offering the study of Portuguese since 2012, 2016

and 2016, respectively (CASTELO; SUN, to appear)⁵. So, the mean difficulty levels for different tasks according to the geographical region of those participant groups is presented in Chart 3 (for suprasegmental tasks) and in Chart 4 (for segmental tasks).

Chart 3 – Mean difficulty levels for different suprasegmental tasks, according to the geographical region of some participant groups

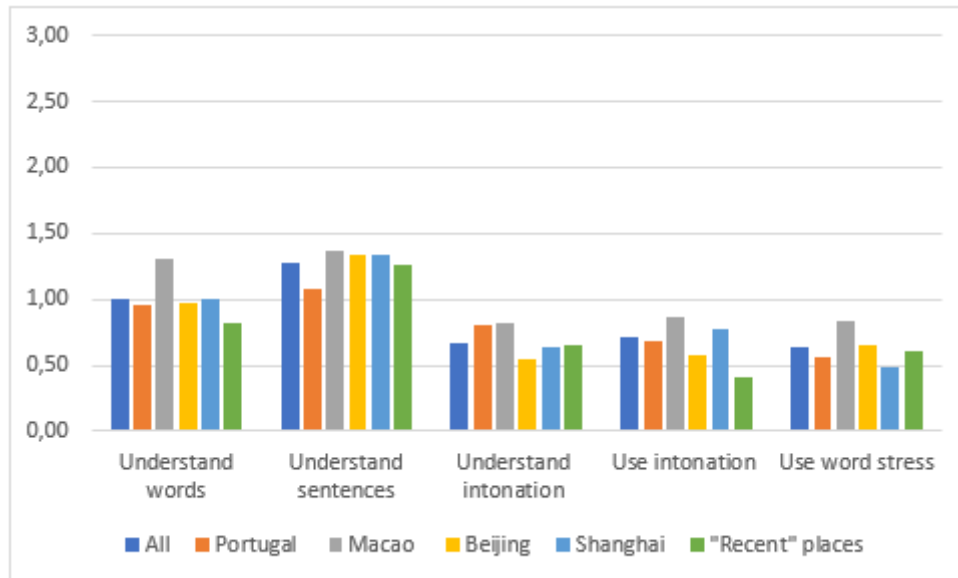
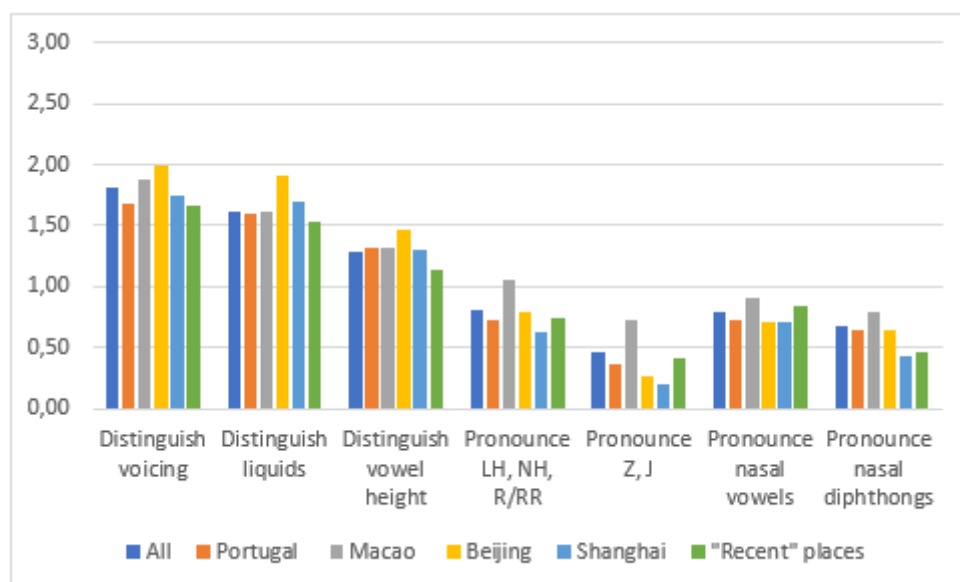


Chart 4 – Mean difficulty levels for different segmental tasks, according to the geographical region of some participant groups



5 Since the number of participants in some regions was exceedingly small, it was decided to create only some groups that could show different perceptions due to their different “region tradition” in PFL. Consequently, this analysis included only the answers of 290 participants (and not the total amount of 418 answers received in this questionnaire): Portugal (N=25); Macao (N=123); Beijing (N=70); Shanghai (N=35); “recent” places, i.e. provinces of Hainan, Hubei and Jiangxi (N=37).

Chart 3 indicates that Macao students tend to be more aware of suprasegmental difficulties than the remaining participants. As far as the segmental difficulties are concerned (see Chart 4), the students who tend to report a greater level of difficulty are the ones from Macao (who perceive greater problems than the remaining students with the pronunciation of [z], [ʒ], [ʎ], [ɲ], [R], nasal vowels and diphthongs) and from Beijing (announcing more difficulties than the other students with voicing, liquids and vowel height). It is also important to note that the mean difficulty levels reported by students from the “recent” places group are frequently smaller than the means associated with groups of students in places with more tradition in teaching Portuguese.

Results related to needs for CALL materials

Table 3 reveals the results of all participants in terms of mean levels of reported need for different CALL materials. These mean levels appear in descending order.

Table 3 – Mean need levels for different CALL materials (all participants)

CALL materials	Mean need levels (1 minimum – 5 maximum)
System that identifies the words pronounced by the student to check if s/he pronounced them well	3,65
Recorded rhymes, poems and tongue twisters for listening and repeating	3,26
Songs about specific vocabulary and topics	3,06
Recorded sentences / texts / dialogues accompanied with transcription in written text	3,05
Sentences with different intonations to understand the differences and repeat	2,99
Words / sentences pronounced by different speakers to understand and repeat	2,95
Recorded sentences / texts / dialogues to answer comprehension questions or complete spaces	2,92
Almost equal word / sentence pairs to understand differences and repeat	2,86
Isolated sounds recorded for listening and repeating	2,65
List of recorded vocabulary for various topics of the lessons	2,43

According to all respondents, the four most needed CALL materials for learning pronunciation and oral understanding are (1) “system that identifies the words pronounced by the student to check if s/he pronounced them well”, (2) “recorded rhymes, poems and tongue twisters for listening and repeating”, (3) “songs about specific vocabulary and topics”, and (4) “recorded sentences / texts / dialogues accompanied with transcription in written text”. The least needed materials are “recorded sentences / texts / dialogues to answer comprehension questions or complete spaces” (ranked in 7th position), “almost equal word / sentence pairs to understand differences and repeat” (ranked in 8th position), “isolated sounds recorded for listening and repeating” (ranked in 9th position) and “list of recorded vocabulary for various

topics of the lessons” (ranked in the last position). So, in general terms, it seems that there is a greater gap in materials associated with bigger units (sentences and different types of text like rhymes, poems, tongue twisters, dialogues, songs) than with smaller ones (like words and sounds). The respondents also report a great need for a speech recognition system and do not seem to need more minimal pairs (of words or sentences) or more texts for practicing listening comprehension.

The mean levels of reported need for different CALL materials according to the proficiency level of some participant groups is presented in Chart 5 (for different “Listen & Repeat” CALL materials) and in Chart 6 (for other CALL materials).

Chart 5 – Mean need levels for different “Listen & Repeat” (L&R) CALL materials, according to the proficiency level of some participant groups

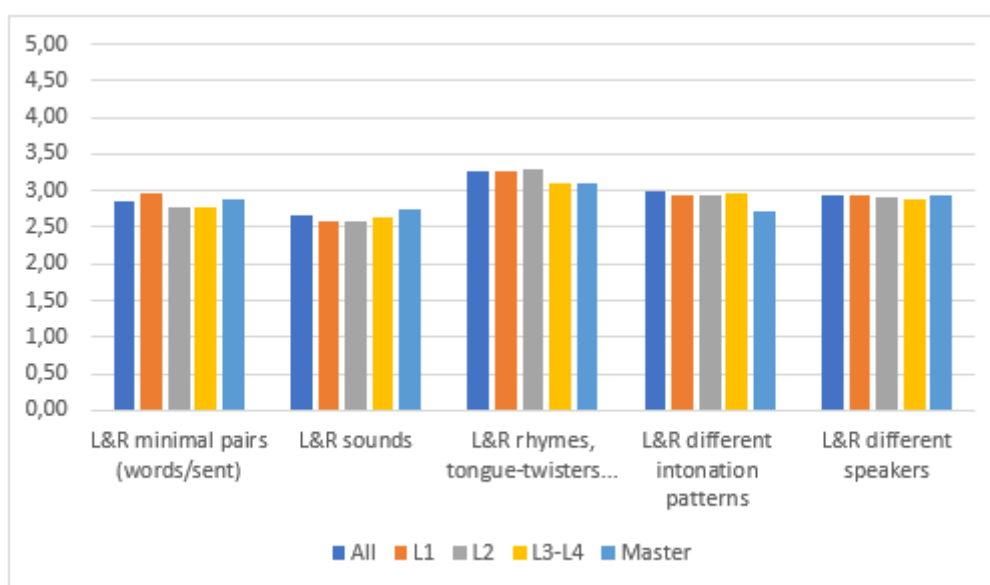
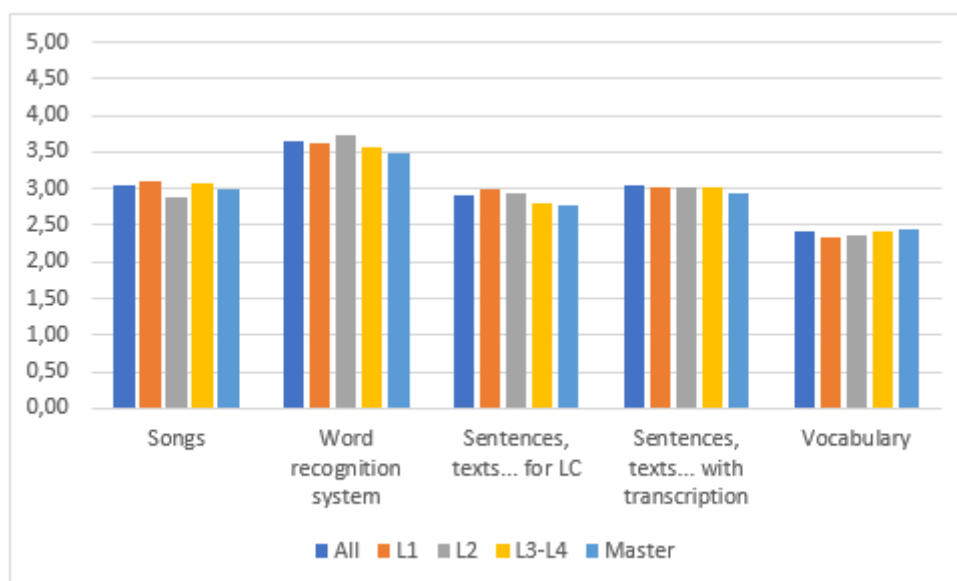


Chart 6 – Mean need levels for other CALL materials, according to the proficiency level of some participant groups



Generally, the participants of all proficiency levels show the same pattern of needs for CALL materials. The only exception is in Master students: compared to the remaining groups, on average this one reports a slightly higher need for materials related to details in pronunciation and discrimination (sounds and minimal pairs) and smaller necessity of tools on intonation patterns.

Charts 7 and 8 present the mean levels of reported need for different CALL materials according to the geographical region of some participant groups.

Chart 7 – Mean need levels for different “Listen & Repeat” (L&R) CALL materials, according to the geographical region of some participant groups

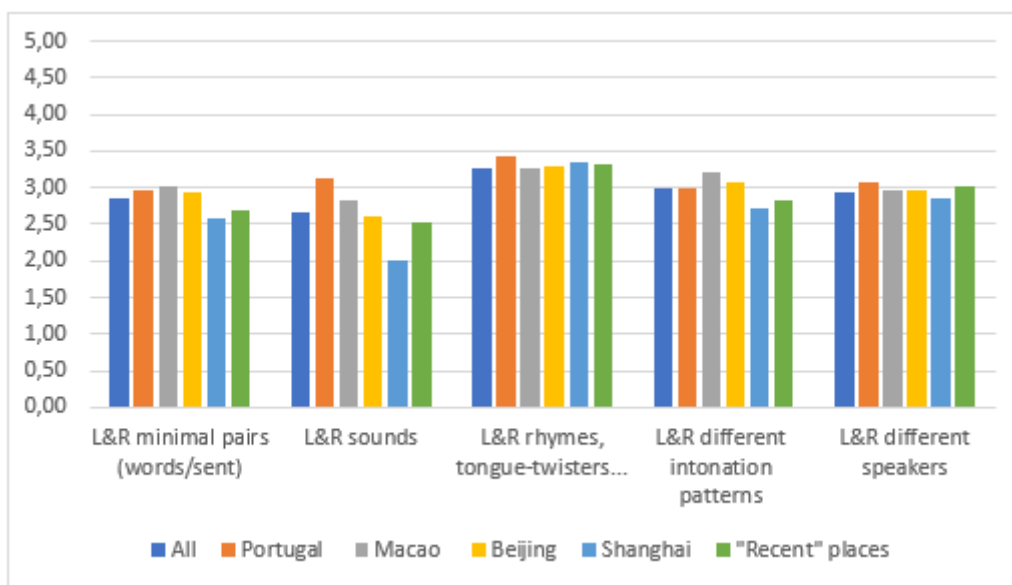
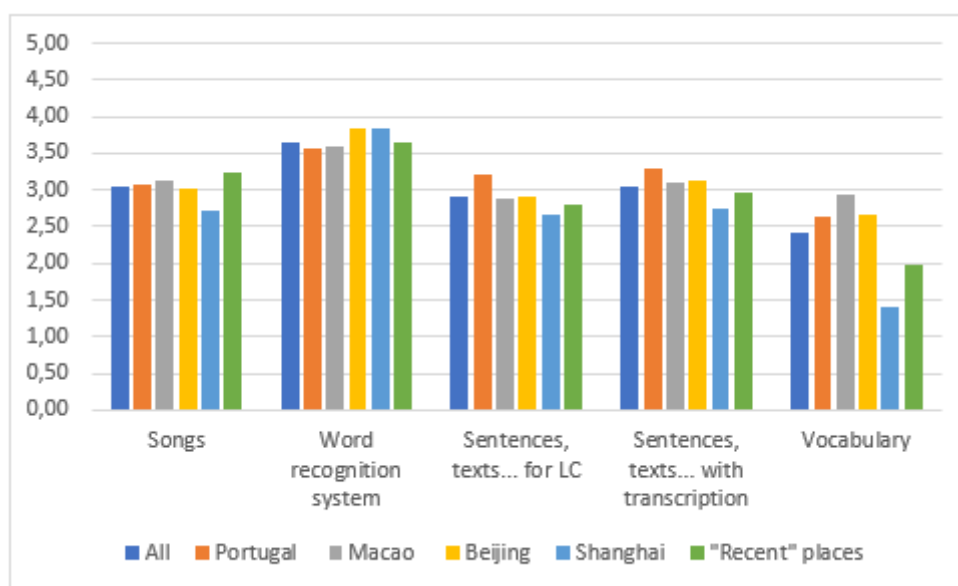


Chart 8 – Mean need levels for different CALL materials, according to the geographical region of some participant groups



By comparing the means in the need levels reported by the participant groups with distinct geographical regions, it is possible to identify slight differences. The participants in Portugal underline more the need for materials on sounds to repeat and larger units (rhymes, sentences and texts for listening comprehension tasks or with transcription). The Macao students present higher means (than other student groups) in the demand for materials for intonation and vocabulary. Both Beijing and Shanghai participants show a great interest in a speech recognition system that gives feedback to the students about words' pronunciation. In the opposite direction, the participants in Shanghai present a lower demand for materials related to almost everything else (such as vocabulary, minimal pairs, isolated sounds, songs). The participants studying at more "recent places" stand out for revealing a greater need for songs and a lower demand for materials consisting in recorded lists of vocabulary.

Discussion

Regarding the difficulties in performing tasks of pronunciation and oral understanding, generally the native speakers of Chinese who learn PFL and participated in this study consider the distinction of voicing and of liquid consonants as the most challenging tasks, which are followed in difficulty degree by vowel height and sentence understanding (with this order in BA1 students and the reverse order in the remaining proficiency level groups) and word understanding. Although sentence and word understanding are very important in terms of communication, apparently the participants are more aware of the problems related to segmental properties than those concerning suprasegmentals. This can indicate that the problems in voicing and liquids are really disturbing for the learners and their communication ability or that they simply are more used to pay attention to segmentals and consequently are more aware of problems at this level.

Interestingly, however, these results greatly coincide with those of a study in which ten teachers of PFL rated the difficulties of their Chinese students (CASTELO *et al.*, 2018). In both studies voicing, liquids, vowel height and sentence understanding appear in the top four positions as the most difficult tasks, although the descending order of difficulty was partially different in the Castelo *et al.* (2018) study: (1) voicing, (2) sentence understanding, (3) vowel height, and (4) liquids during the 1st semester of learning; (1) voicing, (2) vowel height, (3) liquids, and (4) sentence understanding during the advanced levels of learning. Also, several other authors, based on their teaching experience or in experimental data, referred to voicing, vowel height and liquids as major challenges in the process of learning Portuguese pronunciation for Chinese learners (e.g. WANG, 1991; NUNES, 2015; ZHOU, 2017). The inclusion of [z], [ʒ] pronunciation among the least difficult is partially in line with the results of CASTELO (2018): in that study these fricatives presented a higher success rate than the voiced plosives (success rates: 77% in [z], 45% in [ʒ] vs. 14% in [d], 41% in [g]).

Nonetheless, there are also some “discrepancies” between the learners’ perceptions in this study and the expectable results in terms of difficulties in pronunciation and oral understanding. For instance, the assignment of a low difficulty level to the nasal diphthongs contrasts with the description presented by Wang (1991). Also, the learners studying in places with less tradition in PFL strangely report lower means of difficulty levels, which could be attributed to a lower awareness level of their problems.

Concerning the needs for CALL materials, the responses of all participants indicate that the most needed resources comprise (1) a system to verify the correct pronunciation of words, (2) recorded rhymes, poems and tongue twisters to listen and repeat, (3) songs, and (4) audio sentences or texts with written transcription. Also, the results generally show very small differences between the distinct proficiency groups and allow for more distinctions in terms of geographical groups. For instance, in Beijing and Shanghai, with an important tradition in teaching PFL, the mean need level for a (more sophisticated) speech recognition system what would give the learners feedback on words production is higher than in other regions; in the “recent places”, it is the mean need level for songs that is higher (than in other geographical regions).

It is also worth noting that the results related to the needs for CALL materials may exhibit some inconsistencies between the claimed difficulties and the desired CALL materials. For example, generally the learners refer to more difficulties in segmentals, but simultaneously they require especially for CALL materials based on larger units such as rhymes, poems, songs, and audio sentences or texts with written transcription. However, these inconsistencies do not occur in all cases (for instance, Macao and Beijing respondents present a high degree of coherence between their problems and the gap they find in the available CALL materials) and it is also possible that the difficulties persist in spite of the fact that some textbooks already include the convenient audio materials for dealing with segmental issues, namely isolated sounds and minimal pairs (of words or sentences).

Taking into consideration the above-presented data, the creation of new CALL materials to help the Chinese learners of PFL to improve their oral skills in a more autonomous way should present the following prioritisation:

- 1st: word recognition system, recorded rhymes, poems, tongue twisters, songs or texts with written transcription, dealing with voicing, liquids and vowel height – for learners of all proficiency levels;
- 2nd: recorded rhymes, poems, tongue twisters, songs or texts with written transcription, used to address text and word understanding – also for learners of all proficiency levels;
- 3rd: word recognition system, recorded rhymes, poems, tongue twisters, songs or texts with written transcription, as well as sentences with different intonations, used to

improve the use of intonation and word stress – especially for BA1 and Master learners;
 - 4th: word recognition system and minimal pairs (integrated or not in oral texts), dealing with [ʌ], [ɲ], [R] as well as nasal vowels and diphthongs – especially for BA1 learners.

Concluding remarks

The results of this study include the difficulties in pronunciation and oral understanding tasks as well as the needs for CALL materials to improve those skills that Chinese learners of different proficiency levels perceive in their learning process of PFL. Interestingly, the difficulties highlighted by the learners greatly coincide with those identified in previous studies. The combination of difficulties and needs for CALL materials allowed me to identify which CALL materials should be made available to the Chinese learners of PFL for them to improve their oral skills in a more autonomous way and also contributed to show which materials can be useful in different moments of the students' learning process.

Besides, the difficulties and desires revealed by the participants showed that even in higher proficiency levels CALL materials to address pronunciation and oral understanding issues are in need.

Finally, this approach of needs analysis and clients' views inquiry might have some limitations, but in general it proved to be very helpful in bringing out data that complement and/or confirm the previous empirical evidence of abilities and difficulties in pronunciation and oral understanding. Actually, in this particular context, this approach is a safer way to prioritise the several tasks the teachers, researchers and didactic materials designers have to deal with, in order to promote that more and more Chinese voices develop their oral skills in Portuguese.

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FOUNDER EFFECT IN TUPIAN LANGUAGES¹ EFEITO FUNDADOR NAS LÍNGUAS TUPI

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ABSTRACT

Since Mayr (1954, 1963), it has been observed that territorial expansions may cause *founder effects*, reducing the genetic variability of the founder population. A similar effect has been reported within linguistic typology, as the phonemic inventory size of a language is reduced due to territorial dispersal of its speakers. Atkinson (2011) analyzes global present-day phoneme inventory size as a reflection of a serial founder effect caused by human exodus out of Africa during the Paleolithic period: the further a language is from eastern-southern Africa, the smaller its phonemic inventory is. Recent studies have shown that this founder effect may interact with other factors such as population size, language contact and isolation. In the present study, we analyze the phonemic effects of the dispersal of Tupi-Guarani people. Taking the basins of Madeira and Guaporé rivers to be the birthplace of Proto-Tupi (RODRIGUES, 1964), we investigated whether physical distance from Madeira-Guaporé is related with phonemic clines within Tupi-Guarani languages located in the southwest region of South America. We also analyzed whether population size is a significant factor, but it did not interact with phonemic inventory size. A variance test, however, showed that languages in the Madeira-Guaporé region present, among themselves, more vocalic variation than southwest Tupi-Guarani languages. This result is compatible with a founder effect. Contrasting with Tupi languages spoken in Madeira-Guaporé, southwest Tupi-Guarani languages are quite harmonious with respect to vowels, presenting two symmetrical series of nasal and oral vowels. This result and the general discursion we present here converse with studies on reconstruction of Proto Tupian languages, and with investigations on the mental representation of vowels and consonants (NESPOR et al., 2003). If vowels are markers of structural relations, we predict that there is more structural cohesion (less parametric variation) among Southwest Tupi-Guarani than among Tupi languages at Madeira-Guaporé.

KEYWORDS: Founder effect; Territorial dispersal; Genetic variation; Phonemic inventory; Vowels.

1 This paper is in honor of Aryon Dall'Igna Rodrigues, who devoted his life to understand native languages. As the reader will see, the research we are advancing here would not be possible without Rodrigues's contribution to linguistics. I was his student at UnB and, as I truly admired his work, I promised myself that I would do research on Brazilian native languages once I had grown older...I guess it is, thus, about time for me to start fulfilling my promise. I am also deeply thankful to Henrique Rajão/PUC-Rio, who is my *Virgilio* in the divine realms of biology and evolution, and to Marci Fillet Martins/Museu Nacional/UFRJ, my *Breatrice*, my consult on a myriad of issues related to paradise - Brazilian native language and culture. Also, I am in debt with Thomas Krahe/PUC-Rio and Monica Chaves/PUC-Rio, who used their mental powers and generosity to help me with statistics. A thank you note goes also to everybody who carefully read and comment on the final version of the paper, especially the reviewers of *Diadorim*. The best of doing research is the possibility of learning with and from others. Of course, all misunderstandings and misanalyses are my fault.

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RESUMO

Desde Mayr (1954, 1963), tem-se observado que as expansões territoriais causam *efeito fundador*: o grupo que se desgarra do original (i. e. grupo fundador) apresenta menor variabilidade genética. Efeito similar tem sido relatado na linguística: o número de fonemas de uma determinada língua se reduz como resultado de expansões territoriais. Atkinson (2011) analisa o tamanho do inventário fonêmico de diversas línguas modernas como reflexo da diáspora africana durante o período paleolítico: quanto mais longe uma língua estiver do leste/sudeste da África, menor será o seu inventário fonêmico (efeito fundador seriado). Estudos recentes sugerem que esse efeito pode interagir com outros fatores como tamanho da população e contato e isolamento linguístico. O presente estudo analisa os efeitos fonêmicos da dispersão territorial dos povos Tupi-Guarani. Tomando as bacias dos Rio Madeira e Guaporé na Amazônia como local de origem do Proto-Tupi (RODRIGUES, 1964), investigamos se há interação entre distância física deste ponto-origem e tamanho do inventário fonêmico das línguas Tupi-Guarani modernas faladas no sudoeste da América do Sul. Analisamos também se o número de falantes é fator significativo, mas não houve interação com o tamanho do inventário fonêmico das línguas consideradas. Teste de variância, no entanto, constatou que as línguas Tupi da região Madeira-Guaporé apresentam, entre elas, maior variação vocálica do que as línguas Tupi-Guarani do sudoeste. Esse resultado é compatível com o efeito fundador relatado acima. Em contraste com a línguas do Madeira-Guaporé, as línguas Tupi-Guarani do sudoeste são muito harmoniosas entre si, apresentando duas series simétricas de vogais nasais e orais. Este resultado e os fatos gerais aqui apresentados dialogam com análises de reconstrução de Protolínguas dentro do tronco Tupi, mas também com investigações sobre representações mentais de consonantes e vogais (NESPOR et al., 2003). Considerando que as vogais são marcadores de relações estruturais, lançamos a previsão de há menos variação paramétrica entre as línguas Tupi-Guarani investigadas do que entre as línguas Tupi faladas no Madeira-Guaporé.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Efeito fundador; Variação genética; Dispersão territorial; Inventário fonêmico; Vogais.

Introduction

The United Nations has declared 2019 the international year of indigenous languages. This initiative is based upon the fact that the majority of endangered languages are indigenous. According to the *Ethnologue – Languages of the World* (LEWIS, 2009)³, there are around 7.000 living languages, and 95% of them have less than one million speakers (average of 600.000 speakers per language). Thus, most of the living languages are spoken by native people and, unfortunately, the future prospect for these languages is rather sobering. It is estimated that half of them will be lost by 2100 (NETTLE & ROMAINE, 2000; CRYSTAL, 2000), with the rate of language death being around 9 languages per year, as 1 language dies every 40 days (SIMONS, 2019).

According to the 2009 version of the *Ethnologue*, 473 languages are nearly extinct, most of them being located in the following countries:

Table 1: countries with the biggest number of nearly extinct languages

	Country	Number of nearly extinct languages
1	Australia	97
2	USA	74
3	Brazil	37
4	Papua New Guinea	31
5	Canada	19

(Based on information from *Ethnologue*. https://www.ethnologue.com/16/nearly_extinct/)

The fact that Brazil is in third place in the rank above is a highly worrisome situation

that calls for immediate awareness and actions from Brazilian authorities and academics (e.g. educators, linguists, anthropologists and social health researchers, among others). It is important to develop academic, social, cultural and political strategies to give native people support and motivation to keep their languages alive. Documenting native languages in detail, especially those on the path of extinction, is equally important, as it is a *sine qua non* condition to guarantee future research on fundamental duets such as nature & nurture, culture & biology, diversity & universals.

In this paper, we illustrate the importance of language preservation and documentation considering the so-called *founder effect* (MAYR, 1954, 1963). Acknowledging a reported positive correlation between phonemic reduction and territorial expansions (ATKINSON, 2011), I will focus on the Tupian languages spoken within South America, evaluating, as a working hypothesis, if there is a cline in the phoneme inventories of these languages as a reflection of their distance from the basins of the rivers Guaporé and Madeira (state of Rondônia/Brazil), understood to be the original birthplace of Proto-Tupi, the common ancestor of all Tupian languages.

Research on founder effects and its consequent decrease on genetic and linguistic variability is an important piece of the evolution puzzle, shedding light on our origins and also on the driving forces behind evolution of diversity. By pushing forward investigations on possible phoneme reduction among the Tupian languages, we want to understand how territorial dispersal affects language diversity, and what it shows us about evolution of language. We also want to call attention to the potential contributions of Brazilian native people to this line of research. In addition, we want to join efforts with Brazilian and non-Brazilian linguistics to comprehend Tupian languages and to raise awareness about the importance of preserving and documenting them.

We truly hope that the investigation presented in the following pages makes the point that native languages are valuable pieces of information about whom we all are.

The paper is organized as follows: in section 2, a brief discussion of the founder effect within genetics is given. The goal of this section is to inform the reader about the research environment in which the term *founder effect* was first coined. In section 3, we discuss Atkinson's (2011) parallelism between genetic decay and phonemic reduction as a consequence of the first terrestrial expansion of *Homo sapiens* exodus out of Africa. Atkinson's conclusion is that, similarly to what is observed in genetics, reductions on phonemic variability within a given population X reflect the physical distance separating X from southern-eastern Africa, the possible original departing point of humans, and possibly the birthplace of language. As we will discuss, Atkinson's correlation was further investigated on large samples of populations and languages, reaching some interesting conclusions about other factors, such as population size, language contact and isolation. In section 4, we bring into this discussion the territorial

expansion of the Tupian people. As presented in section 4.1, a genetic cline related to this expansion has already been reported. In section 4.2, taking into account the hypothesis that Proto-Tupi emerged on the Madeira-Guaporé basins, we present a sample of the research we are currently conducting, contrasting the size of phoneme inventories of Tupian languages spoken in the region Madeira-Guaporé (languages from Tupian families) with the size of phoneme inventories of the Tupi-Guarani languages spoken in the south of South America. The main goal of the present paper is to verify whether the dispersal of Tupi-Guarani from Amazon (Rondônia) to southwest caused a linguistic founder effect. Section 5 is dedicated to conclusions.

Founder effect in genetics

Similarly, to the relation phoneme-allophones, genes, the constant units of heredity, have a number of alternate forms called alleles, which are responsible for most differences among individuals.

Humans (an example of diploid organisms) are composed by pairs of the same gene, one inherited from the father, the other from the mother. If these two genes have the same allele, the organism is homozygous. If, in contrast, the two genes have different alleles, the organism is heterozygous. In an ideal, stable population of diploid organisms, a quasi-equilibrium is attained (variance close to the mean 0.5), with heterozygosity guaranteeing a normal rate of allele variability within the group (see RIDLEY, 2004; FUTUYMA, 2005; MAYR, 2013). It is important to observe that allele variability is desirable as it increases the number of successful responses that a species can give to processes driven by natural selection and random drifts.

Natural selection is a blind evolutionary force that shapes the genotype of a species, and it plays only with the genetic material it has at hands. Thus, suppose that a gene *A* (color) has two alleles *A* & *a* (black & white), but only *A* (black) fits well with certain changes in the environment (pollution, for example), then a population that has a high frequency of *A* will have a better chance of surviving in the new environment⁴. Conversely, if allele *A* is not present in the population, the chances of survival decrease. In general, then, heterozygous populations will always have a better chance of adaption⁵.

Natural selection, however, is not the only force in the play of evolution. Events such as epidemics, natural disasters, lethal contacts with other groups or species, and/or migrations, can be equally powerful in shaping a species' genotype as they cause a random sampling of alleles. That is, as a consequence of one of these events, a population may go through a bottleneck⁶,

4 This is well illustrated by the change in color (white vs. melanic) in peppered moths (*Bristol betularia*), see Cook *et al.* (2012).

5 A great example of heterozygous advantage is the interplay between thalassemia and malarial resistance, see Cavalli-Sforza (2001).

6 A bottleneck happens when the size of a population remains very small for at least one generation.

experiencing a decrease in size, an actual reduction in the number of individuals. As a result, a drift occurs, randomly shifting the frequency (proportion) of alleles in that population.

Important to our topic of discussion, the effects of genetic drifts are stronger in small populations than in large ones. To see this, imagine that you have two sets of coins, one with 100 units and the other with only 10 units. If you flip the coins, it is likely that the ratio head-tail will deviate more from the point of equilibrium (50-50 ratio) in the 10-coin set than in the 100-coin set. The same rationale applies to genetic drifts: a stochastic allelic assortment to form a small new population is likely to under-represent the allele frequency of the original population. Also important is the fact that drifts have an accumulative effect over time: the changes in frequency of alleles (i.e. deviance from a point of equilibrium) observed in a given population will increase in magnitude in the next generations. Thus, drift causes an accumulated loss of genetic variability within a given population⁷.

One particular case of genetic drift is the so-called *founder effect* (MAYR, 1954, 1963) defined as “the establishment of a new population by a few original founders (in an extreme case, by a single fertilized female), which carry only a small fraction of the total genetic variation of the parental population” (MAYR, 1963). That is, founder effects are observed in cases of territorial expansions when interbreeding between the new and the original group is not possible. Taking into consideration dispersal of small groups, we can reason that these migrations can lead to bottlenecks, and, consequently, to genetic drifts, putting, thus, genetic equilibrium at risk. Founder populations usually display a reduction in heterozygosity, which reflects a cline in allelic richness, although reduction in allelic richness can be more expressive than reduction in heterozygosity given that allelic reduction can affect rare alleles, which does not really contribute to heterozygosity (BARTON & CHARLESWORTH, 1984; DLUGOSCH & PARKER, 2008; PIERCE et al., 2014; MARQUES & RENESTO, 2017).

Hemiodus orthonops, a small fish endemic from the Paraná-Paraguay basin, has recently migrated to the upper part of the Paraná River, founding new populations. Marques & Renesto (2017) analyzed the genotype of two founder populations, concluding that they both display a low mean of alleles per locus and an excess of homozygotes, which the authors take to be a reflex of founder events during the migration process.

Founder effects have also been intensively studied in cases of accidental or forced isolation of human populations, and, in many of these studies, it has been argued that the arbitrary allele selection observed in these events can foster the permanence of alleles that would be selected against in large populations. For example, the high rate of *Porphyria variegata* (severe reaction to barbiturate anesthetics) in Afrikaners (RIDLEY, 2004) is but one example. The modern populations of Afrikaners are mainly descended from a small number of immigrants

⁷ Notice, however, that, given that drifts cause populations to differ genetically from each other, we can say that drifts cause an increasing in genetic variability between populations. Thus, drifts are responsible for diversity.

(Dutch, Germans and French) that arrived in South Africa in between 1652-1806. Among these immigrants, there was a Dutch couple that migrated from Holland in 1685-1688, carrying the rare *Porphyria-variegata* gene. Nowadays, around 30,000 Afrikaners have this gene, a much higher rate than that observed in Holland, and most of them can be genetically traced back to that couple. Examples can also be found in cases of isolation for political, social and/or religious reason. The Amish and Mennonite communities of North America are instances of social segregations, which led to founder effects. These groups were created in Europe in the 16th century, during the protestant reformation, for religious reasons. However, they were persecuted and some migrated to North America, where they kept themselves isolated, preventing genetic exchanges with outsiders via observation of restricted endogamy mating rules (PAYNE et al., 2011). Among the Amish community of Lancaster, state of Pennsylvania (USA), there is a large incidence of *Ellis-Van Creveld* Syndrome, a rare genetic disorder of skeletal dysplasia, which is autosomal recessive, meaning that both parents have to be carriers of the gene for a child to be affected by the syndrome. As people in these communities keep very good genealogical and health records, it is possible to recover the genetic relations among them, and a series of studies have focused on understanding why they present high rates of this otherwise rare syndrome. McKusick (2000) reports the existence of 50 *Ellis-Van Creveld* children, whose parents are both descendants from Samuel King and his wife, who migrated to Pennsylvania in 1744.

The birthplace of anatomically modern humans is motif of much debate (CAVALLI-SFORSA et al., 1993; CAVALLI-SFORSA 2001; RIDLEY, 2004), but there seems to be a consensus that, around 40.000 B.P.⁸. (Lower Paleolithic period), Europe was populated by waves of humans coming from eastern-southern Africa (CAVALLI-SFORSA et al., 1993; CAVALLI-SFORSA, 2001; RITO et al., 2019)⁹. This was probably the most impressive and the hardest territorial expansion that our species ever did. Having started a radial dispersal from eastern-southern Africa, around 100.000-70.000 B.P. (Upper Paleolithic period), little by little, small groups of humans reached Europe, Asia, Oceania and America. Data from paleoanthropology and archaeology are consistent with the monogenesis hypothesis that takes eastern-southern Africa to be the cradle of modern humans (RITO et al., 2019)¹⁰. Genetic evidence also favors this hypothesis. Africa (specially the eastern-southern area) is the place where genetic diversity is mostly accentuated in the world, even though the generic difference between the major geographically defined modern groups is very slight, 0.7. 93% of genetic variation is present in all human groups, the remaining 7% is responsible for all the differences

8 B.P. = Before present time.

9 There is no strong consensus about the specific region in Africa, as different evidence points towards different areas. However, most researchers accept that it was either eastern or southern Africa, but we still don't know which of the two. One possibility is that humans started in a region within the eastern area and moved in a radial fashion to south, north and west (see CAVALLI-SFORZA, 2001 and RITO et al., 2019).

10 Accepting a weaker interpretation, we might say that this evidence is at least consistent with polygenesis hypotheses, according to which eastern/southern Africa is the main region of human origin, but not the only one.

among us all (RIDLEY, 2004)¹¹. These two facts (concentration of genetic diversity in Africa and the slightness of genetic differences among us all) advocate in favor of the hypothesis that all modern humans share a common African ancestor. It also tells us that the out-of-Africa exodus resulted in loss of genetic variation. Cavalli-Sforza (2001), considering the genetic distance (genetic differences) between African native people and native people from the other four continents (Europe, Asia, Oceania, and America), gives us the percentages on table 2. Based on these percentages, we can more or less infer the path we went through when we expanded from Africa: first we settled in Europe, then in Asia and, latter on, we moved to America and Oceania.

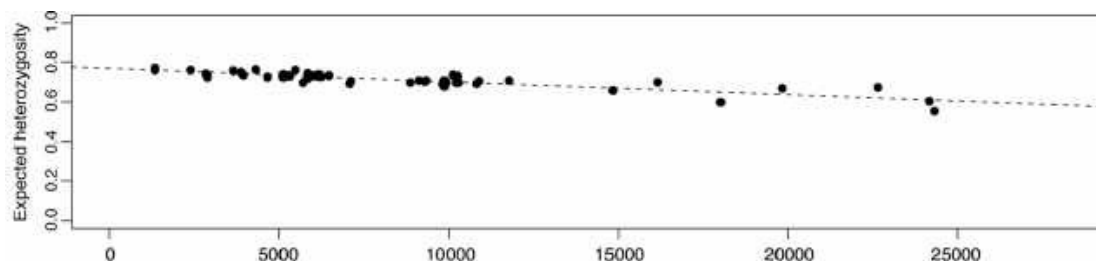
Table 2: genetic distance between Africa and the other continents

Africa	16.6	Europe
	20.6	Asia
	22.6	America
	24.7	Oceania

(based on Cavalli-Sforza, 2001: 52)

Several founder effects accompanied this admirable several-steps territorial dispersal. For example, heterozygosity decreases in a serial fashion as geographic distance from Africa increases, see figure 1 (RAMANCHANDRAN et al., 2005). That is, heterozygosity in a group X reduces in function of X geographical distance from Africa. Hence, American native people have less heterozygosity than Europeans, which in turn have less than Africans.

Figure 1: decay of heterozygosity plotted against geographic distance from Addis Ababa, Ethiopia



(Based on RAMANCHANDRAN et al., 2005)

Another example is the rate of type O blood. Among Native Americans, this rate is 98% (almost 100%), even though they decent from Asians that have only 50% of O. Thus, geneticists entertain the hypothesis that perhaps the first humans to reach America, crossing over the Bering Strait, were carriers of the O allele (CAVALLI-SFORZA, 2001).

As we will see in the next section, the human expansion from Africa might have also been accompanied by a serial founder effect within languages, promoting a cline in phoneme inventories.

¹¹ When we compare ourselves to other species, this low percentage becomes quite emphatic. See Ridley, 2004:365 for a comparison.

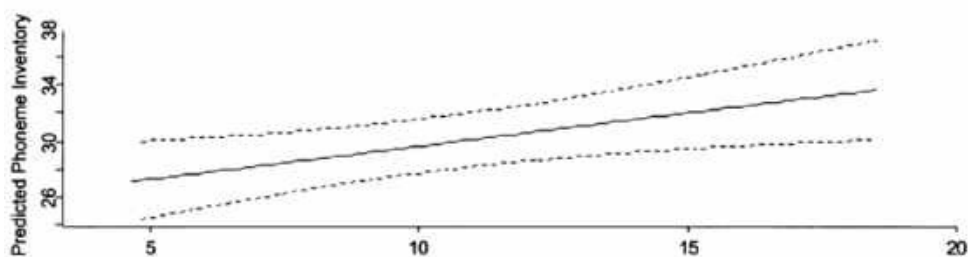
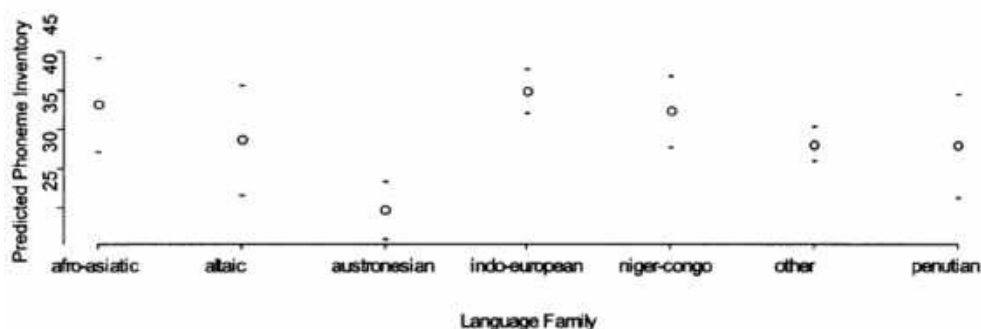
Founder effect in linguistics

In language typology, a positive correlation between phoneme inventory size and population size has been observed. Languages spoken by large populations have more phonemes than languages spoken by small populations (TRUDGILL, 2005; HAY & BAUER, 2007).

Hay & Bauer (2007) verified this correlation statistically in a sample of 216 languages, including languages with a large number of speakers, as English (Indo-European) and Hindi (Indo-European), and languages spoken by “few” speakers, such as Basque (isolated), Diyari (Pama-Nyungan, Australian Aboriginal) Hixkaryana (Cariban, Amazon/Brazil)¹². They considered various subgroups of phonemes. Vowel segments were divided in monophthongs and diphthongs, and monophthongs were further divided in basic monophthongs, which differ in quality only, and extra monophthongs, which differ in nonquality features, such as length and nasalization. Consonants were separated in plosives, fricatives, obstruents and sonorants.

Their results show a positive population-size-phoneme-inventory-size correlation: for any given language, the bigger the number of speakers, the bigger the phonemic inventory is. Thus, language families with a big number of speakers have more phonemes than language families with a small number of speakers, as shown in figure 2.

Figure 2: Increase in phoneme inventory size plotted against language family (first graphic) and against population size (second graphic)



(HAY & BAUER, 2007: 393)

Interestingly, as the *p* values in *table 3* show, when all phonemes are grouped together, a very strong positive correlation is obtained. However, as acknowledged by the authors, sonorant

¹² !Xu (!Xu, Africa) and Acooli (Nilo-Saharan, Uganda/Africa) were both eliminated from the sample as they show values more than four standard deviations above the mean. !Xu for total consonants and Acooli for total monophthongs

consonants, as well as the group of all vowels/monophthongs are less affected by fluctuations in population size.

Table 3: Spearman correlation between means of language family, population and phoneme inventory size

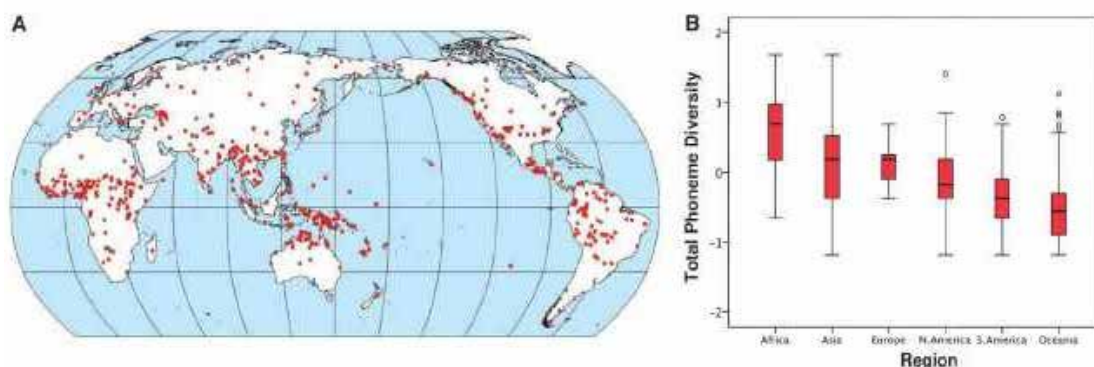
CORRELATION WITH	RHO	$p <$
All phonemes	.46	0.003
Basic monophthongs	.47	0.002
All monophthongs	.2	0.2
Diphthongs	.53	0.001
Plosives	.33	0.05
Fricatives	.53	0.001
Sonorants	.24	0.13
Obstruents	.43	0.005
All consonants	.45	0.005

(HAY & BAUER, 2007: 394)

Hay & Bauer (2007) did not really offer any explanation for this reported correlation, and Trudgill (2005) reasoned the size of a phoneme inventory might actually be related to the number of neighboring a language has, with languages in contact displaying more phonemes. However, it has been recently argued that languages with many neighbors present less phonemic variability than isolated ones (CREANZA et al., 2015).

Atkinson (2011) analyzes global present-day phoneme inventory (consonants, vowels and tones) size as a reflex of a serial founder effect caused by the human expansion from Africa during the Paleolithic period (see section 2). A statistical analysis was conducted on a sample of 504 modern languages from different families, located in different continents (figure 3/A). The data were extracted from *WALS – The world Atlas of Languages Structures* (DRYER & HASPELMATH, 2005). The results are in accordance with the conclusion that population size is a prediction of phoneme inventory size. They also indicate a positive correlation between phoneme reduction and physical distance from Africa: the further a language is from eastern Africa, the smaller its phoneme inventory is. As shown in figure 3/B, the highest level of phonemic diversity is in Africa, whereas the lowest is in South America and Oceania. Thus, the last continents to be occupied by humans are the ones that exhibit less phonemic diversity.

Figure 3: A: location of the 504 sampled languages, B: overall phoneme diversity plotted against region



(ATKINSON, 2011: 333)

Atkinson (2011) argues that the obtained results are in accordance with a serial founder effect parallel to that related to decay of genetic diversity (see table 2). The author's line of reasoning is that the human exodus from Africa resulted in a reduction of population size, bottlenecks, that led to imperfect phonemic transmissions, and, consequently to serial phonemic clines.

Many researchers reviewed Atkinson results. Cysouw et al. (2012), for example, tried to replicate them, using UPSID database -*UCLA Phonological Segment Inventory Database* - (MADDIESON & PRECODA, 1990) together with tone inventories from WALS¹³. Contrastively, their statistical results point towards two origin places, eastern Africa and Caucasus. Also, the authors observe that the population-size-phonemic-inventory-size correlation is obtained for large populations only. It reaches strong significance (at the 5% level) only when languages with a hundred thousand speakers or more are included in the sample. Thus, it is very likely that the purported correlation would not hold for the Paleolithic hunter-gatherer groups that left Africa (see also CREANZA et al., 2015; FLEMING, 2017 on this matter). Cysouw et al. also wonder why phonemes, as opposed to other properties of language, are sensitive to population size (bottlenecks) and founder effects. The authors show that, if Atkinson comparative methodology is applied to other language properties, many dispersed sites are located as possible points of origin. For example, Uradhian languages (Australia) exhibit the largest number of reduplication processes, while Yupikian languages (Eurasian-North American border) display the most complex syllable structure¹⁴.

Taking phoneme inventory sizes as the basis for an analysis of language evolution, Perreault & Mathew (2012) conclude that languages spoken by a large number of individuals increase their phoneme inventories over time. The authors developed an ingenious model for calculating the rate at which languages accumulate phonemes. They took into consideration the first human occupation of the region spanning from the coast of southern India to the Malay Peninsula, which was called population A. Around 65.000-45.000 B.P., A dispersed, at the same time, over the southeast of Asia, founding population B, and over Andaman Islands/Indian Ocean, founding population C. Languages spoken by modern B & C differ in two aspects: B languages have a much larger number of speakers than C languages; and 41.2 is the average number of phonemes in B languages, while 24 is average in C languages. Assuming that the phonemic inventory size of C languages did not really change since the region was colonized, Perreault & Mathew took 24 to be the representative number of phonemes of the language that came from Africa with population A. Hence, based on (a) the elapsed time since colonization

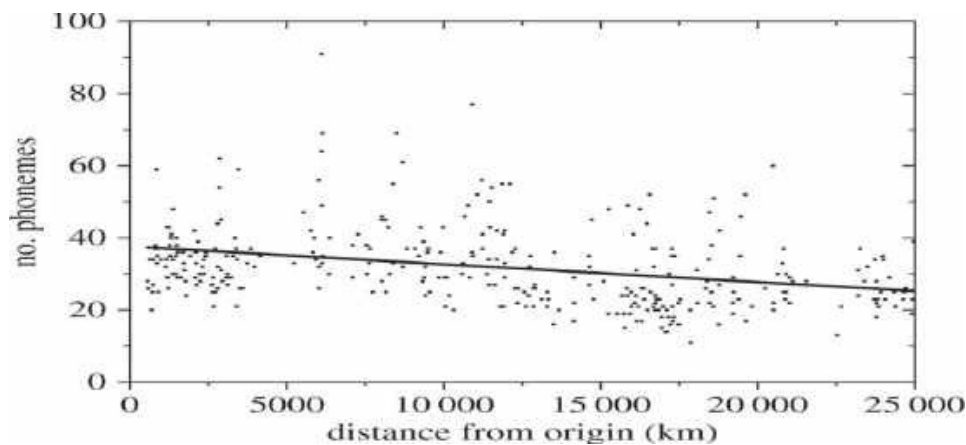
¹³ According to the authors, WALS database puts too much weight on the numbers of vowels and tones, which might have pushed Atkinson's statistical results towards southwestern Africa as the original common place for modern languages.

¹⁴ See Cysouw's et al. supplemental material.

of B & C (65.000-45.000 B.P.); (b) the average of the phoneme inventory of modern language spoken in B (41.2), and (c) the approximate phoneme inventory size for first language A (24), the authors calculated that the phoneme inventories of languages B increased at rate between 0.26 and 0.38 per 1.000-year period.

Considering all the facts above, and based on statistical analysis of 366 languages whose phonemic inventories were recorded in both WALS and UPSID, Fort & Pérez-Losada (2016) revisited Atkinson's results and conclusions. Their simulations also resulted in a phonemic cline that is compatible with a serial founder effect (see figure 4). However, they observe that these results hold only under three assumptions posited by Perreault & Mathew (2012): (a) phonemes accumulate in a rate between 0.26 and 0.38 per 1.000-year period, (b) at the onset of the out-of-Africa dispersal, languages had small phonemic inventories (around 11 segments); (c) the rate of phoneme accumulation depends on population size.

Figure 4: number of phonemes (366 languages) plotted against distance (Km) from



Africa (FORT & PÉREZ-LOSADA, 2016: 3)

Another interesting observation on the endless discussion about the way language might have evolved is offered by Fleming (2017). Fleming answers Cysouw's et al. worries about Atkinson's emphasis on phonemes and on Eastern/Southern Africa as the origin point, by considering consonantal clicks. Consonantal clicks occur as phonemes only among Khoisan languages, which are found across eastern and southern Africa¹⁵. The largest phonemic inventories are found within these languages and this is entirely due to the presence of clicks. !Xóõ (Tuu family), for example, has 119 phonemes, of which 80 are clicks (MILLER, 2011). Following Hockett's (1960) observation that duality of patterning was one of the last features of language to emerge, Fleming reasons that a human protolanguage was probably a monoplanar system, which means it was a communication system in which minimal units of form are directly

¹⁵ Greenberg (1963) grouped these languages together as Khoisan, but they are not related genealogically, their common feature being the presence of consonantal clicks. (GÜLDEMANN, 2007). Maybe Khoisan can be understood as an areal language family in the sense of Campbell (2015).

mapped into meaning. Given that a monoplanar system requires a large inventory of minimal units in order to be able to refer to a good amount of entities and situations, clicks might have been part of human protolanguage because they can be simultaneously produced with other segments, multiplying phonemic distinctions. Hence, the fact that these elements are still part of the phonemic inventories of Khoisan languages might be evidence that language evolve in Africa, and, in the latest stages of its evolution, when duality of patterning was added, the clicks from the previous stage were kept. As the small hunter-gatherer groups of humans distanced themselves from Eastern-Southern Africa, they did not have contact with other click languages and, consequently, did not keep clicks in their phonemic repertoires, which were consequently reduced.

At any rate, before we go on, a proviso is in order. Studies and findings on genetics and linguistics do not walk hand in hand, especially in evolution, where different types of forces are at play. Not always, there is a match between genetics and linguistics. For example, Ethiopians are genetically related to Africans, but they speak languages that are Afroasiatic, which occur in the north of Africa and in the Middle East, where people are genetically Caucasoids (CAVALLI-SFORZA, 2001). This is due to the fact that genetic information is passed only vertically, from parents to offsprings, while linguistic information is arguably passed vertically and horizontally between genetically unrelated individuals. Also, language changes are much faster and more common than genetic changes, mutations. That is, genetic properties are more stable than language properties, although not all properties of language are equal with respect to this. Grammatical features are presumably more stable than phonemic features. As for Atkinson's hypothesis, it should be observed, as Sproat (2011) and Fort & Pérez-Losada (2016) did, that the reported phonemic reduction can result from a serial founder effect either because small populations lose phonemic diversity or because big populations gain it.

In what follows, we present part of our research on phonemic diversity within South American languages. Here we show that the dispersal of the Tupi-Guarani people from Amazon to the southern region of South America led to loss of variability in the vowel system. This is the first time this linguistic research is conducted and we believe it can add to the general discussion presented above, as reconstruction of the territorial dispersal of South America natives is relatively easier to be traced when compared to migrations during the Paleolithic period, like the human exodus out of Africa. Also, within the same language stock, all languages are genealogically related. This allows us to observe in a more direct and transparent way the effects of territorial dispersal over a phonemic inventory, steering away from big differences among language families/stocks. In addition, given that almost all South American native languages are spoken by small groups, we can put aside questions about correlations between population size and phoneme inventory size (SPROAT, 2011 and FORT & PÉREZ-LOSADA,

2016). Therefore, South American native languages might be good models for understanding the effects of territorial dispersal on human language.

The territorial dispersal of the Tupian people within Brazil

Before the European colonization of South America, the Amerindians were already spread out, as shown in figure 5¹⁶. Notice that Tupi is one of the biggest language stocks, and it is largely concentrated within Brazil.

Figure 5: Native languages spoken in South America before the European colonization







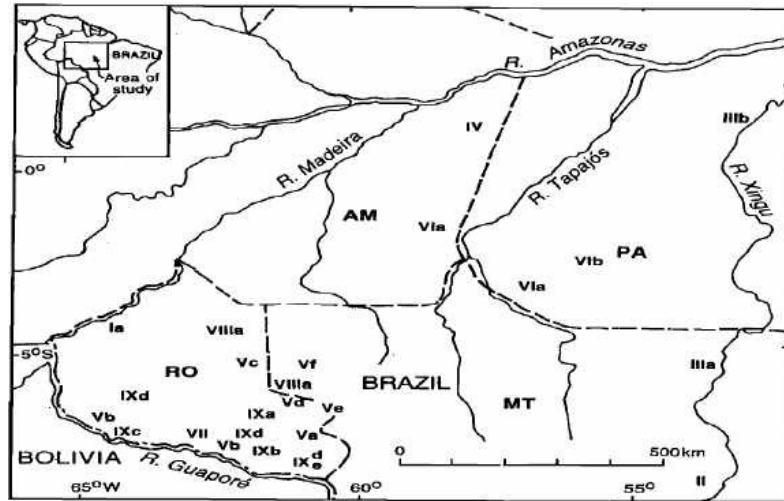
(from https://pt.wikipedia.org/wiki/L%C3%ADnguas_do_Brasil)

Tupi branches in 10 families: Arikén, Awetí, Juruna, Mauwé, Mondé, Mundurukú, Puruborá, Ramaráma, Tuparí and Tupi-Guarani (RODRIGUES, 1986, 2007a, RODRIGUES & DIETRICH, 1997). The map bellow (Figure 6) shows the approximated location of these families and their languages, except Tupi-Guarani, which we will discuss later.

Tupi branches in 10 families: Arikén, Awetí, Juruna, Mauwé, Mondé, Mundurukú, Puruborá, Ramaráma, Tuparí and Tupi-Guarani (RODRIGUES, 1986, 2007a, RODRIGUES & DIETRICH, 1997). The map bellow (Figure 6) shows the approximated location of these families and their languages, except Tupi-Guarani, which we will discuss later.

¹⁶ For a recent overview of the history of Brazilian native languages, see Duarte (2016).

Figure 6: approximated locations of Tupian languages. I **Arikém** (a. Karitiana, b:  Arikém), II **Awetí** (Awetí), III **Juruna** (a. Juruna, b. Xipaya, c.  Minitawá), IV **Mawé** (Mawé), V **Mondé** (a. Mondé, b. Aruá, c. Gavião, d. Suruí, e. Cinta-larga; f. Zoró), VI **Mundurukú** (a. Mundurukú, b. Kuruáya), VII **Puruborá** (Puruborá), VIII **Ramaráma** (a. Karo, b.  Urumi), IX **Tupari** (a. Tupari, b. Wayoró, c. Menkéns, d. Makuráp, e. Sakirabiát,  Kepkiriwát)



(RODRIGUES, 2007, p. 108)

Five of these families are located either within Rondônia or in an area nearby (GABAS, 2006, RODRIGUES 2007a). Some languages of the Kawahib complex, a cluster belonging to Tupi-Guarani, are located in this region as well. Based on this, Rodrigues (1964) proposed that the Proto-Tupi language emerged somewhere at the basins of Madeira and Guaporé rivers (Henceforth MGR- Madeira-Guaporé Region).

In general, there is a consensus from history, archeology, anthropology, linguistics and genetics with respect to the broad region where Tupi first emerged. The bulk of evidence suggests that the Tupian motherland was located in the central-western Amazon, in the area bounded by the rivers Amazon on north, Tocantins on east, Madeira and Guaporé on west, Guaporé on south, (See NOELLI (1996) for a detailed discussion). Archeological approaches (LATHRAP, 1970; BROCHADO, 1984) consider that the original point was in Central-Amazon, on the confluence of Amazon and Madeira Rivers. Lathrap also hypothesized that Tupians, pressed by the Arawak people, migrated towards south. Linguists, on the other hand, concluded that Proto-Tupi originated at MGR (RODRIGUES, 1964). Notice that these two approaches (Archeology (Lathrap/Brochado) and Linguistics (Rodrigues)) are not totally incompatible. If Lathrap's hypothesis is right, a migration southwards would place the Tupian people around MGR.

Also, based on glottochronology, it is estimated that Proto-Tupi emerged 5.000 B.P. (RODRIGUES, 1964; URBAN, 1992, 1996), and the first Tupi languages (which are language families nowadays), including Proto-Tupi-Guarani, started branching out around 3.000 B.P.

The Tupi-Guarani family is special in many ways. First, it is the biggest branch of the Tupian tree, being composed by approximately 40 languages, which were divided by Rodrigues (1985) in eight different groups based on grammatical similarities (See also RODRIGUES & CABRAL, 2002; RODRIGUES & CABRAL, 2012; GABAS, 2006; MICHAEL et al, 2015, among others). Table 4 presents the Tupi-Guarani languages organized in the eight groups proposed by Rodrigues (1985).

Table 4: Tupi-Guarani languages

Família Tupi-Guarani							
Ramo I	Ramo II	Ramo III	Ramo IV	Ramo V	Ramo VI	Ramo VII	Ramo VIII
Guaraní Antigo	Guarayu	Tupinambá	Assuriní	Kayabí	Parintintín	Kamaiurá	Takunyapé
Guaraní Mbya	Sirionó	Língua Geral Paulista	Tapirapé	Assuriní Xingu	Tupi-Kawahíb		Emerrillon
Xetá	Jora (Bolívia)	Nheengatu (Língua Geral Amazônica)	Ava Canoeiro	Araweté	Apiaká		Ka'apor
Nandeva	Cocama		Suruí				Wayampí
Kaiwá	Cocamilla		Parakanã				Amanayé
Guarani Paraguaio	Omagua		Guajajára				Anambé
Guayakí			Tembé				Turiwara
Tapieté							Guajá
Chiriguano (Guarani da Bolívia)							
Izoceño							

(DUARTE, 2016)

As table 4 shows, the Tupi-Guarani languages are spread in a vast area within South America. If the center of dispersal was MGR (around 3.000 B.P.), the Tupi-Guarani people spread out in a radial fashion towards north, south and east. Archeological data indicate that around 2.000 B.P. they had already settled down in the south of Brazil, in the states of Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul (NOELLI, 1996).

Urban (1996) presents an interesting discussion on the territorial expansion of the Tupi-Guarani people. The reasons for why they migrated are unknown. As Urban puts it, it could have been for many reasons: search for a new ecological niche, and introduction of new cultigen in the agriculture system, use of new transportation mode (canoe), new cosmology (search for an earthly paradise), new orientation in terms of space. Although we don't know the reasons

Tupian populations: genetic founder effect

Genetic data on Amerindians are scarce. However, there is enough evidence that local (within the continent) ancient migrations caused a genetic founder effect, with founder populations presenting less genetic variability.

Based on a statistical analysis of allelic-variability markers on 22 native Amerindians populations, Yang et al. (2010) reports a serial continent-wise decrease in variability from north to south. Populations located in the south present a gradual reduction in variability, when compared to those located in the north. Studies with Brazilian Amerindians have reached similar results. Ramallo et al. (2013) analyzed variation among different groups of Jê and Tupi-Guarani, concluding that Tupi-Guarani populations, as opposed to Jê groups, present an isolation-by-distance genetic pattern. More recently Santos et al. (2015), focusing on Tupi populations, concluded that the territorial dispersal of Tupians caused a founder effect¹⁸.

Considering different types of genetic markers inherited in patrilineal (Y-chromosome) and matrilineal (mtDNA) way, Santos et al. (2015) screened data from different Tupi populations looking for variability. Taking MGR to be the birthplace of Tupi, the authors then contrasted data from Tupian groups located in MGR (Zoró, Gavião, Suruí, Cinta Larga, Karitiana) with data from groups located outside MGR (Mundurukú, Asuriní do Trocará, Asuriní do Coatinemo, Araweté, Urubú-Ka'apor, Parakanã, Awá-Guajá, Wayampi, Zoé, Aché, Guarani). Thus, their analysis contemplated data from populations that had expanded to south (e.g. Guarani, located all over south of Brazil) and to north (e.g. Wayampi, located in the border between Brazil and French Guiana) and northeast of Brazil (e. g. Urubú-Ka'apor, located in the State of Maranhão). Their comparison shows that decays in allelic frequencies are one of the hallmarks of the Tupian expansion. Table 5 below shows heterozygosity estimations for MGR and for NonMGR populations¹⁹.

Table 5: Variation in genetic markers in MGR and NonMGR Tupian Population

Markers	MGR	No-MGR
Classics ¹	0.193	0.172
STR ²	0.683	0.632
Y-STR ³	0.253	0.164
Alu insertions ⁴	0.235	0.213
mtDNA sequence ⁵	0.865	0.845

(SANTOS *et al.*, 2015:4)

Also, considering variation in the sequence of key positions within the nucleotide of mitochondria's DNA, haplogroups A, B, C, D, X, Santos' et al. results indicate that D is the most expressive haplogroup within Tupians. However, its highest frequency is found in MGR populations, over 60%. NonMGR Tupians presented frequencies below 30%, except for Mundurukú, whose frequencies is 55%. As the authors pointed out, Mundurukú is located near

¹⁸ See also Bisso-Machado et al., (2012).

¹⁹ The genetic markers included on table 4 are used to detect levels of heterozygosity in populations in general.

Our working hypothesis is that it did. To test this hypothesis, we compare the phonemic inventories of Tupian languages located at MGR (TupiMGR) with the phonemic inventories of Tupi-Guarani languages located below Rondônia, in south of Brazil and in Bolivia, Argentina and Paraguay (SouthTG). These languages will be listed below. Notice that the migration routes that SouthTG people took is not completely understood. One hypothesis is that two migratory waves left MGR: the first went to Bolivia and the second one went further down towards the rivers Paraná and Uruguay (RODRIGUES, 2007a).

Material and Methods

As already stated, we investigated the Tupi-Guarani territorial expansion towards southwest (figure 9)²⁰, and we compared two groups of languages: TupiMGR and SouthTG.

Figure 9: territorial expansion of Tupi: southwest: Guarani; southeast: Tupinambá



(KNEIP & MELLO, 2013:21-23).

The separation between Tupi and Tupi-Guarani is entirely due to the comparison we chose to make. Importantly, the *kawahíb* complex, which is part of the Tupi-Guarani family, was removed from our sample. They are spoken at or nearby MGR, but they haven't been always there. As discussed in section 4, it is understood that the *kawahíb*s moved from and then back to MGR. Hence, they were removed from our sample, as their migratory history is unclear.

Apart from the exclusion of *Kawahíb* languages, other Tupi languages were selected to compose our sample based entirely on their locations and on the availability of information on their phonemic inventory, location and number of speakers. Data on phonemic inventories

²⁰ As Figure 9 shows, Tupi-Guarani went to Uruguay. However, no native language is spoken in Uruguay at present.

were extracted mainly from the database *SAPhon – South American Phonological Inventory Database*, (V1.1.4 <http://linguistics.berkeley.edu/~saphon/en/>). Whenever necessary, other sources were used as well. The *Ethnologue* database (<https://www.ethnologue.com/> - LEWIS, 2009) was used to verify information on location and number of speakers. Rodrigues (2013) was heavily used for this purpose as well.

The phonemic inventory of each sampled language was composed by consonants and vowels, which were analyzed separately. Also, vowels were divided in oral and nasals. Allophonic variations, tones and pitch accents were disregarded, as we could not find information for all the languages we sampled. Tones and pitch accent do not occur in Tupi- Guaraní languages. However, they have been shown to occur in other Tupi languages, such as Karitiana (STORTO & DEMOLIN, 2005) and Gavião of Rondônia (MOORE & MEYER, 2014). Also differences between dialects and languages were not taken into consideration because the distinction is not clear and our sample is small.

Our TupiMGR sample was composed by 10 languages: Karitiana, Gavião, Suruí/ Paitér, Káro, Makuráp, Akuntsú, Tuparí, Sakirabiá, Wayoró and Puruborá. Table 6 presents the data/ variables we compared in our analysis: place of location, number of phonemes (consonants and vowels) and number of speakers. It also indicates the source of information in each language.

Table 6: MGR languages: family, number of phonemes (consonants and vowels), number of speakers and source of information

TUPIMGR				
Language	Phoneme inventory		Estimated number of Speakers	Source of information
	Consonants	Vowels		
Karitiana (Arikém)	11	Oral: 10 Nasal: 10	320	- SAPhon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013)
Gavião (Mondé)	21	Oral: 5 Nasal: 5	460	- SAPhon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013)
Suruí Paitér (Mondé)	19	Oral: 5 Nasal: 5	1.000	- SAPhon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013)
Puruborá (Poruborá)	14	Oral: 7 Nasal: 6	50	- Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013) - Galucio et al. (2015)
Káro (Ramaráma)	14	Oral: 7 Nasal: 4	184	- SAPhon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013)
Makuráp (Tuparí)	10	Oral: 5 Nasal: 5	380	- Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013) - Braga (1992)

Akuntsú (Tuparí)	11	Oral: 6 Nasal: 5	6	- SAPHon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013)
Tuparí (Tuparí)	14	Oral: 10 Nasal: 5	430	-SAPHon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013)
Sakirabiá (Tuparí)	16	Oral: 5 Nasal: 5	85	- SAPHon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013)
Wayoró (Tuparí)	14	Oral: 10 Nasal: 10	100	- SAPHon - Ethnologur - Rodrigues (2013)

The SouthTG sample was also composed by 10 languages: Kayowá (Mato Grosso do Sul/Brazil), Nhadeva (Mato Grosso do Sul/Brazil), Xetá (Paraná/Brazil), Mbyá (Rio Grande do Sul/Brazil), Chiriguano Izoceño (Bolivia), Chiriguano Chané (Bolivia), Sirionó (Bolivia), Paraguayan-Guarani (Paraguay), Tapieté (Argentina). These are languages from groups I and II of Rodrigues' (1985) classification and from subgroups Southern and Guaranian in Michael's et al. (2015) categorization²¹.

Table 7: SouthTG languages: family, number of phonemes (consonants and vowels), number of speakers and source of information²²

SOUTH TG ²³				
Language	Phoneme inventory		Estimated number of Speakers	Sources of Information
	Consonants	Vowels		
Kayowá (Tupi-Guarani)	14	Oral: 6 Nasal: 6	15.000	- SAPHon- Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013) - Dietrich (2010)
Nhadeva (Tupi-Guarani)	17	Oral: 6 Nasal:6	570	- SAPHon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013) - Costa (2007) - Mello (2000) - Dietrich (2010)
Xetá (Tupi-Guarani)	13	Oral: 6 Nasal:5	3	- SAPHon - Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013) - Mello (2000) - Vasconcelos (2008)
Guarani Mbyá	14	Oral: 6	7.000	- SAPHon

21 Rodrigues's classification is based on phonological features and Michael's et al. proposed grouping is based on lexicostatistics

22 Number of speakers is hard to measure. Here they are estimated for the whole population, not for groups/villages.

23 We will not discuss it here, but Ivo (2018) argues that all SouthTG languages spoken in Brazil present

(Tupi-Guarani)		Nasal6		- Ethnologue - Rodrigues (2013) - Mello (2000) - Maia et al. (2019)
Chiriguano Izoceño (Tupi-Guarani)	12	Oral: 6 Nasal: 6	51.230	- SAPHon - Ethnologue
Chiriguano Chané (Tupi-Guarani)	12	Oral: 6 Nasal: 6	2.440	- SAPHon - Ethnologue
Guarayu (Tupi-Guarani)	17	Oral:6 Nasal:6	5.933	- SAPHon - Ethnologue
Sirionó (Tupi-Guarani)	13	Oral: 6 Nasal: 6	650	- SAPHon - Ethnologue - Gasparani (2012)
Paraguayan Guarani (Tupi-Guarani)	18	Oral: 6 Nasal: 6	5.850.000	- SAPHon - Ethnologue
Tapieté (Tupi-Guarani)	15	Oral: 6 Nasal:6	750	- SAPHon - Ethnologue - González (2005)

Based on information available on *Ethnologue* on location of the Tupi-Guarani languages above, we used *Google maps* to measure the distance in kilometers between MGR and each of the SouthTG languages we sampled. We took the city of Cacoal in Rondonia as the origin point. Suruí/Paitér (table 6) is located in the municipality of Cacoal. Thus, we measured the physical distance between the Suruis and the SouthTG populations²⁴. At *google maps*, we chose the “walking” parameter in order to simulate a path similar to that of the SouthTG people.

The comparisons consisted of verifying statistically if distance from MGR interacts with phonemic inventories size, where consonants and vowels were first considered separately and then together, forming a single group. In a similar fashion, we also investigated the existence of statistical interactions between population-size and phonemic-inventory-size.

the same consonantal system. If this is right, the number of consonants recorded on table 7 is not correct. In our research, to avoid biased choices of data sets resulting in either false positives or false negatives, we used, whenever possible, the same source of information - *SAPHon*.

24 Kayowá 2.153Km

Nhandeva 2.324Km

Xeta 2.153Km

Mbyá 3.058Km

Chiriguano Chané 1.239Km

Chiriguano Izoceno 1.239Km

Guarayu 1.263Km

Sirionó 1.474Km

Paraguayan Guarani 2.077Km

Tapiete 2.172Km

Results and discussion

Results

T-tests and tests of variance were performed in order to compare: (a) regions *vs.* number of consonants and number of vowels (oral and nasal), (b) populations size *vs.* number of consonants and number of vowels (oral and nasal). The T-test results were not significant. However, as figure 10 shows, there is a small difference in oral vowels: TupiMGR have more oral vowels than SouthTG.

In contrast, a variance test comparing TupiMGR with SouthTG was significant for vowels. There is more vowel-inventory-size variation (and consequently more vowel variation) among TupiMGR than among SouthTG, as shown in figure 11.

Figure 10: Region *vs.* Number of consonants, oral and nasal vowels

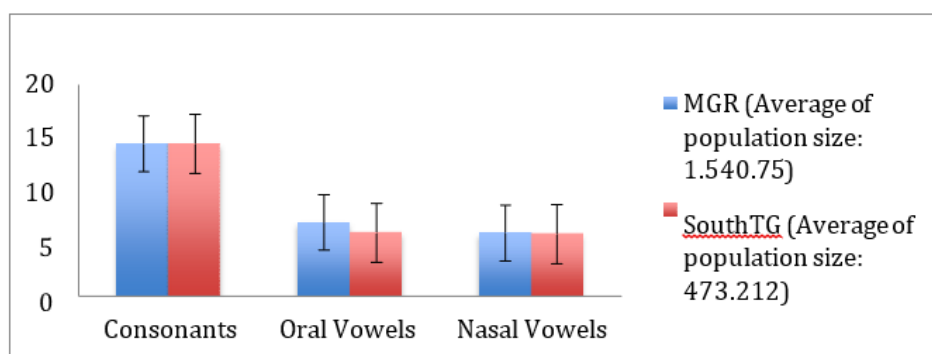
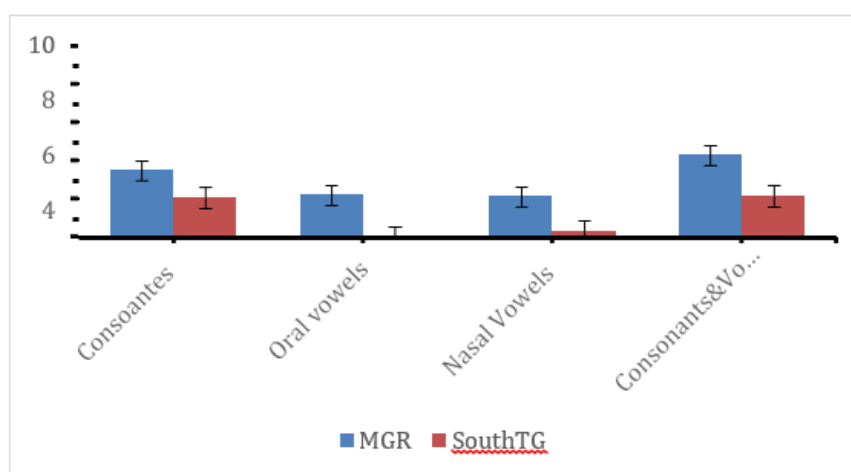


Figure 11: Variance test: Region *vs.* Number of Consonants, oral and nasal vowels and Consonants & vowels

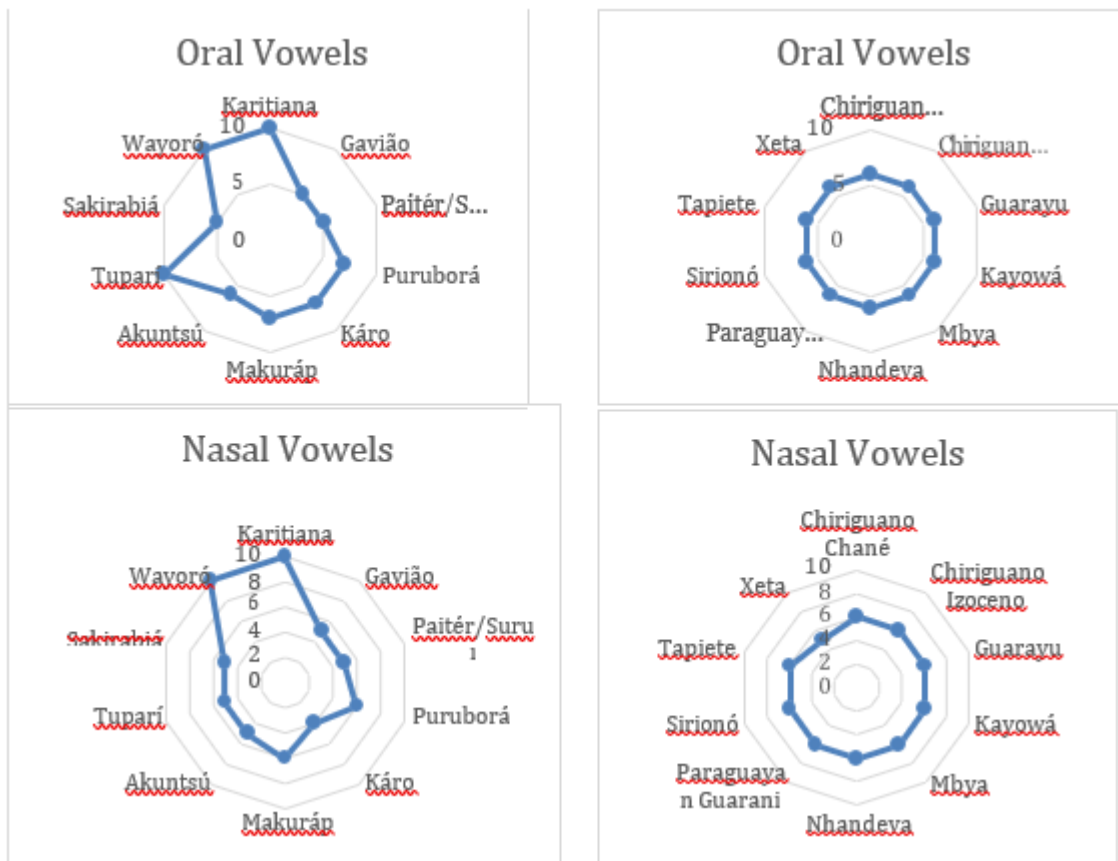


Oral Vowels $P < 0.0001$

Nasal Vowels $P < 0.0001$

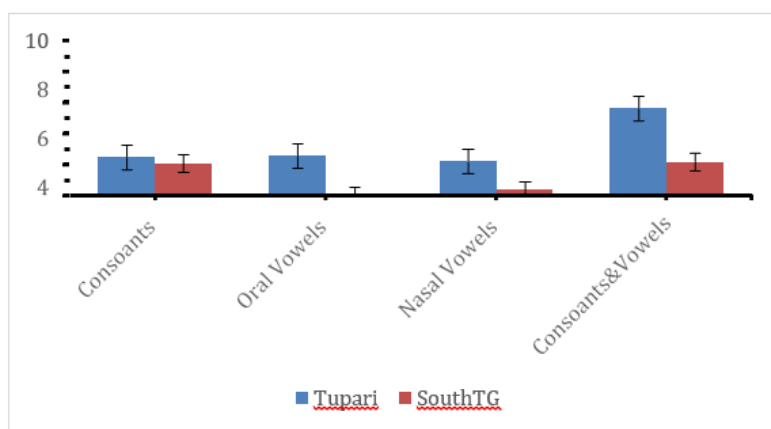
This result might be more apparent in the graphics below (figure 12):

Figure 12: Phonemic-inventory-size variation among TupiMGR and SouthTG



In the variance test above, all TupiMGR languages were clustered together. Hence, a multi-family factor might be affecting the results, as we are comparing a cluster of languages from different families (Tupari, Mondé, Arikém and Puruborá) with a group of languages from the same family (Tupí-Guarani). To verify this, we run another variance test comparing only Tupari languages versus SouthTG. The results were similar, shown in figure 13²⁵.

Figure 13: Variance test: Language family (Tupari and Tupi-Guarani) vs. number of consonants, oral and nasal vowels and consonants & vowels



25 We could not run a variance test for the other MGR families because the samples for these families were too small.

Oral Vowels P < 0.0001

Nasal Vowels P < 0.0001

In sum, in comparison to TupiMGR, SouthTG exhibits a smaller vowel inventory, although the difference is not significant. In accordance, TupiMGR and SouthTG contrast significantly with respect to variation in vowel repertoire: TupiMGR presents more inter- language variation than SouthTG.

Discussion

First, it should be observed that our sample was small. Thus, comparison between population size and phoneme inventory size may not have been significant for that reason. Also, as Cysouw et al. (2012) pointed out, population-size and phonemic-inventory-size interact statistically only when large populations (i.e. populations above 100.000) are considered (see section 3).

Comparative studies aiming at reconstructing Proto-Tupi-Guarani (ProtoTG) reaches a consensus with respect to vowels. ProtoTG has the same 6x2 harmonious series of vowels observed in modern SouthTG languages (6 oral, 6 nasal) (SCHLEICHER, 1998, MEIRA & DRUDE, 2015).

As for consonants, different inventory sizes have been assumed: 12 consonants in Lemle (1971), 13 Schleicher (1998), 19 in Rodrigues and Dietrich (1997)²⁶. Thus, there are two possibilities:

- (a) ProtoTG had a smaller consonantal system, which was amplified by some SouthTG languages due to a population-size effect. (Paraguayan Guarani has the largest consonantal inventory among SouthTG languages (18 consonants), and it has by far the biggest estimated number of speakers (5.850.000))
- (b) ProtoTG had an inventory of 19 consonants, which was reduced in SouthTG due to a founder effect.

Given Perreault & Mathew (2012) observation that phonemes accumulate at rate between 0.26 and 0.38 per 1.000-year period (see section 3), possibility (a) is unlikely. Also, a statistical analysis done by Creanza et al. (2015), on the phoneme inventories of 2,082 worldwide languages, indicates that languages in contact present less variance in number of phonemes than isolated languages. Thus, the fact that Paraguayan Guarani coexists in a (quasi)-bilingual situation with Spanish suggests that this language might be conservative, being similar to Proto-TG with respect to number of consonants. Therefore, hypothesis (b) is favored²⁷.

Coming back to vowels. In comparison with TupiMGR, SouthTG presents a non-

²⁶ See also Drude (2011) and Meira & Drude (2015).

²⁷ A reviewer observed that there might be a significant time difference between the increase in consonantal inventory and the contact with Spanish colonizers. Notice, however, that according to Perreault & Mathew, the phoneme accumulation rate is really small (0.26 to 0.38 per 1.000-year period).

significant smaller oral-vowel inventory, and a significant lack of inter-language variation in vocalic sounds (oral & nasal vowels). It is interesting that this contrast is placed on the vowel system, which according to Hay and Bauer (2007) are more resistant to fluctuations on population size. However, if ProtoTG already had a 6x2 vowel inventory, then SouthTG are just a cluster of conservative languages, preserving the vowels they inherited from ProtoTG.

In sum, if SouthTG experienced a reduction in their consonantal inventories (possibility (b)), but preserved the vowel system of ProtoTG, we conclude that SouthTG fits the general pattern of languages that underwent territorial expansions with fluctuation on population size (bottlenecks) and consequence founder effects²⁸.

In addition, if Rodrigues (2007b) is right in postulating that Proto-Tupi had 28 consonants, Fort & Pérez-Losada's (2016) observation that the Proto-language(s) that left Africa already had a small phonemic inventory applies here as well because ProtoTG had a reduced phonemic inventory compared to Proto-Tupi.

Although this hasn't been discussed in the literature on phonemic founder effects, I believe our findings about Tupi converse well with the literature on the role played by consonant and vowels in I-language. It has been suggested that vowels and consonants do not have the same mental representation. Investigations on language acquisition and on phonemic perception indicate that there is a division of labor between vowels and consonants: while the task of consonants is identification and differentiation among lexical items, vowels are used to mark prosodic boundaries and structural relations. Vowels are signalers of syllabic structure, syntactic boundaries, and other syntactic properties such as constituent order (NESPOR et al., 2003; DONATTI et al., 2007; HOCHMANN et al., 2011). To appreciate this, one should consider that vowels, more frequently than consonants, are employed as markers of morphosyntactic processes. Take Guarani Mbyá as an example²⁹. Most of the grammatical processes in Guarani Mbyá are morphologically realized by vowels. For instance, vowels are used as nominalizers:

- (1) a. ayvu -jopy -a (Martins, 2003: 123)
speech-grab-NMLZer
'recorder'
- b. Karu-a
to.eat-NMLZer
'place of eat'
- c. mba'e-xo-a
thing-pound-MNLZer
'pestle'

28 Xetá is the only SouthTG with 5 nasal vowels. It seems that Xetá behaves differently in grammatical features as well, which might be the result of language contact. See Michael et al. (2015) and reference therein.

29 I am pretty sure the same can be seen in better-known language like Brazilian Portuguese.

They are also the distinctive markers of agreement. As described on table 8, consonants are used on the composition of person agreement affixes. However, only vowels can occur alone (1PSg, 3PSg of active pronouns)³⁰ and contrastive distinctions are done by vowels (*oro* (active pronoun exclusive 1PPl) vs. *ere* (active pronoun 2PSg) and *ore* (inactive pronoun exclusive PPl)).

Table 8: Person agreement markers

Person	Active Pronouns	Inactive Pronouns
1a. p.sg.	a-	xe
1a. p.pl. (inclusive)	ja-	nhande
1a. p.pl (exclusive)	oro-(ro-)	ore
2a. p; sg.	ere-(re-)	nde (ne)
2a. p.pl.	pe-	pende (pene-)
3a. p.sg/pl	o-	

(MARTINS, 2003: 36)

If vowels are indeed structural markers, then it can be predicted that there is more structural cohesion (i.e., less parametric variation) among SouthTG languages than among MGR languages families. For example, Tuparí languages, as we saw above, present some inter-language degree of variation with respect to vowels.

We will not investigate this issue here, as it is beyond our present goals. However, it is important to observe that this prediction is in accordance with the fact that Tupi-Guarani languages are clustered in subgroups, with the language analyzed here belonging to two subgroups, as discussed above. We haven't yet looked at other Tupi-Guarani languages, but this an interesting way of tying down morphosyntax, phonology and phonetics, and it should be considered in our future analyses.

Conclusion

Although genetic and languages are to be understood as different objects of evolution, a parallelism between genetic and phonemic information has been traced: territorial expansion may cause a population to reduce its genetic variability and the phonemic inventory of its language - *founder effects*. Investigations on American native people suggest that territorial dispersals within the continent have led to loss of genetic variability. Given this, we raised the question of whether a similar effect is observed within linguistics, with dispersed native populations presenting decays in their phonemic systems. To investigate this possibility, we considered the territorial dispersal of Tupi-Guarani people in the south and southern regions of South America. Taking for granted the hypothesis that Tupi emerged at the basins of Madeira and

³⁰ As a reviewer observed, this might be due to a parametric restriction on syllabic structure. However, the question is why such restriction is imposed in the first place. It might as well reflect the structural role played by vowels.

Guaporé Rivers in Amazon, we mapped modern Tupi-Guarani languages spoken in the south of Amazon (Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay and South of Brazil) to verify whether these languages present less phonemic variation than Tupian languages spoken at the Madeira-Guaporé.

The results indicate a significant difference between these two sets of languages: In Madeira-Guaporé, there is more inter language variation with respect to vocalic inventory size. The South Tupi-Guarani languages are harmonious among themselves, presenting two symmetrical series of oral and nasal vowels (a 6x2 system). This suggests that there is less vowel variability among South Tupi-Guarani languages than among the Tupian languages spoken in Madeira-Guaporé. Although our results are preliminary because our database was small, they suggest that a founder effect might have occurred.

Putting together our findings and the general discussion on founder effects in language, we show that reconstruction analyses postulating that Proto-Tupi-Guarani had more phonemes than the modern Tupi-Guarani languages discussed here seem to be right. Also, the conservative vocalic system observed in Tupi-Guarani raises questions about parametric variation among the grammars of southwest Tupi-Guarani languages (groups I and II in Rodrigues' (1985) classification). If vowels are signalers of structural relations, it follows that these languages are structurally similar to each other.

Clearly, we need to enlarge our empirical database, including other Tupi languages in our sample, in order to explore these issues in depth. This is one of our near-future tasks.

We started the paper talking about language preservation, and we end it talking about how research on native people and their languages can contribute to a better understanding of how evolutionary forces, including random events (e.g. territorial expansion), can shape us genetically and linguistically. Thus, we hope that the facts presented above speak by themselves in highlighting the importance of preserving diversity.

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**SOME NOTES ON POSTVERBAL SUBJECTS IN DECLARATIVE (AND
OTHER NON *WH*-) SENTENCES**
**ALGUMAS NOTAS SOBRE SUJEITOS PÓS-VERBAIS EM FRASES
DECLARATIVAS (E OUTRAS NÃO *QU*-)**

Ana Maria Martins¹

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the syntactic and interpretive properties of declarative sentences with immediately postverbal subjects in European Portuguese. The primary aim of this investigation is to examine whether the VSX constituent order corresponds to one or several syntactic structures with concomitant interpretive effects. The conclusion is that VSX represents two main types of syntactic structures associated with different interpretive effects. The relevant data are described and analyzed within the generative framework. According to the proposed analysis, in one type of structure the verb and the postverbal subject stay inside the IP space, whereas in the other type the verb or both the verb and the subject move to positions in the CP space, i.e. the sentential left periphery (Rizzi, 1997, 2004, and subsequent cartographic approaches). The ‘IP type’ VSX sentences have athetic, wide focus interpretation with no single constituent assigned any type of informational highlighting (Kuroda, 1972, 2005). It is suggested that theticity is a kind of sensory (especially visual) evidentiality. This motivates the presence of an Evidential head in the functional structure of the IP, which is targeted by verb movement. Sentences with the ‘CP type’ VSX order do not constitute a homogeneous group, but share an evaluative import, generally conveying criticism. Under the proposed analysis, those bearing focus on the subject are derived by movement of the subject DP to Spec,FocusP (Rizzi, 1997, 2004), which gives it the contrastive interpretation, and movement of the verb to a higher Evaluative head in the sentential left periphery (Ambar, 1999; Corr, 2016). Inverted conditionals (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) and coordinate non-degree exclamatives (Martins, 2013) share verb movement to Evaluative with subject-focus VSX sentences, but do not display contrastive or other highlighting of the subject, which signals that FocusP plays no role in their derivations.

KEYWORDS: word order; subjects; thetic sentences; contrastive focus; coordinate exclamatives

RESUMO

Este artigo discute as propriedades sintáticas e interpretativas de frases declarativas com sujeito imediatamente pós-verbal no português europeu. O principal objetivo da investigação é determinar se a ordem VSX corresponde a uma ou a diferentes estruturas sintáticas e quais as consequências no plano interpretativo. A conclusão é que VSX representa dois grandes tipos de estruturas sintáticas, associadas a diferentes efeitos interpretativos. Os dados relevantes são descritos e analisados no quadro teórico da gramática generativa. De acordo com a análise proposta, num tipo de estrutura sintática o verbo e o sujeito mantêm-se dentro do domínio de IP, enquanto no outro tipo o verbo e, em certos casos, o DP sujeito se movem para posições funcionais no domínio de CP, ou seja, a periferia esquerda da frase (Rizzi, 1997, 2004, e abordagens cartográficas subsequentes). As frases VSX internas ao IP têm uma interpretação tética, de foco largo, sem que nenhum dos seus constituintes receba proeminência informacional (Kuroda, 1972, 2005). Sugere-se que a teticidade é um tipo de evidencialidade sensorial (especialmente visual). Desta forma, motiva-se a presença de um núcleo Evidencial na estrutura funcional do IP, que é alvo do movimento do verbo. As frases VSX alargadas ao CP não são uniformes, mas partilham uma componente avaliativa, que expressa a atitude crítica do falante. As que têm sujeito focalizado são derivadas com movimento do DP sujeito para Spec,FocusP (Rizzi, 1997, 2004), o que lhe dá a interpretação contrastiva, e movimento do verbo para um núcleo Avaliativo na periferia esquerda da frase. (Ambar, 1999; Corr, 2016). As condicionais invertidas (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) e as exclamativas coordenadas (Martins, 2013) têm em comum com as frases com sujeito focalizado o movimento do verbo para o núcleo Avaliativo. Mas nelas não há qualquer tipo de destaque (contrastivo ou outro) sobre o sujeito, o que mostra que a sua derivação não envolve FocusP.

PALAVRAS CHAVE: ordem de palavras; sujeitos; frases téticas, foco contrastivo, exclamativas coordenadas

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1. Two types of VSX orders in declarative (and other non-*wh*-) sentences

This paper focuses on declarative sentences with VSX order in European Portuguese, which have received lesser attention in the literature than VXS sentences (with the informationally prominent subject in final position). The primary aim of the investigation is to examine whether the VSX constituent order corresponds to one or several syntactic structures with concomitant interpretive effects. Hence, two types of verb-initial sentences with immediately postverbal subjects will be examined:thetic sentences, in the sense of Kuroda (1972, 2005), like (1), and sentences with a focused ‘internal’ subject, as exemplified in (2).

(1) Pousou uma águia no plátano.

landed an eagle in the maple.tree

‘An eagle has landed in the maple tree.’

[*Situation*: the speaker is watching the scene and reporting it to someone else]

(2) [A] Convidamos os meus pais para jantar?

invite.1PL the my parents for dinner?

‘Should we invite my parents for dinner?’

[B] Fazes tu o jantar./!

do.2SG you the dinner

‘You cook dinner.’ (*Implied*: not me.)

The paper is organized in five sections. Section 2. discussesthetic sentences, analyzing which factors facilitate or instead hinder the VSX order (apart from the well known unaccusative/(in)transitive divide), and which interpretive effects it has. It will be suggested thattheticity and evidentiality are related notions and proposed thatthetic sentences involve the activation of an Evid(ential) functional head within the IP area, above TP. This proposal will be compared with Cardinalletti’s (2004) analysis ofthetic sentences with the aim to demonstrate that the EvidP hypothesis accords better with the described European Portuguese data. Section 3 deals with focused ‘internal’ subjects. This kind of VSX sentences shows evidence of activation of the sentential left periphery with both the verb and the subject moving to functional positions in the CP space. Concretely, I will propose that the verb moves to the functional head Eval(uative) (Ambar, 1999; Corr, 2016), and the subject to Spec,FocP. The derived word order differs from the usual XVS of contrastive focus-movement (Rizzi, 1997, 2004; Costa and Martins, 2011; Martins and Costa, 2016) because the verb moves higher, to Eval, above FocP, whereas in contrastive focus-movement it presumably does not move beyond Fin(iteness) (Rizzi 1997), which is lower than FocP. In section 3, I will briefly introduce VSX non-degree exclamatives with coordinate syntax (Martins, 2013) and inverted conditionals. These other kinds of VSX

sentences also display verb movement to C. In fact, I will propose, they specifically involve verb movement to Eval, which explains some common interpretive effects of VSX subject-focus, non-degree exclamative and inverted conditional sentences, while activation/non activation of FocP and other ingredients account for their differences. Section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Thetic sentences: Evid(ential)P in the IP space

The term *thetic sentence* is here used as a shorthand for ‘sentence that conveys a thetic judgment’. A *thetic sentence* describes a situation in which no single entity is assigned a topic status or given any type of informational highlighting (cf. Kuroda, 1972, 1992, 2005; Cardinalletti, 2004; Leonetti, 2014; among others), thus Kuroda (1972, 2005) also refers to thetic sentences as non-topicalized sentences. Syntactically, SVX sentences are ambiguous between conveying a categorical judgment, i.e. being topicalized sentences, or a thetic one. The word order VSX undoes the ambiguity, only allowing the thetic interpretation.

VSX is interpreted as a single informational unit, without internal partitions (topic-comment, focus-background); this typically results in a thetic, wide focus interpretation, related to a stage topic. Languages like Italian and Catalan reject the processing of marked orders as non-partitioned units, which rules out VSX. More permissive languages, like Spanish, allow for the absence of partitions in marked orders. (Leonetti, 2014, p. 37)

VSX thetic sentences are naturally produced when the speaker describes a situation she is directly observing, as when looking through the window into the garden the speaker sees an eagle landing in the maple-tree and utters (3). Or suppose the utterer sees a dog (familiar or not) entering the garden and reports this happening so that the addressee does not let the cat out, as in (4).

(3) Pousou uma águia no plátano.
landed an eagle in the maple.tree
‘An eagle has landed in the maple tree.’

(4) Não deixes sair o gato. {Está/entrou} {o/um} cão no jardim.
not let.2SG go.out the cat. is/entered the/a dog in.the garden
‘Don’t let the cat out. The/a dog has come into the garden.’

The basic relation between visual (or auditory/sensory) perception and theticity connects it to evidentiality. In fact, a thetic judgement as defined by Kuroda (2005) is rooted in (*non-*)*visual sensory evidentiality* (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004, 2015; De Haan, 2005; Peterson and Sauerland, 2010; among others).²

² The utterer of (4) could have heard or sensed the dog in the garden, without seeing it.

A thetic judgment is a representation of a perceptually apprehended real, recalled, or imagined situation. A thetic judgment is thus by its nature dependent on another form of cognitive act, the perception of a real or imagined situation. By making a thetic judgment, one commits oneself to the truth of a proposition by describing a perceived situation, real or imagined. (Kuroda, 2005, 29-30)

The function of a non-topicalized sentence is characterized as a description of a situation. A description affirms the cognitive presence of a conceptually or perceptually given situation. (Kuroda, 2005, 37-38)

Some specificities of VSX thetic sentences are described in 2.1 and 2.2, which further strengthen the view that theticity is a kind of evidentiality and the specific VSX word order an option for their syntactic expression. Cardinalletti's (2004) syntactic analysis of thetic sentences is summarized in section 2.3 and identified what remains unexplained by it. In section 2.4, I will put forward the EvidP hypothesis.

2.1. Directionality relative to the speaker's location

Thetic sentences with a postverbal subject are speaker-oriented as they imply the notion of the speaker's 'perceptual field'. This was already noted by Cardinalletti (2004), who quotes Tortora (1997, 2001), with respect to motion verbs:

The structural difference between [É arrivato Gianni] and [Gianni é arrivato / É arrivato GIANNI] correlates with a different interpretation of the two sets of sentences. Tortora (1997: 4.2.1.1 and 2001) points out that in [É arrivato Gianni], the goal of the motion is necessarily speaker-oriented ("Gianni has arrived where the speaker is", while it is free in reference in [Gianni é arrivato / É arrivato GIANNI] ("Gianni has arrived somewhere, even if the speaker was not in that place at the time of arrival"). (Cardinalletti 2004, p.153).

The examples in (5), with the motion verb *chegar* 'arrive' show exactly the same situation in European Portuguese as in Italian. Whereas the SV sentence (5b) allows two possible interpretations for the place of arrival, either within or outside the speaker's perceptual field, the VS sentence (5a) only allows the former. This is because the VS order makes the sentence unambiguously thetic (hence, speaker-oriented), blocking the categorical/topicalized interpretation. The motion is toward the speaker and places the motioned entity within the speaker's perceptual field.

- (5) a. Já chegou o teu pai. *non-ambiguous: SPEAKER-ORIENTED*
already arrived the your father
'Your father has arrived already.'
(i) 'here, at us, for dinner.' OK
(ii) 'back at his home/to Paris by now.' OUT

- b. O teu pai já chegou. *ambiguous*
 ‘Your father has arrived already.’
 (i) here, at us, for dinner.’ OK
 (ii) back at his home/to Paris by now.’ OK

This kind of directionality relative to the speaker’s location can be attested with some other verbs besides motion verbs, as is the case of *telefonar* ‘call’. The examples in (6) show that *telefonar* smoothly allows variation between the SV and the VS orders, (6a) and (6b) respectively. Nevertheless, as the paradigm in (7) attests, VS blocks the interpretation in which the receiver of the phone call is not the speaker (or someone staying in the same location as the speaker). Thus (7Bb) is not an appropriate answer to (7A), in contrast to (7Ba).

- (6) a. A mãe telefonou. Queria falar contigo.
 the mother called wanted talk.INF with-you
 b. Telefonou a mãe. Queria falar.INF contigo.
 called the mother wanted talk with-you
 ‘Mother called. She wanted to talk with you.’

- (7) A: A mãe ainda não telefonou para a clínica?
 the mother yet not called to the clinic
 ‘Hasn’t mother called the medical center yet?’

- B: a. A mãe telefonou mas ainda não tinham o resultado dos exames.
 the mother called but yet not had.3PL the result of.the exams
 b. #Telefonou a mãe mas ainda não tinham o resultado dos exames.
 called the mother but yet not had.3PL the result of.the exams
 ‘Mother called, but they haven’t got the results of the (medical) exams yet.’

2.2. Interaction with negation and Tense-aspect

Thetic sentences with postverbal subjects show some restrictions relative to polarity and tense-aspect. If theticity is a kind of evidentiality, as here proposed, this is not surprising. In fact, such interactions have been widely attested in languages that display morphological marking of evidentiality (cf. Aikhenvald, 2004, 2015; Brown, 2010; Peterson and Sauerland, 2010; Chung, 1999, 2012; Kalsang, Garfield and Speas, 2013; Forker, 2018, among others). I will first exemplify how negation may block the thetic interpretation, thus making VS negative sentences awkward.

The choices available in a combined Tense/Aspect system may depend on the choice that is made in the Evidentiality system.(...) In some languages there are fewer evidentiality choices in negative clauses than in positive ones; that is, certain Evidentiality contrasts may be neutralized in negative, just as certain Tense and Aspect choices are, in some languages. (Aikhenvald, 2015)

The sentences in (8a-c) and (9a-c) are natural as broad information focus sentences uttered out-of-the-blue, but the negative VS sentences in (8d) and (9d) are not. The contrast between the (d) sentences and both the sentences with the same polarity (i.e. the (c) ones) and the sentences with the same word order (i.e. (the (b) ones) shows that VSthetic sentences and negation may be mutually exclusive.

- (8) a. O Presidente morreu.
the President died
b. Morreu o Presidente.
died the President
'The president died.'
- c. O Presidente não morreu. [*situation*: the President's life was at risk]
the president not died
d. #Não morreu o Presidente.
not died the president
'The president did not die.'
- (9) a. A Maria telefonou.
the Maria called
b. Telefonou a Maria.
called the Maria
'Maria called.'
- c. A Maria não telefonou. [*situation*: Maria was expected to call]
the Maria not called
d. #Não telefonou a Maria.
not called the Maria
'Maria did not call.'

If we now turn our attention to contrasts relative to Tense-Aspect, it can be observed that root sentences with the verb in the past imperfect indicative facilitate postverbal subjects, e.g. when articulated with an adverbial subordinate clause that (possibly) locates the situation described in the speaker's perceptual field. This is illustrated in (10a-c).

- (10) a. Subia o bombeiro as escadas quando o homem se atirou da janela.
climbed.IMPERF the firefighter the stairs when the man REFL threw from.the window
'The firefighter was climbing the stairs when the man threw himself out of the window.'
- b. Estava a primeira-dama francesa a fazer furor em França quando o passado rebelde
was the first.lady French doing furor in France when the past rebellious
a voltou a ensombrar. (*Flash*, 12-05-2009)
her.ACC came.back to overshadow
'The French first lady was enchanting in Spain when the rebellious past once
again overshadowed her.'

- c. Diz que não dorme, mas ontem quando cheguei a casa *dormia ele a bom dormir*.
says that not sleeps but yesterday when arrived.1SG at home slept he to good sleep
'He says that he doesn't sleep, but yesterday when I arrived home he was lying
fast asleep.'

On the other hand, future tense seems to be incompatible with VSthetic sentences, as exemplified in (11). Crucially, the contrast would not occur with the verb in the past tense (cf. (8) above).

(11) A: 'What's the matter?'

B: a O presidente morrerá/vai morrer.
the president will.die/goes die.INF

- b. # {Morrerá/vai morrer} o presidente.³ (ok iff the subject is narrow focus)
will-die/goes die.INF the president
'The president will die/is going to die.'

This is again what has been observed in languages with grammatical marking of evidentiality distinctions. Aikhenvald (2015) observes that "evidentiality may be expressed in the past tense and in the present tense, but not in the future". Moreover, it is in past tenses that evidential specifications are more widely attested across languages (Aikhenvald, 2015; Forker, 2016). Within past tenses, evidential constructions are compatible with both the imperfective and the perfective aspect but can be restricted to one or the other value in individual languages. Relevantly, the imperfective aspect often expresses direct visual evidentiality (Forker 2016).

2.3. Cardinalletti (2004)

In her influential article "Toward a cartography of subject positions", Cardinalletti (2004) analyzes categorical,thetic and VXS sentences with narrow focus on the subject as shown in (11), (12) and (13) respectively. In categorical sentences, the subject moves to Spec,SubjP, where it is interpreted as the aboutness topic of sentences with a topic-comment articulation. In subject-focus VXS sentences the subject is left alone inside VP and linearized in the sentence-final position to which prosodic stress is assigned. Finally,thetic sentences either display subject movement to Spec,EPPP, the position associated with the EPP-feature, or maintain the subject inside the VP while a null locative argument occupies Spec,EPPP and induces the speaker-oriented effect described above: "Following Tortora, the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal implies the presence of a locative argument". (Cardinalletti, 2004, p.153-54).⁴

³ This sentence would be perfectly fine as an answer to *Who will die? / Who is going to die?*, in which case the subject would bear narrow focus.

⁴ According to Cardinalletti (2004), English SVthetic sentences differ from their Italian correlates because the subject moves to a lower position, which allows the null locative argument to cooccur with it:

(i) [_{SubjP} [_{EPPP} there_{Loc} [_{AgSP} ... [_{VP} arrived three girls]]]] Thetic sentence (VS)

- (12) a. [_{SubjP} Gianni_k [_{EPPP} t_k [_{AgrSP} t_k ha . [_{VP} t_k chiamato Piero]]]] Categorical sentence
 b. [_{SubjP} Gianni_k [_{EPPP} t_k [_{AgrSP} t_k è .. [_{VP} arrivato t_k]]]] Categorical sentence
- (13) a. [_{SubjP} [_{EPPP} Gianni_k [_{AgrSP} t_k ha . [_{VP} t_k chiamato Piero]]]] Thetic sentence (SV)
 b. [_{SubjP} [_{EPPP} ∅_{LOC} [_{AgrSP} è [_{VP} arrivato Gianni]]]] Thetic sentence (VS)
- (14) a. [_{SubjP} [_{EPPP} ∅_{NOM} [_{AgrSP} t_k ha [chiamato_v [Piero_i [_{VP} GIANNI t_v t_i]]]]]]] Focused subject
 b. [_{SubjP} [_{EPPP} ∅_{NOM} [_{AgrSP} è [_{VP} arrivato GIANNI]]]] Focused subject

Inspiring as it might be, Cardinalletti's (2004) analysis seems to have some drawbacks. Thetic sentences are derived in different ways in SV transitive/intransitive structures and VS unaccusative structures. Only the latter include the null locative argument. In SV (in)transitive sentences the thetic interpretation arises just because the subject does not move beyond spec,EPPP, i.e. there is no "subject-of predication" feature attracting the subject to spec,SubjP. This approach raises the following questions:

(i) "the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal" is possible, though not necessary, in SV sentences (see above Cardinalletti's (2004, p. 153) quotation, and example (5b)), but this is not predicted by Cardinalletti's (2004) analysis, because only VS sentences have the null locative argument;

(ii) if the speaker-oriented interpretation of VS thetic sentences was determined by the null locative argument associated with unaccusative verbs, it should not be found with intransitive verbs – but example (7) above, with the verb *telefonar* 'call', shows that this is not the case;

(iii) Cardinalletti's (2014) analysis gives us no cues on the interaction between theticity and polarity or theticity and tense-aspect.

2.4. An alternative proposal: Evid(ential)P

Alternatively to adopting Cardinalletti's (2004) proposal, I tentatively suggest that an Evid(ential) Projection within the IP space is the specific functional component of European Portuguese VSX thetic sentences, distinguishing them from categorical sentences. The relevant structure that I have mind is (15)/(16), which supposes the existence besides the left peripheral Evidential head originally proposed by Cinque (1999) of a lower EvidP, directly above TP, as

(ii) [_{SubjP} [_{EPPP} ∅_{LOC} [_{AgrSP} *John*_k ... [_{VP} arrived t_k]]]] Thetic sentence (SV)

"English also allows for the subject of a thetic sentence to move to a preverbal position [...]. Example [ii], with a rising intonation on *John* – signaled here by italics to distinguish it from contrastive focus – expectedly has the speaker-oriented interpretation of the location-goal. Since in English, the overt movement of the subject to the preverbal position can only be triggered by the need to check nominative case and φ-features, I take *John* to occupy specAgrSP, which must therefore be located below the EPP-related position." (Cardinalletti 2004:153-54). Cardinalletti (2004) further explains that "Italian does not allow a sentence like [ii] [...] presumably because case and φ-features can be checked covertly (or long distance). In Italian, overt DP movement to the preverbal position can only be motivated by the need to check either the EPP or the subject-of-predication feature". (Cardinalletti, 2004: 154).

- (18) *Ele* o disse, quinta-feira, na breve declaração à imprensa (*Expresso*, 20.02.2010)
he it.ACC said Thursday in.the brief declaration to.the press
'He said it himself, last Thursday, in his brief declaration to the press.'

However, European Portuguese also allows VSX sentences with the subject bearing a contrastive focus interpretation. Like in the more usual pattern of contrastive-focus movement, these sentences display wide information focus interpretation coupled with contrastive focus on the subject (cf. Costa and Martins, 2011; Martins and Costa, 2016). The VSX pattern with 'internal' contrastive focus is found in declaratives, like (19)-(20), and *yes/no* interrogatives, like (21). It may also have an exclamative flavor, as exemplified in (22). It is perfectly compatible with negation, as shown in (19), contrasting with thethetic sentences discussed in section 2. above.

- (19) Não fez o João o jantar, fiz eu.
not did João the dinner, did I.
It wasn't João who cooked dinner, it was me.'
[*Situation*: uttered as a reaction to someone gesturing to João that the food is excellent]
- (20) Compra o João o vinho para o jantar.
buys João the wine for the dinner
'JOÃO will buy the wine for dinner.'
- (21) Compra o João o vinho para o jantar?
buys João the wine for the dinner
'Is it João who will buy the wine for dinner?'
- (22) Contas tu (a história) ou conto eu!/.
tell you (the story) or tell I
'Either it is you who tells the story or I do!/.'
[*Possible continuation*: It can't be both at the same time!]

That the subject bears contrastive focus in these sentences is shown by the fact that they are easily paraphrased by clefts, like in (23). Moreover, the focused subject can be associated with exclusive/inclusive focus markers like *só* 'only', *também* 'also' or *sempre* 'always', as exemplified in (24).

- (23) a. Ou és tu que contas a história ou sou eu! Não os dois ao mesmo tempo.
or is you that tell the story or is I! not the two at.the same time
'Either it is you who tells the story or it is me! Not both at the same time.'
- b. Não foi o João que fez o jantar, fui eu.
not was the João that did the dinner, was I
'It wasn't João who cooked dinner, it was me.'

- c. É o João que compra o vinho para o jantar?
is the João that buys the wine for the dinner
'Is it João who will buy the wine for dinner?'

(24) A: Vou convidar os meus pais para passarem uma semana connosco.
go.1SG invite my parents to spend one week with.us
'I'm going to invite my parents to spend one week with us.'

B: E fazes [só/sempré/também tu] o jantar!
and do only/always/also you the dinner
'And *you* only/always/also do the dinner!'

On the other hand, the fact that VXS is excluded in the relevant contexts constitutes evidence that the subject is not assigned narrow information focus, as shown in (25) and (26). In the paradigm (26) the manner adverb *bem* 'well' signals the border of the VP, so it is clear that differently from narrow information focus subjects (cf. (14) above), the sentential subject in (26) cannot stay inside the VP. Thus sentences (26a-b) with the subject preceding the adverb *bem* are acceptable whereas sentences (26c-d) with the subject following *bem* are excluded.

(25) A: Vou convidar os meus pais para passarem uma semana connosco.
go.1SG invite my parents to spend one week with.us
'I'm going to invite my parents to spend one week with us.'

B: a. E fazes tu todos os dias o jantar!
and do you all the days the dinner

b. *E fazes todos os dias o jantar tu!
and do all the days the dinner you
'And you cook dinner every day!'

(26) a. Contas tu a história bem ou conto(-a) eu (bem)! [short-scrambling of *a história*]
tell you the story well or tell-it I well

b. ?Contas tu bem a história ou conto(-a) eu (bem)!
tell you well the story or tell-it I well

c. *Contas bem tu a história ou conto bem eu!
tell well you the story or tell well I

d. *Contas bem a história tu ou conto bem eu! (*VOS)
tell well the story you or tell well I
'Either you tell the story properly or I do!'

Since in the VSX sentences under discussion the subject DP bears contrastive focus, the null hypothesis is that there is focus-movement to the sentential left periphery, targeting

Spec,FocP, like in the verb-second pattern of focalization (XVS/SVX).⁷ If this hypothesis is on the right track, then VSX is derived with the verb also moving to the CP area and targeting a left-peripheral position above FocP. Let us start with providing some evidence supporting both claims.

-ly adverbs like *rapidamente* ‘frequently’ may regularly appear in postverbal or preverbal position (in between the subject and the verb) in declarative sentences in European Portuguese, adjoining respectively to VP or TP (Costa, 1998). Assuming that the verb and the subject are in the CP area in the VSX sentences under discussion, it comes as no surprise that the adverb must follow the verb and the subject, be the adverb adjoined to VP or TP. Hence, (27a) is a grammatical option, but (27b) and (27c) are not.

- (27) a. Contas tu rapidamente a história ou conto-a eu!
tell you rapidly the story or tell-it I
- b. *?Contas rapidamente tu a história ou conto-a eu!
tell rapidly you the story or tell-it I
- c. *Rapidamente contas tu a história ou conto-a eu!
rapidly tell you the story or tell-it I
‘Either you tell the story at once or I do!’

In independent work on the syntax of unambiguous metalinguistic negation (MN) markers in European Portuguese (Martins, 2014, 2020), I have shown that the MN marker *agora* (literally, ‘now’), like unambiguous MN markers in general, realizes a functional position in the CP field. Besides, the MN marker *agora*, which usually surfaces in sentence-final position, admits overt material to its right if some constituent is moved to Spec,FocP, as exemplified in (28).

- (28) [A] a. O João deu um carro à Maria.
the João gave a car to.the Maria.
‘John gave Mary a car.’
- [B] a. Deu *agora*.
gave MN-marker
- b. Deu *agora um carro*.
gave MN-marker a car
‘Like hell/no way (João gave Mary *a car*).’

7 On apparently similar structures in BP, cf. Araújo and Simioni (2015). The Brazilian Portuguese VSX sentences with contrastive focus on the subject are restricted to imperatives. The authors show that in VSX imperatives the subject is in the low FocP position in the left-periphery of vP and there is no V-to-C. Cf. Rizzi (1997, 2016) on the uniqueness of left peripheral FocP, and Belletti (2004); Collins and Essizewa (2007); Bocci (2008) on the fact that only one FocP can be instantiated per clause: either the low FocP above vP or the high FocP in the clausal left-periphery.

We may thus test whether the contrastive postverbal subject is allowed to follow the MN marker *agora*, as we would expect if it occupies the same structural position as the material surfacing to the right of the MN marker, namely Spec,FocP. Sentence (29), with *agora* intervening between the verb and the subject, shows this is indeed so.

- (29) [A] Não contas tu a história, conto eu!
 not tell you the story, tell I!
 ‘It won’t be you but me who will tell the story!’
- [B] Não conto *agora* eu (e contas tu)!
 not tell MN-marker I (and tell you)
 ‘Like hell, it’s not me (but you) who will tell it!’

At this point we will have to ask to which functional position is the verb moving in the sentential left periphery. A good candidate is the Eval(uative) head proposed, among others, by Ambar (1999) and Corr (2016). In the last decades, Rizzi’s (1997, 2004) cartography of the left periphery, initially proposed as shown in Figure 1, has been enriched by further splitting some of the categories of the CP space and adding pragmatically motivated structure above CP. Many different proposals appeared in the literature. Corr’s (2016) expanded left periphery incorporates a UtteranceP (UP) space above CP and splits Rizzi’s Force into three different categories, as represented in Figure 2.

Rizzi’s LEFT PERIPHERY (C-system/CP space)

Figure 1: Rizzi’s (1997, 2004) Left Periphery
 (Top – Topic, Int – Interrogative, Foc – Focus, Mod – (Adverbial) Modifier, Fin – Finiteness)

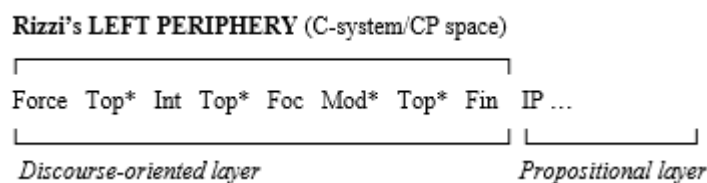
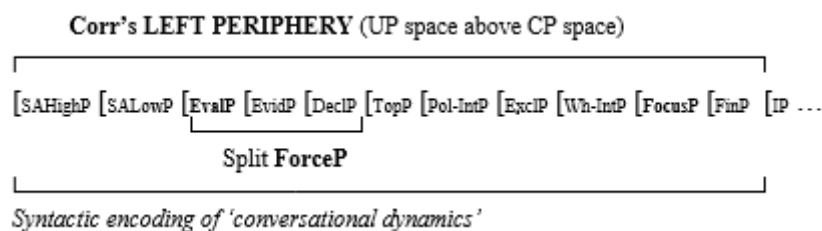


Figure 2: Corr’s (2016) Left Periphery
 (SA – Speech Act; Eval – Evaluative, Evid – Evidential, Decl – Declarative, Pol-Int – Polar-Interrogative, Excl – Exclamative, Wh-Int – wh-Interrogative)



Adopting Corr’s (2016) cartography of the left periphery, if the subject moves to Spec,FocP and the verb moves to Eval, the right VSX order is derived (whereas in the XVS/

SVX pattern of contrastive focalization the verb moves only to Fin, not higher). The contrastive focus interpretation of the subject trivially follows. Verb movement to Eval gives the sentences the ‘evaluative’ meaning. These evaluative sentences denote the speaker’s attitude towards the uttered proposition, adding a comment on top of the mere assertion of the proposition. The speaker’s attitude is usually negative, in a clear or subtle way, as respectively exemplified in (30) and (31).

(30) A: Não compramos filetes, compramos antes o peixe inteiro.
not buy.1PL fish-filets, buy.1PL rather the fish whole
‘Let’s not buy fish filets, but a whole fish.’

B: Cozinhas tu (o peixe inteiro)!/.
cook.2SG you the fish whole
‘You cook it!’ (Implied: ‘I won’t’)

(31) Amanhã escrevo aos organizadores. Há uns tempos ficaram de me dizer se
tomorrow write.1SG to the organizers. there.is some time stayed of me tell if
comprava eu o bilhete ou compravam eles.
bought I the ticket or bought them
‘Tomorrow I will write to the conference organizers. They were supposed to let me know whether I will buy the ticket or THEY will. / They were supposed to let me know whether it is me or them who will buy the tickets.’

In section 4, brief notice will be given of two other kinds of VSX structures that presumably involve verb movement to Eval (but not focus-movement). They share with subject-focus VSX sentences the negatively marked evaluative component.

4. Coordinate non-degree exclamatives and inverted conditionals

Coordinate non-degree exclamatives and inverted conditionals are verb-initial structures with immediately postverbal subjects. Like contrastive subject-focus sentences, they seem to activate EvalP in the left periphery, but do not display focused subjects. The two instances of movement are thus independent from each other.

4.1. Coordinate non-degree exclamatives

VSX coordinate exclamatives are indicative structures displaying non-recursive coordination by the additive conjunction *e* ‘and’. The VS order in the first conjunct introduces a counterexpectational flavor and anticipates the contrast between the two propositions. These sentences show the characteristic properties of *non-degree* exclamatives (Andueza, 2011; Gutiérrez-Rexach and Andueza, 2011; Gutiérrez-Rexach, 1996) and add to the propositional content of the sentence an implicit comment conveying a speaker’s attitude of disapproval

towards the described state of affairs, as exemplified in (32) to (34). The implicit evaluative/emotive reaction disappears in the absence of subject-verb inversion.

- (32) Convidei eu a Maria para jantar e ela não apareceu!
 invited I the Maria for dinner and she not showed.up
 ‘I invited Maria for dinner and she didn’t show up!’
 [*Implied*: She should have shown up! *or* I shouldn’t have invited her!]
- (33) Leu o miúdo os livros todos e o professor dá-lhe esta nota!
 read the kid the books all and the professor gives-him this grade
 ‘The kid read everything and the teacher gave him this (low) grade!’
 [*Implied*: The teacher should have given the kid a better grade! *or* There was no need for reading everything after all!]
- (34) Não fomos nós ao jardim zoológico e esteve um dia de sol!
 not went we to-the garden zoological and was a day of sun
 ‘We didn’t go to the zoo and/but after all it was a sunny day!’
 [*Implied*: We should have gone to the zoo!]

The application of standard tests for verb movement shows that the verb moves to C in coordinate non-degree exclamatives, as exemplified by the (im)possible positions of *-ly* adverbs in (36b-c). Although adverbs like *frequentemente* ‘frequently’ may regularly appear in postverbal position or preverbal position, in between the subject and the verb, in regular declarative sentences in European Portuguese (see (35a-b), adjoining respectively to VP or TP, in coordinate VSX exclamatives there is only one position available for the adverb, namely after the verb and the postverbal subject, as shown in (35).⁸

- (35) a. Eu convido frequentemente a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.
 I invite frequently the Maria but she never appears
- b. Eu frequentemente convido a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.
 I frequently invite the Maria but she never appears
- c. Frequentemente eu convido a Maria mas ela nunca aparece.
 frequently I invite Maria but she never appears
 ‘I often invite Maria but she never shows up.’

⁸ The European Portuguese expletive *ele*, which belongs to the CP area (Carrilho, 2005), can intervene between the verb and the subject in coordinate VSX exclamatives. I thank Ernestina Carrilho (whose dialect allows postverbal expletive *ele*) for the data in (i).

(i) Não fomos *ele* nós ao jardim zoológico e esteve um dia de sol!
 not went EXPL we to.the garden zoological and was a day of sun
 ‘We didn’t go to the zoo and/but after all it was a sunny day!’
 (*Implied*: We should have gone to the zoo!)

- (36) a. Convido eu frequentemente a Maria e ela nunca aparece!
invite I frequently the Maria but she never appears
- b. *Convido frequentemente eu a Maria e ela nunca aparece!
invite frequently I the Maria but she never appears
- c. *Frequentemente convido eu Maria e ela nunca aparece!
frequently invite I the Maria but she never appears
'I often invite Maria and/but she never shows up!'

In Martins (2013), I proposed that an evaluative feature in the CP field triggers V-to-C movement (cf. Ambar 1999; Ono 2006), which is restricted to the first member of the coordinate structure while the head of the structure itself (i.e. the coordinate conjunction) satisfies the evaluative feature of the second conjunct, so only the first conjunct displays subject-verb inversion. This is possible because the head of the coordinate structure inherits the evaluative feature of its specifier and projects it to Co(ordination)P (Johannessen, 1998). When an evaluative feature is independently associated with the second conjunct, the head of the coordinate structure satisfies $C_{[+eval]}$ and dispenses with V-to-C. In other words, the head of CoP inherits the evaluative feature of the first conjunct through Spec-Head agreement and can then license the evaluative feature of its complement. Some interpretative and syntactic contrasts between what I have called 'concessive' and adversative' non-degree exclaimatives depends on whether each conjunct bears an evaluative feature of its own or only the conjunct displaying subject-verb inversion does, as exemplified in (37) and (38) respectively.

- (37) [$_{CoP[+eval]}$ [$_{CP[+eval]}$ *convidei*_j [$_{IP}$ *eu* *t_j* *a* *Maria para jantar*]]
invited I the Maria for dinner

[$_{Co[+eval]}$ *E* [$_{CP[+eval]}$ *ela não apareceu!*]]]
and she not appeared
'I invited Maria for dinner and she didn't show up!'
(*Implied: She should have shown up! or I shouldn't have invited her!*)

- (38) [$_{CoP[+eval]}$ [$_{CP[+eval]}$ *não fomos*_j [$_{IP}$ *nós* *t_j* *ao* *jardim zoológico*]]
not went we to-the garden zoological

[$_{Co[+eval]}$ *E* [$_{CP}$ *está um dia de sol!*]]]
and is a day of sun
'We didn't go to the zoo and after all it's a sunny day!'
(*Implied: We should have gone to the zoo!*)

Although in Martins (2013) I referred to the functional head that carries the evaluative feature as $C_{[+eval]}$, I could as well have named it *Evaluative* (Ambar 1999). Hence, I now slightly rephrase the above analysis by saying that verb movement to C is specifically verb movement to Eval.

4.2. Inverted conditionals

Inverted conditionals are derived by verb movement to C (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) and involve coordination in European Portuguese (see (39)), differently from English or Spanish (see (40) and (41)). In inverted conditionals, “non-canonical word-order encodes extra-information regarding the discourse status of constituents” (Biezma, 2011). Inverted conditionals are often reproaches, thus negatively-marked like coordinate non-degree exclamatives.

(39) a. Tivesse o rato fugido ??(e) o gato não o tinha comido.
had.SUBJUNCTIVE the mouse run.away and the cat not it.ACC had eaten
‘If the mouse had run away, the cat wouldn’t have eaten it.’

b. Não comesse ele tanto *(e) não engordava.
not eat.SUBJUNCTIVE he so.much (and) not fattened
‘If he didn’t eat so much, he would not get fat.’

(40) *English*: Had I been offered the job, I would have brought champagne.
(Biezma 2011, p. 552)

(41) *Spanish*: Me hubieran ofrecido el trabajo, habría traído champán.
me had.SUBJUNCTIVE offered the job would.have.1SG brought champagne
‘Had they offered me the job, I would have brought champagne.’
(Biezma 2011, p. 552)

European Portuguese inverted conditionals may display a single-conjunct structure like in (42), which is also a feature shared with coordinate non-degree exclamatives, like (43). Sentences (44a-b) display the alternative double conjunct structures relative to (43).

(42) Desse-me vocemecê presuntos, em vez de rezas! (Fernando Namora, *O Trigo e o Joio*)
give.SUBJUNCTIVE me you hams in turn of prays
‘If you would give me provisions instead of prayers (you would do better)!’

(43) (E) quer ela ser escritora!
(and) wants she be writer
‘How come she wants to be a writer?!’
[*Situation*: the speaker is reading a poorly written paper by someone who wishes to be a writer]

(44) a. Quer ela ser escritora e escreve desta maneira!
wants she be writer and writes of.this manner
b. Escreve desta maneira e quer ela ser escritora!
writes of.this manner and wants she be writer
She wants to be a writer and/but writes like this?!’

The functional head Eval is again a good candidate to be the target of verb movement in inverted conditionals. Why coordination plays a role in European Portuguese inverted conditionals, in contrast to Spanish and English, remains an open question for future research.

5. Conclusion

This paper discusses the understudied VSX constituent order of declarative (and some non-degree exclamative) sentences in European Portuguese and shows that it can be the outcome of different syntactic derivations with interesting consequences for semantic interpretation. Two main types of VSX structures were investigated. One type in which the verb and the immediately postverbal subject stay inside the IP space and one type in which the verb or both the verb and the subject move to positions in the CP space, i.e. the sentential left periphery. Simplified structural representations of each type are shown in (45) and (46).

- (45) a. Pousou uma/a águia no plátano.
landed a/the eagle in.the maple.tree
'An/The eagle landed in the maple tree.'
[Possible continuation of: 'Come here quietly. Look...']
b. [_{PolP} Pol⁰_{[+aff]] [_{EvidP} Pousou_j [_{TP} t_j [_{VP} uma/a águia t_j no plátano]]]]}
- (46) a. Comprei eu os bilhetes.
bought I the tickets
'It was me who bought the tickets.'
[Possible reply to: 'It was nice of him to invite us to the premiere of his new play.']
b. [_{EvalP} Comprei_j ... [_{FocusP} eu_i [_{FinP} t_j [_{IP} t_j t_i os bilhetes...]]

The 'IP type' VSX sentences have athetic, wide focus interpretation with no single constituent assigned any type of informational highlighting. I have proposed that theticity is a kind of sensory (especially visual) evidentiality, hence the presence of an Evidential head targeted by verb movement in the functional structure of the clause, as in (45). An issue left for future research is how the IP-internal Evid head connects with the left peripheral one (cf. Figure 2) – there is no evidence of verb movement to C in VSX thetic sentences, a consensual matter in the literature (cf. (13) above). The 'CP type' VSX order covers sentences that have in common an evaluative import, generally conveying criticism, but may differ in other respects. 'Internal' subject-focus structures display movement of the subject DP to Spec,FocP, which gives it the contrastive interpretation, and movement of the verb to the Evaluative head in the sentential left periphery. Inverted conditionals (Iatridou and Embick, 1994) and coordinate non-degree exclamatives (Martins, 2013) share with sentences like (46a) verb movement to Eval, but do not display contrastive or other highlighting of the subject, which signals that FocP plays no role in their derivations. As for contrastive subject-focus sentences with SVX order, they differ from sentences like (46a) in that the verb only reaches Fin, with the interpretative consequence that

they do not have an evaluative meaning, in the relevant sense.

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BLOGS: INNOVATIVE POSSIBILITY FOR TEACHING PORTUGUESE?¹

BLOGS: POSSIBILIDADE INOVADORA PARA O ENSINO DO PORTUGUÊS?

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to problematize the use of a blog as a tool for the teaching Portuguese. *Blog*, a *web* page that is supposed to be updated very frequently through the placement of messages or “posts” consisting of images and / or texts, was created as a popular option for online texts publication, considering the fact that it does not require advanced knowledge in computer science. The study to be presented here is a descriptive research with a qualitative approach. The analysis was based on Miller and Sheppard (2004) excerpts from the concepts of Sociodiscursive Interactionism (ISD) of Bronckart’s framework of analysis procedures (2009, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008) and Bronckart and Machado (2009). The results indicated that the style of the blog studied emphasizes the personal and professional experience of its creator, because the content uploaded in the blog seems to represent the freedom of selection and presentation of the blogger. The blog is seen by the user as an attempt to follow the digital advances, through a technological determinism, without the use of the resource in all its potential for the teaching Portuguese

KEYWORDS: Blog; Portuguese Language Teaching; Sociodiscursive Interactionism.

RESUMO

Este artigo visa a problematizar a utilização de um blog como ferramenta para o ensino do português como língua materna. O *blog*, uma página na *Web* que se pressupõe ser atualizada com grande frequência, por meio da colocação de mensagens ou “posts” constituídos por imagens e/ou textos, foi criado como uma opção popular para a publicação de textos online, que dispensa conhecimentos avançados em informática. O estudo constitui-se como uma pesquisa descritiva, de abordagem qualitativa. A análise baseou-se nos apontamentos feitos por Miller e Sheppard (2004) e de recortes feitos dos conceitos do Interacionismo Sociodiscursivo (ISD) do quadro de procedimentos de análise de Bronckart (2009, 2003, 2004, 2006, 2008) e Bronckart e Machado (2009). Os resultados indicam que o estilo do blog estudado enfatiza a experiência pessoal e profissional da sua criadora, que o conteúdo representa a liberdade de seleção e apresentação da blogueira. Reconhece-se o blog como uma tentativa de acompanhar os avanços, por meio de um determinismo tecnológico, sem a utilização do recurso em toda a sua potencialidade, para o ensino de língua portuguesa.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Blog; Ensino de Língua Portuguesa; Interacionismo Sociodiscursivo.

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Introduction

The use of digital technological devices and resources in everyday social life has generated changes in the way people communicate and interact. Associated with the use of digital technologies, the expansion of the internet has also reconfigured the ways people learn. This context brings to education the need for a formation which has to consider the students formation to deal with digital technologies and use these differentiated resources in the classroom context. In addition, teachers are required to seek initial and continuous formation since their students already use digital technological resources daily, through which they obtain new knowledge and, often, have challenged teachers about the content to be taught. Thus, the challenge presented in our contemporary educational environment is to incorporate the use of digital media in teaching and learning processes.

As communicating is a skill to be developed, it is possible to say that today it has crossed the boundaries of space and time, unlike the communication established in oral society, whose participants shared the same space and time. According to Castells (1999), we are in the “information age” and new relationships are established between subjects and knowledge, and this relationship is now mediated by technologies, in a space named cyberspace.

For Castells (1999), interconnection, global or local, is a basic principle of cyberspace, its dynamics are dialogical. For Lévy (1999), virtual communities are based on affinities of interests, knowledge, projects. They are based in a mutual process of cooperation and exchange.

In the face of social transformations, Lévy (2007) refers to changes in reading and writing support, which modification from printed text to computer screen causes changes in the production process and interaction with reading and writing, depending on the media on which the texts are configured. If such changes have changed the way one reads and writes, consequently, the way one teaches to read and to write should also be modified. In this sense, it becomes emerging to think about how Portuguese language teachers can teach reading and writing considering a technologicalized society.

As teachers, the role is predominant in the mediation between the process of appropriation of knowledge, enabling reflection on what occurs in society. This relationship between the digital world and a reality experienced by students and school, is a relevant aspect to be inserted in our pedagogical practice and in the development and planning of school activities.

Therefore, some studies have pointed out the blog as an appropriate tool for teaching the Portuguese, such as Vieira (2016), Miller and Shepherd (2004) and others. According to Vieira (2016), many experts claim that there are safer and more adequate digital environments to teach Portuguese and, among these environments, “blogs are among the main ones, besides being also a representative of digital genres” (VIEIRA, 2016, p. 52, translated by the authors)⁵.

One can think that a relationship between blogs and the practice of teaching Portuguese

⁵ In portuguese: “os blogs figuram entre os principais, além de serem também um representante dos gêneros digitais” (VIEIRA, 2016, p. 52).

has to consider due to the fact that blogs can give a consistent structure for reading and writing work. According to Vieira (2016, p. 52), blogs can be created “for the production of texts, narratives, poems, analysis of literary works, reports of visits and study excursions, publication of texts, photos, drawings and videos produced by students” (translated by the authors)⁶. Therefore, this research aims to problematize the use of a blog to teach Portuguese as a mother language thinking critically about the knowledge or contents made available in relation to its social use and how it can help teachers.

In this perspective, we chose a blog that was not linked to any institution and that had the possibility of “reaching” a greater number of readers. This methodological decision is based on the interest of knowing how the creator of the blog organized a pedagogical proposal through a digital tool and how communication was established in the virtual environment. Initially, some aspects were considered for the blog choice such as: number of hits, thematic content posted and how the teacher presented herself on the homepage.

To guide the proposed discussions, the text is organized into three sections: the first brings a reflection about blogs, as concepts, origin and characteristics; the second focus on Sociodiscursive Interactionism in an epistemological position from Bronckart’s conception (1999) and the third describes the teacher’s Portuguese language blog based on discursive interactionism.

Blogs: concepts, origin and features

The expression *Weblog* or Blog (abbreviated form) was created in December 1997 by the american Jorn Barger. It is configured as a *web 2.0* tool, a concept that, according to O’Reilly (2006), presents a new way of using the internet (worldwide computer network) as a platform, with different possibilities of *online* interaction.

What distinguishes blogs from the pages and sites that are available on the network is how they can be created, edited and published. Blogs are configured as a phenomenon of possibilities brought by technology on the Internet and “have historicity, preserve the construction and not only the product (archives), and are dynamic publications that favor the formation of networks” (GUTIERREZ, 2004, p. 12, translated by the author)⁷. The dynamism of publications and the formation of links between texts allow teachers and students to experience writing and reading from a new form, the hypertext. According to Pierre Lévy (1993), a hypertext is a set of nodes bound by connections, which can be words, pages, images, graphics or parts of graphics, sound sequences, complex documents which can themselves be hypertexts. Lévy (1993) states that hypertext is a type of program for the organization of knowledge or data, which provides

6 In portuguese: “para produção de textos, narrativas, poemas, análise de obras literárias, relatórios de visitas e excursões de estudo, publicação de textos, fotos, desenhos e vídeos produzidos pelos alunos” (VIEIRA, 2016, p. 52).

7 In portuguese: “possuem historicidade, preservam a construção e não apenas o produto (arquivos), e são publicações dinâmicas que favorecem a formação de redes” (GUTIERREZ, 2004, p. 12).

acquisition of information and communication.

The blog was created as a popular option for publishing texts online, since it does not need advanced knowledge in computer science. Silva (2010) says that “The simplicity in updating and maintaining the texts in a network was a decisive aspect for the dissemination of this tool considered self-expression (SILVA, 2010, p. 45, translated by the authors)⁸.

Miller and Shepherd (2004) analyzed the cultural period in which blogs emerged and established the central trends of what is identified as blogging and examined its constitution, form, and rhetorical action and explored the ancestral genres that offered rhetorical precedents and standards for blogging.

For Miller and Shepherd (2004, p. 9), “the cultural moment in which the blog emerged is a *kairós* that changed the boundary between the public and the private and the relationship between the mediated and the unmediated experience»(MILLER; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 9)⁹. The authors explain that in the mid-1990s, there was an immersion in a “simulation culture” making the direct and real experience seemed less attractive than the mediation provided by the media. Miller and Shepherd (2004) quote Baudrillard (1981) when they say that the relations between the real and the simulated began to reverse and that, instead of representing the real, simulation constitutes the real. And it is in this context that the blog emerged as a digital tool and to be used as diaries where people exposed their experiences.

Miller and Shepherd (2004, p. 9), when talking about the semantic content or substance of a blog, used Rodzvilla (2002) words to state that bloggers seem to agree that content is the most important feature of a blog. According to the authors, *the Weblog Review*, a blogging review site, evaluates 3 (three) resources on a 5-point scale: design, consistency, and content, with most of the ranking weight, 80 to 90 percent, for blog content.

Miller and Shepherd (2004), by going deeper into the theme of blogs, found that several sources confirmed the perception of two main types of blogs, based primarily on a different substantive emphasis: a previous type that emphasizes access to information with links to other sites of interest and a later type that emphasizes personal writing as a journal.

According to Miller and Shepherd (2004, p. 12), “content is important to bloggers because it represents their freedom of selection and presentation” (MILLER; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 12). The authors emphasize that blogs are personal and imbued with the writer’s temperament, constitute as a tool of self-expression, reveal about who he is, what he knows and what he thinks. They also state that «the «reality» offered by blogs is, therefore, a completely perspectivist reality, anchored in the blogger’s personality and, although this reality seems to

8 In portuguese: “a simplicidade em atualizar e manter os textos em rede foi um aspecto decisivo para a difusão desta ferramenta considerada de autoexpressão” (SILVA, 2010, p. 45).

9 In portuguese: “o momento cultural em que o blog surgiu é um *kairós* que mudou a fronteira entre o público e o privado e a relação entre a experiência mediada e não mediada” (MILLER ; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 9).

be <immediate> (i.e., not mediated), it is, of course, highly mediated» (MILLER; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 12). That is, blogs reveal, from a perspective, who is the person behind that tool.

Another aspect considered no less important by Miller and Shepherd (2004) concerns semantic immediacy, formally represented by the use of the time present in the dated entries, because the reverse chronology (recent posts appear first and then the oldest ones) and the time stamping on the posts create an “expectation of updates”. Hourihan (2002) points out that the combination of links and comments is what distinctively characterizes a blog, creating connections that “link” bloggers to a community.

For Miller and Shepherd (2004), “many bloggers see blogging as a way to develop relationships, keeping them connected whenever possible as an *online* community, and manage those relationships through links and comments, which become forms of social control, signs of approval, acceptance and value” (MILLER; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 16)¹⁰.

According to the authors, the subject of blogs is involved in self-revelation, because the blog allows four functions of self-revelation to be revealed: self-enlightenment, social validation, relationship development and social control. In the authors’ conception, the blog can reveal the identity and nature of the blogger, that is, a rhetorical version of “his own nature”, through the contents posted on it.

Miller and Shepherd (2004) see the blog as a genre that addresses a timeless rhetorical requirement in specific ways to their time. In it, “the potentialities of technology, a set of cultural patterns, rhetorical conventions available in antecedent genres and the history of the subject combined to produce a rhetorical explanation that found a conventional reason for expression” (MILLER; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 24)¹¹.

In Brazil, people started to take credits to blogs around the year 2000. When they became popular, ideas emerged of exploration this support in a differentiated way, including as a pedagogical tool. Added to this, “the blog came to be known as a privileged space for the organization of classes, workshops, research, registration of activities given in the classroom, as well as proposal of extraclass works or unusual form of written debate, finally a true *webfolio* of learning” (BOLLELA *et al*, 2006, p. 1, translated by the authors)¹².

According to Gomes (2005), the blog,

10 In portuguese: “muitos blogueiros veem o blog como uma forma de desenvolver relações, mantendo-as ligadas sempre que possível como uma comunidade online, e gerir essas relações através de ligações e comentários, que se tornam formas de controle social, sinais de aprovação, aceitação e valor” (MILLER; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 16).

11 In portuguese: “as potencialidades da tecnologia, um conjunto de padrões culturais, convenções retóricas disponíveis em gêneros anteriores e a história do assunto combinados para produzir uma explicação retórica que encontrou uma razão de expressão convencional” (MILLER; SHEPHERD, 2004, p. 24).

12 In portuguese: Somado a isso, “o blog passou a ser conhecido como um espaço privilegiado para a organização de aulas, oficinas, pesquisas, registro de atividades dadas em sala de aula, assim como proposta de trabalhos para se fazer extraclasses ou na forma inusitada de debate escrito, enfim um verdadeiro *webfólio* de aprendizagem” (BOLLELA *et al*, 2006, p. 1).

as a digital tool, is able to ‘encompass’ various educational contents and materials and constitute itself as “space for access to specialized information or a space for the provision of information by the teacher; and as a strategy can take the form of a digital portfolio, a space for exchange and collaboration, a space for debate and integration. (GOMES, 2005, p. 312-313, translated by the authors)¹³.

The blog can be understood as a virtual space that allows the Portuguese language learner to perform an active work in the development of skills, either “building meanings for the texts through reading, or practicing writing, from their objectives, their knowledge about the subject, about the author, everything they know about the language: characteristics of gender, the bearer, the system and the school”. (BRASIL, 2001, p. 53, translated by the authors)¹⁴.

In this sense, the blog is perceived as a simple tool, but at the same time, by it, students can take an active stance, interacting, sharing doubts, information and knowledge about the language, becoming co-responsible for their learning process.

The use of blogs in education enables the enrichment of the educational process and the enhancement of learning, through the publication and interaction of ideas on the Internet. Moreover, they are excellent instruments for the formative and continuous evaluation, since they allow evaluating the writing and the quality of hypertextual writing, ability to create links (*links*), way of writing and making comments.

The blog was designed in order to allow the teacher to organize and guide the work done in the context of the classroom, serving as a vehicle of connection between the contents learned, the school and the reality of the student.

In a school context, in which a diverse culture is increasingly observed, the blog can be used as a space of integration, where students are called to share knowledge and collaborate, presenting their perspectives, experiences and cultural realities. According to Cruz (2008) and Machado (2009), blogs can be used in educational activities to (1) publish short texts that students should comment on in order to develop skills in the writing area; (2) publish activities, photographs; (3) launch research proposals; (4) put up warnings; (5) produce educational or didactic material; (6) produce summaries of the studied matter; (7) create learning portfolios; (8) talk about subjects initiated in the classroom that can be more explored in mailing lists or in forums.

13 In portuguese: De acordo com Gomes (2005), o blog, como ferramenta digital, é capaz de “abarcas” conteúdos e materiais didáticos diversos e se constituir como “espaço de acesso à informação especializada ou um espaço de disponibilização de informação por parte do professor”; e como estratégia pode “assumir a forma de portfólio digital, um espaço de intercâmbio e colaboração, um espaço de debate e de integração”. (GOMES, 2005, p. 312-313).

14 In portuguese: “construindo significados para os textos através da leitura, seja praticando a escrita, a partir dos seus objetivos, do seu conhecimento sobre o assunto, sobre o autor, de tudo que sabe sobre a língua: características do gênero, do portador, do sistema e da escola”. (BRASIL, 2001, p. 53).

Blogs, used as educational projects, according to Gutierrez (2003) can:

[...] promote among the participants the exercise of written, artistic, hypertextual creative expression and the exercise of dialogue, authorship and co-authorship. They also allow participants to return to their own production, exercising critical thinking, resuming and reinterpreting concepts and practices (GUTIERREZ, 2003, p. 233, translated by the authors)¹⁵.

The blog enables and enhances learning through interaction (necessary in the exchange of experiences and learning), awakening in the learner the desire to use the language in the performance of a given activity.

Through the blog it is possible to exercise the interaction between subjects and between the subject and knowledge, foster the students' participation, creating real communication situations with the objective of checking/ testing / practicing, initiating dialogues with colleagues, teachers and other speakers; find answers, ask other students, read texts in their mother tongue, share questions and experiences, resume concepts, make comments and criticisms about posts, movies, consult previous content and work understanding of small texts. In this direction, Gomes (2005) states that:

There are blogs created and streamlined by teachers or individual students, there are blogs of collective authorship, teachers and students, there are blogs focused on themes of specific disciplines and others that seek to achieve a transdisciplinary dimension. There are blogs that constitute digital portfolios of the school work performed and blogs that function as a space for representation and presence on the Web of schools, departments and student associations. (GOMES, 2005, p. 311, translated by the authors)¹⁶.

Therefore, it should be considered that technological and scientific development is inter-related with daily and social life, established inside and outside the classroom, and this inter-relationship (between technology and society) involves a series of factors (social and cultural) and principles that, once observed, may promote a reelaboration of teachers' pedagogical practice and, consequently, a reelaboration of the teaching and learning process.

Sociodiscursive Interactionism

Sociodiscursive Interactionism (ISD) is a term created by Bronckart (1999; 2004) to name the result of an epistemological positioning about the conditions of human development, based on the propositions of Spinoza, Marx, Vygotski and Bakhtin.

15 In portuguese: [...] promover entre os participantes o exercício da expressão criadora escrita, artística, hipertextual e o exercício do diálogo, da autoria e co-autoria. Possibilitam, também, que os participantes retornem à sua própria produção, exercendo o pensamento crítico, retomando e reinterpretando conceitos e práticas (GUTIERREZ, 2003, p. 233).

16 In portuguese: “Há blogs criados e dinamizados por professores ou alunos individuais, há blogs de autoria coletiva, de professores e alunos, há blogs focalizados em temáticas de disciplinas específicas e outros que procuram alcançar uma dimensão transdisciplinar. Há blogs que se constituem como portfólios digitais do trabalho escolar realizado e blogs que funcionam como espaço de representação e presença na Web de escolas, departamentos e associações de estudantes” (GOMES, 2005, p. 311).

ISD can be considered a more specific aspect of social interactionism, which is an epistemological position in which several currents of philosophy and human sciences are inserted (BRONCKART, 1999). According to the author, this position considers the historicity of the human being, with regard to the conditions in which they develop, in the species, particular ways of organizing themselves in society and forms of interaction of semiotic character, in view of the process of formation of the human organism in person.

According to Bronckart (2006), “the central thesis of sociodiscursive interactionism is that action constitutes the result of the appropriation by the human organism of the properties of social activity mediated by language” (translated by the authors)¹⁷. In this sense, “the agent is assigned the existence of a motive, an intention and a responsibility related to his/her action” (BRONCKART, 2006, p. 42, translated by the authors)¹⁸.

Bronckart (1999) pointed out that human behaviors are analyzed as situated human actions, products of socialization and verbal behaviors are conceived as specific forms of action and in interdependence with non-verbal actions. For the author, communicative action is instituted as an instrument by which language actions are attributed to a subject (agent) and materialize in the empirical entity that is the text. Based on this understanding, studies based on the theoretical foundations of ISD have focused on the discussion of a semantics of action, from the analysis of texts.

According to Bulea (2010), based on relationships established between the choice of thematic content and the type of discourses mobilized, it is possible to identify four different types “records of action”: acting situated, acting past event, acting canonical and acting experience.

The author mentioned that the situated action presents an understanding of the acting-referent as a set of textualization and characterized by a strong degree of action contextualization. It is presented almost exclusively in textual segments of interactive discourse and its construction mobilizes elements available in the immediate context. The past event action presents a retrospective understanding of the action, which occurs in a disjointed way of the textualization situation

The acting experience is characterized by an understanding of the referent action taken from the angle of personal crystallization of action experiences and it is mobilized in interactive speech text segments and presents itself in a decontextualized way, always being recontextualized when its general configuration is applied to a particular context; and canonical action proposes an understanding of acting in the form of theoretical construction.

17 In portuguese: Para Bronckart (2006), “a tese central do interacionismo sociodiscursivo é que a ação constitui o resultado da apropriação, pelo organismo humano, das propriedades da atividade social mediada pela linguagem”.

18 In portuguese: “ao agente é atribuída a existência de um motivo, de uma intenção e de responsabilidade referentes ao seu agir” (BRONCKART, 2006, p. 42).

By producing a text, the agents (senders and receivers) mobilize the representations of human organisms and this text becomes the product of individual and collective representations, creating distance from the environment, thus making possible the autonomization of semiotic production.

Bronckart (1999, p. 95) “distinguishes the notions of emitter/enunciator, agent-producer and author” (BRONCKART, 1999, p. 95, translated by the authors)¹⁹. For the author, the same sender can produce texts in which he plays different enunciative roles (role of father, teacher, student, etc.), since the instance responsible for the elaboration of a text must be defined from a physical point of view and also socio-subjective.

After this distinction is made, it is necessary to recognize, however, that the instance responsible for the text production is a single entity that must be defined, at the same time, from a physical point of view and from a sociosubjective point of view. In this way, we could call this individual an emitter-enunciator.

These criteria are related “to the conditions of production of the texts, as regards the analysis of the internal architecture of the texts, (Bronckart, 1999, p.120, translated by the authors)²⁰ presents the concept of infrastructure as corresponding to the general plan of the text, which in turn is determined by the specific combinatoric of the types of discourse, sequences and other forms of planning present in it.

For Bronckart (1999), the types of discourse are understood as linguistic forms identifiable in textual production and that translate the creation of specific discursive worlds. The types of discourse can be understood as belonging to two axes: narrating and exposing.

The axis of narrating can be implicated or autonomous, that is, it may present or not implication in relation to the act of production (through spatial, temporal and person deitics). In the axis of narrating, the facts would necessarily not be linked to the ordinary world, as if it were situated in another “place”. “The axis of the expose (conjunction) can also be implied or autonomous and the facts are presented as accessible in the ordinary world of protagonists” (BRONCKART, 1999, p. 153-155, translated by the authors)²¹.

Within these two axes, there is another division that gives rise to the types of discourse: narrating – disbonded and autonomous (type of discourse narration); narrate - disjointed and implied (type of discourse report-interactive) and expose - set and implied (type of interactive discourse) and expose - set and autonomous (type of theoretical discourse) (BRONCKART,

19 In portuguese: Bronckart (1999) estabelece uma distinção para as noções de emissor/enunciador, agente-produtor e autor. (BRONCKART, 1999, p. 95).

20 In portuguese: Bronckart (1999, p.120) apresenta o conceito de infraestrutura como correspondente ao plano geral do texto, que por sua vez é determinado pela combinatória específica dos tipos de discurso, das sequências e de outras formas de planificação presentes nele.

21 In portuguese: O eixo do expor (conjunção) pode também ser implicado ou autônomo e os fatos são apresentados como acessíveis no mundo ordinário dos protagonistas (BRONCKART, 1999, p. 153-155).

2006; 2008).

Pereira (1999), when discussing the mechanisms of textualization, says that these “correspond to the rules of general organization of the text comprising nominal cohesion, verbal cohesion and connection mechanisms”(PEREIRA, 1999, p. 1687, translated by the authors)²². According to the author, the enunciative mechanisms, however, refer to the evidence of enunciative positions, as well as to the explicitness of modalizations. As for modalizations, the author explains that, according to Bronckart (1999), they contribute to the establishment of pragmatic coherence of the text, starting to explain both the evaluations, judgments, opinions, feelings which can be formulated on aspects related to the theme as well as the sources of these evaluations.

Pereira (1999, p. 1687) also states that

modalizations are relatively independent of linearity and textual progression, insinuating themselves at any level of textual architecture and belong to the configurational dimension of the text and contribute to the establishment of its pragmatic coherence (PEREIRA, 1999, p. 1687, translated by the authors)²³.

According to Bronckart (1999) “the performance of a language action implies the mobilization of a vast set of knowledge, by authorship, which refer to the physical and social context of his intervention, the thematic content and his own status as an agent (capacity for action, intentions)” (BRONCKART, 1999, p. 321, translated by the authors)²⁴.

For Nascimento (2016), the author undertakes a language action “to the extent that he uses a gender model available in the intertext of a social group, which organizes the lexicon, morphosyntax, types of discourses, types of planning, in short, which uses the resources of the language. It is this action, therefore, that makes the individual the author of the text” (NASCIMENTO, 2016, p. 102, translated by the authors)²⁵. And it is in this collective instance that the set of operations on which the infrastructure and textualization mechanisms are based are involved, which intervene in enunciative mechanisms, specifically in voice management and modalizations.

According to Pérez (2014), ISD aims to demonstrate, in line with Vygotsky and Sauss-

22 In portuguese: “correspondem às regras de organização geral do texto que compreende a coesão nominal, a coesão verbal e os mecanismos de conexão” (PEREIRA, 1999, p. 1687).

23 In portuguese: “modalizações são relativamente independentes da linearidade e da progressão textual, insinuando-se em qualquer nível da arquitetura textual e pertencem à dimensão configuracional do texto e contribuem para o estabelecimento de sua coerência pragmática” (PEREIRA, 1999, p. 1687).

24 In portuguese: “a realização de uma ação de linguagem implica a mobilização de um vasto conjunto de conhecimentos, por parte da autoria, que se referem ao contexto físico e social de sua intervenção, ao conteúdo temático e ao seu próprio estatuto de agente (capacidade de ação, intenções)” (BRONCKART, 1999, p. 321, traduzido pelos autores).

25 In portuguese: “na medida em que utiliza um modelo de gênero disponível no intertexto de um grupo social, que organiza o léxico, a morfossintaxe, os tipos de discursos, os tipos de planificação, enfim, que utiliza os recursos da língua. É essa ação, portanto, que faz do indivíduo o autor do texto”(NASCIMENTO, 2016, p. 102).

ure's thesis, that the appropriation of the sign is the origin of the constitution of human conscious thought, that is, "[...] the language practices situated (or the texts-discourses) are the main instruments of human development, both in relation to knowledge and knowledge and in relation to the capacities of action and identity of people" (BRONCKART, 2006, p. 10, translated by the authors)²⁶.

Regarding language practices as instruments of human development, Pérez (2014) points out that, for ISD,

this notion of language action, in its social and individual dimension, is extremely important, since it is fundamental to understand and analyze specifically human behaviors. It is necessary to consider the social dimension of this action, because it is in the social that the representations of the world are constructed and validated; as well as the individual dimension, because it is understood that the human individual, making a cut in social activity, acts languageically, and this action is the result of its internalization of the evaluations related to the modes built socio-historically. (PÉREZ, 2014, p. 36, translated by the authors)²⁷.

The performance of this activity, that is, of language action, "runs in the form of texts that can be understood as the linguistic materialization of the language activities of a given social group, which would correspond to the linguistic embodiment of a language action" (BRONCKART, 2006, p. 139, translated by the authors)²⁸.

As to the notion adopted by ISD, Pérez (2014) explains that, in order for a language action to happen or develop, "it is necessary that the group where the interaction occurs share certain knowledge, within what it calls as 'theory of acting', as belonging to three orders, which define three worlds: the objective, the social and the subjective world (PÉREZ, 2014, p. 36, translated by the authors)²⁹. Bronckart (1999) inspired by Habermas' communicative action and proposes the existence of three worlds: the objective, the social and subjective world, historically constituted and constantly modified.

For Bronckart (1999, p. 37), when considering these 3 worlds proposed by Habermas, it

26 In portuguese: "[...] as práticas languageiras situadas (ou os textos-discursos) são os instrumentos principais do desenvolvimento humano, tanto em relação aos conhecimentos e aos saberes quanto em relação às capacidades do agir e da identidade das pessoas" (BRONCKART, 2006, p. 10).

27 In portuguese: "essa noção de agir de linguagem, em sua dimensão social e individual, é de extrema importância, já que ela é fundamental para se entender e analisar as condutas especificamente humanas. É preciso considerar a dimensão social desse agir, pois é no social que se constroem e se validam as representações do mundo; como também a dimensão individual, por se entender que o indivíduo humano, fazendo um recorte na atividade social, age languageiramente, sendo essa ação o resultado da sua internalização das avaliações referentes aos modos contruídos sócio-historicamente" (PÉREZ, 2014, p. 36).

28 In portuguese: "corre na forma de textos que podem ser entendidos como a materialização linguística das atividades de linguagem de um determinado grupo social, que corresponderia à concretização linguística de uma ação de linguagem" (BRONCKART, 2006, p. 139).

29 In portuguese: "faz-se necessário que o grupo onde ocorre a interação partilhe certos conhecimentos, dentro que denomina como 'teoria do agir', como pertencentes a três ordens, as quais definem três mundos: o mundo objetivo, o social e o subjetivo" (PÉREZ, 2014, p. 36).

indicates that the signs direct us towards the physical aspects (parameters of the environment), constituted by the collective knowledge acquired in relation to the physical environment. This knowledge (built) forms the objective world. The social world refers to the way the members of the group organize common tasks. The forms of cooperation between the members of the group and the collective knowledge accumulated for the accomplishment of a task is what defines the subjective world.

Portuguese language teacher's BLOG

To carry out this study, we opted for a descriptive research, with a qualitative approach, to present the purpose of a non-institutional educational blog that deals with teaching Portuguese. At first, from the descriptor "Portuguese-language blogs", 112 blogs were selected which characteristics were close to our work proposal.

Of the total found, 97 (ninety-seven) dealt with language teaching and 5 (five) with teacher formation. From this observed amount, it was possible an initial classification of three predominant characteristics: (1) those that are directed to students, offering content and activities of Portuguese language; (2) those who address students and teachers with proposals for activities and grammatical contents and (3) those who specifically target teachers, structuring their discourse in order to establish a dialogue with teachers. We opted, then, by a blog directed to teachers and students and to the teaching of norms and rules of the Portuguese language, not linked to any institution.

As analysis procedures, we rely on the characteristics pointed out by Miller and Shephard (2004) and on the theoretical assumptions that constitute the discursive textual analysis model developed by Bronckart's ISD (1999, 2004, 2006, 2008), in order to understand, from a linguistic-discursive perspective, issues related to the educational work developed by the blogger teacher (BRONCKART; MACHADO, 2004).

To help the analysis, we made a cut in the notes made by Bronckart and Machado, using questions that allowed selecting a large number of data, contributing to the understanding of the objectives set by the teacher blog when proposing a process of teaching and learning through a blog.

Identifying the educational blog analyzed

Professora Maria's blog was created in 2011 and aimed at students, teachers and people interested in language learning. The original name of the blog is the personal name of the teacher, so to preserve the identity of the teacher, another name was used and her photo was hidden

Figure 1 – Teacher Maria's Blog, July 2017



The image in *Figure 1* shows the aspect of the blog's homepage when we started writing our study in the second half of 2017. In *Figure 2*, we have the image of the blog reconfigured, in which we can notice changes in the layout of the written elements and also change in some themes of the contents of the blog. We observed that the themes “Text Interpretation”, “Public Tender”, “Morphology” and “Semantics” prevailed. The theme “Syntax” has been replaced with “Syntactic Analysis”. The themes “Games”, “Poets” and “Reflection” were removed and the theme “Vestibular” was inserted.

Figure 2 - Blog setup in August 2018



The changes made in the blog by the teacher demonstrate that the tools that make up

this virtual environment facilitate and allow its author to make changes and organize the space when desired. By updating the blog, the teacher may be looking for a better way to organize it to establish better communication with the readers-users, since, in it, communication occurs through language in written form.

Teacher Maria’s blog’s thematic composition

Teacher Maria’s blog is a technological tool and repository of activities and contents and functions as an extension of the classroom. The teacher uses the blog as a tool, as an additional resource and support to her classes, through which she organizes and broadcasts content, in addition to those addressed in the classroom.

The blog consists of 7 (seven) themes, which are linked various contents, which can be accessed through *link*. The contents posted on the blog are chosen by the teacher, based on needs presented by the readers-users. According to the blogger teacher, the contents are searched in books of professionals in the area and on some websites and blogs. However, on the blog do not appear the sources from which these contents are removed³⁰.

Regarding the theme addressed in the teacher’s blog, the contents of the posts are related to *Phonology, Morphology, Syntactic Analysis, Semantics, Public Tender, Text Interpretation* and *Vestibular*, as we can observe in *Table 2*:

Table 1: Blog Posts Themes

Themes	Total links
Phonology	4 links
Morphology	11 links
Syntatic Analysis	19 links
Semantics	10 links
Public Tender	5 links
Text Interpretation	15 links
Vestibular	Link off

Source: Research Archive (2019).

The theme *Phonology* brings grammar content aimed at the study of language sounds. Under this theme we have links that deal with “Graphic accentuation – rules”, “Phoneme and letter” and “Syllabic Division”. Like other topics, the blogger teacher explains what each content is about and provides activities and exercises to readers-users. The post with the

30 To this appropriation of content arranged on the internet, Rojo (2012, p. 12) calls it *fatrimonium*. According to the author, “the possibility of creating texts, videos, music, tools, non-unidirectional, controlled and authorial designs, but collaborative and interactive, dilutes (and at the fracture limit and transgresses) the very idea of ownership of ideas: [...] a “*fatrimonium*” of humanity and no longer as a “heritage”.

theme *Morphology* brings a study on each of the grammatical classes: noun, adjective, article, pronoun, numeral, verb, adverb, preposition, conjunction, interjection. When we click on the link *Morphology*, we find two other links (one that deals with the structure and formation of words and the other about the word classes).

In the link on “Structure and word formation”, we find information about how words are formed (by morphemes), about radical (part that sustains words, according to the teacher), thematic vowel (of names and verbs), desinences (nominal and verbal) affixes, prefixes and suffixes, as well as other contents related to the formation of words and exercises related to content. The theme *Syntactic Analysis* aims to deal with sentence structure (placement syntax, concordance and verbal regency) and the terms of prayer (subject, predicate, direct and indirect object, nominal complement, adnominal and adverbial adjunct, passive agent, bet, predicate and vocative). Each of the terms of the prayer is conceptualized and followed by activities with similar characteristics: questions with multiple choice questions, the answers are available at the end of the activities.

In the theme *Semantics*, the content posted is directed to readers-users to understand the meaning of words. The teacher uses links that allow blog users to have contact with content about antonyms, synonyms, homonyms, paronyms, figures of language (construction, words, thought and sound), functions of language (phatic and poetic) and ambiguity (double meaning).

The theme *Public Tender* is directed to internet users interested in providing public tenders. It has subjects that are requested in these types of selection process. It brings tests, links of abstracts, required books and commented questions of selection processes already performed. By clicking on the links, they direct us to activities that include texts for interpretation (with open and multiple choice questions) and grammar exercises, worked in a contextualized way.

In the theme *Text Interpretation*, were arranged and, later, questions about the text. The questions, in most texts, are composed of objective questions (multiple choice) and discursive questions. Of the 13 (thirteen) texts posted under the title *Text Interpretation*, in none of them the answers are available. To access the answers, readers-users need to click on the link “View my full profile”, in the lower right margin, just below the photo of Professor Maria. By clicking on the “Questions and feedback” link, users will get answers to the activities. Initially, there were difficulties in finding answers to the proposed exercises. Possibly, beginning readers-users face the same difficulties, because the way the answers are available on the blog can compromise the interactivity (human-machine relationship).

Regarding the theme *Vestibular*, the images brought refer to content posted, possibly, until the date of October 2, 2018. At the time of the search, the link to the theme *Vestibular* is disabled not allowing us to view any content.

In addition to the links linked to the themes, we can click on several others (a total of 273

links) that are on the right margin of the blog, with various Portuguese-language content.

Sociohistorical context of Teacher Maria's formation

The data available on the blog present Teacher Maria. She was born in state of São Paulo, she is graduated in Languages, with a postgraduate degree in Teacher Formation of Elementary School and Teaching Portuguese Practice. She has been teaching Portuguese in public and private schools for 30 years³¹, working in various stages of Basic Education, such as Elementary School, High School, Preparatory Courses and private classes. During the research period, she worked with revision and preparation of text (all genres).

For the proposal of this study, we analyze the posts made by the teacher in the form of texts and comments made by readers-users of the blog. The analyses made allow us to confirm the importance of the production context in the development of teaching and learning process and pedagogical practice developed through the blog.

When observing the blog and the teacher's posts, the look is directed to an analysis that brought, mainly, the representations and social values present, subjectively, in the pedagogical proposal elaborated by the teacher and in the texts posted on the blog. According to Bronckart ([1999] 2009, p. 13), linguistic units belonging to texts are taken as properties of human conducts. According to Bronckart (2008), this means that, for Bakhtin “discourses always have a dialogical character: they are inscribed in a social horizon and address a social auditorium” (BRONCKART, 2008, p. 75, translated by the authors)³². In addition, also because the word is the product of the interaction between individuals and these should be the first to be considered in an analysis.

It is noted that the blog studied constitutes as the social place in which interaction with the contents is promoted are published. In it, the social position of the issuer reveals and determines that the blogger teacher represents her social role, that is, as a teacher, writer, reviewer and Christian practitioner of her religion (refers us to values that teacher probably brings with her).

The aspect of religiosity is relevant, because through a link in the teacher's main blog, another blog made by herself, called “*Teacher Maria's blog – The words in heart*”, brought biblical reflections. This makes it possible to think that the teacher's professional identity is an important component, supported by values derived from a type of social practice, that is, that of religious practice. The fact that the teacher uses a link to direct us to this other blog, sounds to us like a new discourse that presents itself, a discourse that, it is supposed to want to provide its

31 The fact that the blogger teacher has taught for more than 30 (thirty) years is an important fact for our study, since, probably, her initial training occurred in the mid-1970s and 1980s. In the decades of the 1970s and 1980s, the social-political context lived was a dictatorship imposed by the military government and a conteudist and traditional teaching of the Portuguese language.

32 In portuguese: “os discursos apresentam sempre um caráter dialógico: eles se inscrevem em um horizonte social e se dirigem a um auditório social” (BRONCKART, 2008, p. 75)

readers-users, in addition to grammatical contents, others that lead them to reflect on life, faith and religiosity.

The link made between the two blogs makes us assume that the teacher wants to say something more about you. This can be proven by reading in their professional background that they are also graduated from a Christian institute, dedicated to the development of leaders, with the aim of mobilizing them to be better agents of the Kingdom of God in the society where they operate, in addition to carrying out the messages of the gospel with cultural sensitivity. Highlighting this aspect (cultural sensitivity) is relevant to our study, because the creation of the blog by the teacher demonstrates that she seeks to put into action this cultural sensitivity and adopt in her action a new style of pedagogical practice.

The objective of the teacher who created the blog, as an enunciator, referred to providing its recipients with the possibility of learning the Portuguese through the use of the blog as an extension of the classroom. From the point of view of the enunciator (blogger teacher), the objective has not changed, given that the contents (themes) of the posts, even though they are different, are related to the teaching and learning of the Portuguese. In order, to get the recipients (readers-users) to use the rules of the language in the various levels of education of which they are part, taking into account what is requested by these levels.

It is emphasized that the teacher's initiative to work with the blog, as a technological tool, undergoes periodic updates and modifications in its structure since the date of the first post, however, remains within the proposal of the teacher's work a space in which it can manifest and perceive the needs of its readers-users to direct their actions. The resources, strategies and contents change as the requirements arising from the classroom and the suggestions made by the readers-users of the blog require it.

The blog presented in this work is a digital tool capable of contributing to the learning of readers-users because it has essential characteristics for a digital learning environment. Such as: dialogicity, usefulness, efficiency, effectiveness, satisfaction, interactivity (human-machine relationship), accessibility and, mainly, interactive potential, which allows interlocutors to use the digital environment to post their doubts, questions, appreciations etc.

As for communication, interaction and established relationships, it is observed that the blog studied (1) has the potential to constitute itself as a tool of interaction, because the blogger teacher establishes dialogue with readers-users in an asynchronous way, (2) it is characterized as an instrument of learning mediation, because readers-users who are interested in the blog's posts and activities can remedy their doubts through posts in the form of comments, (3) promotes the construction of autonomous learning, characterizing itself as a tool of consultation and research on rules and norms of the Portuguese language, and (4) promotes in the readers-users the adoption of an active and autonomous posture, interacting, requesting information and contents about the language, being co-responsible for the teaching and learning process.

However, the blog, as structured and with the types of activities proposed, distances itself from a socio-interactionist perspective, it is limited in relation to the development of communicative skills in students. Due to it contemplates only one aspect of teaching and learning Portuguese, which is the knowledge of the linguistic and grammatical resources of the language.

With regard to the use of language and language in the communicative process, placing students in close proximity to social reality, that is, to make use of language and language as a means of interpreting the world, as well as integrating students, teachers and mother tongue in the dynamics of linguistic communication, this the blog disregards. In addition, the blog does not include multimodal text posts and does not allow readers-users to construct meanings through the exchange of utterances made between participants of language activity.

The activities posted on the blog follow a content and non-reflective teaching line about the social use of Portuguese, marked by the representations constructed by the blogger teacher in her initial training and throughout her professional experience, teaching, mainly, grammar in courses and schools in the teacher's city.

Travaglia (1996, 2003) discusses the issue of the importance of teachers developing the communicative competence of students, rather than simply indicating grammatical rules to them. According to Travaglia (2003), language is more than theory, it is a "set of linguistic knowledge that the user has internalized for effective use in concrete situations of communicative interaction" (TRAVAGLIA, 2003, p. 17, translated by the authors)³³. Thus, the ways of use are an aspect to be problematized, thus, the modes of use show themselves to be an aspect to be problematized, given that proposals for teaching Portuguese language unrelated to application in concrete situations of communicative interaction, possibly not achieving the expected goal.

Final considerations

In carrying out this study, it is clear that pedagogical practices and teaching and learning process can be carried out in a virtual environment. However, both teachers and students and the school community need to undergo initial and continuous training for the use of digital technologies in the classroom so that they are associated and integrated with disciplinary content, that is, that the insertion of digital technological resources in the school environment is not constituted only as a result of a technical appropriation.

Added to this, it is essential to think of a teaching process that is not only a conteudist and technicalist, but linked to a social and historical context, in which the subjects can use the novelties presented by the advances of the various sciences to develop. In this perspective, language teaching and the possibilities of use a language in daily communication, carried out in

³³ In portuguese: "conjunto de conhecimentos linguísticos que o usuário tem internalizados para uso efetivo em situações concretas de interação comunicativa" (TRAVAGLIA, 2003, p. 17).

the digital space, will constitute a strategy capable of contributing to the development of people.

The chosen blog does not constitute a model to be followed, but has become a possibility of studies and research, evidenced by the high number of daily hits. The language activity is an attempt by the blogger teacher to develop a pedagogical practice, following the technological advance, approaching the students virtually, but that exposes gaps with regard to working with language and language in digital media.

It is considered that, by using the blog as a digital resource for teaching Portuguese, the teacher does so by bringing with her all the experience she has acquired over more than 30 (thirty) years as a Portuguese language teacher. By deepening the study, it is perceived that the teacher develops her process of teaching and learning the Portuguese language from a conteudist perspective, based on the teaching of the norms, rules, structure and functioning of the language attributing to the blog a characterization of a reservoir of activities.

Throughout this study it was found that the language action performed by the blog teacher was to obtain an expressive number of accesses to the blog when intending to teach the Portuguese language through the rules and grammar.

Although it is possible to verify that the blogger teacher is achieving her goal, it is noted that there are theoretical and methodological gaps in the teaching and learning process presented. Given the advance of digital technologies that has taken all instances of society, the blog is observed as an attempt to follow these advances, through a technological determinism. Possibly “pressured” by the urgency of using digital technologies and the Internet, the teacher adopted the blog as a digital tool, although not using it in its entire potential for Portuguese teaching process.

Thus, given the expansion of digital and internet technologies in schools and the increased use of smartphones, mobile phones and tablets, it is essential that teachers seek an improvement for the insertion and use of technological resources in the classrooms. However, the use should not be a strategy to save the teaching and learning process, but a means to collaborate with the teacher in the development of his pedagogical practice. Moreover, the use of technologies by teachers needs to be aligned with a well-structured pedagogical project, since it is needed to know the content taught, in addition to providing proximity to the student’s reality, his desires, his inclusion in society, where he can develop as a person and a citizen. Pedagogical work with language needs care not to incur a teaching that contemplates only grammatical or linguistic aspects, but that reaches the discursive, dialogical and interactional dimension of language, in a way associated with the use of digital technologies.

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**BETWEEN FICTION AND REALITY: AN INVESTIGATION INTO
THE ANTI-COLONIAL MESSAGE OF THE BANTU RELIGIOUS
PRACTICES IN “QUICUMBI ASSANHADA” BY ARNALDO SANTOS**
**ENTRE FICÇÃO E REALIDADE: UMA INVESTIGAÇÃO SOBRE A
MENSAGEM ANTICOLONIAL DAS PRÁTICAS ESPIRITUAIS BANTU
EM “QUICUMBI ASSANHADA” POR ARNALDO SANTOS**

*Vincenzo Cammarata*¹

ABSTRACT

The aim of the present article is to investigate the linguistic strategies used by Arnaldo Santos to decolonise the Angolan literature through the spiritual discourse of Bantu derivation in the short story “Quicumbi Assanhada”, initially contained in the collection titled *Tempos do Munhungo* (1968) and then included in *Kinaxixe e Outras Prosas* (1982). In the above story, by combining real-life events with elements coming from his imagination as a writer, Arnaldo Santos is able to compose a literary piece that depicts the simple life of the oppressed people from Luanda, hence sustaining an anti-colonial literature that subverts the order imposed by the Portuguese regime, before the independence of the Angolan country.

KEYWORDS: Arnaldo Santos; Angolan Literature; Spiritualism; Kimbundu; Literary decolonisation.

RESUMO

O presente artigo pretende investigar as estratégias linguísticas usadas por Arnaldo Santos para descolonizar a literatura angolana através do discurso espiritual de matriz bantu, no conto “Quicumbi Assanhada”, inicialmente contido na coleção *Tempos do Munhungo* (1968) e depois incluído em *Kinaxixe e Outras Prosas* (1982). No dito conto, graças à fusão entre eventos da vida real e outros frutos da imaginação do autor, Arnaldo Santos consegue desenvolver uma literatura anticolonial que subverte a ordem imposta pelo regime português, antes da independência do país angolano.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Arnaldo Santos; Literatura angolana; Espiritualismo, Kimbundu, Decolonização literária.

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Introduction

The aim of the present article is to investigate the linguistic strategies used by Arnaldo Santos to decolonise the Angolan literature through the spiritual discourse of Bantu derivation in the short story “Quicumbi Assanhada”, initially contained in the collection titled *Tempos do Munhungo* (1968) and then included in *Kinaxixe e Outras Prosas* (1982). In the above story, by combining real-life events with elements coming from his imagination as a writer, Arnaldo Santos is able to compose a literary piece that depicts the simple life of the oppressed people from Luanda, hence sustaining an anti-colonial literature that subverts the order imposed by the Portuguese regime, before the independence of the Angolan country.

With regards to the presence of the realist element in literature, Schøllhammer considers realism as a strange combination between representation and non-representation, for resuming the historical past in its different expressions, together with the ability of literature to interfere with the perception of reality, through affective and performative experiences that become real (2012, p. 129), tangible, I would add. In fact, if we read closely Santos’s literary piece, we can see how the historical references provided in the opening of his short story, matched with day-to-day experiences lived by the young protagonist in the Luandese market, the traditional beliefs of the Kimbundu-speaking ethnicity “materialise” in the imagination of the reader. The latter, in my opinion, can perceive the events described as plausible, thanks to the wide presence of Bantu culture-bound words related to the female puberty rite, filtered through the emotions and impressions of the protagonist who narrates the whole story, as I will discuss later in this article.

From a linguistic perspective, the use of a specific vocabulary turns this literary piece more expressive, hence conveying a vision of the real world that lies on the impressions of the writer. In this respect, Jakobson states that the use of polite formulae and stock sentences may be replaced by far more expressive common words, that he defines as “right” (1987, p. 21), for the ability to transmit secondary messages, due to the metaphorical or allegorical functions that these words gain in the text. Furthermore, because of the immateriality of the word and the concepts expressed, Castello acknowledges the fact that reality, as we perceive it, is always mixed with immaterial objects, hence the impossibility to make a clear-cut separation between what is real and what is unreal (2020).

In a constant alternation between reality and imagination, the several Bantu spiritual words and coined expressions deployed by Arnaldo Santos are meant to decolonise the Angolan short fiction, by discussing and rewriting the identity of the natives as opposed to the Portuguese colonisers. Through the development of a peculiar form of *crônica*, which includes elements coming from the Bantu oral tradition transcribed in Portuguese and combined with other narrative forms, such as the short story, but also the autobiography, considering the presence of the first-person narrator, the fictional, yet plausible, events portrayed in “Quicumbi Assanhada”

instil a sense of rebellion against the colonial ruler for the layers of interpretations deriving from the close reading of the above literary piece. This relatively recent form of literary expression allows a wide use of words coming from the local culture, with a predominance of Kimbundu terms, as the story is set in the Luanda slum, or *musseque*, where the above Bantu language is spoken. The characters involved in Santos's short stories speak a language that reflects their ethnic origins and social status in a colonised city. Here, the spiritual Bantu heritage is altered as a consequence of the cultural impact of colonialism and is evoked by Santos in order to sustain an anti-colonial message of freedom and nationhood.

In addition to the above, "Quicumbi Assanhada" shows how the geography of Luanda contributes to the characterisation of the people, as well as the depiction of the events, where the spiritual past is still tangible, despite the societal changes over the centuries. The history and the memories associated with specific parts of the city of Luanda define the identity of the people who live there. Their collection and reinterpretation is meant to decolonise the minds of the readers, who are induced into a constant process of self-interrogation, as a result of the dialogue with the narrator who, in turn, expresses his opinions or even takes part in the events described.

A sacred geography with its sacred past

"Quicumbi Assanhada" is a short story narrated by a mixed-race boy who speaks in first person about an event that happened to him in the former Xamavo market of Luanda. Like the title suggests, the narration runs around a girl in the age of puberty – *quicumbi* (SANTOS, 1981, p. 95) –, who is the daughter of a street seller from that market. The apparent purity of the girl disguises her disillusion, considering how able she is to avoid a soldier who harasses her in the market, like a respectable adult woman would do in that case.

The story opens with the description of the place where the narration develops. The market described in this *crônica* saw, in the past, a tragedy that had affected the lives of many *quitadeiras* (street sellers, from the Kimbundu *quitanda*, 'street market'; 'sale'), as we can see in the extract below:

Antigamente este mercado tinha o nome de Xamavo. É provável que não fosse precisamente neste lugar e que não existisse esta cobertura de ferro e as bancadas de cimento. Lembro-me até que só um céu azul e luminoso cobria as velhas quitadeiras e que, à tardinha, os raios desmaiados dos poentes de *jinzumbi* tingiam os corações crédulos de sombrias apreensões. Lembro-me também que nessa hora as ameaças do temido Chefe do Posto se tornavam mais presentes e ocorriam sussurrantes em todos os ouvidos como um vento de maldição. "Uxa mavu kaxisa muenhu..." (SANTOS, 1981, p. 92)²

2 Translation: In the past, the name of this market was Xamavo. Maybe it was not exactly here, or it did not have an iron shelter and concrete benches. I remember that only a bright blue sky covered the old street sellers and that, in the afternoon, the faint rays of the sunsets of *jinzumbi* coloured the hearts believing in shady fears. I also remember that the threats of the feared District Officer became more present and whispered in every ear like

As Mâcedo reports in her study (2017), in 1948, a fatal accident occurred in a place once called Xamavo (or Xa-mavu), when a strong wind made the roof of the market collapse, hence causing the death of several sellers, as well as customers. This event inspired a series of popular versions involving the cursing action of the spirits, or *cazumbis*, as defined by the scholar (2017). In Santos's narration, the *vento de maldição* recalls Ribas's work *A praga* (1978), where the roof is said to have fallen *por causa dos jimbambi*, the latter defined by Chavagne (2005, p. 53) as a sortilege caused by a storm (wind, rain or a lightning) (from the Kimbundu, plural of *mbambi*).

Because of the interference of the supernatural in the above tragedy, documented in literature and journalism, it is noteworthy mentioning the concept of *rumours* as described by Ellis and Ter Haar (2004). According to these scholars, *rumours* are “an attempt at collective conversation by people who wish to enter their sentiments into a public discourse” (ELLIS; TER HAAR, 2004, p. 33). The need to explain facts through the intervention of invisible forces is something that characterises the oral form of communication and is widely documented in the work of the aforesaid scholars. With this regard, they evoke Senghor's statement: “orality is more than just languages” (ELLIS; TER HAAR, 2004, p. 29), to say that the transmission of information by word of mouth, among various ethnicities in Africa, also has a sacred connotation, due to the personal spiritual journeys emerging from the experiences narrated, matched with the ritualistic dimension of the act of storytelling (2004, p. 38-41). These characteristics are maintained in Angolan short fiction and are used in order to build a national fictional aesthetic, as Padilha widely discusses in her book *Entre voz e letra* (2011).

With regards to the above, also Arnaldo Santos's vision of the Xamavo tragedy contains elements coming from the oral tradition and its importance in the transmission of news, between visible, tangible facts, and the immaterial forces of the afterlife. According to Nascimento, the name Xa-Mavu comes from the Kimbundu expression *ixi ya mavu* meaning ‘red clay soil’ (2013, p. 149) because, in Rocha's version of the tragedy of the market, when men were brought to the police station under the order of Chefe Poeira (*temido Chefe do Posto* as in Santos's narration), the car of the chief would leave just red clay (1979, 79). Men would be killed or disappear, that is why the Kimbundu expression at the end of the paragraph wants to recreate the last words of the native men who were deported and killed by the *cipaios*: “Uxa mavu kaxisa muenhu...”, meaning “I leave the earth, but I do not leave life”, as an act of revolt against the colonial physical cruelty. Despite the physical death of the natives due to the oppressive Portuguese regime, the souls of the people are immortal, hence the spiritual dimension of the narration, not only given by the reference to the *jinzumbi*, but also to these Kimbundu words that seem to be said by these spirits. This way, Santos is able to reinforce the importance of the oral tradition and its spiritual dimension, as previously mentioned, filtered through the memories of the narrator who presents the story to the reader.

a cursed wind. “Uxa mavu kaxisa muenhu...”

In Santos's extract, we can also see, in fact, the importance of the narrator's memory, who uses expressions like *é provável que não fosse precisamente* and *lembro-me*, which emphasise the mutation of historical events in the mind of the author-narrator, but also justify the different versions of the same story transmitted over the decades through popular tales, as well as literary narrations of some of the aforesaid Angolan intellectuals. Furthermore, the uncertainty of the narrator emerges in the following excerpt, where he tries to make the relevant connections between the above tragedy and the market as it appears in the time of the narration. The narrator, in fact, expresses his opinion by making a comparison between the people who used to be in the Xamavo market before the incident and those who were there at the time of the narration. The sufferance and sadness remained, despite these feelings can only be perceived by the narrator who lived there.

Julgo, no entanto, poder reconhecer nestas quitandeiras as populares velhas Vunji, as nganas Kimuezus e nganas Makutos, que durante anos ali venderam os seus produtos da terra. Apenas as sinto mais pobres, sem os seus xales coloridos. Também agora percebo melhor as makas latentes nesta discussão que não acaba e que ensurdece o mercado. Parece-me vê-las denunciadas por imagens com cicatrizes mais nítidas... (SANTOS, 1981, p. 92)³

As we can see, *julgo* and *parece-me* give the idea of the relativity of the anti-colonial discourse, which is not black and white, but has nuances that can be perceived only by someone who knows the history of his country. Besides establishing a rapport with the reader by using verbs describing opinions, Santos denounces the colonial discourse by highlighting the fact that the native Bantu-speaking ethnicities had been silenced by the Portuguese invader to the extent that the malaise of the people of the market is latent in the conversations among them. In this context, then, *maka* - from the Kimbundu *maka*, "word" (PORTO EDITORA) – takes on the meaning of quarrel, conflict, a never-ending antagonism between two parts, the sellers and the customers, as a reflection of the Portuguese against the oppressed native people. Because of the aforesaid silent conflict, but also noisy at the same time (*makas* are *latentes*, invisible; however, the *discussão ensurdece o mercado*), those who sell in the market still bear the scars of a sad past that reminds them of the racial and social distinctions between the coloniser and colonised. The author, in fact, could still see the faces of the people who had perished, even after the fatal accident in the Xamavo market. As stated by Macedo, the urban landscape of Luanda is constituted of a conjunction of signs where the sensorial elements, emerging from the written text, serve to convey images, messages and desires (2001, p. 240-241): "a "fala" de cada cidade articula-se a partir de uma semiose singular, de tal forma que os produtos ali produzidos (de sua arquitetura à literatura) podem ser lidos também como os seus desejos e

³ Translation: Meanwhile, I think I can recognise, in these sellers, the popular old Vunji, the *nganas* Kimuezus and Makutos who, for several years, sold their products there. I only feel them poorer, without their colourful shawls. Now I also understand better the latent quarrels in this discussion that does not end and that deafens the market. It feels like I can see them suffering from more visible wounds.

medos” (MACEDO, 2001, p. 240-241).⁴ The street sellers evoked by the narrator still carry the sadness of an inglorious past and deliver further messages to an attentive reader, who can perceive the multiplicity of meanings associated to these characters.

In addition to the above, also the names of the *quitandeiras* mentioned by the narrator participate in the characterisation of the Luandese environment in literature, from a semantic perspective. Across the various native ethnicities of Angola, anthroponyms are accepted in a multicultural context, as a means of sociocultural inclusion, at a macro level, for certain names being widely used by the same members of a specific ethnic community and recognised by the wider majority (ARTES, 2020). With this regard, Ribas carried out a study around the psychology behind the Kimbundu person’s names in his three-volume work titled *Missosso* (1961, 1962 and 1964). Here, the Angolan intellectual claims his interest towards the names of the “naturais de camadas obscuras” (RIBAS, 2009, p. 22)⁵, in a desire to unearth the culture of the colonised people, who have been “obscured”, as a result of the cultural oppression exerted by the Portuguese. In fact, colonialism caused the “despersonalização antroponímica”⁶ of the colonised subject, hence causing a sense of alienation, due to the process of assimilation imposed by the colonial regime (ARTES, 2020). Because of the imprecision of anthroponyms in describing each individual (ARTES, 2020), the person’s names mentioned by the narrator-protagonist of “Quicumbi Assanhada”, on the one hand, characterise the cultural specificity of the ethnic group working the market; on the other hand, they gain a collective value for representing all those who died from the accident. The names evoked by Santos in his *crônica* demonstrate a survival of a culture that is still present, despite the colonial attempts to erase the identities of the natives of Kimbundu mother-tongue.

Resulting from the collection and analysis of the Kimbundu person’s names studied by Ribas, *Vunji* belongs to the category of tutelary spirits or geniuses and is given to those children whose birth is characterised by the absence of catamenia, after the birth of the previous sibling (2009, p. 28). This name explicitly refers to the female spirit *Nvunji*, administering justice (RIBAS, 1989, p. 186). According to Ribas, this spirit was born from a lagoon and manifests herself in the womb for the lack of menstruations. The justice of the spirit is revealed through the following infirmities: anaemia, sight loss, dry cough or hydropsy (1989, p. 186). *Makutu*, instead, literally means ‘lie’ in Kimbundu, with reference to the incredulity felt by the *quimbanda* (medium) due to the survival of the child holding this name (RIBAS, 2009, p. 30). *Makutu* belongs to the category of “nomes de existência duvidosa”,⁷ given to all those children who outlive after the death of their baby siblings (RIBAS, 2009, 22). The cause of these deaths can be related to the anger of a spirit or to the assassination of an individual by an ancestor of the mother of the child (RIBAS, 2009, p. 22).

From the above analysis, we can see how the dichotomic separation between anthroponymy as a sign of cultural manifestation and as a means of expression is narrow from an ontological perspective (ARTES, 2020). In fact, the transcendent character of life and death according to

the Bantu beliefs demonstrates the genealogical and physical stance of anthroponymy and a relation to its physiognomic dimension (ARTES, 2020). The *nganas*⁸ called with Kimbundu traditional names by Santos's narrator, in fact, are now sad, as they lost their former vitality (represented in the text with the lack of *xales coloridos*), as well as poorer. In a land where oppression and injustices were dominant, the sentence *venderam os seus produtos da terra* describes the exploitation of the local resources, for the benefit and consumption of the colonial ruler. Unluckily, the result of such trade is not fruitful for the natives, considering the low economic income of these old ladies.

Turning to the following paragraph of the story, the narrator still shows his feelings and suggests the possible salvation from the internal conflicts (the *makas latentes*, now renamed as *dramas disfarçados*) of a land that suffered a foreign invasion, through the rediscovery of the ancestral Bantu spirituality: “Há no fundo de mim, talvez, muita amargura. Isso faz-me ver mais simples atitudes indícios de conflitos, dramas disfarçados. Vou deixar-me aqui, pacificamente, junto destas quitandeiras de milongos da alma, a imaginar a força dos seus recursos mágicos” (SANTOS, 1981, p. 93).⁹ Because of the ability to heal the wounds of the colonial violence, the natural products sold in the market are here defined as *milongos*, medicines, remedies. Thus, these old women, connected with the afterlife as their fictional names suggest, are perceived as mediums able to resolve every problem to the living humans, thanks to their healing actions of spiritual connotation. Despite the importance of spiritualism in the anti-colonial discourse, the description above may give us some information regarding the perception of the spiritual them by the author-narrator, who uses the word *mágico*, as if he is not fully introduced into the Bantu spiritualism, as we will see later in this article. Further information about the figure of the image of the *quitandeira* in Santos's literature will be provided in the following section, where I will analyse the culture-bound terms related to the Bantu spiritual practices in Santos's *crônica*.

Bantu beliefs and their decolonial charge

With regard to the presence of elements coming from the native cultures in literature, Martinho (2010, p. 9) states that Arnaldo's works are not just a simple rediscovery of the oral narration and traditional stories, but rather a way of writing the cultures of Angola. In this context, ethnography takes a vital role in building the identity of the native black people of Angola. In fact, this subject provides material to Anthropology and Literature, so, the fictional content takes information from the ethnographic research, in order to observe and study a specific minor reality (MARTINHO, 2010, p. 5). Considering the abundant references to the Bantu spiritual practices in “Quicumbi Assanhada”, with special focus on the Kimbundu

⁸ Honorific title used for both women and men (Mrs or Mr)

⁹ Translation: Maybe there is a lot of sadness deep down inside. This makes me see simple reactions as signs of conflict, disguised dramas. Standing pacifically by the side of these sellers of remedies for the soul, I imagine the strength of their magic resources.

language, we can see, in this section, extracts where the above references gain a wide range of connotations that characterise the native Bantu ethnicities as a social sign of distinction.

The first example where the use of the traditional element in narration is expressed in the terms above mentioned is given by the description of *milongo*, mentioned at the end of the previous section. The ritualistic and medicinal plants and objects described by the narrator of the story belong to a past that has been kept alive for generations, despite the changes of the times. By reading this and other *crônicas* by Santos, we can understand that there is a predominance of the Bantu spiritual discourse through the perspective of the mixed-race narrator, who has lost part of his Bantu heritage to embrace a Portuguese outlook, despite the implicit condemnation of the colonial violence and oppression, as we saw in the introductory paragraph of this short story. In the following citation, in fact, the narrator describes the power of the aforesaid *milongos da alma*, as told by the believers, the natives who still have a strong bound to the spiritualism of Bantu derivation.

Dizem que o povo os continua a procurar com desesperada ansiedade. Sobretudo as mães sem leite de meninos doentes, as mães sem marido e algumas amantes abandonadas. Compram pamba e ucusso, pequeninas sementes de pepe e sobongo, fitas vermelhas e azuis de Santo ia Kizola e desesperam por não encontrar folhas de mbilu, que muda os sentimentos dos homens... e das mulheres, penso eu (SANTOS, 1981, p. 93).¹⁰

As we can see above, *dizem* tells us that the narrator heard about the properties of the natural remedies from other people, who desperately search for them to get cured. At the present time of the narration, people seem to search anxiously for those remedies, especially mothers of sick children and without milk, mothers without husband and some abandoned lovers. The spiritual value of certain traditional remedies has remained unaltered through the ages, despite the strong influence of the Portuguese colonisation. *Pamba* and *ucusso* are generally used for the *umbanda* divination to gain the divine grace; the former is a white clay used to trace the vertical line of a cross, whereas the latter is a red pigment deployed to trace the horizontal line (RIBAS, 1989, p. 56). Also, *pepe* and *sobongo*, respectively a seed and fruit used for medical purposes (SANTOS, 1981, p. 93), are desperately searched for their medical as well as spiritual properties.

These two items are mentioned in Rocha's short story (1979, p. 78) to describe the tragedy of the Xá-Mavu market, but they are spelt in their Kimbundu plural form, preceded by the prefix *ji-*: "As kitandeiras ficaram sem o negócio, sem o dinheiro, muitas mesmo sem a vida. Naquele dia, rios de sangue correram no meio do peixe, dos kiabos, da takula, do jipepe e jisobongo, os gritos não calaram na boca dos feridos" (ROCHA 1979, 78). In here, the blood of the deceased

¹⁰ Translation: They say that people continue searching for them with desperate anxiety. Especially milkless mothers of sick children, mothers without husband and some abandoned lovers. They buy *pamba* and *ucusso*, small seeds of *pepe* and *sobongo*, blue and red ribbons of Santo ia Kizola, and feel hopeless for not finding the *mbilu* leaves, which change the feelings of men... and women, I guess.

killed by the fall of the roof of the market contaminates the products; the street sellers who remained alive lost their jobs, while their products went wasted. As we can see, the sense of the desperation is reflected in both narrations and these references to the local plants tell us about the loss of the spiritual Bantu legacy, ‘killed’ together with the people who inherited it over the centuries.

In his work, instead, Santos also mentions other representative elements of the Bantu spiritualism, such as *mbilu*, a wild bush, whose leaves are not easy to find any more, and which is useful for the solution of sentimental issues. In his short story, we can also see mention of the red and blue ribbons given to the *Santo ia Kizola*, the god of love (SANTOS, 1981, p. 93). With regards to the latter, Ribas (1958, p. 100) refers to it as *Santo de Cazola*, for which the ceremony requires the preparation of three cups, one for the initiate and the other two for the parents, containing *pemba* or rice powder, incense, cowrie, a silver coin and a crucifix tied with a blue tape.

Another passage of the story which is worth being mentioned here describes the moment when a customer speaks with the *quitandeira*. The whole scene is reported by the narrator through his perspective as it follows:

A conversa entre as duas mulheres decorria num tom entrecortado de subentendidos e com algumas frases em quimbundo que não entendia. Mas apreendi vagamente que a mãe da quicumbi pusera mesa a Lemba e Hitu para limpar o futuro da sua única filha. E se eu me aproximasse da própria mãe da quicumbi? (SANTOS, 1981, p. 95)¹¹

As we can see above, the narrator does not understand fully the conversation between the two women. The mixed-race narrator is able to make out certain parts of their dialogue, not only because of the implicit references to facts the women were aware of, but also because of the language used, a mixture of Portuguese and Kimbundu. Even though the narrator is not entirely familiar with the local language and spiritual practices, he understood the most important part of the conversation between the two ladies. This tells us more about the narrator, his cultural background and his dominant Portuguese upbringing, in a country where the local cultures tend to be seen as foreign in the eyes of a mestizo, as it will be discussed further in the next section.

The narrator understood that the *quitandeira* was the mother of the girl, who was there, defined in the story as *quicumbi*. According to Schiffler, this term comes from the North-East region of Angola, *Cucumbi*, where the traditional initiation of the young girl during puberty took place for the first time (2015, p. 43-47). This scholar also mentions Ribas, who refers to the *Kubala o Kikumbi*, ritual of the “transgression of the first rule” (1975, p. 91). During her

¹¹ Translation: The conversation between the two ladies occurred in a tone interrupted by allusions and some Kimbundu sentences that I did not understand. But I vaguely comprehended that the mother of the *quicumbi* prepared the table for Lemba and Hitu to clear the future of her only daughter. What if I get close to the mother of the *quicumbi*?

period, the mother of the initiated needs to make sure that the *quicumbi* refrains from any sexual act, otherwise the spirits *Hito* (spelling provided in Ribas's study) and *Solongongo* harm the girl during the procreation, causing the death of the foetus or the premature death of the child recently born (RIBAS, 1975, p. 91). In Santos's *crônica*, the mother of the initiate prepares her for the adult life, by following the rule explained by Ribas (1975, p. 91), hence the reference to *Hitu* and *Lemba*, the goddess of procreation. The Ambundu people of Kimbundu mother-tongue need to satisfy the requests of the superior beings in order to gain their grace and these rituals cannot be ignored if they want to provide a good and healthy life to their children.

At this stage, another question arises: 'What if I get close to the mother?', asks the narrator to himself. He likes the young girl and would like to become the future husband of the *quicumbi*, but her mother is against it, she perceives that an *assimilado*, who is not introduced to the spiritual practices of Bantu origins, may corrupt the girl's purity: "Ela estava limpa e pura sob a proteção dos espíritos. E ali incredulo e desenganado era contaminação!" (SANTOS, 1981, p. 96).¹² The narrator, in spite of not being Portuguese, but born and bred in Luanda (we can assume this from the opinions of the narrator, as well as from the fact that Santos focuses on the mixed-race Angolans to discuss their social status in many of his *crônicas*), is like a threat to the local cultures, as it brings negative consequences to the girl, in this short story, and to the natives who practice the Bantu spiritual beliefs, if we see it with a wider perspective.

However, the young girl, who is advised to leave the market because of the presence of the narrator, showed her true colours when she stumbled across a soldier who tried to seduce her, in fact she showed her disdain by making loud *muxoxos* and giving an angry answer, as she did not want to be harassed by strangers. The way she replied to the pestering man surprised the narrator, as the girl demonstrated to be more mature and shrewder than her age would suggest. Hence the reaction of the narrator: "Ah! Quicumbi assanhada! A sua vida verde mas já dessacralizada experiência seria a melhor garantia para lhe assegurar um futuro menos cruel. Embora isso, com sacrifício evidente do respeito pelas miondona" (SANTOS 1981, 96).¹³

In her study about the figure of the woman in Santos's literary production, Ribeiro points out the fact that the de-characterisation of the figure of the *quitandeiras* and change in the behaviour of the *quicumbi*, occurring in his short stories, reflect the societal changes of the contemporary times of the writer (1992, p. 88). Contrarily to what is stated by the researcher, this investigation has showed a characterisation of the *quitandeiras* by giving them names coming from the Bantu spiritualism and the concept of justice to develop a decolonising discourse through language. In addition, the previous section demonstrated that these street sellers are defined by the author-narrator as *quitandeiras de milongos da alma*, hence emphasising their

12 Translation: She was clean and pure under the protection of the spirits. And I, disbelieving and disillusioned, was the contamination!

13 Translation: Ah! Irritated *quicumbi*! Her green life but her profane experience would be the guarantee for a less cruel future. However, with evident sacrifice of the respect for the *miondona*.

ability to mediate with the invisible world and communicate with the spirits in order to solve the physical and spiritual discomforts of every-day life. On the other hand, Ribeiro's comment perfectly describes the loss of innocence of the *quicumbi* as she is able to cope with an adult man who wants to seduce her in the market. The aura of spirituality described by the narrator prior to that event suddenly vanishes to give place to the true side of this young girl, who even disregarded the respect towards the tutelary spirits (*miondona*, without the Portuguese ending -s for the plural) - defined by Ribas as "guardian angels", transmitted through the paternal family line (1989, p. 34) - who should have protected her, especially at this young age.

As we can assume from the analysis carried out so far, the importance of the local spiritual belief of Bantu heritage in this *crônica* shows how the spiritual discourse can be used in literature as a means to counterattack the colonial power, from an ideological standpoint. With this regard, Paradiso claims that the postcolonial African writers gains the role of neo-historian, neo-anthropologist and neo-ethnologist, for advocating the positions of their people, from an ethnic, national and continental standpoint at the same time (2015, p. 271). By incorporating elements coming from the native ethnicities described in their literary pieces, these writers discuss the oppositions between coloniser and colonised at the same time (2015, p. 271), hence the adaptation of the ancestral legacy of spiritual derivation to the written pieces in European languages. Even though the analysis carried out by Paradiso refers to Kourou, Achebe and Couto, the above observation matches perfectly with the profile of Santos, considering that the Bantu rite of passage of the *quicumbi* is rewritten in order to sustain an anti-colonial message of self-recognition and national identity. In fact, the young girl of the *crônica*, the holder of an old tradition passed down through generations, shows the strength to face and reject the Portuguese soldier who wants to "conquer" her heart. Thus, we can see how the survival of ancient spiritual practices can serve to support a sense of nationhood, thanks to the *miondona* spirits who legitimise the existence of a culture that existed even before the arrival of the coloniser. To recall, once more, the contribution of Paradiso: "neste mundo da religiosidade animista pós-independência que o autor africano cria o seu projeto de descolonização literária" (2015, p. 272).¹⁴ Even though the above scholar refers to the independence of the African countries, in my view, this project of literary decolonisation is also visible in works written prior to the birth of Angola, and Santos's *crônica* clearly demonstrates it.

As a matter of fact, the ideological contraposition between coloniser and colonised emerging from the lines of "Quicumbi Assanhada" is expressed through a language that evokes ancestral practices, not for a mere aesthetic sake, but, most importantly, for inducing the reader in a deeper reflection around the concept of identity. With this regard, the following section will show, in more detail, how Santos manages to stimulate an ideological debate thanks to the figure of the narrator-protagonist, who constantly shows the cultural tensions between the coloniser

¹⁴ Translation: In this world of post-independence animistic religion, the African author create his project of literary decolonisation.

and colonised, hence contributing to the creation of a realistic fiction meant to decolonise the minds of the reader.

Questioning identities in a colonial environment

In the previous two sections, we saw how the tragedy of the Xamavo market and the Bantu beliefs are filtered through the memories and personal impressions of the narrator-protagonist, in order to portray the daily life of the colonised people from the *musseques* of Luanda and sustain an anti-colonial discourse of identity and freedom. Because of the constant interventions of this character in the description of facts, I believe that it is important to dedicate a separate section to the figure of the narrator of “Quicumbi Assanhada” and discuss the constant tensions between oppressor and oppressed, coloniser and colonised, in Santos’s literary piece.

When the protagonist is observing the items sold by the *quitandeira* (the *quicumbi*’s mother), he clearly manifests his opinions towards the Bantu spiritual practices and their role in the solution of the physical and spiritual issues. In the citation below, we can read how the perspective of the mixed-race character questions the validity of such rituals, due to his Portuguese cultural influence: “Não estou nada convicto das soluções mágico-religiosas para as doenças físicas, mas lamento que já se não possa ir ao mato buscar mbilu. As coisas do amor vivem de dadas tão misteriosas que pergunto a mim mesmo se não se deve acreditar em mbilu” (SANTOS, 1981, p. 93).¹⁵ As we can see, the narrator is not sure about the magic-religious solutions adopted by the native Angolans of Bantu origins but, at the same time, we can also perceive the sympathy felt towards those people who believe in the above practices, thanks to the verb *lamento*.

These contrasting feelings between the potential effectiveness of traditional medicine of religious inspiration and the covert rationality of the narrator-protagonist, remind us of Pesavento’s study regarding the presence of the realistic element in literature between the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the following one (1995). According to this scholar, the devaluation of the power of imagination associated to the appraisal of rationality and the scientific vision of the world, typical of the western countries, coexisted with the opposite tendency of breaking with the Cartesian rationalism (PESAVENTO, 1995, p. 10). In fact, if there was, on the one hand, a misconception about everything that was not scientifically proved to be valid, on the other hand, the contributions given by psychologists, such as Freud, or social anthropologists, like Malinowski, Dumezil and Lévi-Strauss, undermined the certainties established by a rational approach (PESAVENTO, 1995, p. 11-12). With this regard, if we look at Santos’s character, we can perceive this sense of uneasiness deriving from two different cultures, the one of the coloniser and that of the colonised, as he defines the Bantu medical

¹⁵ Translation: I am entirely unconvinced of the magic-religious solutions for the physical pains, but I am afraid that I cannot go to the forest searching for *mbilu*. Love affairs live on such mysterious blessings that I ask myself if we should not trust in (the power of) *mbilu*.

remedies as “magic”, hence diminishing, from my understanding, the religious charge of the *milongos da alma*, as well as their effectiveness in curing the physical and spiritual diseases.

On the other hand, even though the protagonist of Santos’s *crônica* is not introduced to the Bantu spiritual practices, he questions (*pergunto a mim mesmo*) whether he should not believe in them, instead, considering that the language of love is mysterious, in his perspective, regardless to the faith that people have. This continuous investigation into the Bantu spirituality, characterised by references to superior beings, matched with historical facts and filtered through the memory of the author, at times seems to discredit the value of the spiritual practices. However, the curiosity of the narrator also gives the readers the benefit of the doubt, leaving them to think over it, in a cathartic process of self-analysis that eventually leads to the acceptance of their own cultural heritage, for the reconstruction of both personal and national identity. Why not trust the curative properties of the *mbilu* leaves? Is there anything wrong with it? These are the implicit questions that, in my view, Santos seems to ask his potential readers, whose identities have been profoundly affected by colonisation. As stated by Hamilton, Santos’s stories are authentic *crônicas* for the presentation of daily life of the middle-class Luandese mixed-race, where ironic references to the absurdities of his society are melded within philosophical reasonings, hence giving a subversive tone to his literary production (1981, p. 137). In my perspective, by posing the above implicit questions, Santos initiates a philosophical debate with his readers, to instil a process of self-acknowledgment, starting from the most intimate and basic feelings, such as love, which are intrinsic to all the human beings, hence deconstructing the stereotypes rooted in people’s minds, as a consequence of colonialism.

In addition to the above implicit questions, we can also see other questions, explicitly asked by the narrator to investigate the role of certain habits related to the Bantu spiritual practices. For instance, when the narrator speaks to the *quitandeira*, described as *de boa muxima* (good-hearted), he stumbles across certain items contained within a *quinda* (basket) and wonders about their “magic function”, in order to understand better this culture. The woman is initially willing to clarify the doubts of the narrator, but then becomes suspicious about all those questions being asked, so she asks herself: “Para quê que este quer saber isto? Ele não é do musseque e talvez ate não acredita. P’ra que que aquilo lhe ia servir? Ou era um fiscal da Câmara e ainda lhe iam trazer no posto como muloji?!” (SANTOS, 1981, p. 94).¹⁶ In the perspective of the narrator, the lady tried to figure out why he was so curious. The narrator, in fact, *pressentia as interrogações*, for her having noticed that he is not from the *musseque* and maybe he is not even a believer. Maybe the woman thought that he was someone sent by the local council to work as a *muloji*, a sorcerer who is dedicated to the deployment of evil practices, and whose knowledge is defined as *uanga* (RIBAS 1989, p. 45). This spiritual function is not manifested to the wider public but is rather assumed by other people to have been assigned to selected individuals to act against someone in particular (RIBAS 1989, 45). In Santos’s narration, being unfamiliar with certain culture-bound references is seen as a threat,

¹⁶ Translation: Why does he want to know all this? He is not from the slum and maybe he is not a believer. What does he need that for? Or was he a Council Inspector brought here as a jinx?!

hence denouncing the contraposition between different cultures and induce a self-interrogation within the readers.

With these regards, Bhabha mentions the concept of ‘fixity’ as an important element of the colonial discourse for the description of the indigenous cultures of a conquered land. It consists of the rigid construction of a reality, without possibilities for change. Close to this concept, stereotypes play an important role in the definition of the Other, in the way that certain perceptions of a specific culture are constantly repeated, hence encouraging marginalisation (1983, 18). The narrator, a mixed-race, unnamed individual representing the category of the *assimilados*, interrogates certain practices that are unfamiliar to him, as he describes them as “magic”, thus diminishing their spiritual value and importance among Bantu ethnicities – in this case Ambundo. On the other side, the *quitandeira*, who tries to figure out the reason of all those questions being asked, thinks that the narrator is an evil sorcerer, a *muloji*, due to her cultural upbringing. All these doubts and questions emerging from Santos’s work reveal a constant tension between different cultures, as a reflection of the multiculturalism of the Angolan society. As we can see in the above examples provided, the act of questioning and perceiving the ‘Other’ through certain fixed images and stereotypes is used in the colonial literature, as discussed by Bhabha (1983, 18). Santos re-uses this strategy to start an anti-colonial discourse, by exploring the Bantu spiritualism with the eyes of a person who is not entirely familiar with it, in spite of being part of his cultural background. Anti-colonialism in Santos literature can be seen as a process to question the way the ‘Other’ is represented, even when the ‘Other’ co-exists with the ‘Self’ within the assimilated, colonised narrator.

Conclusions

The analysis carried out in the present article demonstrated how Santos’s fiction is able to bring to life imaginary, yet plausible facts, thanks to the combination of historical events, such as the tragedy of the Xamavo market, with elements coming from the local spiritual practices of the Ambundo people of Kimbundu mother-tongue, as well as the impressions and memories of the narrator, who relays the whole story through his perspective. As we saw especially in the last section of this study, the denigration of the Bantu legacy by the *assimilados* is constantly questioned by the protagonist who sometimes takes part into the narrated stories and is on the side of the conformists, who are afraid of being judged according to the standards imposed through colonisation. As a mixed-race writer born and raised in Luanda, Arnaldo Santos transfers part of his racial and cultural heritage onto the characters and stories of his books to analyse the weaknesses of the mixed-race people, as well as the black natives.

In addition, spiritualism and everything related to it promulgates a message of resistance and opposition against the colonial regime but, at the same time, is denigrated as a consequence of the stereotypical commonplaces associated to the people who adhere to a certain faith. Some of the characters of Santos’s stories refuse their identity to embrace the dominant culture; on the other hand, some others still rely on them, as a solution for the physical and spiritual pains that can be cured only through *milongos da alma*, like those sold by the *quitandeiras* of the

Xamavo market.

As we have seen throughout this article, the spiritual-related words of Bantu derivation provide several interpretations of the different aspects of the native cultures of Luanda that had been marginalised for centuries. The author, in a constant act of self-interrogation that brings to the definition of a national culture that cannot erase its ancient past and spiritual legacy, deploys a wide range of terms coming from the Kimbundu to redefine the identity of his people and discuss the importance of such heritage, that needs to be preserved for the future generations to come.

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**THE OTHER SIDES OF THE NEW MOON:
A HISTORICAL READING OF THE ELECTION OF RUI DE NORONHA
AS FIRST MOZAMBICAN POET
OUTROS LADOS DA LUA NOVA:
UMA LEITURA HISTÓRICA DA ELEIÇÃO DE RUI DE NORONHA
COMO PRIMEIRO POETA MOÇAMBICANO**

Ubiratã Souza¹

ABSTRACT

This article aims to understand from a historical perspective the election of Rui de Noronha as the first Mozambican poet, understanding this as process. Therefore, the article executes a diachronic study of the reception of his work, investigating two groups of texts: 1) the production of critical reviews of Noronha's work by white intellectuals, which gravitates around the posthumous organization of a collection of his sonnets in 1943; 2) the texts that reveal the position and reception of Rui de Noronha in the black and mestizo literary environment in Lourenço Marques in the early years of the 20th century. This elective process is especially relevant to understand the debates involved in the birth of an autonomous literature in moments of cultural assimilation, racism, and intense ethnocentrism in the colony.

KEYWORDS: Rui de Noronha; Mozambican literature; Mozambican poetry

RESUMO

Este artigo busca ler de uma perspectiva histórica a eleição do Rui de Noronha como primeiro poeta moçambicano, entendendo-a como um processo. Para isso, o artigo procede a um estudo de recepção diacrônico, investigando dois grupos de textos: 1) a produção de resenhas críticas de obra de Noronha por meio de intelectuais brancos, que gravita em torno da organização póstuma de uma coletânea de sonetos em 1943; 2) textos que revelam a posição e recepção de Rui de Noronha no meio literário negro e mestiço em Lourenço Marques nos primeiros anos do século XX. Esse processo eletivo é especialmente relevante para a compreensão dos debates ligados à formação de uma literatura autônoma em momentos de assimilação cultural, racismo e intenso etnocentrismo em colônias.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Rui de Noronha; literatura moçambicana; poesia moçambicana.

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The literary production of Mozambican Rui de Noronha is by itself a critical problem, aside the intrinsic issues raised by his poems and chronicles. This article discusses how the reconstitution of his reception has a complex meaning: the author was elected as a pioneer of Mozambican poetry, therefore excluding a whole generation of intellectuals and literary writers whose emergence had occurred decades before Noronha. It proposes some basic questions to the critical and historical analysis: how and when did this election process happen? Who are the agents involved in this process? What are the power lines engaged in reassuring or denying this process? This article does not intend to gather an exhaustive amount of information but to critically read of some texts that circulated in Mozambique around Rui de Noronha's production. The objective is to inquiry these texts to understand the role they played in the process of constituting the reception of Noronha's work during the time of his production and later. After that, this article outlines Rui de Noronha's relationship with the surrounding literary environment to investigate his position and the reception of his work by other agents.

This article² investigates a specific process of Mozambican literary history, and because of that, it uses a methodology sometimes hybrid, closed on reading texts from literary criticism, in order to reconstruct the diachronic aspect of the reception of Rui de Noronha's work and also to reflect on the historical dynamics of period. Although it is not completely based on a specific theoretical framework, this article agrees with the German critic Hans Robert Jauss when he states "considering that, both in its artistic character and in its historicity, the literary work is conditioned primarily by the dialogical relationship between literature and reader [...]. And because the relationship between literature and reader has both aesthetic and historical implications"(JAUSS, 1994, p. 23³). These dialogical relationship interweaves complex issues, such as the political and social dimensions of cultural life in Mozambique as a colony, where are established cultural hegemonies and asymmetries between white, black and mestizo people, and this question has fundamental value for the problem posed, as it will be discussed next.

The prediction: a place of poetry

Rui de Noronha's pioneering position is a historically stratified construct. Before observing his case, it is necessary to highlight the opinion of a Portuguese intellectual in Lourenço Marques, who says Mozambican literature would still be born along the paths of poetry. He is Augusto dos Santos Abranches (1912-1963), a book entrepreneur, writer, literary critic and cultural activist, who arrived in Lourenço Marques in 1944. In 1947, he joined the newly created "Section of Literature, History and Sociology" of the Sociedade de Estudos da Colônia de Moçambique [Studies of Mozambique Colony Society]. At the 1st Congress of this

2 All citations in Portuguese of this work received approximate translations exclusively for this purpose. The originals quotes are in footnotes.

3 "considerando-se que, tanto em seu caráter artístico quando em sua historicidade, a obra literária é condicionada primordialmente pela relação dialógica entre literatura e leitor [...] E porque a relação entre literatura e leitor possui implicações tanto estéticas quanto históricas".

Sociedade, that took place between September 8th and 13th, 1947, Abranches presented two controversial communications entitled “Moçambique, lugar para a poesia” [“Mozambique, a place for poetry”], on the 8th in the afternoon, and “Sobre ‘literatura colonial’” [“About ‘colonial literature’”], on the 11th in the morning (cf. regarding Abranches: CAVACAS; GOMES, 1998, p. 74; FERREIRA; MOSER, 1983, p. 185; ROCHA, 1989, p. 33; ABRANCHES, 1947a, p. 13 e 37). In his first speech, Abranches was imperative: “Looking for any trace of independent literary creation in Mozambique would be an arduous task, without profit, fruit. Attempts might be found” (ABRANCHES, 1947a, p. 15⁴). The evidence to identify this “independent literature” is expressed on these terms: “pensamento colectivo” [collective thought], “temas correlativos ao ambiente” [themes related to the environment], “diálogo entre artista e público” [dialogue between artist and public], “realizações dinâmicas e abertas” [dynamic and open achievements] (ibid., p. 15-16).

The meanings of the word “independent” are volatile and the text a little polysemic. Sometimes it refers to a possibility of literary autonomy inside a Portuguese culture: a reflection opens the text about the “organization” of Portuguese culture and literature wherever it has been established; after that, it compares Mozambique to Azores, regarding a “universal literature”. At the end of the communication, Abranches establishes Cape Verde as a model for literary development in a colonial context, an example for Mozambique of: “Tries by all means to ignore the existence of black people in their human aspect, with their problems and struggles, primitive tastes and living conditions⁵” (*sic*, ibid., loc. cit.)⁶. At the end of the communication, Abranches establishes Cape Verde as a model for literary development in a colonial context, an example for Mozambique of “how a human cluster can intensify the freedom of its creative tendencies” and how “a liberation journey opens up, unique and beautiful, proper and conscious⁷” (ibid., p. 16).

Abranches predicts a path for the development of “independent” Mozambican literature still in the 1940s. His analysis, however, articulates this constitutive process to specific literary genres. At the outset, he considers that “We opened a history of Portuguese literature and soon the long path of poetry offers itself as its strongest and most present intellectual destiny. We have essentially and always been poets” (ibid., p. 12). Then, he deduces that “by nature, by affinity, nothing more common than to consider this trend to be naive wherever Portuguese culture is organized and, therefore, in Mozambique” (ibid., loc. cit.), since “all the elements, all the connecting wires justified it. And, among these justifications, the species of heredity that dominated Portuguese blood for poetry stand out [...]” (ibid., loc. cit.). Poetry would be the principle of an independent literature formation, because poetry is the “the base of all creation, the poetic phenomenon reveals itself as its main impulse” (ibid., loc. cit.)⁸.

8 “Abrimos uma história da literatura portuguesa e logo o longo caminho da poesia se oferece como o seu destino intelectual mais forte e presente. Temos sido sempre e essencialmente poetas.[...] Por índole, por afinidade, nada mais vulgar do que considerar-se ingénita essa tendência em qualquer lugar onde a cultura portuguesa se organize e, por conseguinte, em Moçambique. [...] Todos os elementos, todos os fins de ligação o justificavam. E, entre essas justificações, sobressaem a da espécie de hereditariedade que se assenhoreou do sangue português para a poesia [...]. Base de toda a criação, o fenómeno poético se revela como o seu principal impulso[...]”.

Abranches proposes that Mozambique find its “place for poetry” (ibid., p. 17) in the development of its emancipatory process, that would be the possibility to embrace a local conditioning. This would be the “liberation” that would link this literature to its native public, opening up to collective thought. For Abranches, independence is a “destiny”, and it is only possible to be achieved by the openness that poetry offers to creative impulse. For Abranches, the novel practice should come afterwards (ibid., p. 16-17), as the result of a mature and emancipated literary conscience that would have been developed by poetic practice. Abranches ‘speech was received as something subversive and caused revolt: his second communication, on September 11th, was greeted with a violent reaction by a non-conformed audience, demanding intervention of the presiding officer to end the conflict and the newspapers to deal with the case as news event (cf. ROCHA, 1989, p. 85).

To understand the scope of Abranches’ prediction, it is necessary to consider the weight that his presence in Lourenço Marques meant for the literature in Mozambique (cf. MENDONÇA, 2016, p. 183-194). When in Coimbra, his hometown, Abranches was editor of magazines such as *Cadernos de Juventude* (1937), *Altitude* (1939) and “Coleção Vértice”, by Portugália publishing, which, by the way, was his property – it is within these literary undertakings that the neorealistic agitation in Coimbra took shape in the 1940s (ROCHA, 1989, p. 32; 2000, p. 162 and SARAIVA; LOPES, 1989, p. 1103). He went to Lourenço Marques in 1944 (“half escaped”, according to ROCHA, 2000, p. 162) and soon he was employed at Minerva Central, the colony’s main bookstore and publisher. On July 2nd, 1944, he publishes “Sulco – Página de Artes e Letras do *Notícias* de domingo para gente moça”, inside *Notícias* newspaper (since 1925-still published); “Sulco” has only 16 more numbers, until March 4th, 1945. From 1949 on, Abranches became a promoter for the magazine *Itinerário, publicação mensal de letras, arte, ciência e crítica* (1941-1955). Since the periodical or from the bookstore benches, he would circulate a great amount of books by Portuguese neo-realists, works by novelists from the northeast of Brazil, Brazilian magazines; and on the pages of periodicals, several local writers would find space to publish. Historian Ilídio Rocha considers that (1989, p. 35, *sic*):

From the verses which quote and are sometimes even dedicated to Jorge Amado, who speaks of Rio Carnival, Harlem and American jazz singers, we understand how much of the path recommended and facilitated by Abranches had been followed. And we feel them as roots, perhaps clearer in a Rui Nogar (Moniz Barreto) or in a José Craveirinha, who entered and continued: the Portuguese neo-realists, the prose of the Brazilians of the north-eastern denunciation, a poetry by Jorge Amado at that time and the chronicles and sometimes chronic-poetics of Cruzeiro and Manchete (Carlos Drummond de Andrade, Cecília Meireles, Fernando Sabino, Rubem Braga and even Manuel Bandeira). Roots that gave rise to poetry as a fruit today, perhaps more from Mozambique than Mozambican - but clearly denouncing colonialism and racism and now, definitely, non-colonial.⁹

9 “Pelos versos, que citam e até são às vezes dedicados a Jorge Amado, que falam do Carnaval do Rio, do Harlem e dos cantores de jazz americanos, compreendemos o quanto do caminho preconizado e facilitado pelo Abranches fora seguido. E sentimos-lhes as raízes, quiçá mais claras num Rui Nogar (Moniz Barreto) ou num José Craveirinha, que ficaram e continuaram: os neo-realistas portugueses, a prosa dos brasileiros da denúncia

Certainly, Abranches was not the first one to think about the autonomy of an intellectual, cultural, and literary medium in Mozambique (as will be seen below). However, his privileged position as a white intellectual and cultural entrepreneur in the colony of Mozambique gives weight to his propositions. There are controversies regarding the extent of his contribution to Mozambican literature (cf. regarding this Ilídio Rocha, 1989, p. 31 attributes a central role to the Portuguese writer, whereas Fátima Mendonça minimizes it in 1988, p. 8). Nevertheless, it seems to be a consensus that the influence of the *Itinerário* magazine and Abranches' contribution to the dissemination of a social literature from Portugal and Brazil (for which the neorealist Afonso Ribeiro and the critic Carlos Alberto Lança also collaborated, FERREIRA, 1987, p. 167) helped to emerge a “new literature” with a much more pronounced political verve (cf. MENDES, 1980, p. 31; KNOPFFLI, 1974, p. 7-8; MENDONÇA, 1988, p. 8-10, MANUSSE, 2008, p. 30-31; FERREIRA, 1987, p. 166-167¹⁰). However, Abranches' proposition about the role of poetry in the development of an emancipated Mozambican literature produced a more than circumstantial meaning, proliferating beyond the conjunctions of its utterance.

A chosen poet: the prediction comes true

Abranches was not the only one to speak of the poetic birth of Mozambican literature and his inference was not at all original. Other factors contributed to this critical proposition to remain alive in the discourse on Mozambican literature, leading works and authors to a process of constant re-reading and excluding many other works and authors.

Still in 1946, the historian Alexandre Lobato (1915-1986) published in the magazine called *Mundo português: revista de actualidades do império*, in Lisbon, the well-known text “Mozambican poetry: Rui de Noronha the forgotten”. In this text, the historian recalls his personal contact with the poet Rui de Noronha (1909-1943) as a colleague of the “Liceu [5 de Outubro] de Lourenço Marques” (from 1937, Liceu Nacional Salazar and, after 1976, Escola Secundária Josina Machel). The text is short, full of personal description, it describes Noronha's ethnocultural features, defining him as: “A strong boy, a mulatto, almost black, with very curly hair, his black and, shiny and lively eyes, and thick lips” (LOBATO, 1946, p. 356). This exhibition takes on romantic traits, “He didn't study, and he avoided the lessons as he could. But he read a lot, read everything, he was, for our age and for our possibilities, quite cultured and already at that time he wrote as already writing and published publishing poetry

nordestina, a poética em muito de Jorge Amado dessa altura e as crónicas e às vezes crónicas-poéticas do Cruzeiro e da Manchete (Carlos Drumond de Andrade, Cecília Meireles, Fernando Sabino, Rubem Braga e, até, Manuel Bandeira). Raízes que deram como fruto uma poesia ainda hoje talvez mais de Moçambique do que moçambicana – mas declaradamente de denúncia do colonialismo e do racismo e agora sim, definitivamente, não colonial.”

10 Fátima Mendonça takes up an article by Abranches published years later of his 1947 communication, in which he celebrates the appearance of Noémia de Sousa in the newspaper *Notícias*, de Lourenço Marques; after all, Noémia herself would recognize this circumstance as fundamental for the circulation of her work (MENDONÇA, 2016, p. 183-184).

[...]. It was perhaps because he was a poet that he did not complete the course” (ibid., loc. cit.¹¹). When reporting the death of the poet and the impact it had on him, Lobato sentenced: “I came to know, years later, that he had died, and I was sorry to have lost a great Portuguese poet and *the first Mozambican poet*” (ibid., loc. cit. – highlights added¹²).

In Lobato’s text, Rui de Noronha is defined as Portuguese and, at the same time, elected as the first Mozambican poet, without discussion. The reasons for this summary definition come next: it is a quote from “Lieutenant Caetano Montez”, author of a critical text attached to the first publication of the poem “‘Quenguelequeze’ (Lua Nova)” [New Moon¹³] in *Moçambique – Documentário Trimestral* in March 1936. Indeed, Ilídio Rocha defines this periodical as an “official advertising magazine”, which circulated in Lourenço Marques between 1935 and 1961, and the “tenente [lieutenant]” to whom Lobato refers, is Caetano de Carvalho Montês, former director of the Historical Archive of Mozambique, author of some works on colonial history and ethnography of Mozambique (ROCHA, 2000, p. 330, MARGARIDO, 1980, p. 25). Montez’s text quoted by Lobato has already elected Rui de Noronha “the first Mozambican poet” for the following reasons (LOBATO, 1946, p. 357¹⁴):

First manifestation of a true Mozambican poetry, singing and praising the traditional themes of the black race, “Quenguelequeze” opens us new horizons in the persistent effort that has been made to understand the indigenous soul that is not like the amorphous and rude spirit that many suppose.

Rui de Noronha knew how to give us the rhythm of the party, stunning, disturbing, fantastic, as he says. Have you seen the black dances in secret, free from the uncomfortable presence of the whites, the frantic dances in which, through mime, they tell a story that has a rhythmic motive of religious origin?

For black people, life is a shroud of work, fatalities, dangers and misfortunes. It is necessary to avoid all this. For that, it is necessary to religiously fulfil the sacred rites prescribed by tradition.

11 “Não estudava, e atamancava as lições como podia. Mas lia muito, lia tudo, era, para a nossa idade e para as nossas possibilidades, bastante culto e já nessa época versejava e publicava poesias [...]. Foi talvez por ser poeta que não concluiu o curso”

12 “Vim a saber, passados anos, que morrera, e senti a mágoa de se ter perdido assim um grande poeta português e o *primeiro poeta moçambicano*.”

13 According to Fátima Mendonça (2006, p. 166), the poem was published in n. V of *Moçambique – documentário trimestral*, in January, February and March 1936 in an abridged version and different from the one published in *O brado africano*, XIX, nº 818, on August 1, 1936, in which there are thirty-five more verses, in addition to a subtitle “(Lua nova)” [New Moon]. According to the researcher, “Having had access to the respective typing, I have no doubts as to its authenticity. However, it [the short version] became practically the only known version, and later, the more extensive one, published in *O Brado africano*, was forgotten” (ibid., loc. cit.).

14 Primeira manifestação de uma verdadeira poesia moçambicana, cantando e louvando os temas tradicionais da raça negra, “Quenguelequeze” abre-nos horizontes novos no esforço persistente que se tem feito para a compreensão da alma indígena que não é nada o espírito amorfo e rude que muitos supõem. / Rui de Noronha soube dar-nos o ritmo da festa, estonteante, perturbador, fantástico, como ele diz. Já viram às ocultas os negros danças, livres da presença incómoda dos brancos, as danças frenéticas em que pela mímica contam uma história que tem um motivo rítmico de origem religiosa? / A vida, para o negro, é um sudário de trabalhos, fatalidades, perigos e desgraças. É preciso evitar tudo isso. Para tanto é preciso cumprir religiosamente os ritos sagrados prescritos pela tradição.

The fact that Rui de Noronha produces “Mozambican poetry” is related to these dimensions: 1) Noronha being considered “black”, having access to the cultural dimension of a racial category (the “black culture”, as seen in exoticizing characters), 2) and also to the understanding of the “indigenous soul” and the translation of that “soul” (to white people?), 3) the transparency of the “funeral shroud of works” that shapes “life for the black”. At the end of the text, Lobato, *manu propria*, forgets the fact that he started to say that Noronha was a “mulatto”, to reveal that the poet “knew these traditional rites like no one else”, since he was “connected to the indigenous environment, had over any European who wants to interpret the black soul the advantage of having his mother tongue and understand it well”, since “black people never trust white people”, and for Rui de Noronha, supposedly, “there is no secret in indigenous lives, and black people consider him one of their own, by skin color, by race and by language”(LOBATO, 1946, p. 358¹⁵). This point of view considers Rui de Noronha a pioneer of Mozambican literature because, supposedly “black”, he could refer to the cultures of “blacks”; this view was consecrated in the analysis of the emergence of Mozambican literature.

After the death of the poet, on December 25th, 1943 (he was born on October 28th, 1909), a group of intellectuals (among them Rodrigues Júnior¹⁶) took care and handed over to Dr. Domingos Reis Costa, a respected professor of the colony, the treatment of his estate and the posthumous edition of a volume of his sonnets (this edition is surrounded by countless problems and distortions, cf. MENDONÇA, 2006). After the release of the volume in April 1946, Reis Costa presented a communication in July of the same year at the Trade Union of Employees of Commerce and Industry of Lourenço Marques, in which he claims, also using romantic lines, “What draws attention in Rui de Noronha is the friendliness with all men for whom justice must be the base of social life, it is his African drama expressed with desire and moderation of verses”(REIS COSTA, apud MENDONÇA, 2006, p. 14¹⁷). The Reis Costa, in the preface to the infamous edition of sonnets by Rui de Noronha, also say that he is the “first [poet] of his race to appear in Mozambique, the most noble and painful lyrical expression of the African people in Portuguese land, and its most ardent spokesperson¹⁸” (COSTA, 1946, p. 10). That ethnocultural and “Mozambican” character attributed to the poetry of Noronha by Montez and Lobato (“life of the black like a funeral shroud of works”), finds a related formulation in Reis Costa’s text, in the form of “African drama”, a concern of those who defend a life fair,

15 “conhecia como ninguém estes ritos tradicionais, [já que] o preto nunca se abre com o branco; [para o poeta] a vida indígena não tinha segredos, que os pretos o consideravam dos seus, pela cor, pela raça, pela língua”.

16 Rodrigues Júnior (1951, p. 126-127) reveals who are these friends: “Willy Waddington, João dos Santos, Manuel João Correia, Humberto Soares, Miguel da Mata, Fernando Redondo, Carlos Simões and the author of these lines”; further on, he also reveals awareness of the editorial problems surrounding Noronha’s work: “His friends entrusted this treasure to hands that desecrated it, without hesitation, mutilating the work of the Poet” (ibid., loc. cit.).

17 “O que em Rui de Noronha impõe sobretudo à nossa atenção é a simpatia de todos os homens para quem a base da vida social deve ser a justiça, é o seu drama africano expresso com desejo e moderação de versos”.

18 “primeiro [poeta] da sua raça a aparecer em Moçambique, a mais nobre e dolorosa expressão lírica do povo africano na terra portuguesa, e seu mais ardente porta-voz”.

although now identified with “moderation of verses”.

A similar proposition will be strongly defended by Rodrigues Júnior in the work that results from the controversy with Alexandre Lobato when “Cinco poesias do mar Índico” [Five poems to Indian sea] was released, by Orlando Mendes at *Seara Nova* (Abranches’ property) in April 1947 (nº 1029, p. 257). In the pages of the newspaper *Notícias*, Rodrigues Júnior tries to answer a review by Lobato about Orlando Mendes’ poems, in which the historian accused the general poverty and lack of originality of the Lourenço Marques cultural environment. To this end, Rodrigues Júnior published a series of essays in the same newspaper between 1949 and 1950, and subsequently brought them together in a volume called *Para uma cultura moçambicana* [For a Mozambican culture] (1951). Rui de Noronha has a prominent place in Rodrigues Júnior’s work. Apropos, the part of the study dedicated to poetry begins with an article called “Rui de Noronha – o esquecido” [Rui de Noronha – the forgotten one] repeating the title of Lobato’s 1946 text. Noronha is now depicted again in romantic lines, as a “Homem” [Man] who “sangrou grande dor” [bled a great pain] (RODRIGUES JÚNIOR, 1951, p. 99), to assume a position very close to that in which other contemporaries had put him; Rodrigues Júnior also quotes Caetano Montez to conclude that:¹⁹

In “Surge et Ambula”, comes to the surface the awakening that the poet felt from this world that was in him, as it is in all men of his race, just singing, longing to improve the aggregate in which “he” was placed – and that it would not have been if Africa had ceased to be a field of struggle for the aggrandizement of “its” man, that man without a soul, the killer of others in a World without faith or law.

Therefore, there is discursive polyphony that spreads in the literary environment of Lourenço Marques in which converge two factors: first, the prediction launched by someone relevant as Abranches, announcing that an emancipated literature would be born in Mozambique linked to ethnocultural aspects (the “black in its human aspect”). Secondly, at the same time, Rui de Noronha dies, his literary assets and prestige allow the white critics of the colony to conclude that in the death of the poet the voice of the first Mozambican poet is born, a maker of Mozambican poetry, supposed linked to a “black” origin and, therefore, revealing a singular capacity to produce an expression of “drama of the black people” and its cultural characteristics, sublimated, mainly, in the poems “Surge et Ambula” and “Quenguelequêzê! ...”. In this sense, the death of Rui de Noronha on Christmas 1943 becomes an event, seen as a milestone in the years of 1946, 1947 and 1951, respectively, amid a wide debate about the viability, nature and existence of Mozambican literature in Portuguese.

19 “Em “Surge et Ambula” vem à superfície o despertar que o poeta sentiu desse Mundo que era nele, como o é em todos os homens da sua raça, apenas canto, anseio de melhoramento do agregado em que “ele” foi posto – e que o não teria sido se a África tivesse deixado de ser campo de luta pelo engrandecimento do “seu” homem, desse homem sem alma, matador do próximo num Mundo sem fé nem lei.”

The other sides of the new moon

Within this general framework, there are critical speeches by prestigious white critics in the colonial society responsible for electing Rui de Noronha the first voice of Mozambican poetry, based on racial and ethnocultural criteria, viewing the poet's work as a connection between literary writing in Portuguese and the symbolic dimension of local cultures, faced as oppressed by overwork. According to this view, these cultures found a form of representation or aesthetic configuration in the poet's voice – despite all the critics calling for only one poem that demonstrates the cultural connection (“Quenguelequêzê! ...”) and only another that demonstrates an African conscience of delay (“Surge et Ambula”), and the rest of his work is simply not seen from this racial perspective.

It is very significant that this election process neglects a whole literary history that precedes the turn of the 1940s to 1950s in Mozambique, which simply does not fit into the equation of white critics. After all, there is, indeed, a history of literary circulation with which Rui de Noronha dialogues intensively, and it is possible to understand this as a literary tradition (in the sense attributed to this term by Candido in 2013, p. 28-39): an evident articulation between works, writers and readers that, even if they do not identify themselves as “Mozambicans”, at least demonstrate an acute “African” conscience. To discuss this point, it is necessary to resort to a few data from literary history that, in a *vol d’oiseau*, offer arguments to illuminate the issue.

In the middle of the 19th century, it is time of the poet Jose Pedro da Silva Campos e Oliveira. Born in Mozambique Island in 1847 where he deceased in 1911, having spent many years of his life in Goa and Margao. According to Ilídio Rocha (2000, p. 364), he was the editor, owner and director of *Revista Africana*: periódico mensal de ilustração e recreio [African magazine: monthly periodical of illustration and recreation], published from the island, with three issues in 1881, two in 1885 and one in 1887; he was also the author of a *Almanach popular* [Popular Almanac], published in Margao in 1864, 1865 and 1866. According to Manuel Ferreira (1985), as a writer, he published a few dozen chronicles by various press vehicles of the time, in which he reveals a humorous tone and an awareness of the colony's cultural diversity (ibid., p. 45-52); he also published a fictional short story with a passionate theme and several poems, of which, according to the researcher's collections, add up to about forty legible today.

Ferreira does not hesitate to deduce that Campos Oliveira “should be considered the first Mozambican poet, with all the hypotheses competing to say that there was no other before him” (ibid., p. 68), and anticipates other opposite arguments, considering that “the concerns of a social nature, or against the abuses of the administration, were limited to a certain journalism and were not, as a rule, understood as a creative theme” (ibid., p. 70); seeking to historicize the poet, he states that “it is not entirely unreasonable to decriminalize Campos Oliveira for a presumed lack for which, in good judgment, he will not be responsible. He is, in poetic art, a partner of romantic ‘bards’ from abroad. That he could afford to quote well [...]” (ibid., loc.

cit.²⁰; cf. also FERREIRA, 1987, p. 35-37).

Almost in the same period of Campos Oliveira's poetic activity, it was published in 1891 *Sons orientaes*, by Arthur Serrano. This was the "first verse book published in Mozambique" (CAVACAS; GOMES, 1998, p. 71). Ferreira and Moser (1983, p. 205), state that, at the time of its publication, Serrano was the director of the newspaper *A situação*. Indeed, this journal was published in Lourenço Marques on February 1st, 1890 and had 5 issues until March 5th of the same year (ROCHA, 2000, p. 369). Arthur Serrano also contributed with poems and chronicles to the *Novo almanach de lembranças luso-brasileiro*, under the pseudonym "S. Rano" between 1884 and 1906 (FERREIRA; MOSER, 1983, p. 205; ROCHA, 2000, p. 370). Although Cavacas and Gomes say that *Sons orientaes* "could be written outside Africa" (1998, p. 71), this work ends with an epilogue entitled "To those who read" in which the author reveals that "We should make a book purely African, but we were unable to achieve it as absolutely as we wished. Verses uniquely made in Africa, and printed in African typography, they are; but we wanted them to be prefaced by a poet d'Africa" (SERRANO, 1891, p. 91²¹).

The poet chosen by Serrano to write the preface is no other than Campos Oliveira, "the only poet we have" (ibid., loc. cit.), but he declined the invitation for a reason not shown in text. This epilogue, however, presents a public complaint about the denial of the "man of letters so justly appreciated" (ibid., loc. cit.), as seen: "For the blind ones, there are always alms good like a stick or an arm to lean on, and the poet was strongly driven by his own influences to let us fall into the abyss where we fell, without thinking that have arriving alive at the end of the steep slope, then we would have to say out loud how much he was dehumanitarian and lacking in charity" (ibid., p. 92²²). Therefore, apart from intrigues among poets, the epilogue reveals circulation, reception, and acceptance of Campos Oliveira in Serrano's writing. Furthermore, despite claiming failure to produce "African poetry", this confession means a lot in order to reveal the search for the localist tone. After all, this 1891 work contains the "Canto da guerra vatua (Assibinheia)" [Chant of vatua (nguni) war], a long poem in seventeen stanzas, the first literary arising of sovereign "Gungunhana" (later converted into a literary topic in Mozambique) while he still reigned over all lands south of the Zambezi.

In 1908, the Grémio Africano de Lourenço Marques (GALM) was founded, a social and political organization that brought together black and mixed-race people in cultural activities

20 "[Campos de Oliveira] deverá ser considerado o primeiro poeta moçambicano, concorrendo todas as hipóteses para afirmarmos que outro não houve antes dele" (p. 68). "As preocupações de índole social, ou contra os abusos da administração, circunscreviam-se a um certo jornalismo e não eram, por norma, entendidas como tema criativo [...]. Não é assim de todo descabido despenalizar Campos Oliveira de uma pressuposta falta pela qual, em bom juízo não será responsável. Ele é, na arte poética, comparsa dos 'bardos' românticos do exterior. Que ele se dava ao luxo de bem citar" (p. 70).

21 "Quizemos fazer um livro puramente africano, mas não podemos conseguil-o tão absolutamente como desejávamos. Versos unicamente feitos em Africa, e impressos em typographia africana, são eles; mas ambicionavamos que fossem prefaciados por um poeta d'Africa"

22 "Aos cegos, faz bem sempre a esmola d'um bordão ou d'um braço onde se encoste, e o poeta foi duramente impellido por influencias próprias a deixar-nos cahir no pelago onde cahimos, sem pensar que, chegando vivos ao fim da ingreme ladeira, havíamos de dizer bem alto quanto fora deshumanitario e falto de caridade".

(NEVES, 1989; ZAMPARONI, 2007). From the GALM, was published in 1918 the long-lived and very important *O brado africano* (1918-1974), a continuation of *O africano*, the first journal of the association that debuted at the turn of 1908 to 1909. Both journals form an editorial project, headed by brothers João and José Albasini, written in up to three languages: Portuguese, Ronga and English. A group of highly active intellectuals surround these journals – they are responsible for the expression of a social, cultural, and political conscience, expressed in the writing of journalistic and literary genres. Beyond Albasini brothers, it is important to mention Estácio Dias (1877-1937) (ROCHA, 2000, p. 236-237; ZAMPARONI, 2007; ROCHA, 1996, p. 29-48). João Albasini (1876-1922), or Nwandzengele, his ronga name, was a fruitful chronicler, expressing critical and political awareness about colonial power in Lourenço Marques. After his death in 1922, a posthumous epistolary book is organized by Marciano Nicanor da Sylva and it was published in 1925, entitled *O livro da dor (Cartas de amor)* [The book of pain (Love letters)], a reunion of letters from Albasini to Micaela Loforte, a platonic love. The rejection suffered by the missivist shows the drama of “assimilado” [assimilated], the non-white people accepted parsimoniously in colonial society (as well observed NHAMONA, 2016, p. 94, cf. also NOA, 2017, p. 25-28).

The practice of chronicles and editorials in *O brado africano* had a great political meaning; nevertheless, in this journal, a lot of literature circulated and there were several literary premieres. Some now are milestones, as is the case of *Na terra ubérrima* [On very fertile land], a novel-*feuilleton* by Estácio Dias. This work was published between number 482 on June 29th, 1929 and number 507 on April 5th, 1930, and its subtitle altered to “Coisas passadas” [Past things], sometimes for “Viagem ao prebostado” [Trip to province] (NHAMONA, 2016, p. 96-97). The novel tells the story of a small landowner located on the border between the Portuguese domain and the Mudungazi property (again, Ngungunhane), during the conflict that brought the Gaza sovereign into exile, after the campaign led by Mousinho de Albuquerque (ended in 1897), who now appears as a historical figure. After the fall of Gaza, the property was dominated by the Portuguese, but not fully colonized. As Nhamona notes, after a few years, the former owner returns to the land and realizes that “it remained abandoned and in a deplorable condition, making useless the endeavour of conquest and colonization, a thing still to be done²³” (ibid., p. 100). Estácio Dias’ *feuilleton* seems to have passed through the decades under oblivion, but it caused some reactions at that time.

The writer Augusto C. Adonis B. de Conrado, a black man, who was born on June 6th, 1904 in Inhambane, started in 1928 to publish chronicles and poems in the pages of *O brado africano* (n° 445 and 446). Conrado published only three books: *A perjura ou A mulher de duplo Amor (Breve novela simples)* – Ensaios literários, in 1931 [The traitor woman or The woman of double Love (Brief simple novel) – Literary essays]; *Fibras d’um coração (Prosas simples com pretensão a versos)* – Ensaios literários [Fiber of a heart (Simple proses with pretension to verse)], in 1933 (although the cover page of volume shows “1931”) e *Divagações! Tentames*

23 “continuava abandonada e num estado deplorável, tendo tornado a empreitada de conquista inútil e a colonização uma coisa ainda por se fazer, em virtude de continuar a ser um lugar inóspito”.

literários [Ramblings! Literary attempts], this published in Lisbon, 1938 (WHITE, 1984; LEMOS, 1986a and b). The writer had a busy life: he worked at Niassa, Tete and Lourenço Marques. *Na terra ubérrima* (1929-1930) and *A perjura* (1931) until now are the first proses of fiction written by Mozambicans, but the Conrado novel is effectively the first published in a book. The theme of *A perjura* is a passion motif – a married woman who falls in love with an Italian lover with whom she runs away – despite this, the work offers opportunity for a sharp reflection on the inequalities of colonial society, this in a tone so harsh that it stands out in the scenario of the time (CONRADO, 1931, p. 31-33; apud LEMOS, 1986b, p. 48-49²⁴):

The man on the avenue first encounters the glorious beauty of a woman. But she is a blue-blooded bourgeois. And what is he? A poor devil with the lowest mediocre condition. But, on an impulse, he writew to the lady... If all men are equal before the Gospels, how can they not be equal before equal men?! The difference is that some have the ability to deceive others and with these mistakes they are able to enjoy, gather all sorts of comforts that make them live in absolute tranquility. Nobody ignores, however, the fool idiots, the insatiable and insignificant gluttons who support and put on weight through the blood of the innocent; there in power, there on the perch, they do nothing but to invite all the people who care about the plentiful pot... After all this ruffraff got stuffed and got drunk with the sweat and blood of the souls that were robbed of it; then they feel patriots capable of provoking this or that Nation in the name of the Fatherland. But then they flee cowardly like hares, pushing the wretched ones into the fire of the enemies' cruel cannons – starving to serve them in trenches, to be unfairly decimated inhumanly by machine guns.

This excerpt shows attention to the local problems created by racial inequality and Portuguese colonization; this produces a revolted discourse, charged with animosity that will also be present in Conrado's poetry. There are poems with a very specific local tone, reporting different Mozambican spaces: "Meu Inhambane!" (CONRADO, 1933, p. 44-46) ou "Lourenço Marques" (ibid., p. 37-38), "Mulher indiana!" (ibid., p. 40-43) or also "Africana!" (1938, p. 56). There is a certain patriotism linked to the idea of a Portuguese belonging as "Portugal!" (ibid., p. 11-12), "O cavaleiro português!" (ibid., p. 31-32), "Pátria!" (ibid., p. 50). This patriotic dimension, however, appears slightly modified in some poems revealing between the lines of the verses a suggestive emancipatory awareness, as in the poem "Redenção de humanidade" [Humanity Redemption] ("But the beautiful day has dawned / of divine and blonde Redemption

24 "O homem depára pela primeira vez na Avenida [...] com uma belêsa gloriosa de Mulher [...]. Mas ela é uma burguêsa de sangue azul [...] E êle? Um pobre diabo de mais baixa condição mediocre. [...] Mas, impulsionado impavidamente [...] escreve a dama... Se todos os hómêns são iguais perante os Evangelhos [...] como podem deixar de não ser iguais perante aos hómêns iguais?! [...] ... A diferença que há é que uns possuem habilidade de intrujar os outros e com essas intrujisses conseguem usufruir, angariar toda a espécie de confôrto que lh'os fazem viver num absoluto esquecimento [...] – Ninguém ignora, porém, que os imbecís poltrões, os pifios glutões insaciáveis que se sustentam e engordam-se de sangue dos inocentes, lá do poder, lá do poleiro, não fazem senão convidar [...] toda a cambada que lhes ligam para a farta gamela... [...] depois de esta canalhada toda se empaturrar e embebedar-se á custa do suor e de sangue das almas por ela espoliadas, [...] é que se sente patriota capaz de provocar esta ou aquela Nação em nome da Pátria, para depois cobardemente fugir que nem umas lebres, empurrando para o fogo dos canhões cruéis dos inimigos provocados aos espoliados – esfomeados para sevindo-lh'a de trincheiras, serem injustamente dezimados deshumanamente pelas metralhas".

/ day of holy love, life and Freedom! / The desired Hour is arrived! / Blessed hour of humanity!”²⁵, 1933, p. 75-76). Too in poem “Liberdade!” [Freedom] (“...People... Everyone on their knees! Salute the dawn! / The Eleutheria has just emerged on the summit / Salute the Truth Light!”²⁶, 1938, p. 12), or even in poem “Africa! Minha querida mãe!” [Africa! My dear mother!] due to which, according to White (1984, p. 47), the poet would have been arrested: “– You are holy! oh martyr of inglorious luck! / Oh my dear and holy selfless Mother! / Doing good to the despots who vex you by insulting you! / To those who stick poisoned arrows in your heart!”²⁷ (1938, p. 90).

There is in these verses a subversive emancipatory conscience, suggesting the end of despotism between nations and the exploitation of the African continent. There are also poems like “Dor!” [Pain!], In memory of José Francisco Albasini, dated August 12th, 1935. José Albasini, Bandana, his Ronga name, was the referred brother of João do Santos Albasini, in effect, he died in 1935 of tuberculosis (PINTO, 2012, p. 95-112). It is a set of funereal poems very eulogistic, composed of six Italian sonnets in heroic verses. In these verses, the Bandana is described as a hero, a martyr, a master, and a teacher. The interlocutors are “Irmãos” [brothers], called to mourn death, or “Mãe” [Mother], an intertext with the poem “Africa! Minha querida mãe!”. In the last sonnet of the set, specifically, there are some important verses for this analysis:

Your brilliant and grandiose work highlights
 trail of eternal light that will shine
 generations of African people, it will shine
 on the pages of the book of martyrs of the race! ...

Master! we will honour your memory in the lurid
 path and in the fight! [...]”²⁸

The possessive pronoun that opens the first verse is followed by a footnote with a “pléiade” [pleiad, group of famous literati] of names to which the pronoun refers. It is a list with forty names of intellectuals, journalists and activists linked to associations of the early 20th century, among whom are GALM personalities: João dos Santos Albasini, José Francisco Albasini, Estácio Dias, Karell Pott²⁹, Joaquim Swat; in addition to these names, is mentioned

25 “Mas eis ahí raiando o dia formoso da divina, loura / Redempção, do santo amôr, da vida e da ‘Liberdade’! [...] Eis a chegada da desejada ‘Hora’ / Bendita de humanidade!”

26 “...Gentes!... De joelhos todos!... Saüdemos a Aurora, / A Eleutéria que além, no cume, acaba agora / de despontar! ... Saüdemos a Luz da Verdade!...”

27 “– Tu és santa! oh martyr da sorte inglória! / Oh minha querida e santa abnegada Mãe! / Fazendo bem aos despotas que te vexam lançando-te ignomínias! / Aos que te cravam setas envenenadas no c’ração!”

28 “A vossa obra fulgente e grandiosa realça / rastro de luz que eterna há de refulgar / gerações de africana grei, há de brilhar / nas páginas do livro dos mártir’s da raça!... // Mestre! honraremos-te a memória na escabrosa / senda e na luta! [...]”

29 According to Zamparoni, 2007, p. 131, Karell Pott was an active member of the GALM, and “the first and then only mulatto lawyer in Mozambique”; according to Nhamona, 2016, p. 94, Pott competed for the leadership

none other than Marcus Garvey – a Jamaican black activist who died in 1940, author of an ongoing reflection linked to the idea of “Africa’s redemption”. Now, the “pléiade”, the group mentioned by Conrado, reveals an intense articulation of a true intellectual tradition, and also a very acute autonomous racial conscience, linked to the claiming dimension of black people at the international level.

Another relevant name that is part of Conrado’s “pléiade” is Rui de Noronha. Apropos, Noronha appears in an opening note of the volume *Divagações!* It is an ironic note, in which Conrado narrates a meeting with Rui de Noronha in Nampula. At this meeting, Conrado asked the poet why he did not collaborate in the local newspapers, to what Noronha replied that it was “impossible”, because they were in “a charged and boring environment” [“ambiente carregado e aborrido”] (CONRADO, 1938, p. 5). Augusto de Conrado takes a few lines to compare himself to Noronha and finish off the opening note: “If Mr. Rui de Noronha [...] cannot produce because the environment is only used for the apoplexy of spirit and intelligence, what will I do since I live in much lesser circumstances than he?”³⁰ (ibid., loc. cit.). The number of epithets next to Rui de Noronha’s name in the text suggests either an excess of reverence or irony: “distinguished poet that many people know”, “poet that everyone reads”, “famous poet” or “poet that many people know, and known, for the transcriptions that newspapers have made of his verses” (ibid., p. 5 e 6³¹).

This brief revisitation presents some moments in the literary history of Mozambique between the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th, demonstrating that Rui de Noronha’s pioneering position was an exogenous construct alien to this native environment of intense literary circulation. It is important to note that Noronha’s poetic work found a favourable environment to emerge and develop precisely in that literary *métier*. It is yet to be done a comparative study seeking to reveal quotations, intertexts and other resonances from Mozambican companions in Noronha’s work; nevertheless, the dialogue between peers is evident in their chronicles. On August 16th, 1935, the 13th anniversary of the death of João Albasini was celebrated. Rui de Noronha published in *O brado africano* (nº 769, of August 17th 1935) a chronicle in which he affirms: “When one day we write the history of the great intellectual movement of our race in this colony, which started about twenty years ago, two names will stand out among the many others that, from year to year, appear and go on forming the steps of the pedestal where our social demands will be raised³²” (NORONHA, 2006, p. 71). The awareness of belonging to an endogenous intellectual environment was therefore confessed by the poet, who knew he was

of *O brado africano* with José Albasini and Estácio Dias.

30 “Se o senhor Rui de Noronha [...] não pode produzir porque o ambiente só serve para apoplexia de ânimo e de inteligência, que farei eu que vivo em muito peores circunstâncias que êle?”

31 “poeta insigne que muita gente conhece”, “poeta que toda a gente lê”, “poeta consagrado”, “poeta que muita gente conhece, e consagrado, pelas transcrições que os jornais têm feito dos seus versos”.

32 “quando um dia se escrever a História do grande movimento intelectual da nossa Raça nesta Colónia, iniciado há cerca de vinte anos, dois nomes haverão de destacar-se dentre os muitos outros que de ano para ano vão surgindo e vão formando como que os degraus de pedestal onde se hão de erguer nossas reivindicações sociais”.

not the initiator of a movement that had existed for many years.

Final remarks

The writings of the black and mixed-race authors mentioned here reveal integration and internal articulation in an endogenous intellectual tradition (more than literary, since Noronha himself refers to the “intellectual movement of the race”) which, although sparse, is not absolutely nonexistent. The election of Noronha as the first Mozambican poet does not come exactly from the interior of this intellectual milieu (although it is recognized by them, as seen in Conrado’s note); but it is the effect of the writing of some important names in colonial society, white men, close to power, who wished to find in Portuguese language, poetic that would reveal cultural and racial characteristics translated aesthetically under an exoticist taste. In this sense, it is also necessary to consider the personal relationships maintained by Noronha with Rodrigues Júnior and Alexandre Lobato, and how his death placed him in a position of a romantic martyr.

Furthermore, the election of Noronha corresponds, on the other hand, to the execution of Abranches’ initial sentence that poetry would be a natural way for emergence of emancipated literature in Mozambique, as a prediction of an inevitable becoming and as if this literature did not exist even in prose, by default of Abranches. This elective process is especially relevant to understand the debates involved in the birth of an autonomous literature in moments of cultural assimilation, racism, and intense ethnocentrism in the colony. Despite this, it overshadowed the existence of an articulate and conscious group of writers and, the most important, undermining the existence of a literature in poetry and prose prior to the 1940s in Mozambique. Evidently, Rui de Noronha’s primary reception does not explain the continuity of his place of choice in the history of Mozambican literature; therefore, it is necessary to continue this investigation to mobilize the factors that will contribute to this continuity later. In this context, Noronha’s image as a “sleepwalker” attributed by Noémia de Sousa in her well-known “Poema a Rui de Noronha” must be highlighted, through which political factors will be considered to define him as “protonationalist”, according to terminology by Mário Pinto de Andrade (1997). But that must be part of another endeavor.

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ROLE-PLAYING AND MASKS IN *AS VISTAS DO DR. VALDEZ* BY JOÃO PAULO BORES COELHO
A MÁSCARA E A ENCENAÇÃO EM *AS VISITAS DO DR. VALDEZ* DE JOÃO PAULO BORGES COELHO

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ABSTRACT

In the novel *As Visitas do Dr. Valdez*, by João Paulo Borges COELHO, role-playing and masks (literal or figurative) are central topics, connected to power or submission within social relationships, during the transition between the colonial regime and independence in Mozambique. They serve several purposes in the story, such as to invoke the past and insert it into the rapidly changing present – through the mask of Dr. Valdez concocted by Vicente -; to momentarily extend a political and social order that is progressively wearing away – through the authoritative mask of Sá Caetana - ; or to introduce without violence the essence of change into former colonial relationships, which predicts the end of the colonial way of living. Sá Caetana, coming from a colonizing family, uses a traditional authoritative attitude towards Vicente that she does not wish to see subverted; a mask which she cannot forgo. Vicente, on the other hand, is divided between the submissive and obedient memory of his father, Cosme Paulino, who was a servant to the family, and the new callings of independence and decolonization. This role-playing and these masks lead the characters into a dead-lock without solution: the simultaneous impossibility of keeping up the role-playing or of dismantling it entirely. In this proposal, we aim to analyse how, in the story, wearing a certain social mask is both part of the colonial past and of the decolonized present and future, and how these masks represent an impediment to the creation of real and emotional connections.

KEYWORDS: power; colonial regime; independence; role-playing; masks

RESUMO

Em *As Visitas do Dr. Valdez*, do escritor João Paulo Borges COELHO, a máscara e a encenação (literais ou figurativas) são temáticas centrais que se encontram intimamente ligadas aos jogos de poder do período de transição do regime colonial para a independência em Moçambique.

São tópicos transversais a todo o romance e que servem vários propósitos: permitem a evocação de um passado num presente em mutação através da constituição da máscara do Dr. Valdez por Vicente; permitem ainda a perpetuação temporária de uma ordem política e social que se vai esboroando através da máscara autoritária de Sá Caetana e dos resquícios da máscara de Cosme Paulino em seu filho Vicente; permitem, por fim, introduzir de forma não violenta os elementos de transformação que prenunciam o fim de um modelo colonial. As duas senhoras, provenientes de uma família colonizadora, encontram-se numa posição tradicional de autoridade colonial perante Vicente que não desejam ver subvertida, de cuja máscara autoritária não podem abdicar. Vicente, por seu lado, divide-se entre a memória submissa e obediente do pai, que fora criado da família, e as novas forças de independência e descolonização. Estas encenações e máscaras conduzirão as personagens principais a um impasse sem solução – a simultânea impossibilidade de continuar a encenação e de a quebrar por completo. Nesta proposta, tentaremos demonstrar como, na história, as máscaras formam parte tanto do passado colonial, como do presente e futuro independente, e como se tornam um impedimento para a criação de ligações interpessoais verdadeiras e emotivas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: poder; regime colonial; independência; encenação; máscaras

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Role-playing and masks are central motifs in *As Visitas do Dr. Valdez* and are already present in the title of the novel. The visits of Dr. Valdez refer to the visits Vicente, servant to Sá Caetana and Sá Amélia, pays to the latter disguised as Dr. Valdez, a character from the ladies' pasts.

However, these topics stretch across the whole story and are not exclusive to Vicente. In a sense, the story is actually built upon several forms of role-playing and masks that lead the main characters to a deadlock without a solution – the simultaneous impossibility of keeping up the colonial way of organizing social powers and of breaking it completely. This problem is triggered by the transitional period from the colonial regime to independence in Mozambique.

During this presentation we aim to analyse both the meaning and evolution of the masks Vicente constructs and deconstructs, focusing on the mask of Dr. Valdez, as well as the mask Sá Caetana wears in her relationship with Cosme Paulino (her childhood servant and father to Vicente), and the mask of madness worn by Sá Amélia as a means of intervening indirectly and without consequences in domestic and family dynamics.

Vicente, Valdez and the “mapiko” mask

Let's start with the mask of Dr. Valdez: Vicente makes use of this mask by posing as a white male figure from the Mozambican colonial past in order to assert his individuality before Sá Caetana, his mistress, and to subvert the traditional power relationships between servants and masters in a colonial rural environment. The servant constructs an alter ego of the doctor, successfully adopting the appropriate mannerisms required to seem plausible (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 22), while asking himself: “How does a white man think? How does a white man feel? How does a white man act?” (COELHO, 2004, p. 48).

In reality, the role-playing and development of this mask end up gaining more importance than the physical mask itself, even though the evolution of the former influences the latter. Being Valdez is for Vicente a means to feel how it is to be treated as a visitor instead of a servant, what it's like to be able to sit on the sofas instead of tins, and how it feels to use with his own discretion objects that he would usually only be allowed to dust and clean around the house (COELHO, 2004, p. 57-58). For these same reasons, being Valdez is also a way of confronting Sá Caetana under the protection of the mask and the guise created from being Valdez.

But Vicente quickly loses the ability to act purely as Valdez, as he first tries to, and progressively lets the true Vicente intervene in the acting. At a certain point, the two characters intermingle and alternate in such a way within the servant as if he had a split personality.

The contact with his new friends, Jeremias and Sabonete, awakens Vicente to a reality he was unaware of: that of anticolonialism and of the desire for national assertion against the white man's colonial power (BARBATO; VEIGA, 2015, p. 68). This encourages Vicente to

further use the mask of Valdez as a means to show Sá Caetana that times have changed, and to point out to her some of her own mistakes and intransigence towards Sá Amélia and himself. Nevertheless, contrary to his friends' aggressive approach and overt manifestations of violence, his strategy is always covered by the mask and the semi-fantastical environment created by the staging of the visits.

The intermingling of Valdez and Vicente becomes even more intense as Vicente, by playing his character, derives from him the necessary courage to assert himself before his mistress (COELHO, 2004, p. 116). It is also at this moment, however, that both the mistresses and their servant are first referred to as a family in the novel. This seems essential to the understanding of the change Vicente goes through and how different it is from the attitudes of his friends or the previous behaviour of his father. It is by then as well that the deconstruction of Valdez begins (p. 117-118), which will be completed by the intrusion of the mapiko mask – a traditional mask used during the ceremony that marks the coming of age for boys.

On the other hand, Cosme Paulino, who had served Sá Caetana all his life and had died defending her property even in her absence (COELHO, 2004, p. 135), is, throughout the course of the boy's transformation, a shadow of a past he inherited and that, due to tradition and respect, he should linearly follow, without subversion.

Therefore, the news of the death of his father represent a crucial moment for the young servant's transformation. Faced with this tragic event, the son questions his duty: "Not knowing if the news reinforced his commitment («You shall serve the mistresses as I would serve them, do you hear me?»), if they freed him from it. Do I extend your gesture beyond your capacities, father, or do I finally let you rest?" (COELHO, 2004, p. 107).

The question he poses himself is, then, "How to disobey?" (COELHO, 2004, p. 134); how to subvert the colonial social order, the traditional relationships between masters and servants, without offending the memory of his own father. How to reconcile his own individuality with the masks of his past: "He wanted to change but he did not know how; he wanted to leave but the forces that held him in the same place were strong." (p. 135).

Nevertheless, although painful, change and disobedience are inevitable and Vicente finds in the transformation of the mask of Valdez the most peaceful way to achieve them. Vicente puts an end to his use of Valdez by invoking the doctor one last time without the request of Sá Caetana and by adding to his mask the mapiko mask (COELHO 2004, 139).

This new addition distorts not only the appearance of the mask of Valdez, but also, and for good, the staging that surrounded it. The mapiko mask is representative both of a national sense manifested in art form and in traditional Mozambican cults, and of a point of transition in the lives of young Mozambican boys, who would celebrate the transition into adulthood by learning how to wear that mask and by observing the dance of the mapiko (COELHO, 2004, p. 143).

With the mask being taken out of its traditional context and into the old ladies' household, the mask serves the purpose of challenging colonialism and restoring national origins, as well as being symbolic of a transition point for Vicente. Through it the servant asserts his newfound individuality, making it clear for his mistresses that he could not copy his father's behaviour and keep on serving them without introducing some change into their relationship (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 137)². Combining tradition, colonialism and individuality, Vicente seems to suggest that change will eventually lead to a future that will be the product of that combination; a future that, while representing a breaking with the colonial regime, will not exclusively be a return to tradition, but a new reality where individuality may also take part³.

The deconstruction of the mask of Valdez leads, in the end, to its symbolic rejection: wearing the mapiko mask, "a powerful weapon" (COELHO, 2004, p. 166), means finally reaching maturity, and, therefore, finally having the possibility of destroying the mask of the white male, putting an end to the staging of the past and revealing his true self to Sá Caetana (OLIVEIRA, 2012, p. 137-138).

This revelation, however, while being a stride towards assertion, is done without the violence Sá Caetana expected (COELHO, 2004, p. 166). In reality, until the end of the novel and the departure of his mistress to Portugal, something in Vicente prevents him from identifying completely with his friends and accepting the new modes of communication between bosses and employees (p. 172), namely a relationship merely of work and hostility.

This is due, or so we believe, to two main reasons: on one hand, the memory of Cosme Paulino and of his remonstrations in regards to the conduct he should adopt which Vicente finds hard to disobey; on the other hand, and maybe mostly for this reason, because his relationship with Sá Caetana and Sá Amélia cannot fit into either of the two work relationship patterns available – old or new. As every character will end up recognizing near the end, Vicente and his mistresses become a family together – they all share their roots and find in each other memories of their past. If Vicente finds complicity in Sá Amélia (COELHO, 2004, p. 52), in Sá Caetana he finds a mother (p. 219). The change of times and place, when they leave the countryside for Beira, makes their relationships different from others, both those of the colonial past, and those of the developing independent present. This turns them into impossible relationships in the new Mozambican social context⁴.

2 Serafim claims that "The visits became his (Vicente's) own mapiko ceremony, in which he ceases to be the young servant and conquers his autonomy." (2016, p. 28).

3 During the ceremony the mapiko says: "«I am simultaneously what has been done and what is left to do. Look, because you, albeit having learnt, will never be able to do as I do.» All of this so that the boy-children know that living is always doing differently, it is respecting tradition and renegading it." (COELHO, 2004, p. 145).

4 Silva mentions, as well, that this family represents an exception in Beira: "Together as if «living in an island», the «mistresses» and the servant preserve between themselves a relationship grounded on «supportive verticality» which, though affected by the war, still remains between the three characters under the influence of *ishima* (respect)." Oliveira also points out the reduced space of their house in Beira, when compared to the Big House in Ibo, as another possible reason for that closeness between servant and mistresses (2012, p. 135).

For these reasons, and because of the change about to overcome the country, the relationship between Vicente and Sá Caetana can only be solved by separation, as letting go of the masks and staging of power, both of the past and the present, is impossible: “A strange sight this one is, not old, not even new, an old lady caressing her servant.” (COELHO, 2004, p. 220).

Sá Caetana, the “Big Mistress” and Sá Amélia, the mad

The mask and staging of power and authority are, indeed, what Sá Caetana tries to sustain throughout the whole story before Vicente, Cosme Paulino and even Sá Amélia.

The mask of the “Big Mistress” that she wears is representative of colonial authority, rigidity and arrogance. It is also, in a way, the mask she inherits from her mother, Ana Bessa, and that she amplifies when she becomes a widow, through the power she acquires over the Big House and the Small House.

The authority/respect or superiority/inferiority relations between servant and mistress begins, for Sá Caetana, in her relationship with Cosme Paulino, who had been her servant since childhood. When they move to Beira, the mistress wants to mimic with Vicente the social organisation that he should have inherited like she had. There are countless times during which Sá Caetana insists in forcing Vicente to abide by the conduct she is used to, stressing her rights as mistress and becoming angry when she perceives any change in the boy (COELHO, 2004, p. 23; p. 91-92).

However, if maintaining her stance as the “Big Mistress” is possible while Cosme Paulino is alive through the letters they keep sending each other, that stance does not seem sustainable in the new social context she finds herself in. Vicente is no longer merely a servant. He becomes, mainly due to the role he plays in Sá Amélia’s life and the complicity that they inevitably develop, a member of the family and a youngster prone to change, to whom being treated as inferior feels offensive.

Yet, that intransigent and authoritative countenance, distanced from Vicente, that Sá Caetana wants to sustain is in fact a way of hiding her true feelings, her vulnerability and her conscience. When she receives notice of the death of Cosme Paulino, the “Big Mistress” imagines herself telling Vicente: “«It’s okay, I will take care of you.» and she would timidly venture to add, «After all, are we or are we not a family?»” (COELHO, 2004, p. 105-106).

Nevertheless, when the moment comes to tell Vicente about his father’s death, Sá Caetana cannot express herself in that way and simply reads to him the letter explaining what happened. And when Vicente, disguised as Dr. Valdez, talks about returning to Mucojo the narrator mentions: “And why does she oppose to the return of Vicente? Mysteries of one who feels the responsibility of being almost a mother to the boy without being able to assume it.” (COELHO, 2004, p. 152).

On the other hand, the mask of Sá Amélia is less clear and more questionable than her sister's. First of all, Sá Amélia's body is described throughout the novel, even when the narrator refers to her body as a child, as some sort of vessel for an unreliable and absent mind (COELHO, 2004, p. 10; p. 13). When she grows old and sickness prevents her from walking, her body is often described as being disconnected from her mind, which alternately inhabits it or leaves it (p. 31). That split between mind and body is aggravated by her blindness near the end of the novel, which leaves her entirely to the ghosts of her imagination (p. 167).

In fact, Sá Amélia's madness is uncertain throughout the whole story: we are never sure where her hallucinations start and her lucidity ends; or when she is truly oblivious or, instead, using her supposed madness to serve her lucid purposes, staging that madness deliberately (Serafim, 2016, p. 26-27): "She knows that behind the madness derived from sickness and old age, she is capable of using her memory to charge what is owed to her with the same ease that she resorts to forgetfulness to avoid responsibilities." (COELHO, 2004, p. 37).

The moments when her acting become clearer are those when Dr. Valdez comes to visit her. In certain passages, it becomes clear that Sá Amélia stages her own madness in order to indirectly intervene besides her sister in favour of the servant or to point out to her the mistakes from her past (COELHO, 2004, p. 74).

As a matter of fact, contrary to Sá Caetana who vehemently resists the change of times and of Vicente, Sá Amélia, although "mad", understands that change is inevitable and that Vicente cannot mimic his father's devotion in that new national context:

Sá Amélia, until then lost in herself, intervened:

- Don't pay attention to her, my friend. The boy is at an age of discovery. My sister does not understand that. She wanted him here all for herself, always available, always saying yes and nodding like his father. She does not understand that these are different times, that Vicente can never be like his father." (COELHO, 2004, p. 157-158)

Cosme Paulino, the maskless

Finally, contrary to most other characters, Cosme Paulino is the only one to not wear any mask in the novel. The old servant belongs entirely to the colonial past and manages to prolong it beyond its time; he belongs to the time when the role-playing inherent to colonial power and the relationships between servants and masters were inherited from the family (COELHO, 2004, p. 38; p. 40) and, therefore, unquestionable. Indeed, the sort of role-playing that would be invisible to its actors, because it was unconsciously ingrained from birth within those who staged it.

Cosme accepts his poverty, the hardship of his job and the violence of the unfair punishments he suffered as unavoidable and they do not influence his everlasting loyalty to

his masters. Even his death is marked by blind faithfulness: he refuses to leave his mistresses' property and is, therefore, captured and beaten to death by Portuguese soldiers who believe (or pretend to believe) that he is a rebel. Paulino's death is surrounded, thereby, by a dark irony: he dies defending colonial power while being accused of rebellion, something he could never have dreamed of.

If he ever wore any mask and played his role in the staging of colonial relationships, he did it so well that he became completely identified with it.

Conclusions

In this novel, both the physically present mask and the mask that can be sensed through the countenance of each character serve several purposes. On the one hand, they allow for the invocation of the past within the changing present – this is accomplished through the mask of Dr. Valdez created by Vicente; they also allow for the temporary elongation of a political and social order that is disappearing – this is accomplished through the authoritative mask of Sá Caetana and the remnants of Cosme Paulino that live within Vicente⁵; they allow, finally, for the non-violent introduction of change that predicts the end of the colonial regime.

On “stage” as Dr. Valdez, Vicente is able to show his mistress, without having to resort to explicit confrontation, that the present and the future cannot linearly prolong the past; that the dynamics and role-playing inherent to colonial power are reaching their death bed; that the traditional family heritage of superiority or inferiority needs to be broken to give way to a fairer social order, within which the masks of power can no longer be used for cruelty and injustice. Lastly, that in the new Mozambique, the emotional connection that that unlikely family had created amongst itself had no place, because it could never be accepted as it was, nor maintained through the old social organisation models as the relationship between Sá Caetana and Cosme Paulino had been.

Thus we believe that in this novel, the end of colonialism does not entail, as one could think, the end of role-playing and masks. As the characters Jeremias, Sabonete and Maria Camba Françoise seem to suggest, if independence was going to end the colonial type of social interaction and relationships and give way to the straightforward stare of the Mozambican man and woman, it was also going to replace the masks of colonialism with those of anticolonialism and revolution. What Borges Coelho seems to suggest through Vicente is that neither of those masks, being simplistic and reductive, could translate the emotional and sentimental complexity existing between human beings, be them masters or servants, old or new, colonialists or rebels⁶.

5 The relationship between masters and servants and the authority of the former over the latter is actually designated as role-playing within the novel: “The nausea and a certain surprise of verifying how fragile authority was. As a play requiring the effort both of those who give orders and of those who receive them.” (COELHO, 2004, p. 155-156).

6 “With it I simply wanted to tell a story, and, at the same time, question the Manichean interpretation that rules

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over the period right before independence. Where everything is usually read in black and white, I wanted to insert greys, nuances.” (João Paulo Borges Coelho in an interview for the newspaper *Público* quoted in ALVES, 2011, p. 37).



MEMORY AND RESPONSIVENESS IN JESUSALÉM, BY MIA COUTO MEMÓRIA E RESPONSIVIDADE EM JESUSALÉM DE MIA COUTO

Adriana Gonçalves da Silva¹

ABSTRACT

The romance *Jesusalém*, published in 2009 by Mia Couto, brings up the story of Mozambican Silvestre Vitalício, who will take refuge in an isolated land, taking with him his two sons and the military Zacaria Kalash. The undertaking takes place out of the patriarch's desire to rebuild his present by abdicating the past. Jesusalém, the name given to the place, is now inhabited by interdictions made by the father to his children, in relation to the construction of this past. In the new home, there will be no space for expressions of memory, always rejected by the patriarch who imposes silences in its place. In view of the above, we propose to carry out in this analysis a dialogical reading about the (suppression of) the memory in the narrative plot, realizing the responsive attitudes generated, especially in the face of the interdiction of the report. We also need to understand how this silencing that encompasses the family microcosm can be extended to that experienced by the Mozambican homeland. Despite the father's effort, the complete forgetting of these memories cannot be fully realized (GAGNEBIN, 2009) and in the face of his fanciful and fallacious speech, the children will constantly perform responsive attitudes (BAKHTIN, 1986) related to both Silvestre's speech, as to the speech of the other two adults to whom they have access, seeking to recover this lost past.

KEYWORDS: Dialogism; Responsiveness; Memory.

RESUMO

O romance *Jesusalém*, publicado em 2009, por Mia Couto, traz a baila a história do moçambicano Silvestre Vitalício que escolhe se refugiar em uma terra isolada levando consigo seus dois filhos e o militar Zacaria Kalash. A empreitada se dá, por desejo do patriarca de reconstruir o seu presente abdicando do passado. Jesusalém, nome dado ao local, passa a ser habitada por interdições efetuadas pelo pai aos seus filhos, em relação à construção deste passado. Na nova morada, não haverá espaço para expressões da memória, sempre rechaçada pelo patriarca que impõe em seu lugar, silêncios. Em face ao exposto, propomos realizar nesta análise uma leitura dialógica acerca da (supressão da) memória na trama narrativa, percebendo as atitudes responsivas geradas, principalmente frente à interdição do relato. Importa-nos perceber ainda, como este silenciamento que abrange o microcosmo familiar pode ser alargado ao vivenciado pela pátria moçambicana. Apesar do esforço do pai, o pleno esquecimento destas recordações não poderá ser efetivado por completo (GAGNEBIN, 2009) e diante do seu discurso fantasioso e falacioso, os filhos realizarão constantemente atitudes responsivas (BAKHTIN, 1986), relacionadas tanto ao discurso de Silvestre, quanto ao discurso dos outros dois adultos a quem possuem acesso, em busca de recompor este passado perdido.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Dialogismo; Responsividade; Memória.

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The novel by Mia Couto, which received the Brazilian title of *Before the world was born*, has as its epigraph the text of Hermann Hesse in *Journey to the East*, that says: “The whole of world history often seems to me nothing more than a picture book which portrays humanity’s most powerful and a senseless desire - the desire to forget.”² In the novel’s microcosm, the search for the suppression of memory acts from a character who establishes a process of annihilation of his past. The silencing of memories in the particular context of this man can be understood as a mirroring and echoing of absconds held in Mozambican society during the period of civil war.

The plot is built from the adventure led by Silvestre Vitalício to take refuge in an isolated land, where he could recreate his present. Continuing in counterflow to the migration of war - from the city to the devastated countryside - the patriarch carries on this self-exile journey a soldier close to the family and his two children: Ntunzi and Mwanito.

The narrative plot strains a multiplicity of layers: the forbidden and previous history of the family, the time of utterance and the time of utterance, which can be read in parallel with the country’s political history. It is important to note that the narrator is Mwanito, the youngest son, who weaves in a time-apart perspective, stitching the relevant aspects from the selection of his memories.

The keynote of the work, the search for the patriarch of the family by the suppression of memories, presents a choice that is in line with internal motivations still unknown to the reader at the beginning of the narrative, being brought to light only with the development of the story. The book is presented in three parts in which the narrator develops the family history in this new inhabited space and the outcome of the unexpected return to Maputo, they are: *Humanity*, *The Visit and Revelations* and *Returns*.

In this escape process, the *locus* chosen to live in will be called by this exile-wandering subject of *Jesusalém*, a clear allusion to Jerusalem, the holy city and promised land of the biblical text. Following the example of this nomination, the character will continue to construct the surrounding reality in a discursive way, which abrades the choice of name for the city-country, since it will seek to establish a new cosmogony, because “that was the land where Jesus would uncrucify” (COUTO, 2009, p. 11)³. Therefore he intervenes at the same time in accessing the memory of the past and in the construction of the future memory of his children, through the choices he makes in the present, of which Mwanito now reports.

In the first part of the novel, *Humanity*, Mwanito tells us of Silvestre Vitalício’s evident effort to make his children believe that they would be the last survivors of the end of the world:

2 All translations of the work are our own. In Portuguese: “Toda a história do mundo não é mais que um livro de imagens refletindo o mais violento e mais cego dos desejos humanos: o desejo de esquecer”.

3 In Portuguese: “aquela era a terra onde Jesus haveria de descrucificar”.

“from now on, there is nowhere” (COUTO, 2009, p. 19)⁴, elaborating from these speeches another reality that immunized him from his children’s curiosity, exempted him from having what to say and having to return: “-For the case is simple, my children: the world has died, there is nothing left beyond Jerusalém” (COUTO, 2009, p. 33)⁵.

In *Before the world was born*, as the plot progresses, the children’s suspicious attitude towards the father’s speech intensifies and takes on more incisive contours. Sustaining these speeches required a continuous attitude of repetition and reworking of the existing reality, giving way to deception.

- But, dad, tell us. How did the world die?
 - Actually, I don’t remember.
 - But uncle Aproximado...
 - Your uncle tells too much stories...
 - So, dad, you tell us.
 - The case was this: the world ended even before the end of the world...
- (COUTO, 2009, p. 22)⁶.

Bakhtin’s circle establishes that every speech builds and is built by/in interaction, it is, therefore, dialogical, every speech responds to other speeches that precede it and will be answered by those who place themselves later. In this network of relationships, “sooner or later what is heard and actively understood will find its response in the subsequent speech or behaviour of the listener” (BAKHTIN, 1986, p. 69). Therefore, Silvestre Vitalício’s speech, although making use of his father authority, will not come out unscathed from reformulations and responses.

Mwanito at first believed his father’s words, “Ntunzi, however, considered all that a delusion.” (COUTO, 2009, p. 21)⁷. Even if they do not directly contradict it, the children act on the speech, as no listening is passive. Inconsistencies, disagreements with other speeches received will always be put into perspective.

- It’s the opposite, Mwanito. It was not the world that passed away. We are the ones who died. [...]
- Don’t say that, Ntunzi, it scares me.
- Well be aware: we did not leave the world, we were expatriates like a thorn that is expelled by the body (COUTO, 2009, p. 26)⁸.

The young age he had when he moved to the locality, three years old, puts Mwanito in a different condition to that of his brother, as he has no memory of the previous world,

4 In Portuguese: “a partir de agora deixou de haver aonde”.

5 In Portuguese: “-Pois, o caso é simples, meus filhos: o mundo morreu, não resta nada para lá de Jerusalém”.

6 In Portuguese: “- Mas, pai, nos conte. Como faleceu o mundo?/- Na verdade já não me lembro./- Mas o Tio aproximado.../- O tio conta muita história.../- Então, pai, nos conte o senhor./- O caso foi o seguinte: o mundo acabou mesmo antes do fim do mundo...”.

7 In Portuguese: “Ntunzi, porém, considerava tudo aquilo um delírio.”

8 In Portuguese: “- É o contrário, Mwanito. Não foi o mundo que faleceu. Nós é que morremos. [...]/ - Não diga isso, Ntunzi, que me dá um medo./ - Pois fique sabendo: nós não saímos do mundo, fomos expatriados como um espinho que é expulso pelo corpo”.

but he will not fail to carry out these questions little by little. As he grows up, the youngest son reconsiders such created universe and gradually stops uncritically accepting his father's narrative, concluding at the time of the utterance that:

All the stories that the father invented about the reasons for leaving the world, all those fanciful versions had only one purpose: to dust our judgment, removing us from the memories of the past. (COUTO, 2009, p. 23)⁹.

In the coexistence between the brothers, the possibility of the other world is always posed: “-Now, however, isn't it that my little brother wants to see the other side?/- What other side?/- The other side, you know: the world, the across!” (COUTO, 2009, p. 26)¹⁰. In the absence of the father, the children will perform an active attitude towards the discourse imposed by him, there will be a constant process of elaboration.

All true understanding is active and already represents the embryo of an answer. [...] To understand another person's utterance means to orient oneself with respect to it, to find proper place for it in its corresponding context. For each word of the utterance that we are in the process of understanding, we lay down a set of our own answering words. (VOLOSHINOV, 1973, p. 122).

Once understood, these utterances will produce echoes with other utterances, contributed by Zacaria Kalash and uncle Aproximado. The patriarch places himself before his children in the position of the one who experienced the perishing of the world, as the witness of a catastrophe, but who recounts invented memories. For Seligmann Silva (2008, p. 66) the testimony is “a condition of survival” and “narrating the trauma therefore means, first of all, this primary sense of desire to be reborn.”¹¹. The protagonist seeks this rebirth by weaving improbable narratives, seeking to ignore the traumatic experience of his past, which imbues both personal and collective experience in the period of Mozambican civil war.

The homeland he gestates in *Jesusalém*, in addition to being utopian, presupposed the annulment of the existing one, the denial of Mozambique. This is evident in the refusal to receive news from the country, let us see the moment when the death of Samora Machel is announced by the brother-in-law:

- Brother-in-law, come down. I have news.
- The news is long over.
- I beg you to come down, Silvestre Vitalício.
- I will go down when it is time to go down.

9 In Portuguese: “Todas as histórias que o pai inventava sobre os motivos de abandonar o mundo, todas aquelas fantasiosas versões tinham um único propósito: empoeirar-nos o juízo, afastando-nos das memórias do passado”.

10 In Portuguese: “-Agora, porém, não será que meu irmãozinho quer ver o outro lado?/- Que outro lado?/- O outro lado, você sabe: o mundo, o Lado-de-Lá!”.

11 Our translation. In Portuguese: “uma condição de sobrevivência” and “narrar o trauma, portanto, tem em primeiro lugar este sentido primário de desejo de renascer”.

- The president is dead!

At the top of the steps, the whole gesture was suspended. However, there were few, scarce seconds [...]

- I hope it stops raining inside.

- Did you hear what I said? That the president has died?

- He had died before. (COUTO, 2009, p. 76)¹²

In line with his desire to leave one world behind to gestate the birth of another, one of his first actions when he arrived in that place was to (re)name it and “demotify” everyone, in a ritualistic way. That was how Mateus Ventura became Silvestre Vitalício, reneging on the previous subject to assume a new identity. Mwanito reflects on this aspect:

When we moved to Jesusalém, my father gave us other names. Once rebaptized, we had another birth. And we were more exempt from the past [...] I was the only one to keep the same name: Mwanito.

- This one is still being born - my father justified the permanence of my name (COUTO, 2009, p. 37-38)¹³.

The desire to become apart from cultural and historical insertion is declared in the act of disowning ancestors during the ceremony. Orlando Macara, henceforth uncle Aproximado, intercedes for using the names of his grandparents, and Silvestre replies: “If there is no past, there is no ancestor” (COUTO, 2009, p. 39)¹⁴. The ancestors are strictly linked to the Bantu culture and the Mozambican tradition, which means that at this moment Vitalício renounces to be a participant in this same tradition¹⁵.

The brief dispute between the two in choosing the baptism names can be extended during the reading and considered as similar to what occurred in the tension existing between the two main political forces operating in the post-independence country, one with the discourse of maintaining tradition and the other accused by the former of neglecting it, the Mozambican

12 In Portuguese: “- Me cunhado, desça. Tenho as novidades./- As novidades acabaram há muito./- Peço-lhe que desça, Silvestre Vitalício./- Desço quando for o tempo de descer./- Morreu o presidente!/No topo dos degraus, todo o gesto ficou suspenso. Foram, contudo, escassos segundos [...]/- Espero que deixe de chover lá dentro./- Escutou o que lhe disse? Que morreu o presidente?/-Já tinha morrido antes”.

13 In Portuguese: “Quando nos mudámos para Jesusalém, meu pai nos conferiu outros nomes. Rebaptizados, nós tínhamos outro nascimento. E ficávamos mais isentos do passado [...] Só eu guardei o mesmo nome: Mwanito. –Este ainda está nascendo – justificou assim meu pai a permanência do meu nome”.

14 In Portuguese: “Se não há passado, não há antepassado”.

15 Ironically, the justification for the name of the uncle is given by the fact that he is adopted and has no family ancestors: “The new designation handled how he was not Dordalma’s blood brother. He was, as Silvestre said, a second-degree brother-in-law. He had been born adopted and his whole life would remain in that condition of a strange and foreign creature. Approximate could talk to relatives, but he never had a conversation with the family’s ancestors.” In Portuguese: “A nova designação dava conta de como ele não era irmão de sangue de Dordalma. Era, como dizia Silvestre, um cunhado em segundo grau. Nascera adoptado e toda a vida se manteria nessa condição de criatura estranha e estrangeira. Aproximado podia falar com os parentes, mas nunca teve conversa com os antepassados da família.” (COUTO, 2009, p. 71).

National Resistance (Renamo) and the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), respectively.

When changing the name of the occupied space and debaptizing everyone, Vitalício does not realize that by denying these previous narratives he puts himself in constant dialogue with the circulating speeches in this society, responding to them responsively. In other words, the speech that rejects tradition and precedes it, to some extent responds to it:

Each utterance is filled with echoes and reverberations of other utterances to which it is related by the communality of the sphere of speech communication. Every utterance must be regarded primarily as a response to preceding utterances of the given sphere [...]: Each utterance refutes, affirms, supplements, and relies on the others, presupposes them to be known, and somehow takes them into account. (BAKHTIN, 1986, p. 91)

In addition, Burke (1997) points out that name is important as a maintainer of memory. Breaking with them is, therefore, significant of the desired fracture, which we can verify in the specific case of Mozambique as a search to overcome the colonial condition. This is the case of the capital that once honoured Portuguese explorer Lourenço Marques and since 1976 has become Maputo.

Many revolutionary and counter-revolutionary regimes like to symbolize their break with the past by changing the names of streets, especially when these names refer to dates of significant events. (BURKE, 1997, p. 57)

In addition to the debaptism ceremony, the patriarch instills in this new home a series of rituals, precepts and rules that will be at the service of his ideal of forgetfulness: one should not feel homesick nor talk about it, it is reference to their mother, the city and women, expressions such as music, prayer, crying, dreaming, writing are prohibited. Any of these actions would foster memories of that non-existent “across” and, for this reason, Silvestre does not worship them.

In Jesusalém there was no book, no notebook, or anything related to writing. Gradually, I understood Silvestre’s interdictions: writing was a bridge between past and future times, times that never existed in me (COUTO, 2009, p. 41)¹⁶.

The separation that is made in the narrative is, therefore, not just geographic, not just physical, but acts very much on these subjectivities. The isolation is evidenced in the plot by several situations such as: Mwanito’s lack of knowledge about women, “The first time I saw a woman I was eleven years old and I was suddenly surprised, so unarmed that I burst into tears” (COUTO, 2009, p. 11)¹⁷ or by the lack of knowledge about his place of birth:

16 In Portuguese: “Em Jesusalém não entrava livro, nem caderno, nem nada que fosse parente da escrita. Aos poucos, eu entendia as interdições de Silvestre: a escrita era uma ponte entre tempos passados e futuros, tempos que, em mim, nunca chegaram a existir.”

17 In Portuguese: “A primeira vez que vi uma mulher tinha onze anos e me surpreendi subitamente tão desarmado que desabei em lágrimas”.

Actually, I was not born in Jesusalém. I am, let's say, an emigrant from another place with no name, no geography, no history. As soon as my mother died, I was three years old, my father took me and my older brother and left the city (COUTO, 2009, p. 19).¹⁸

Because of the denial of creative attitude, childhood will also be obliterated. In Jesusalém, more than the annulment of memories, it was abolished with the imaginative faculty proper to child development. At a certain point Mwanito remembers that the vehicle that had taken them to that place and remained there, fainted and abandoned, had never been a playful object for the children's imaginary trips, because "whoever lived nailed to one single floor does not know how to dream of other places" (COUTO, 2009, p. 24)¹⁹. The first time they will enter another uninhabited space of forbidden access by the father since they arrived in Jesusalém, it will also cause these reflections to emerge: "[...] how is it that in so many years of childhood I was never curious about exploring this forbidden place? The reason is that I had never exercised my own childhood, my father had aged me since birth" (COUTO, 2009, p. 123)²⁰.

Ironically, Vitalício testifies to this time in a lively way. Against the impossibility of narrating, which comes from the traumatic event of the war and the loss of his wife, emerges the fiction that lends itself to the separation he wants. Almost always his discursive actions generate what they refute, since not taking back the past, silencing it, is also witnessing it and not accepting any expression of the imaginative faculty, it goes against the grain of the fantasy universe it creates. In short, the desire expressed by Silvestre Vitalício passes through the authoritarian need for control: while the father encircles the children from the entire creative universe, preventing them from accessing a recent past, he seeks to immerse them in the only acceptable creative attitude, the one controlled by him.

The entire construction of *Jesusalém* is, therefore, based on the speech. According to Bakhtin, every "utterance is constructed while taking into account possible responsive reactions, for whose sake, in essence, it is actually created." (1986, p. 94), the responsive attitude that Silvestre Vitalício craves from his interlocutor goes through the non-propagation of memory, since he generates a network of interdicts. It would be a responsive attitude that anticipates the speech, prevents it and limits it in favour of a conceived idealization.

Among the mechanisms used to remove his children from the memory of a time, silence will be the most effective. The silencing of memories becomes law in *Jesusalém*, so that the mother's memory is never accessed. There is a net of silences woven that, while comforting, defies Vitalício. It is with silence that he seeks to remove himself and others around him from

18 In Portuguese: "Na verdade, não nasci em Jesusalém. Sou, digamos, emigrante de um outro lugar sem nome, sem geografia, sem história. Assim que minha mãe morreu tinha três anos, meu pai pegou em mim e no meu irmão mais velho e abandonou a cidade".

19 In Portuguese: "quem viveu pregado a um só chão não sabe sonhar com outros lugares".

20 In Portuguese: "[...] como é que, em tantos anos de infância, nunca tive curiosidade de explorar este lugar interdito? A razão é que eu nunca tinha exercido a minha própria infância, meu pai me envelhecera desde nascença".

memories and it is in the silence that the memories, guilt and feelings of a remote time overflow in his mind.

The children refute the official and fictional speech made by Silvestre Vitalício looking for other fictions about the past. In the absence of his father, Ntunzi, the older brother, narrates aspects, features and traits of women to Mwanito, which he did not really remember. He stages the female walk, talks about the city and in the small space available in a card game, teaches him how to write.

On the edge of the bedroom or on the riverbank, far from the eyes of the father, they are engaged in the imaginative universe that is not legitimized in such homeland, ironically managed under the same process: “The river made me see the other side of the world. Writing gave back to me my mother’s lost face.” (COUTO, 2009, p. 42)²¹.

In the second part of the novel, the presence of a visitor will destabilize the silence and apparent peace of Jesusalém, due to the doubly foreign condition that she bears: a Portuguese woman who travels in search of her husband and to recover the path of her betrayal in Africa. For the creator of a home away from humanity, “the presence of the Portuguese alone was an unbearable intrusion. One single person - a woman on top - collapsed the entire nation of Jesusalém” (COUTO, 2009, p. 128)²². Marta is a denouncer of that other world, a representative of the other side and a denudator of the perception that as much as Vitalício wanted to “close the world out of him,” “there was no door for him to lock himself from the inside” (COUTO, 2009, p. 129)²³.

Marta will break the laws of Jesusalém and disallow Silvestre Vitalício’s speech, breaking silences through writing, singing, and imagination and exposing Silvestre’s children to these experiences. She will be the first person Mwanito will hear sing. The photographic camera she carries is exemplary of her relationship with memory, her records being threatened under Silvestre’s requirement that she must leave her film roll when she leaves those lands, thus refusing also a memory of her present.

The recurring silence alluded to in the narrative and institutionalized by Silvestre Vitalício reminds us of the silences that are maintained in the post-independence Mozambican society, especially regarding the memories of the clashes of so many years of war. In this sense, the silence in Jesusalém can be seen as metaphorical of the one that echoed in the national space, of which the microcosm of that warren is part, although it is not wanted. The same strategy of obliteration, which generates conflicts between Silvestre Vitalício and his children, is exercised

21 In Portuguese: “O rio me fazia ver o outro lado do mundo. A escrita me devolvia o rosto perdido de minha mãe”.

22 In Portuguese: “a presença da portuguesa, só por si, era uma insuportável intrusão. Uma única pessoa – ainda por cima uma mulher – desmoronava a inteira nação de Jesusalém”.

23 In Portuguese: “fechar o mundo fora dele”, “não havia porta para ele se trancar por dentro”.

in the present of the nation.

According to anthropologist Victor Igreja, there is an official and institutionalized silence in Mozambique that divides opinions: “In this ‘era of the witness’, debates over the adoption of official silence in post-conflict countries have shifted between two perspectives: pragmatic arguments for, and moral condemnation of this type of strategy.” (2008, p. 539). The silences maintained by the Mozambican people and the characters in the narrative are pregnant with conflicts to come, in this sense, the duality of silence can be thought of as a potentializer of both peace and tensions. Let us borrow Mwanito’s poetic construction “There is not a single silence. And all the silence is music in a state of pregnancy.” (COUTO, 2009, p. 13)²⁴.

It is evident that in that small family nucleus the patriarch acts in the plot as the holder of memories and also the manager of them, following the same *modus operandi* of the political sphere: the manipulation of information about this recent past. The past for Silvestre’s children even reaches a mythical status due to the lack of possible records of remembrance.

- I will say one thing and I will never repeat: you must not remember nor dream anything, my children. [...]

- It’s all a lie. What you dream of is what I created in your minds. Do you understand? [...]

- And what you remember is what I enkindle in your minds (COUTO, 2009, p. 17)²⁵.

Throughout the novel, the responsive attitude can be perceived by the speech created by Silvestre and often emerges with a late response from the children to the father’s speech, but there is still a responsive attitude from the father towards his own speech which in many measures imprisons him to that created reality. Therefore, we can choose in the narrative some moments in which the conflict experienced by Silvestre can be perceived, some moments in which the memories devastate and escape his control, the past according to Gagnebin (2009, p. 185), “insists on enduring in a way that is not reconciled in the present, in the form of pain and torment. A past that does not pass”²⁶.

From the beginning of the romance the father resorts to the youngest son to be silent “It was in my silence that my father used to make a cathedral” (COUTO, 2009, p. 19)²⁷. And the scenes of this silence on the porch are clearly denouncing moments when reflections about the deceased wife jump in his mind:

24 In Portuguese: “não há um único silêncio. E todo o silêncio é música em estado de gravidez”.

25 In Portuguese: “- Vou dizer uma coisa, nunca mais vou repetir: vocês não podem lembrar nem sonhar nada, meus filhos. [...] /- É tudo mentira. O que vocês sonham fui eu que criei nas vossas cabeças. Entendem? [...] /- E o que vocês lembram sou eu que acendo nas vossas cabeças”.

26 Our translation: “insiste em perdurar de maneira não reconciliada no presente, sob a forma de dor e tormento. Um passado que não passa”.

27 In Portuguese: “Era no meu silêncio que meu pai fazia catedral”.

I kept myself still, peeking out on the balcony. From there I saw my old man returning to occupy the old chair, sighing loudly and uttering the most unexpected words: - It's not long, Alminha. It's not long (COUTO, 2009, p. 185).²⁸

Other examples of moments in which the remembrances of memory lead him to break with the laws of Jesusalém can be seen in the baptism of the river over the name of Mwanito's grandfather, in a clear return to his ancestors (COUTO, 2009, p. 108), in the song that difficultly jumps into his throat after eleven years, instead of the tears that threatened to burst into his eyes (COUTO, 2009, p. 181) and in the emotion to stare at the black wall where Ntunzi used to mark with little stars the passing of days, to which he responds in fury by destroying it.

Such episodes mark the difficulty of obliterating these reflective memories and flashes that may contain re-evaluations about the imagery created by the fantasy speech that instills in his experience and that of his children. For Voloshinov (1973, p. 105) every statement is an "evaluative orientation" and any change in meaning is always a "*re-evaluation*; the transportation of some particular word from one evaluative context to another."

The hoax generated by Silvestre Vitalício for himself and his family consists in the fact that, just as memory cannot be fully recovered, total forgetfulness cannot be achieved either, since the movements of memory and forgetting are part of the same process: "memory lives this tension between presence and absence" (GAGNEBIN, 1998, p. 218)²⁹.

Marta, who arrives in Jesusalém knowing the story of Silvestre Vitalício, tries to confront him with her memories so that, in fact, there will be closure, in the same way that the Mozambican people seem to need confrontations and to experience the mourning of their dead in wars for that there is indeed a fortified peace relationship: "You didn't say goodbye to the deceased. That is what torments you, this lack of mourning does not bring you peace./ - I do not authorize you to talk about these matters, I am the president of Jesusalém, I do not need advice from Europe." (COUTO, 2009, p. 194)³⁰.

However, there is a complexity in the character that embodies this unwanted visitor in the work that cannot fail to be perceived, although it is not the focus of the analysis that we intend here³¹. It is possible to establish a parallel between the seduction that Marta exercises in

28 In Portuguese: "Eu me conservei, imóvel a espreitar a varanda. Dali enxerguei meu velho voltando a ocupar a velha poltrona, suspirando ruidosamente e proferindo as mais inesperadas palavras: — Já falta pouco, Alminha. Já falta pouco."

29 Our translation. In Portuguese: "a memória vive essa tensão entre a presença e a ausência".

30 In Portuguese: "Você não se despediu da falecida. É isso que lhe traz tormentos, essa falta de luto não lhe traz sossego./ - Não autorizo que fale desses assuntos, sou o presidente de Jesusalém, não preciso de conselhos vindos da Europa".

31 An inattentive reader can develop an empathy for the salvific character, a clear and evident metaphor for the colonizer's presumption to impose their culture, disregarding the aegis under which the locals live in. The speech is, once again, determinant for these constructions, since a large part of this empathy arises due to the male chauvinist, sexist treatment received from Silvestre Vitalício, always so intransigent to the prerogatives exposed by her, "My father says that all women are whores" (COUTO, 2009, p. 146) and "A woman should not go looking for a husband. A woman should wait around." (COUTO, 2009, p. 150). In the dynamics of the clash the reader may

children with the colonial process experienced by Mozambique, or even as a denouncer of a certain fascination remaining in minds that still need to go through a process of decolonization (FANON, 2006).

Thus, despite the confrontation it exerts to remove subjects from that isolation, the speech is problematized in view of the identity condition of the subject who enunciates it (BAKHTIN, 1986, p. 71). It becomes salutary that the reason that determines the departure of these characters from Jesusalém is the snake bite that Silvestre Vitalício suffers and not, effectively, the interference of Marta.

In the last part of the book, *Revelations and Returns*, it is not the physical return of those characters to Maputo that will actually be configured as a resumption, but the reconciliation they will have with their past. In the episode that precedes the reason for the return, the snake transits between reality, dream and hallucination, and, just as the presence of the animal occupies this multiplicity of planes, the past seems to impose itself: “while the eyes of the viper were fixed on yours, the whole past came to his mouth” (COUTO, 2009, p. 212)³².

In view of Ntunzi’s paternity revealed, Mateus Ventura, henceforth Silvestre Vitalício, will be, alongside Mwanito, the only ones to remain in the house. He hoped to make Jesusalém his last home and to become a lifelong countryman, departing from the city, but he returns to it. But for him there would be no possible return. That house where he had lived with his wife, guilt, fear, in all of this there was no possibility of remaining life because “for Silvestre the past was a disease and memories were a punishment. He wanted to live in oblivion. He wanted to live away from guilt.” (COUTO, 2009, p. 13)³³.

In addition to the resumption of physical space, the writing will act as the main bridge for rescuing this past and reconciling with the present. A letter sent by Marta, who at the moment of the narrative is in Portugal, tells Mwanito the stories she discovered about his mother, Dordalma, seeking to fill in some gaps in his existence: “I spoke with Aproximado, with Zacaria, with Noci, with the neighbours. Everyone told me pieces of a story. It is my duty to return to you that past that was stolen from you” (COUTO, 2009, p. 242)³⁴.

It is in this third part of the novel that Silvestre Vitalício’s discursive action in Jesusalém

forget the absurdities uttered about the African continent during the course of their journey, a series of stereotypes and prejudices that are current in the social imagination, such as: “Traitor, I want you to die of AIDS and lice” (COUTO, 2009, p. 138) and “my husband had disappeared forever, victim of an act of cannibalism” (COUTO, 2009, p. 139). In Portuguese: “Meu pai diz que todas as mulheres são putas”, “Uma mulher não sai à procura de marido. Uma mulher fica à espera.”, “Traidor, quero que morras com SIDA e com piolhos” e “o meu marido desaparecera para sempre, vítima de um ato de canibalismo”, respectively.

32 In Portuguese: “enquanto os olhos da víbora se cravaram nos seus, todo o passado lhe veio à boca”.

33 In Portuguese: “para Silvestre o passado era uma doença e as lembranças um castigo. Ele queria morar no esquecimento. Ele queria viver longe da culpa.”.

34 In Portuguese: “Falei com Aproximado, com Zacaria, com Noci, com os vizinhos. Todos me contaram pedaços de uma história. É meu dever devolver-te esse passado que te foi roubado”.

gains yet more outlines. The silencing he performs with his children is also a resonance of a discursive charge that is suspended with the death of his wife. Guilt emerges on what is said and what is not said. Dordalma's silence at home spoke of the neglected suffering in his past: "At home, Dordalma was never more than grey, dull and cold. The years of loneliness and disbelief enabled her to be nobody, simply a native of silence" (COUTO, 2009, p. 257)³⁵.

The memory that Marta gives back to Silvestre Vitalício's children and especially to Mwanito is a memory that goes through countless rearrangements, not only in her selection in the writing of the letter, but by all those who narrated these fragments of history: "The material present in the form of traces being subjected from time to time to a *rearrangement* in accordance with fresh circumstances - to a *retranscription*" (FREUD, 1985, p. 207). In equal measure, what we read is also material reorganized by the narrator subject.

Silvestre Vitalício chooses to inhabit silences. With the muteness he incorporates at the end of the narrative, we can recall what Schmidt (2009, p. 139) considered as the identity problem of the post-colonial subject, which becomes multiple depending on a network of relationships and the historicity of life that accompanies it. Upon trying to build his identity in the face of civil war and fear, Silvestre found in the silence of Jesusalém a possibility to resist, a possibility now denied in that house, with memories embodied in walls. His only way of survival will be to keep Jesusalém's silence in Maputo, alienating himself from the city.

There would be no regress. At that moment, I realized: Silvestre Vitalício had just lost all contact with the world. Before, he almost didn't speak. Now, he had stopped seeing people. Just shadows. And he never spoke again. My old man was blind to himself. Not even in his body now he had a home (COUTO, 2009, p. 272)³⁶.

The maintenance of the aegis of silence in the capital city is symptomatic: in fact, Jesusalém could only exist as another facet of Mozambique, another country in which silences echo in a similar way. The silence imposed by the population in Mozambique is to a certain extent a defence system. For Meneses (2009, p. 26) any traces of regionalism manifested were dangerous, due to the hunt for internal enemies. There was a system of coercion and censorship, a way of creating an ethical code and of ethicizing everyone under this aegis.

In this sense, the attitude of alienation promoted by Silvestre in the lives of his children dialogues and responds with/to the alienating silence experienced by an entire nation after conceiving the liberation war and coming across, during the civil conflict for power, a space that is not yet capable of bringing the desired freedom and peace. The nation experiences the frustration of a project, just as Silvestre is frustrated with the potential to promote a parallel reality.

35 In Portuguese: "Em casa, Dordalma nunca era mais do que cinza, apagada e fria. Os anos de solidão e descrença a habilitaram a ser ninguém, simples indígena do silêncio".

36 In Portuguese: "Não haveria regresso. Naquele momento, percebi: Silvestre Vitalício acabara de perder todo o contacto com o mundo. Antes, já quase não falava. Agora, deixara de ver as pessoas. Apenas sombras. E nunca mais falou. Meu velho estava cego para si mesmo. Nem no seu corpo, agora, ele tinha casa".

- Sing!
- but dad, sing what?
- sing the national anthem!
- Sorry dad, but... which nation's anthem? [...]

My only nation had been the one that was far away, in the house where I was born. And that nation's flag was blind, deaf and mute (COUTO, 2009, p. 204)³⁷.

The intersection between the family project and that of the nation is still strained when we symptomatically realize that Mwanito is eleven years old at the death of President Samora Machel in 86, therefore having being born on 75, and being also the only and true son of Jesusalém, for not having a memory of the city. Mwanito represents those born after the country's independence and just as the promising independence project raised utopian hopes, in the family universe the youngest son brought the hope of a restoration of the couple's relationship.

With the help of the assumptions of the Bakhtinian circle about the responsiveness of the speech we realize that the silences brought in the civil or family sphere by the authorities of the State or of the father will always be subject to responses, even if late. The search for oblivion that conceals the necessary confrontation of the past places itself as seen in the Ventura family and in Mozambique, as an instituted fragile bond of peace, which threatens to break free at all times.

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37 In Portuguese: “- Cante!/- mas pai, cantar o quê?/- pois cante o hino nacional!/-Desculpe pai, mas...hino de que nação? [...]/A minha única nação tinha sido essa que ficara longe, na casa onde eu nascera. E a bandeira dessa nação era cega, surda e muda.

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**SILENCED VIOLENCE IN THE FEMININE: A READING OF YARA
MONTEIRO'S *ESSA DAMA BATE BUÉ!*
VIOLÊNCIAS SILENCIADAS NO FEMININO: UMA LEITURA DE *ESSA
DAMA BATE BUÉ!* DE YARA MONTEIRO**

*Sandra Sousa*¹

ABSTRACT:

Based on the most recent research on women and violence during the colonial and civil war periods which defined post-independence Angola, I analyze *Essa Dama Bate Bué!*, a novel written by writer Yara Monteiro. My objective is to show, on the one hand, how the novel tells us that writing about personal matters means writing about politics. On the other hand, it is my intention to explore how the writer explores the issue of female violence by creating female characters who enact violence on other women, specifically their own children. Monteiro's novel demonstrates the interconnectedness of violence, public and private, and its effect on social and psychic life. In sum, my goal is to highlight the silenced forms of familial violence within the broader context of colonial and civil conflicts in Angola and their repercussions in the country's post-independence.

KEYWORDS: violence; women; Angola; colonial and civil wars

RESUMO:

Tendo por base a mais recente pesquisa sobre mulheres e violência durante o período colonial e o da guerra civil que marcou a pós-independência em Angola, analiso *Essa Dama Bate Bué!*, o romance de estreia da escritora Yara Monteiro. É o meu objectivo mostrar, por um lado, como este romance nos revela que escrever sobre questões pessoais significa também escrever sobre política. Por outro lado, é a minha intenção explorar como a autora vai mais longe ao criar personagens femininos que exercem violência sobre outras mulheres e, mais especificamente, sobre os seus filhos. Este romance demonstra a interligação entre a violência pública e privada e o seu efeito na vida social e psicológica. Por último, é objectivo desta apresentação enfatizar as formas silenciadas de violência familiar no contexto mais amplo da guerra colonial e civil em Angola e as suas repercussões na pós-independência do país.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: violência; mulheres; Angola; guerras colonial e civil

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I begin by drawing on the most recent published research on women and violence in Angola during its colonial period and its post-independence civil war. My purpose is to contextualize my argument as I analyze Yara Monteiro's novel *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* I will try to show how Monteiro, by writing about private matters, also exposes the country's political situation. Also, it is my intention to explore how she explores female violence by creating female characters that enact violence on other women, specifically their own children. The novel demonstrates the interconnectedness of violence, both public and private, and its effect on social and psychic life. Finally, I will highlight the silenced forms of familial violence within the broader context of colonial and civil conflicts in Angola and their current repercussions.

In *Violence and Gender in Africa's Iberian Colonies*, which covers the period from the 1950s to the 1970s, Andreas Stucki affirms that women played a vital role while war and violence were taking place in African Portuguese colonies. This first happened during the colonial wars that lasted from 1961 until the mid-70s; after independence, this climate continued in Angola and Mozambique, countries that descended into civil wars. In Angola, the war lasted almost three decades (1975-2002), resulting in countless adverse repercussions for the country. Stucki alludes to Portuguese women's role in the early 1960's and their deliberate discussion against warfare. He also adds that military officials and civil servants highly regarded and considered the role of women in Mozambique and Angola during the guerilla warfare. As such, the Portuguese considered women essential in the "pacification" mission of their overseas provinces. The message that came from high colonial authorities was that, potentially, colonies were to be strengthened through the involvement of African women. Thus, as Stucki explains, African women were to become more invested in domestic household duties since they were no longer involved in agricultural practice. Married women would play a strong role at home and in society. Women in general were expected to implement the empire's ideals pertaining to the preservation of societal roles in a colony through exemplary households. Yet, this interest in women's role in society was not limited to the colonialists. The MPLA (People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola), in Angola, was also trying to find ways to make women visible in their liberation program as it attempted to transform its so-called traditional African society by integrating them into the revolutionary movement. Stucki shows that "Women's support in creating a 'new society' was a contested field between anticolonial and imperial players [which] extended over a wide array of social, cultural, educational, and economic issues" (2019, p.266). For liberation movements "women were to contribute to constructing united, egalitarian, and sovereign nation-states that would overcome political, cultural, and ethnic divisions" (2019, p.267). What is most relevant here is that this was the intention of the colonial state and the African nationalists that intended to become part of the imperial nation or a sovereign nation-state. This means that:

Although those who sought to maintain the imperial nation and those seeking to achieve independence were engaged in armed struggle, the language and concepts employed by the nationalist liberation movements overlapped with those voiced by official representatives of the empires. Juxtaposing imperial development programs with the revolutionaries' notions of modernization reveals remarkable analogies. (2019, p.267)

Unexpectedly, and ironically perhaps, men on both sides envisioned women's roles in a very similar way. Even if liberation organizations had accepted the integration of women fighters, the revolutionary movement did not provide the appropriate recognition pertaining to career roles or education as it might apparently seemed. In theory, according to revolutionary projects, women were to participate in all areas of the nation-state, but as Stucki remarks,

Despite the OMM and the OMA's [Organização da Mulher Angolana] promises of a new status for women, despite the iconographic pictures of African women with Kalashnikovs, in the end it was mostly about 'the mother who transmits the new education and revolutionary knowledge, instructing the future defenders of the *Pátria*'. (2019, p.281-282)

Concluding his analysis, Stucki reveals that "while revolutionaries promoted women's participation in political life, emancipation and equal rights were in fact postponed until the post-independence era and then to an ever more distance future" (2019, p.282). Nonetheless, in the scope of "revolutionary perception or dictatorial imperial culture," women played a vital role pertaining to the national culture.

In *Violence in Francophone African and Caribbean Women's Literature*, Chantal Kalisa mentions, using Françoise Lionnet's terminology, "geographies of pain", i.e., a shared history by African and Caribbean individuals of violent "disruptions of slavery, colonialism and latent neocolonialism" (2009, p.1). Angola is arguably a country that can most identify with this description. Kalisa also uses Gayatri Spivak's classification "epistemic violence," "(...) that is, the cultural violence in the dehumanization of slaves; the imposition of the colonizers' language, religion, and customs; enforced assimilation; and political dependence. Slaves and the colonized experienced a mixture of physical and cultural violence through unbearable work conditions, mutilations, and executions" (2009, p.1-2), as a background tool for her own interpretation of women's novels centered on violence. Her work is indispensable to the understanding of African women's writings since it is one of the very few that focus on the topic. According to Kalisa, women writers from Africa and the Caribbean "are making extraordinary efforts to explore how old and new forms of violence affect the female gender" (2009, p.2). There are many approaches to how "women write about violence to break with the silence imposed on them by society and to challenge readers with their gendered perspectives on violence" (2009, p.2).

Yara Monteiro's novel, *Essa Dama Bate Bué!*, provides its own approach. (Monteiro is one of the newest Afro-descendant writers in Portugal who are beginning to change and to

challenge the literary scene.) Djaimilia Pereira de Almeida, Kalaf Epalanga and Telma Tvon also come to mind as voices of women—born in Angola, raised in Portugal—who are now confronting some of the issues that arise from the experience of being African in the ex-colonial metropolis. As Monteiro states in an interview, “Somos afrodescendentes que tocamos nos mesmos pontos da identidade, da vivência em Portugal, dos desafios de um africano” [“We are afro descendants that fall into the same points of identity, our experiences in Portugal, and from the adversities as an African”] (ÍPSILON, n/p). *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* tells the story of Vitória and her challenges to overcome the absence of her mother’s presence in her life. In the narrative, the reader follows Vitória in her journey back to Angola in search of a mother, a fighter in the country’s colonial and civil wars, whom she has never met. Aside from some evident biographical similarities between the writer and the character, what is noteworthy is the multilayered violence that the novel communicates. Better said, this is a story where, due to a broader context of violence, a very specific form of violence is inflicted. I will further show how the interconnectedness of public and private violence in the novel influences Vitória’s social and psychic life. As Kalisa mentions, “not only are women absent or poorly represented in [the] public discourse of violence but also (...) critics often ignore the ‘private’ or ‘intimate’ violence associated with women or interpreted it only in a metaphorical sense” (2009, p.3). This is also true in Luso-African studies. In a dossier devoted to “História, Violência e Trauma na Escrita Literária Angolana e Moçambicana,” Terezinha Taborda Moreira affirms that the volume’s studies focus on the images of violence “produzidas por narrativas angolanas e moçambicanas que têm como tema a guerra e/ou seus impactos sobre a população e a sociedade,” [“produced by Angolan and Mozambican narratives that contain themes of war and/or their impacts on a population and society,”] adding that “[e]ssa investigação foi feita a partir de uma análise que contemplou a reflexão sobre o processo de construção textual empreendido pelos escritores angolanos e moçambicanos como efeito de uma problematização do ato de narrar e, também, do sujeito, em contextos marcados pela opressão da história” [“that investigation was made from an analysis that contemplated the reflection about the contextual construct driven by the Angolan and Mozambican writers as a narrative of problematization, in addition to the subject, in contexts marked by the historical oppression”] (2015, p.2). The dossier’s literary analyses center on the dialogues between literature and history, showing how literary writings in Mozambique and Angola are intimately connected with the issue of memory, establishing an approximation between fiction and historical facts. This means that, for the writers of these countries,

problematizar a história de seus países por meio da proposição de sujeitos ficcionais que metonizam os excluídos da história oficial parece ser (...) uma maneira de representar as divergências ideológicas, as contradições e as injustiças presentes nas realidades angolana e moçambicana, marcadas por conflitos desde a época colonial até os anos da pós-independência. (MOREIRA, 2015, p.4)

Succinctly, literary criticism has not consistently explored private gendered violence resulting from the contexts of colonialism, war, and post-independence. These studies reflect the more general and perceptible (despite its importance) idea that “os contextos sociais angolano e moçambicano result[am] de formações históricas marcadas pelo colonialismo, pela guerra anticolonial e pelas guerras civis, os quais, por seu carácter opressor, contribuem para a desumanização do sujeito” [The Angolan and Mozambican social contexts result from historical formations that are marked by colonialism, from anticolonial war and from the civil wars, which, by their oppressive character, contribute to the dehumanization of the subject.] (MOREIRA, 2015, p.9). As we shall see, what distinguishes *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* is that some of the most insidious acts of violence are performed within the same gender, i.e., the abuse and its effects were caused by women on other women as the outcome of external forms of violence associated with colonial and postcolonial conditions. Monteiro’s novel also lifts taboos “over traditionally silenced discourses about domestic and intimate violence” (KALISA, 2009, p.3). Her writing examines, as Kalisa states the effects of rape, sexual violence, and physical and physiological abuses on women and, I would add, as well as of psychologic traumas.

Violence is a difficult term to define even though it is easier to recognize its countless manifestations. Scholars have been defining the term according to their fields of study. Here, I draw on the explanation of violence developed by Franz Fanon in *Black Skin, White Masks* in which he delineates the psychological impact of the institution of colonialism on the psyche of the colonized. He states:

All forms of exploitation resemble one another. (...) All forms of exploitation are identical because all of them are applied against the same ‘object:’ man. When one tries to examine he structure of this or that form of exploitation from an abstract point of view, one simply turns one’s back on the major, basic problem, which is that of restoring man to his proper place. (1967, p.88)

Psychological violence, for Fanon, derives from the impact of colonial policy resulting in the economic exploitation and alienation of the oppressed. It also includes brainwashing and threats; it is the consequence of the combination of cultural, structural, and physical violence. Using Kalisa’s phrasing, “It represents the attempt, conscious or unconscious, by the colonizer to create alienated colonized individuals who reject indigenous values and institutions because they are deceived and brainwashed into believing that those values and institutions are inferior to those of the colonizer” (1967, p.9). It would be only using violence that the colonized could regain their humanity and self-determination, i.e., violence would “restore man to his proper place.” In the post-colonial world, he foresaw the replication of colonial violence by the new elites who had assimilated the colonizer’s values. Referring to post-coloniality, Ato Quayson affirms that “The postcolony is a place of violence. This violence constituted by the wars and acts of expropriation that undergirded the colonial order becomes endemic in the postcolony and produces a series of persistently violent political and social disjunctures” (2001, p.192). Gender was frequently a blind spot in Fanon’s theories, though he did consider the position of women in decolonizing efforts. Moreover, Kalisa emphasizes, “(...) gendered violence of postcolonial

literatures shows that women writers actively oppose the idea that women bring this violence on themselves” (2009, p.12), a sort of a counterreaction to Fanon’s and male theories on violence. Feminist and interdisciplinary scholarship on gendered violence and women’s literature show how discourses of violence are fundamentally gendered. Kalisa, for example, defines gendered violence “in the context of feminist resistance to the depoliticization of ‘private’ and ‘domestic’ acts of violence” (2009, p.13). I adhere to her definition of gender violence because it encapsulates Monteiro’s novel plot, i.e., “a term originating from interdisciplinary studies whose focus is on the physical and psychological impact of violence and conflict on female subjects” (2009, p.13). In Monteiro’s novel, we find an individual trauma that indirectly spawns from a collective experience of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and war. Vitória is a remnant of war’s impact on female subjects as we will further discuss.

The epigraph chosen in *Essa Dama Bate Bué!* casts the tone for the novel and is immediately an indication of what lies ahead. It is taken from *Diary* by Miguel Torga, a renowned Portuguese writer. It reads:

*O destino exagerou comigo. Baralhou-me a condição.
Plantou-me aqui e arrancou-me daqui.
E nunca mais as raízes me seguraram bem em nenhuma terra.*

The concept of belonging comes immediately to mind and associated with it comes the anxiety of not belonging, of an individual hunted by their lack of roots. This is, in a broader sense, Vitória’s problem; her mother’s abandonment turned her into a rootless character. The first two paragraphs of the novel, which is narrated for the most part in the first person, confirm the issues displayed in the epigraph. Vitória speaks about two contrasting childhood images, a tree and a wave.

A minha primeira memória é uma árvore; a segunda, uma onda. Sem sombra, voo por entre as raízes que sustentam o fundo do mar. Não existo antes daquele momento, nem existo para além dele. São imagens que irrompem os meus sonhos e atemorizam o meu sono. (MONTEIRO, 2018, p.9)

The tree can be a symbol of life, growth and protection in mythologies and legends. Its roots represent stability and nourishment. It is a fixed element of nature. On the other hand, a wave is unstoppable, a force of nature that sweeps away everything in its path and that can produce fear and anxiety due to its destructible nature. Vitória is stuck in this specific moment, between these images, and thus lives in that space theorized by literary scholars as the space in-between; she then goes on to explain the reason of her interior conflict:

De quando em quando, o aroma intenso a leite azedo aflora. Junta-se a ele o gosto a suor salgado que sobrevive na minha língua. Parte de mim conforta-se nestas sensações. A outra parte inquieta-se com o vazio de ser só isto tudo o que tenho de recordação da minha mãe. A verdade mais íntima é não a poder reclamar como sendo minha. Sei-o. Rosa Chitula, a minha mãe, mais do que a mim, amou Angola e por ela combateu. Chamo-me Vitória Queiroz da Fonseca. Sou mulher. Sou negra. (2018, p.9)

It is the lack of a relationship with her mother that drives Vitória, her “inmost truth,” and the plot of the novel. The narrative becomes a tool for repairing and for healing, an attempt to accept the fact that she never had a mother. That void, along with the psychological violence that it perpetrates on her, is a consequence of a collective violence brought about by colonial and civil conflicts that shaped her mother’s spirit and ideals. Her mother Rosa, the daughter of a father who considered himself Portuguese and who had assimilated Portuguese values and culture due to the nature of colonial policy, “sempre tivera um espírito livre e de revolta à opressão. A sua insurreição ao imperialismo começou a acerar-se à medida que a rádio e os jornais iam deixando de ignorar os saques desordenados, as violações, os raptos e o aumento da tensão entre brancos e negros” (2018, p.11). Her mother, thus, did not fit the traditional definition of a woman; she is described as trying to physically look and dress like a man “e o cabelo preso por debaixo do chapéu subtraíam-lhe a delicadeza das feições do seu rosto. (...) parecia-se com um robusto jovem mestiço, confundindo até o seu pai” (2018, p.10). Probably influenced by the wave of feminism in the 1960s, by the new policies of the Portuguese State and by those of the counter-revolutionary movements in Angola, Rosa leaves home at the time when the colonial war had broken out. She, like many others, broke away from her family to fight for what she believed to be a just cause. José Luís Cabaço speaks about his personal experience with the colonial world of his childhood and its contradictions. He then describes the pain of abandoning *his world* to fight for the freedom of the Mozambican people. The entire paragraph must be transcribed to fully become aware of the psychological violence that is embedded his of decision:

A consciência impunha-me a roptura com o *meu mundo*. Foi, sem dúvida, a decisão mais sofrida que tive de tomar. Romper com o *meu mundo* significava trair os meus afetos, cindir a razão das amizades e amores construídos e consolidados por quase duas décadas. Tinha de deixar para trás quase vinte anos de socialização, as referências que me davam segurança, as certezas sobre as quais fundara os meus hábitos, comportamentos, linguagem. O Bem e o Mal invertiam posições. Em frente tinha um sentido de justiça, um dever de consciência, mas a opção mergulhava-me num mundo totalmente desconhecido. Sentia-me politizado, pleno de certezas racionais, identificado com um futuro de Moçambique (...). (2011, p.217)

Cabaço uses Franz Fanon’s “atmospheric violence” to describe the atmosphere in the former Portuguese. In his words, “cada momento da vida dos colonizados estava impregnado de um potencial violento que determinava, a par da opressão física, uma permanente tensão consciente e/ou inconsciente” [“Every moment of the colonized lives was impregnated in a violent potential that determines, along with the physical oppression, a permanent conscious and/or unconscious tension”] (2011, p.76). Thus, violence was everywhere and saturated every aspect of the colonized lives:

(...) soube da atmosfera de violência—física, social e cultural—que marcava cada momento da sua vida e dos seus: as relações com o *mundo dos brancos*, a polícia, a delinquência reinante nas periferias; as mais sutis experiências do racismo e da humilhação; os mecanismos de autodefesa e a importância psicológica das pequenas retaliações vividas como grandes vitórias. Só então me apercebi realmente da violência total que impregnava a sociedade moçambicana. (2011, p.217)

The same can be said about colonial Angola and the feelings experienced by the fictionalized Rosa Chitula. Although the reader does not have access to her voice, the comparison is striking. The first-person narrator vividly describes the context of horror at the onset of this war, in which her mother took part, and that brings other forms of violence to the population:

Passados alguns meses, a guerra colonial eclodiu. A resistência urbana já tinha conseguido espalhar milícias por todo o país e começou a barbárie entre os negros e os mestiços: separavam-se cabeças de corpos, abriam-se os ventres das mulheres e mutilavam-se as crianças. Massacravam quem não quisesse aderir à revolta. (MONTEIRO, 2018, p.13)

Her family flees Silva Porto to the city of Huambo as entire families leave for Portugal. António, the grandfather, takes advantage of the situation by working for both sides of the conflict—his “cor do meio” [“middle color”], i.e., his miscegenation, puts him in an intermediary world.

Fifteen years after her disappearance, Rosa returns to leave two-year-old Vitória to be cared for by her elderly parents and to never be heard from again. This is the origin of Vitória’s personal experience with violence. The narrative then turns to the Angolan civil war which triggers the departure of the Queiroz family to Portugal, leaving behind the women servants who helped them at home. Vitória feels this departure as another void in herself. She is now leaving behind both her mother and her wet nurse: “Dentro do carro, o meu choro prolongado e persistente teima em marcar presença. De boca aberta, abano a cabeça à procura da mama emprestada de Hermínia. Por muito que as tias e a avó me tentem acalmar, nada me diminui a carência. Hermínia e a mamã ficaram para trás” (2018, p.17). On their way to Luanda, Vitória describes how war impregnated every corner of society and even nature: “Conforme nos vamos aproximando do povoado, a mais visível marca da guerra é o silêncio imposto à vida diária. Até mesmo o capim tem a respiração suspensa” (2018, p.17). They make a stop so António can say goodbye to his friend, the chief of the village, Katimba. The latter expresses his feeling towards the war: “—*Haka!*— exclama Katimba, decidindo sentar-se por completo no chão. —Estou cansado!—continua com o seu lamento. —Filhos de diferentes pais, mas do mesmo ventre. Lutam contra irmãos, violam irmãs. Dão armas aos sobrinhos. Fomos enfeitiçados! *Haka!*” (2018, p.19). Angola is here a metaphor for maternity, for a mother whose sons bring violence and destruction on each other by means of war:

As *chitakas*, outrora terras verdes de café ou cana-de-açúcar, estão transformadas em terra queimada. A vida recusava-se de novo a nascer. Por vezes, a coluna de viaturas passa por cubatas. Nessas ocasiões, os camponeses correm na nossa direcção. Em desespero, agitam os filhos pequenos no ar. Não pedem comida ou dinheiro. Querem entregar as crianças, para que estas sejam salvas. Ali, a morte é certa. Se não for a bala, será o estômago vazio. (2018, p.21)

In Portugal, other forms of violence will permeate Vitória's life. They are not only experiences with racism at school, but the inherent violence that is inscribed in any narrative of a displaced life, whatever the reason. Aleksandar Hemon writes about this kind of experience in *The Book of My Lives*. He states that "The situation of immigration leads to a kind of self-othering as well. Displacement results in a tenuous relationship with the past, with the self that used to exist and operate in a different place, where the qualities that constituted us were in no need of negotiation" (2013, p.17). Immigration, he proceeds, "is an ontological crisis because you are forced to negotiate the conditions of your selfhood under perpetually changing existential circumstances" (2013, p.17). Further on he adds that "[t]he displaced person strives for narrative stability—here is my story!—by way of systematic nostalgia. (...) At the same time, there is the inescapable reality of the self transformed by immigration—whoever we used to be, we are now split between *us-here* (...) and *us-there* (...)" (2013, p.17). Since Vitória left for Portugal at a very early age, she experiences something that could be described as a "double displacement," as it is observed in some of her comments upon returning to Angola:

É a primeira vez que ali estou. Falta-me a espontaneidade de quem regressa à sua pátria. (Monteiro, 2018, p.28)

Sinto o comentário como se fosse uma mão abruptamente lançada à minha cara. Um lembrete àspere de que não pertença ali. Não tenho o sotaque da terra. (2018, p.71)

Vitória's narrative is therefore not only the search for her mother, but also the creation of her own narrative stability through that quest. Looking for Rosa is not without pain and fear: "Não mais aguento a fome que tenho da mãe. Não a posso renunciar. Mesmo assim, essa certeza não me tira o medo. Sinto-o nos pés. Estão outra vez dormentes. Têm medo de caminhar. São pés com medo de fazer o seu destino" (2018, p.27). Vitória cannot live in peace without knowing what happened to her mother; there is an emptiness and a sorrow that she describes as primitive:

Um ímpeto interior que chega do vazio persegue-me, nunca me deixando totalmente em paz. Surge mais uma vez, trazendo a névoa para tudo o que vigo agora, entorpecendo em dueto qualquer pensamento alegre que tenha e sorriso que dê. É uma dor suspensa, primitiva, que me faz viver com medo. (2018, p.54)

She strives for a sense of belonging that only her mother can give her: "(...) tudo o que quero é pertença, não aos Queiroz da Fonseca, a mãe recusou pertencer à família, ao avô,

mas podia ter regressado, eu toda a vida desamparada, calada, para não chatear, aqui também não posso, nem nascer pelos vistos podia, nasci, se calhar a mãe pensou que não sobreviveria, mas então porque não me matou?” (2018, p.57). It would have been easier, according to the character, if her mother had just killed her for the pain and suffering with which she has had to live would not exist. Even though Vitória tries not to feel like a victim, she is enraged at her mother's decision. She displays a conflicted self when it comes to her mother's actions: “(...) mas não posso ter pena, não posso, a mãe não teve pena de mim, que raio de mãe, não a posso criticar, vá, não chores, sempre a vítima abandonada (...)” (2018, p.58). Vitória bears the weight of unanswered questions: “(...) quando nasci sem berço, sem berço de mãe, quando é que terá decidido que eu passasse a memória?” (2018, p.58). Vitória's childhood trauma must be healed.

In her return to Angola in 2003, Vitória finds a country where other forms of violence exist. Luanda is depicted as a chaotic city that torments its inhabitants, a city where “tudo mata” [“everything kills”] (2018, p.39). There are unrepaired roads, miserable houses where rain water makes its way in, women selling their wares on the streets, barefoot children begging for food while the rich remain inside their houses, afraid of what takes place outside, “portões e varandas gradeadas [que me] parecem intransponíveis” (2018, p.33):

Nas ruas, é possível distinguir as mulheres que não desistem e fazem frente à intempérie das que já nem o sofrimento sentem. (2018, p.31)

É tal e qual como se uma ofensiva de pessoas e viaturas surgisse por brechas nas paredes ou fissuras no chão para de imediato propagar-se pelos passeis esburacados e estradas deixadas barrentas pela chuva.

Com crianças aninhadas às costas, chegam mulheres armadas de bacias recheadas com o colorido de frutas, legumes e latas de bebidas. Estendem o pano no chão, improvisam a banca e vendem o que têm na esperança de conquistar o dia. Ao longo da estrada, fileiras de homens começam a colar-se à fila de carros. Vendem a parafernália que se pode encontrar numa loja dos trezentos. (2018, p.32)

Vitória realizes that Luanda is a merciless city, where the upper classes shut their eyes to the dire poverty around them, where Whites still hold race or social privileges, where children's hunger is ignored: “Aparecem mais miúdos. Seguem-nos. Não estão a vender cigarros. Com a mão massajam a barriga, pedem dinheiro. Ninguém lhes liga” (2018, p.50). As the rap song that gives the book its title, Luanda is a “dama,” a lady that beats you up, or in the words of the General Zacarias Vindu, “Luanda é como uma mulher complicada” (2018, p.111). A city where people are robbed and physically attacked in buses on their way to work, the poor are segregated from the rich and lack basic needs, but, contradictorily, a place where “[d]e uma maneira ou de outra, queremos sempre voltar” (2018, p.111).

Race is also an issue in the narrative. As seen, right at the beginning of the novel Vitória identifies herself as a black woman. While in Luanda, she affirms that “o pior lugar da Terra, é ser-se mulher negra” (2018, p.59), reminding us of the Black legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw who, in 1989, coined the term “intersectionality.” Crenshaw argues that Black women are dis-

criminated against in ways that often do not fit neatly within the legal categories of either “racism” or “sexism,” but as a combination of both. In Vitória’s case, though she identifies herself as black, Angolan society does not see her as such, thus placing her in the same category as that of her grandfather, the “middle place.” Belonging to the space in-between is the second worst place in which a woman can be: “aqui sou clara, lá sou escura, o sítio do meio é o segundo pior” (2018, p.59). To complexify her identity and the violence that surrounds her, Vitória is not only a woman, and a black woman, she is also a gay black woman, a part of her identity that she has learned to hide from her family and society: “Preocupo-me demasiado com o que os outros pensam. Aflige-me alguém que já tenha gostado de mim e que já não goste mais. Desistem porque descobrem que não sou perfeita. Com o tabu da falha revelado, passo a esquecimento” (2018, p.64). Identity emerges then as a tricky and complex issue in Vitória’s story, as she feels that she is nothing else than a “sombra de uma identidade, uma língua cortada (...)” (2018, p.60). She tries to downplay her life story in the context of the violence against black women in post-independence Angola, where they may be killed by the military, or abused by men, with no means available to them to fight back the oppression:

Pra quê homem?» perguntei na mãe Josefa. Vai só me fazer filho e depois me deixar. A vida no musseque não é romântica. Aqui homem é pior que cão. Tanto come do prato como come do chão. Olha minha prima Quintinha, na zunga todo o dia, todo o dia. O tal de homem ia e voltava. Voltava para buscar dinheiro, amassar-lhe e depois ir embora.

A vida aqui é sofrimento diário. Tem dias mesmo que nem sei como vou trabalhar direita. (2018, p.88)

Vitória nonetheless keeps searching for her mother. She meets General Zacarias Vindu, a venerated figure in Luanda, who promises to help her. She researches the national archives for information on ex-women fighters and, although she wants to give up, she tries to endure as those women once endured the bitterness of war. *O livro da paz da mulher angolana: as heroínas sem nome*, edited by Dya Kasembe and Paulina Chiziane, is an homage to all the Angolan women who were victims of the civil war. It provides women’s testimony regarding their situation: “Nestes anos todos a libertação incluiu e contou com a participação humilde e sacrificada das mulheres que, na retaguarda geravam e criavam os filhos, cultivavam no campo o sustento da família e providenciavam, também, o apoio aos quartelamentos e unidades dos combatentes” (KASEMBE; CHIZIANE, 2008, p.87). This description suggests that traditional women roles were performed in addition to their contributions to the war effort. They had to perform a double role and life for them was one of great sacrifice and pain. Vitória’s description of the photos found at the archives gives a plain account of their suffering:

Consulto as caixas e caixas de arquivo numa sala húmida e sem ventilação. Não entra ar fresco. Transpiro sem parar. Por vezes, quero desistir, mas resisto. Resisto como as mulheres combatentes nas fotografias de identificação dos processos individuais. As caras estão rígidas. Pretas, mestiças e brancas.

Em algumas delas, os olhos parecem esvaziados. Outros incubam a expressão do dever e prestar. A rectidão da postura mostra o orgulho da responsabilidade. Têm sempre os lábios cerrados. Tão cerrados que parecem cosidos com corda de sisal. As camaradas não se asfixiam, mas também não falam os seus queixumes de mulher. Dentro de alguns processos, estão certidões de nascimento de crianças. Imagino-as a carregar a arma e a criança, como o fez a mãe. (2018, p.115)

In another woman's testimony, we see that escapes, death, destruction of families, and creating orphans were part of the vicious acts of war: "A guerra fez sofrer muita gente, destruiu famílias [...] naquela altura tinha de se fugir à guerra com as trouxas na cabeça, se esconder tipo bicho na mata, é por causa da guerra que primeiro o meu pai morreu na tropa e depois a minha mãe; naquele tempo de fugir lhe apanharam para transportar as coisas que eles roubaram, mas ela não agüentava e lhe deram um tiro. Fiquei órfã" (KASEMBE; CHIZIANE, 2008, p.43). Leaving children without parents is thus one of several results of violence caused by the civil war. Vitória describes her feelings as an orphan: "A impressão digital é imutável, mas, e a nossa história? Sabia-me incompleta. Feita pela metade. A outra metade ainda mais desconhecida: «Ingónito», como registado na minha certidão de nascimento. Uma biografia ausente de mãe e pai" (2018, p.136). Despite feeling like an orphan, Vitória's situation is different because we learn that her mother is still alive.

On a trip to Huambo to speak with Juliana Tijamba, one of Rosas's war *camaradas*, she finally discovers what happened to her mother or, as she is to find out, one version since all who knew her have their own: "—Qual delas meu amor? A da tua mãe, a minha, a da tua família, a que querias ouvir, a verdade do general... Qual delas?" (2018, p.205). Something, according to Juliana, seems to remain unchanged, "Na guerra, matar não chega. *É massacrar, torturer, mutilar e violar. (...) A guerra é um grande feitiço. Ficamos todos cegos*" (2018, p.154). Juliana fought together with Rosa. One day, though, Rosa killed a man, a guerrilla fighter who was humiliating her and wanted to forcefully have a sexual encounter with her. According to Juliana, "—Nem todos respeitavam a tua mãe. Como era mulher, sabes como é? O Palanca era um deles. Gostava de a humilhar. (...) Achavam que éramos inferiores" (2018, p.160). Because Rosa killed Palanca, her platoon gets orders to execute her; they, however, let her escape. After almost a year, Juliana gives up the bush war and goes on a mission to support the population. She then finds Rosa, hiding in a *kimbo* and pregnant. Juliana, not to hurt Vitória's feelings, does not reveal her mother's unhappiness about her pregnancy: "Na cubata ela também deixava propaganda do Partido. Rosa punha-a de lado. Fazia o mesmo com as roupas de bebé. Punha-as de lado, sem mesmo olhar para elas. Juliana oculta esta memória de Vitória. Há outras coisas que também não contou. Não lhe cabe a ela, considera" (2018, p.171). By not telling Vitória about her mother's condition, Juliana is setting her up for even more pain. After a long wait for her mother's letter, Vitória finally receives it. This is a strong letter in which Rosa directly rejects her:

As palavras lidas transformaram-se num arame farpado que aperta, torce e lacera o seu estômago. Sente dó da mãe, Queria pegar-lhe ao colo. Acariciá-la até que adormecesse e não mais se recordasse dos homens que a violaram e da poesia mórbida recitada pelo general Vindu enquanto a torturava.

Vitória sente-se revoltada e traída por todos. A mãe não quer encontrar-se com ela. Nunca a tinha desejado. (2018, p.204)

Juliana also tells Vitória that she had betrayed Rosa by setting up an ambush for the guerrilla fighters to catch her, and that General Vindu wants Rosa's forgiveness for having tortured her after being caught.

As observed earlier, the revolutionary movements learned how to make women visible in their overall program. Nonetheless women, unlike men, were objects of violence. We can say that these women suffered the atrocities of war physically, for which they received no recognition after the revolution. As Margarida Paredes states, "As 'mães da revolução' ou as 'camaradas de armas' são representações ambivalentes que ligam a maternidade à guerrilha e ao militarismo como se fossem complementares" (2015, p.205).

Essa Dama Bate Bué! portrays the violence of imprisonments, the hunger, the rapes (aggravated by the female physiology) as well as some silenced forms of violence as, for example, that inflicted on women by other women like Juliana who did not show gender solidarity. Vitória's tale is one in which the violence of war is perpetuated by the children of these women fighters. Not having participated in the war, children have nonetheless become extensions of the generally silenced war traumas. In searching for her mother, Vitória changes, "já não é a mesma pessoa" (2018, p.182), but she is still drifting in the end with no sense of direction. The temporary solution is to "Deixa[r]-se então a pairar por cima dos escombros da casa incendiada, como se estivesse no limbo entre duas vidas. (...) a vida tinha-se tornado um embaraço" (2018, p.182). And, in this in-between place, between her past and her future, she might as well keep waiting since, as Juliana puts it, "És de um povo que ainda está à espera, que espera, sempre" (2018, p.206). Vitória's story may be qualified as a narrative of trauma that functions as a tool for repairing and healing. As Kalisa reminds us, "(...) women's literature about trauma [is] a form of knowledge production that attempts to denormalize violence against women, to reconstruct intergenerational narratives of female trauma, and to offer (...) a record of resistance to violence" (2009, p.14). The story of trauma is not only "the story of the individual in relation to the events of his own past," but also "the story of the way in which one's own trauma is tied up with the trauma of another" (CARUTH, 1996, p.8). Yara Monteiro's novel demonstrates a strong correlation between individual and collective trauma while revealing details of violence in the feminine that are at times forgotten or neglected. She accomplishes this by bringing up political issues in Angola that beg to be discussed and solved. Vitória's personal story, her mother's, and that of all female victims of violence is a political matter that needs to be addressed and not pushed aside as it has been done ever since Marxist-Leninist revolutionary ideals were replaced by neoliberal, capitalist policies.

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THAT THING WE CALL IDENTITY: A READING OF *TUDO PODE SER ROUBADO*, BY GIOVANA MADALOSSO
AQUILO QUE CHAMAMOS DE IDENTIDADE: UMA LEITURA DE *TUDO PODE SER ROUBADO*, DE GIOVANA MADALOSSO

Marcelo Branquinho Massucatto Resende¹

ABSTRACT

The following article proposes a reading of Giovana Madalosso's Brazilian novel *Tudo pode ser roubado* (2018), based on the idea of performativity, presented throughout the work of Judith Butler (1997;2017), applying it to the characters of the narrative and its apparent dialogue with *O Guarani* (1857), by José de Alencar, in order to question not only the construction of gender identities, but also the construction of a national identity within the subject's own ontology in the characters of the narrative.

KEYWORDS: Performance; Identity; Giovana Madalosso; Brazilian literature.

RESUMO

O presente artigo propõe uma leitura do romance brasileiro *Tudo pode ser roubado* (2018), de Giovana Madalosso, a partir da ideia de performatividade, presente ao longo da obra de Judith Butler (1997;2017), aplicando-a aos personagens da narrativa e de seu aparente diálogo com *O Guarani* (1857), de José de Alencar, de modo a questionar não somente a construção de identidades de gênero, mas também a de identidades nacionais e a própria ontologia do sujeito nos personagens da narrativa.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Performance; Identidade; Giovana Madalosso; Literatura brasileira.

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In *Tudo pode ser roubado*, we follow a first-person narrative about a waitress who works in the Paulista Avenue, the busiest street in the city of São Paulo. The point of view of the afore-mentioned waitress is what conducts the reader's perspective of facts, and in any moment of the narrative it is revealed the narrator's real name – all the characters call her by the nickname of Rabudinha. The only information concerning the protagonist involve her part-time job, which basically consists of stealing luxury items and reselling it in thrift stores for a high price. Her methodology consists in observing the wealthy clients who attend the restaurant she works, and then, in the right time, stealing the object, whether it is a valuable accessory or piece of clothing.

Because of her clandestine life, the protagonist is surrounded by a very restrict social circle, having as her best girlfriend Sebastiana, the owner of a thrift shop in the neighborhood of Pinheiros, to which the stolen objects and clothes are sold to for a high price. Tiana, the character's nickname, is a successful trans woman, who finds herself in an abusive relationship with Marcelo, a man who often attacks her for not accepting to be seen in public hanging out with her. Another friend of the protagonist goes by the name of Biel, who lives a very similar life as Rabudinha's, as he survives by reselling stolen luxury items. Between waitressing and gold digging, that is how the protagonist makes most of her income and manages to pay for a simple apartment in São Paulo, a city that is now taken by real estate speculation and people's emotional exhaustion.

Her friend Biel shows her the mission that will conduct most of the narrative: stealing the first edition of *O Guarani* (1857), by José de Alencar, to their new client, an art collector who likes rare pieces. The book in question was auctioned by the value of 100,000 reais to a professor, and Biel delegates her the responsibility of finding the man who purchased it. In order to do so, Rabudinha starts to attend literature lessons at FAAP (a local college) taught by Cícero, a literature professor geared towards journalism students, and she then assumes the identity of an aspiring journalist who is interested in receiving publishing tips and recommendations. In the beginning, she uses her beauty and seducing techniques to get close to Cícero, and they have their first date in a bar. As a consequence, aside of frequently attending literature lessons, she also starts to mold herself according to the professor's cultural tastes, which involves pretending to be an expert in literature, opera concerts and cult films exhibited in alternative circuits.

The job becomes tedious given the fact that the newly divorced professor holds a mysterious personality and is hardly persuaded by the protagonist, who often attempts to have a sex night at the guy's apartment as an excuse to look through his belongings and finding the rare book. For being the protagonist's most ambitious task to date, we follow, throughout the narrative, other episodes of her life, consisting in incorporating different identities and trying to find valuable items that were either lost or forgotten, while trying to meet with wealthy men who she finds in dating apps in her spare time.

However, her involvement with Cícero grows with time, as she sees herself forced to create more layers of her invented character because the literature professor starts to open up and show more of his personality. Therefore, she needs to attend opera concerts, movie sessions, go to thrift stores, among other activities that make her extremely bored. In any moment whatsoever she demonstrates to have a sense of attachment to the professor, being it an exclusively professional interest. On the other hand, Cícero starts to show a love affection by Rabudinha, despite constantly avoiding having sexual contact with her, given that each of their dates always ended up with him giving an excuse for her not to enter his apartment.

Throughout the narrative, we also get a deeper depiction of Tiana, which takes the role of Rabudinha's best friend and is constantly suffering with her boyfriend's aggressions and temper tantrums. Her figure is seen by the protagonist as an almost similar person to her, for she is a trans woman who, in a given moment of her life, completed the full surgical transition of her gender identity. The same reflection is extended to Cícero, when she holds an observation about him during one of his lessons:

If we dig deep inside ourselves, we'll only find organs and guts, which indicates that we don't have a core, but that we are made of layers, and one of them are the clothes, which go way beyond what we want to depict, it is in fact part of what we are. And, surrounding myself, there were many examples. The guy wearing a skirt not only waved to other with his feminine self as well as introjected these characteristics within his own body, because the skirt allowed him to have a new physical experience, having, for example, to lift the fabric when urinating, just like women do. And what about the girl wearing an ethnical jacket? I would bet that if she were in her country, she would be wearing Calvin Klein, but being outside of it, the local handmaid craft worked as a point of affective contact. [...] Regarding Cícero, as I could later make sure, his monochromatic rags weren't the result of an exacerbated, striped of the material world kind of intellect, as many pigheaded like to think of themselves. They were just the visible part of an entirely grey fruit (MADALOSSO, 2018, p. 157, own translation²).

This thinking comes associated with the clothes people are wearing in her surroundings and the identity implications it has. According to the reflection, clothes would serve as a package to personality and individuality, something close to what Butler (2017) argues as performance when discussing other aspects beyond gender. The philosopher observes, for example, the way subjection produces individuals who are supported by discourses and ideologies that give the

² Se cavarmos dentro da gente, só vamos achar órgãos e vísceras, o que indica que não temos um núcleo, mas que somos feitos de camadas, e uma delas é a roupa, que vai muito além do que queremos aparentar, é de fato parte do que somos. E, em volta de mim, estavam os exemplos. O cara que usava saia não só acenava para os outros com seu eu feminino como também introjetava essa característica no seu corpo, ao passo que a saia lhe permitia viver uma nova experiência física, tendo, por exemplo, que levantar o tecido como as mulheres ao mijar. E a garota de jaqueta étnica? Aposto que, se estivesse no seu país, estaria vestindo Calvin Klein, mas, estando fora dele, o artesanato local funcionava como um ponto de contato afetivo. [...] Sobre Cícero, como tive certeza depois, seus andrajos monocromáticos não eram o resultado de um intelecto exacerbado, despojado do mundo material, como muitos cabeçudos gostam de pensar sobre si mesmos. Eram apenas a parte visível de um fruto inteiramente cinza (MADALOSSO, 2018, p. 157).

illusion of materializing a specific identity.

In the study conducted by Brazilian scholar Berenice Bento (2006), the sociologist applies Butler's idea of performativity in interviews given by trans people who are waiting for the sexual reassignment surgery in Spain. The people who still had not had the chance to undergo the surgery needed to find other ways of gender affirmation besides the sign of the sexual organ of birth. Therefore, clothes and both verbal and body language serve as acts of repetition that bring the desired materialization of gender, whether is that socially conceived as male or female, and this is possibly what approximates Rabudinha of her trans friend: seeing her as a reflection of herself in the sense that she assumes different identities depending on the context or the situation. Tiana, on the other hand, had to assume her female identity in order to be happy with her body and also to fit in society's rules regarding the gender and sex that were assigned at birth.

Throughout Rabudinha's journey, the distance and coldness to which the character sees other people surrounding her, allied to her life perception, makes her range of social performances to acquire similar layers of those that were incorporated by gender studies within the discussion on how sexual identities are constantly forged by the use of discourse and also physical objects. Therefore, extending the concept to the fictional dimension of *Tudo pode ser roubado*, we could deal with characters in a constant process of identity transitions and/or in search of objects that are able to translate their desire of becoming a subject. In the case of Rabudinha, her object of desire is the purchase of the apartment where she lives in; Cícero's, the first and rare edition of *O Guarani*; Tiana's, finding a man who can give her the nurturing she deserves.

After a series of failed attempts, the protagonist manages to reach her plan of entering Cícero's apartment. After a dinner, some drinks and Rabudinha's persistence, the two of them go to the professor's apartment, who later is not able to sustain an erection during their sexual intercourse, which serves as a trigger to his panic syndrome. He then takes his antidepressant and falls asleep, which gives her the opportunity to search his apartment after the rare book edition. Ultimately, her mission goes exactly as planned and her, along with Biel, receive the promised amount of money as a prize for accomplishing the mission.

That is how Rabudinha steals from Cícero a book edition that symbolized his personal identity, that of a university professor of journalism. A book that, in turn, was responsible for forging the cultural identity of a country by subscribing the Indian into an idyllic figure which, as a scaffold, reproduced the false idea of the construction of country modernity based on the primitive figure of the original peoples who inhabited this land before Portuguese colonization.

In order to commemorate the success of their mission, the protagonist suggest a date with Biel, who manages to come up with an excuse to postpone it to the following day. Obviously, the guy disappears of her life and Rabudinha discovers that, just like her, Biel was actually a person who assumed a completely fake identity, from his name until the place where he lives.

Desolated by her recent discover, Rabudinha calls Tiana, a friend she had neglected to tell her problems and businesses to. Arriving at her thrift shop, she finds a completely empty space and a message from her friend saying that she had tried unsuccessfully to make contact with her. The reason it happened was for finding out that both her address and identity did not match what she had told Tiana: “I went to look for you to say goodbye and hand you the jacket and I found out that... Honey, I have no idea where you live, where you work! At college, no one knew who you were” (MADALOSSO, 2016, p. 187, our translation³). That is how we become acknowledged that not only had the protagonist built a false identity to mislead others from her professional mission, but also to prevent her interpersonal relationships of reaching her, even the genuine ones, such as Tiana’s friendship. Rabudinha, therefore, builds herself as an identitarian nomad, almost like a contemporary *flanêuse*, meaning, a person who wanders around the urban spaces of a big metropolis. Madalosso’s narrative is built around this aspect of its main character, in the sense that in each chapter we get to witness a different stealing, and along with that we get to know a different story from one of Rabudinha’s victims who live in São Paulo.

It is worth mentioning that Tiana is not the first trans character to appear in one of Madalosso’s writings. In her very first book, a collection of short stories named *A teta racional*, the short story “Roleta-russa” is told in first person by a transvestite who goes into a sex party of a gay friend. During the party, she notices that amongst the guests there is a masculinity and homosexuality spectrum: departing from uninhibited men, up until shy and restrained men. In a flashback, we get to know the protagonist’s past, in which she remembers the exact moment of receiving the positive results to an HIV exam. The remembrance is overlapped with her sexual experience during the party, in which she feels proud for spreading the virus for so many married men without them being aware of it. The idea of performance hidden behind an idyllic figure of trans subject also pervades the narrative of this short story.

Venturing a little further in our analysis, the intertextuality with José de Alencar’s *O Guarani*, the book that is stolen by Rabudinha, can be analyzed departing from the point of view of national identity construction, which is also proposed by Butler (1997) in *The psychic life of power*, when analyzing the invisible forces of discourse that shape us into specific identities, whether they refer to gender role, race, or even our nationality. Butler’s work can be read as a continuation of Foucault’s theory of biopower, only here she focuses on how these forces penetrate our subjectivity by constantly forcing us into adhering to arbitrary identities. Alencar’s work finds itself circumscribed as part of an aesthetical project of 19th century Brazilian literature, in which, along with *Iracema* (1865) and *Ubirajara* (1874), devises a retake of the Indian figure as an idyllic figure of what would be a fixed Brazilian identity. The narrative tells the story of love and devotion of an Indian named Peri to a white woman named Cecília, who

3 “Eu fui te procurar pra dar tchau e entregar a jaqueta e descobri que... Meu bem, eu não sei onde você mora, onde você trabalha! Na faculdade, ninguém sabia quem era você” (MADALOSSO, 2016, p.187).

belongs to a wealthy family of Portuguese noblemen.

While Madalosso's narrative gives us a deeper look into forged identities, Rabudinha attempts to steal one of the most acclaimed novels by literary critics and Brazilian literary canon. A novel that was responsible for inventing a Brazilian identity within the 19th century, in the midst of a modernity and positivism background, based on a figure of the Indian, later deconstructed by writers of the early 20th century literature, who resumed the same figure with a non-idyllic approach, but as a symbol of resistance of national culture.

When the rare edition is finally in the hands of Rabudinha, who hands it to J., Biel's wealthy client, she wonders to herself:

For the first time I ask myself if J. has already read *O Guarani*. If he will ever read it. And then his bookshelf comes to mind. The few amount of titles, the acrylic dome, the absence of other books around the house. The fixation for rare works, not necessarily for literature. So much so that *Macunaíma* was not opened in a text page, but in one containing illustrations only. And I think that it was not opened in the page with the 1/50 because it would be of extremely bad taste, excessively exhibitionist for an elegant guy like him. I realize that I'm dealing with two distinct figures, one of the collector and one of the literature lover. Of course both could come within the same person, but it doesn't seem to be the case. Cícero has got a boner for content. J., on the other hand, for the object. Far from me judging other people's boners, but I suddenly realize the value this business has for each one. Because, considering, J.'s boner is not even the object. It is, above all, the body of his collection. The mosaic that needs to be filled. [...] This is why the first edition of *O Guarani* is worth more than one hundred reais for Cícero and almost nothing for J. (one hundred reais is almost nothing for J.), because there isn't a real value for anything, just the myriad of unreal values – and true – that our emotions label on top of everything (MADALOSSO, 2018, p. 173-174, our translation⁴).

The reflection above shows that the value, and therefore, the identity that are given to objects are a product of social construction and are crystallized after subjective taste and criteria. If the Brazilian literary canon includes *O Guarani* within its main cutout, it is because the ideologies represented by the novel were discursively built along time, and later crystallized and internalized within Brazilian literature historiography. If other equally relevant writers for the history of Romanticism are still relegated to oblivion and enjoy less literary prestige, like

4 Pela primeira vez me pergunto se o J. já leu *O Guarani*. Se um dia vai ler. E então a estante dele vem à minha cabeça. A pouca quantidade de títulos, as redomas de acrílico, a ausência de outros livros pela casa. A fixação por obras raras, não necessariamente por literatura. Tanto que o *Macunaíma* não estava aberto numa página de texto, mas de ilustrações. E acho que só não estava aberto na página onde havia o 1/50 porque seria de mau gosto, muito exibicionismo para um cara elegante como ele. Eu me dou conta de que estou tratando com duas figuras distintas, um colecionador e um amante de literatura. Claro que os dois podiam vir na mesma pessoa, mas não me parece o caso. O tesão do Cícero é o conteúdo. O do J., o objeto. Longe de mim julgar o tesão dos outros, mas de repente percebo o valor que esse negócio tem para cada um. Porque, pensando bem, o tesão do J. nem é o objeto. É, antes de tudo, o corpo da sua coleção. O mosaico que precisa ser completado. [...] É por isso que a primeira edição de *O Guarani* vale mais de cem mil para o Cícero e quase nada para o J. (cem mil é quase nada para o J.), porque não existe um valor real para nada, só a miríade de valores irrealis – e verdadeiros – que nossas emoções etiquetam em cima de tudo (MADALOSSO, 2018, p. 173-174).

Júlia Lopes de Almeida, a contemporary writer to José de Alencar, we can question its oblivion departing from the aesthetical criteria an subjective choices that pervade her work, such as a potentially emancipatory feminist discourse that we can find in novels such as *A falência* (1901).

Thus, the rare edition of the work of Alencar represents opposite values to Cícero and J. For the first, it is something that reinforces the identity that is aimed by the professor, that of the intellectual with monochromatic clothes, whereas for J. it is the symbol of financial power, something that is symbolic to the capitalist logic of endless accumulation.

Throughout the entire narrative, Rabudinha steals objects that are left and/or forgotten by her clients in the restaurant, objects that serve as personality trails and accessories for the identities they intended to portray. As someone without great ambitions and an identity that is not based on ideals or specific ideologies, the protagonist collects other people's traces of identities and resells it for a high price in thrift stores. The cultural industry appears here as a twin sister of the society of the spectacle (DEBORD, 2005), which suggests the personal identification of the subject with consumer goods. According to the French philosopher:

Culture is the general sphere of knowledge and of representations of lived experiences within historical societies divided into classes. It is a generalizing power which itself exists as a separate entity, as division of intellectual labour and as intellectual labour of division. Culture detached itself from the unity of myth-based society “when human life lost its unifying power and when opposites lost their living connection and interactions and became autonomous” (DEBORD, 2005, p. 180).

Debord's affirmation can be seen as analogous to the cynical attitude towards historical objects of the protagonist, which moves and leads the protagonist's narrative.

Literature has a fundamental role when it comes to the aspects that involve culture and myth-based societies of the past. Especially if we take into consideration the literary canon that decides which narratives are the most important ones to that specific society. The literary canon is also discursively built and modified according to society's aesthetic values change. Consequently, there is an increase of financial value attributed to the works of specific writers that stand for those principles. Thus, it is worth questioning a possible symbiosis between the cultural industry and the election of authors, aesthetics and specific works conditioned to a specific thought that relegates certain writers and works to oblivion and the exaltation of others based on an evaluative choice.

In *O Guarani*, the narrative begins in the year of 1604, in Brazil. We follow the story of Cecília, a bourgeois woman who meets nobleman Antonio; and the story of Peri, an Indian who came to a tribe that crosses Cecília, and who is hired by her father to be her protector. Despite revendicating the legitimacy of an Indian culture and language, the narrator presents us to Peri and the other Indians of the narrative by referring to them as “wild” or other adjectives that belong to the same spectrum of meaning, therefore simplifying the narrative to a clash between the original peoples from Brazil and an Eurocentric culture that was established in that territory,

based on the erasure of a culture that was already present and established in that land.

By depicting indigenous subjects and culture from his point of view, the narrator circumscribes that original identity to an idyllic subject, reflecting a regard of the subject from the second half of the 19th century upon a story that happened in the 17th century, what ends up reducing the identity of Peri – as the synecdoche of a culture – to a subject whose value is limited to its willingness to save and protect white bourgeois people from the perils they might come to face, such as evidenced by countless moments in the narrative, as, for example, a moment after Peri tells his origin story:

While he spoke, a burst of wild courage and strength shone through his dark eyes, and gave certain nobility to his act. Although ignorant, son of the forests, he was a king; he had the royalty of strength. Just concluded, the haughtiness of the warrior disappeared; he got shy and modest; he was no longer more than a barbarian in the face of civilized creatures, whose superiority of education his instinct could recognize (ALENCAR, 1970, p. 150-151, our translation⁵).

In other words, from the reading of the novel, it is possible to observe the presence of a narrator that makes explicit a supposedly hierarchy between the Indian knowledge of Peri and his tribe, which would be inferior to that white, European knowledge represented by the figures of Antônio and Cecília, as well as in the ways of interpersonal relationships within their family.

A similar aspect between the narrators of Alencar and Madalosso is in the fact that both pay special attention to the objects that are featured in the spaces where the narratives take place. Alencar's narrator gives extreme detailing on the house of Cecília's family, especially the objects that remain in their bookshelves or that are hanging on the walls, many of them serving only as a demonstration of power and wealth. In the same way, Madalosso's narrator dedicates a great part of her story telling to observing what is in Rabudinha's victims apartments, as well as in the physical descriptions of the victims whose objects are being stolen. This strategy is used by the narrator to show how Rabudinha tries to guess people's values and background stories which lie in the objects and furniture they own.

Just like Guy Debord (2005) argues, if material objects once symbolized the inherent values of their owners – ranging from wealth, life experiences up to educational level – nowadays what is sold in the society of the spectacle are no longer objects that can be priced, but the image, the experience and the illusion of being a different person, in a way that the performance of oneself became more valuable than a false reality constructed by pricy items. Thereby, the copy of *O Guarani* – object that serves as Cícero's representation of persona, as well as his intellectual/professor lifestyle – is the way in which Rabudinha transforms herself into a *flanêuse*.

The reading of *O Guarani*, a major canon work in the literary canon, evidences literature as an important tool to analyze the role of discourse while an identity shaping tool, which traces

5 Enquanto falava, um assomo de orgulho selvagem da força e da coragem lhe brilhava nos olhos negros, e dava certa nobreza ao seu gesto. Embora ignorante, filho das florestas, era um rei; tinha a realeza da força. Apenas concluiu, a altivez do guerreiro desapareceu; ficou tímido e modesto; já não era mais do que um bárbaro em face de criaturas civilizadas, cuja superioridade de educação o seu instinto reconhecia (ALENCAR, 1970, p.150-151).

are changed and modified according to historic, socioeconomic and political background. In the case of Alencar's work, Indian identity is mediated by an omniscient third person narrator who is clearly not trustworthy, due to the fact that it imprints on its characters the mark of its ideology. Whereas in Madalosso's novel we follow a first person narrator that tells the multiple personalities that she assumes depending on the context in which she finds herself in: since an aspiring journalist to conquer the professor, up to depicting herself as innocent girl to the men who she has intercourse with, always keeping the stealing as her main and only goal of life. The narrator's cynicism regarding her own (lack of) identity is a characteristic that is reminiscing of the typically ironic and cynical narrators from the second half of the 20th century.

Therefore, by the end of this reflection we can ask ourselves: has there existed, in any given moment of history, such a thing as a fixed identity of any kind? Some crystallized readings on the multiplicities and social, sexual and psychic transformations on the 21st century, such as the one of Zygmunt Bauman (2007), give the impression that it is a recent and exclusive phenomenon of the breaks of paradigms typical of this century. On the other hand, as Henri Bergson (2010) states, the memory of the past is not limited to an objective reality, but to something conditioned to the interpretation of the past departing from the circumstances of the present. *Tudo pode ser roubado* is an interesting entry for contemporary Brazilian literature in the sense that it is a deconstruction of forged and fixed identities regarding our nationality, gender and class. In the current unstable times we live in, Madalosso's narrative proposes a witty and disruptive regard on things that should not be seen as stable, meaning, identities that are continually assigned to us.

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**TRANSCULTURALITY IN ARIANO SUASSUNA'S THEATER:
VOICES IN DIALOGUE**
**TRANSCULTURALIDADE NO TEATRO DE ARIANO SUASSUNA:
VOZES EM DIÁLOGO**

Carla Oliveira Giacomini¹

ABSTRACT:

The text brings a dialogue between *Auto da Compadecida*, by the author Ariano Suassuna, and *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, by the author Gil Vicente, through the perspective of carnival literature. It presents a study on the Iberian influence in the theatrical production of the Brazilian author, Ariano Suassuna, in the light of carnivalization. It proposes a reflection on the subordinate's voice through laughter and on the author's place in cultural production in Latin America.

KEYWORDS: Carnival; Tradition; Subaltern's voice; Latin America.

RESUMO:

O texto traz um diálogo entre *Auto da Compadecida*, de Ariano Suassuna, e *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, de Gil Vicente, através da perspectiva da literatura carnavalesca. Apresenta-se um estudo sobre a influência ibérica na produção teatral do autor brasileiro Ariano Suassuna à luz da carnavalização. Propõe-se uma reflexão sobre a voz do subordinado através do riso e sobre o lugar do autor na produção cultural na América Latina.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Carnavalização; Tradição; A voz do subalterno; America Latina.

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When we talk about the subordinate's voice through laughter, we intend to show, from the perspective of laughter, the dialogue established between the theatrical text *Auto da Compadecida*, by Ariano Suassuna, and the theatrical text *Auto da Barca do inferno*, by Gil Vicente. When comparing two literatures produced at different times and in different social conditions, we understand that this is a question of transculturality, as we have different cultures that dialogue, forming something new. There is a crossover of cultures that is established without making way for the imposition of the strongest culture. This is not a cultural measurement of forces, but points of contact that point to similarities between two cultural productions and highlight, mainly, the differences of each one. This dialogue between different cultures is the axis around which cultural production in Latin America revolves, because the countries that compose it are part of a colonization process marked by domination and exploration. Such historical condition reveals the formation of a literature that has a local color. This is a difference. However, they also present the vestiges of a cultural legacy left by the colonizer. That way, we have the construction of a mixed imaginary, in other words, marked by different features.

Auto da Compadecida is a dramatic text written in 1955 that rescues traces of medievalism and inserts them in a northeastern context where there was no Middle Ages. This is not free. Much is due to the legacy of colonization. The discovery of the Americas bears the marks of Iberian colonization. It is not just about the colonization of Brazil, but of the countries of Latin America. We received a social, economic and cultural heritage that reflects Portugal and Spain. In this package, come the molds of medieval culture. Traces of religiosity appear in cultural production, establishing a game between the sacred and the profane, following the Catholic tradition of the late Middle Ages. In addition, we can see that the universe of erudite culture absorbs the tone of popular culture, which is essentially oralized and carnivalized. Perhaps these aspects are perceived more clearly in the Northeast of Brazil, because this region was the first to prosper, during colonization, through sugar cane. Thus, we can talk about the persistence of the tradition in *Auto da Compadecida*.

At this intersection of erudite and popular culture, laughter emerges as a way to reveal differences. It is through laughter that the countryman appears. The stories told through orality, through the cord, of the leaflets are incorporated in *Auto da Compadecida* and, through laughter, they reveal the northeastern culture with its own color. It is a tone that reveals the differences in relation to the cultural legacy received through Iberian colonization.

We should also note that Brazil, as a colonized country, assumes a subordinate economic position in relation to the countries of the first world. This condition extends to the countries that make up Latin America. In this scene, the northeastern hinterland, due to its economic and social condition, occupies a subordinate position in relation to the other regions of the country, revealing, therefore, a subordinate of the subaltern. These marks of economic and social marginality appear in cultural production, so it is important to identify the place of the author Ariano Suassuna in cultural production in Latin America.

The persistence of tradition

What does the persistence of tradition mean? What tradition is this? *Auto da Compadecida* is a dramatic text that rescues northeastern popular culture filled with medieval hues and rescues, also, the literary tradition by incorporating elements that are present in *Auto da Barca do Inferno*. Gil Vicente is part of the literary tradition. He is part of the list of authors who represent the high echelon of erudite literature in the timeline. Tradition is shaped, then, by this incorporation of medievalism whose source is in popular leaflets and in Vincentian theater. Tradition does not mean something prior to the modern, but something that persists in the modern. The rescue of the content and form of Gil Vicente's theater reveals to us the persistence of part of what was given to us as the construction of the imaginary through the ways of Iberian colonization. Therefore, we can say that *Auto da Compadecida* is a text of modern theater that allows, in contemporary times, **the persistence of tradition**.

As a starting point, we have two productions characterized as AUTO. This is a type of theatrical representation with a religious theme. We have the dichotomy good and bad. We have the idea of seeking divine justice. We have the idea of heaven and hell. We have the search for morality. In *Auto da Compadecida*, everything moves towards the judgment of the population of Taperoá after death: "Auto da Compadecida! O julgamento de alguns canalhas, entre os quais um sacristão, um padre e um bispo, para o exercício da moralidade." (SUASSUNA, 1990, p. 22) In *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, the devil leads the boat that takes to hell those who, in Portuguese society of the sixteenth century, committed the worst acts:

DIABO

Bem está.

Anda-te nesta hora má

e estende aquele palanque,

desocupa aquele banco

para a gente que virá.

[...] (VICENTE, 1985, p. 71)

In both authors, however, there is an inversion of everything that represents religiosity. These themes undergo an inversion process when placed in the perspective of laughter. Therefore, we can understand these two texts as parodies of this dramatic genre, that is, parody of what is meant by AUTO. In fact, they do not moralize, but relativize acts and values in the imminence of death. *Auto da Compadecida* and *Auto da Barca do Inferno* are representations of carnivalized literature, that is, they are texts that present the nuances of the carnival party. They are texts that, in terms of production time, have a distance of centuries, translating different societies and addressing a different reading public. However, the carnival elements bring them together.

In *Auto da Compadecida*, we have the story presented as a theatrical show at the fair. The story begins in a square, reproducing the image of the courtyards of countryside churches. This relationship with the fair theater not only represents common practices in Northeastern popular culture, but also establishes points of contact with the cultural imagery of the Middle Ages.

[...] como um picadeiro de circo[...] pode apresentar uma entrada de igreja à direita, com uma pequena balaustrada ao fundo, uma vez que o centro representa um desses pátios comuns nas igrejas das vilas do interior. A saída para a cidade é à esquerda e pode ser feita através de um arco. (SUASSUNA, 1990, p.21)

The image of the square, the arena, the fair theater is linked to the image of carnival. In the Middle Ages, this was a party similar to theatrical performances. What is Carnival? This is a show without a limelight, because the great stage of carnival is the universe. It is a party whose essential factors are the renovation and revival of the world. Therefore, it can be said that carnival works with the idea of universality. If there is no stage in this show, there are also no actors and spectators. Therefore, it is a spectacle to be experienced and not represented.

Carnival works with images. It does not go into literature. What literature does is to establish a type of discourse, where it becomes possible to perceive the hues of this popular party. This is because carnival, as a party, is one thing and the speech about carnival is another. It is not possible to fully translate the language of carnival into verbal language. Therefore, what happens is just a transposition of the language of carnival, that is, of ambivalent, multiple images and sensory registers, to the language of literature. It is a matter of transposing one type of language into another. Bakhtin (1997, p. 122) calls this transposition of the language of carnivalization of literature. It is worth remembering that carnivalization is a transculturalization through laughter. The culture of the OTHER is absorbed and transformed into something new through laughter. An initial text is transformed into something new. It is not about A or B, but about C, that is, it has the marks of previous cultures, antecedents that clash or intersect with the OTHER to create something new. Therefore, we can see that Ariano Suassuna rescues traces of a 16th century theatrical production, but it gives this production a new look, that is, it gives a local color. By recapturing medievalism in contemporary times, he shows us that there is a **persistence of tradition**, but revisited through local histories. There is a resumption of thematic and formal aspects of Gil Vicente's theater. European culture at the time of the discovery leaves its marks on American lands. It is not possible to let go of this legacy. However, we must consider the universal clashes with the region. Ariano creates the image of the poor man in the back lands through João Grilo. It is a type character that reveals hierarchical groups like the countryman and, also, like the medieval. The medieval imagination is resumed, because the Americas are an extension of Europe. The construction of thinking in Latin America is linked to the legacy left by Spain and Portugal, which were our cultural references. It is about the coloniality of power: "A colonialidade do poder sublinha a organização geoeconômica do

planeta, a qual articula o sistema mundial colonial/moderno e gerencia a diferença colonial.” (Mignolo, 2003, p. 85).

Latin American countries, such as Brazil, are part of global projects of European domination. They are objects of economic exploitation and cultural absorption. Thus, they are subordinate due to the economic condition and the construction of the imaginary. Europeans impose their culture, their thinking on colonized peoples. However, this project meets local stories. Colonized countries have their histories, that is, their values, customs and ideologies.

Ariano Suassuna, when he rescues the Portuguese cultural tradition through Gil Vicente, shows the subordination of knowledge, shows the colonialism of power through the letter. However, it also shows a decolonization of thinking when it creates something new, that is, when it transports information to the context of the northeastern hinterland. Then, medievalism appears with the colors of the hinterland. João Grilo and Chicó represent the countryman. The stories they tell are taken from popular leaflets. The burial of the dog, the story of the horse that defecated money, the punishment of pride and the fight of the soul are leaflets that the author uses to build the stories told by João Grilo and Chicó. These characters reveal the values, the imaginary and the way of life of the simple man of the hinterland. They therefore represent the social fragment silenced in Brazilian society. They have speech and writing, but they have no social voice power. They are voices that are hardly heard in the production of knowledge. When these voices appear in *Auto da Compadecida*, we perceive the local stories, that is, we perceive that the Northeastern cultural universe produces knowledge through the connection of these silenced social voices, such as the countryman, with the silencing voices that represent the hegemonic cultural power. It is the formation of a preliminary thought, that is, a constructed thinking in between. Ariano Suassuna, as an author, speaks of a privileged place. He is part of the cultural and socio-economic elite of the Northeast. However, he opens space for the subordinate's voice to seek, in the folk, the reference for the construction of their characters. Ariano, then, starts from references like Gil Vicente, but seeks the image of the folk he knows and represents it through laughter.

Laughter as an exit to reveal differences

What is the social function of laughter? Why do we laugh when reading *Auto da Compadecida*? The characters don't laugh, but the reader / viewer laughs. These are questions that lead us to understand that laughter was the solution found by Ariano Suassuna to highlight the values of Northeastern society and to show the ways in which the poor man of the hinterland uses himself to survive. Through the laughter provoked in the reader / spectator, the socially and economically marginalized man finds space for representation.

There are several scenes created in *Auto da Compadecida* that promote laughter. However, we highlight one that finds echo in Gil Vicente's text. Both *Auto da Compadecida* and *Auto da*

Barca do Inferno bring to the scene the image of the realm of the dead. However, this is not just any death. It is death happily represented. It is the carnivalized image of death. We must remember that death-rebirth is one of the carnival actions. Such use of the image of death shows us the relationship between these two texts and the Menippean satire that is one of the genres of the comic-serious.

In *Auto da Compadecida*, we witnessed the dethroning of Church members and of the wealthier ones like the baker and his wife.

We should note, initially, that the entry into the realm of the dead is preceded by the assault of the bandit Severino de Aracaju. In the imminent death, an atmosphere, typically carnivalized, is established, because the police, responsible for the social order, run away. The pontiff, minister of faith, collapses and the rest start to tremble. The characters are revealed as grotesque figures that destroy all kinds of respectability. Then, those who should maintain peace and spirituality are deprived of this function.

At the frontier of life and death, a discourse develops that deconstructs the image of all those who are there. It is a threshold discourse, which is part of an intermediate space. In this space, the bishop, the highest symbol of the church, in the text, is terrified, contradicting his role as promoter of an existence after life. In fear of death, he ridicules his middle position between God and men. Through a repetitive gesture of getting up and passing out, the character is dressed in comicality, thus losing the seriousness that his condition of bishop requires. This fragility, which he assumes, reveals the dual image. It is a typical carnival image. In this threshold space, what is behind the social masks is revealed. At this border, members of the Church are caricatures. In addition, death brings together those who differ in life. We have *Mésalliance*, that is, the meeting of social antitheses. There are gathered the representatives of the church, the merchant, represented by the baker, the bandit and his assistant, the poor man, represented by João Grilo.

It is also worth remembering that the whole story is led by a clown. Even whoever carries the body of João Grilo is this symbol of joy. The clown holds one side of the net that carries João Grilo's body.

In *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, everyone dies and is reborn on the pier, which acts as a threshold space. There, the boat's anchor that will take everyone to hell or to heaven. The text presents the triplane structure of menippean satire. Everything is divided into earth, heaven and hell. The boat image is a representation of transience. In this space of transposition to another life, discourse on the threshold appears among passengers on the ferry. There, the latest attitudes of men in life are raised. It is these attitudes that have built everyone's way to hell. In this interlacing, all those who occupied a high position in life, are demoted and become like everyone else. Even with the devil. Thus, between the devil and the nobleman, that is, between

a representative of the low and a representative of the high social, a dialogue full of familiarity develops. This is typical of the carnival imaginary.

DIABO

Ah, que caravela esta!

Alça bandeiras que é festa;

Alta a verga, âncora a pique

(Para o pobre D. Henrique que se aproxima)

Ô poderoso Don Henrique!

Vós aqui? Que coisa é esta?

FIDALGO

(Vem seguido de um criado que carrega uma cadeira)

Onde esta nau vai agora

assim tão abastecida?

DIABO

Vai para a Ilha Perdida

e há de partir nesta hora

FIDALGO

Para lá vai a senhora?

DIABO

(Retificando)

Senhor. A vosso serviço.

FIDALGO

Mais parece isso um cortiço.

DIABO

É porque a vedes de fora.

FIDALGO

Mas a que terra passais?

DIABO

Para o Inferno, meu senhor.

FIDALGO

Que terra tão sem sabor!

DIABO

O quê? Também vós zombais?

FIDALGO

E passageiros achais
para tal embarcação?

DIABO

Pois vos vejo à perfeição
para ir ao nosso cais.

FIDALGO

A ti te parece assim?

DIABO

Onde esperais ter guarida?

FIDALGO

Eu deixo na outra vida
quem reze sempre por mim.

DIABO

Quem reze sempre por ti?

Hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi, hi.

Viveste a teu bel prazer
pensando te defender
só porque rezam por ti?
Embarcai logo, embarcai
que esta é a hora derradeira.
Levai também a cadeira
que assim passou vosso pai.

(VICENTE, 1985, p. 73-75)

As it turns out, Don Henrique is literally sent to hell. The member of the nobility loses respectability when he lands on the platform of hell. At the last hour, that is, at the moment of death, truths come to the surface. The kind of life that D. Henrique had led him to hell: "Viveste a teu bel prazer" (VICENTE, 1985, p. 75). The two main carnival actions are represented here. The death-rebirth binomial is associated with the crowning-dethroning binomial.

In *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, the barge, as a threshold space for life and death, also brings together those who differed in life. In the same boat, D. Henrique, the shoemaker, the

moneylender, the friar, the fool, the pimp, the procurator, the corregidor, the Jew and the hanged man ascend. In this threshold space of life and death, the truths of each person's life appear. The actions they took, in life, emerge as justifications to lead them to the boat of hell. As in the *Auto da compadecida*, we find here the manifestation of the last questions and the social antitheses. Death brings together those who differ in life. It is worth noting that the two texts reveal actions that are common to man of any age and of any region, such as betrayal, greed and falsehood. However, the local color makes the difference. Gil Vicente brings the representation of 16th century Portuguese society. We even have the nobility represented by D. Henrique. Ariano Suassuna brings to the scene the image of northeastern society with backwoodsman of the 20th century. We realized, then, that the conditions of production of the texts are quite different. In *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, facing death, the title of nobility of D. Henrique has no importance. The dependability that he had in life in his position does not save him from the boat of hell. At this time, vanity and contempt for the humble are the characteristics of the nobleman taken into account. These are attitudes that do not make you worthy of the ferry from heaven.

D. Henrique trusted his noble position, but it did not free him from the boat of hell. Face to face with the devil, the dialogue that is established is familiar and seductive. The devil, when calling D. Henrique sweet, builds a speech to present his boat as the best option for the nobleman.

Eccentricity, which is a carnival category, also appears in the life of D. Henrique. Before his death, his wife was, according to the devil, with another. Adultery is an eccentric attitude. It escapes normality. It runs away from what is expected from marriage, in the Christian mold, which is faithfulness until death. Although the devil's voice is unreliable, it brings to light the falsity of relationships. The false tears of the nobleman's wife represent a union sustained by hypocrisy. In the sequence of characters, the moneylender appears, who carries the marks of eccentricity, as he lives on easy money, that is, he chose an illicit way. For this condition, not only does he deserve the boat of hell, but he is also presented as a relative of the devil. Familiarity, then, goes a little beyond speech. It is a case of consanguinity.

The priest's image represents, as in the *Auto da Compadecida*, the dethroning of the church. It is the image of a worldly priest who deconstructs the functions of the priesthood, being a devotee, priest and husband. At the threshold of death, the friar's mask falls, revealing the difference between essence and appearance. The prayed psalms do not neutralize their carnal acts. That way, he doesn't escape the boat of hell.

Dona Brígida Vaz's mask, a pimp, also falls off, revealing the difference between the person and the character. Their luggage, due to the amount of addictions, is heavy even for the boat of hell. It contains robbery, prostitution, lies and illusion.

The corregidor and the prosecutor represent the carnival reversal of justice. The corregidor's speech in Latin is a parody of the legal discourse that normally uses Latin words.

In dialogue with the devil, fraud appears.

The prosecutor, too, is part of this block of justice that has its power relativized by its actions. For this reason, he is prepared to take his place in the barge of hell, going from bachelor to rower. This is the process of downgrading carnival. In the face of death, the social positions occupied in life undergo an inversion. The conditions that the characters occupy, at the threshold of life and death, reveal, through laughter, a deconstruction of social values and beliefs. Gil Vicente finds, in laughter, the way out to expose the common practices in the society of his time. Relativize functions and positions occupied by men in the different sectors of Portuguese society of their time.

Ariano Suassuna, in the same way, finds, in laughter, the alternative to deconstruct the values of the Northeastern society and to show important issues such as the boss's exploitation of the poor man of the Northeast region. João Grilo was exploited by the baker. Fact that he brings up in the final judgment. So, in a laughable way, we can see that the subordinate's voice resonates. The voice of someone who has no voice resonates in Brazil's socio-economic scenario. João Grilo and Chicó are the marginalized that, when telling funny stories, and by articulating situations that generate laughter, they allow the reader / viewer to reflect on the ability that the poor man has to survive in the northeastern hinterland in the face of the excesses of the boss and the more affluent members of society. It is in this emphasis given to the voice of the subaltern that is the difference of the theater of Suassuna. The voice of João Grilo, who represents the voice of many Brazilians, is what makes all the difference. Laughter expresses a way of seeing and understanding the world. The truth about all things comes out through laughter. It is the expression of a point of view. Laughter has the revealing power of the inside out of the world, the inside out of values and behaviours. Thus, in *Auto da Compadecida*, we have a destructive and relativizing laugh at everything and everyone. It is a laugh that demeans everything and everyone, not to destroy, but to relativize values and to renew them.

The place of Ariano Suassuna in cultural production in Latin America

What is Latin America? What can we call Latin American literature? It is from these two questions that we can situate Ariano Suassuna's production.

Ariano Suassuna presents, through his text, the construction of a discourse molded according to a determined social imaginary. When he rescues traces of a text produced by Gil Vicente, he signals that Portugal is one of our cultural borders. It is not a physical border, but it is a cultural border. However, the works were produced in totally different historical, social and economic contexts. Although they are united by laughter, by the perspective of carnival. Thus, we realize that Ariano dialogues with the OTHER, but transposes the themes to the reality he observes: the northeastern hinterland.

For us to think, therefore, of a literature produced in Brazil and, in a broader view, in Latin America, we must understand the concept of Latin America. These are countries that have received different forms of colonization, such as English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, among others. Therefore, all these cultures are absorbed. There is an integrative perspective, because everyone goes through the colonization process. However, there is diversity, as colonized countries acquire their local colors. They have their own traits, because each was colonized in a different way. Latin American countries have similarities in cultural formation, because they have historical similarities. There are economic, social and cultural similarities. This resonates with literary discourse. We must understand literature as a type of discourse that tries to give an account of history, that is, it is a discourse that reveals the values of society at a specific time. It reveals the relationships established between men within a certain time, within a certain pattern of sociability. So, what is Latin American literature? It is a type of discourse that reflects diversity in the unit. It arises from common cultural meanings that develop. Countries suffered similar influences in the colonial system and in the capitalist process, which is why they have similar features. While colonized, they are cultural subordinates. It is a literary production that arises from the mixture of the European and the new world. European language meets the experiences of a new world. However, in the unit, there is diversity. As well? Despite the features that unite the countries of Latin America, there are many differences between them. They are cultural subordinates, but they seek to impress their brand on the world scene, because each country had a way of reacting to the colonization process. Latin American literature is a type of discourse that carries the marks of formation of the countries that compose it. It reflects the ideology of colonized countries, of subordinate voices, but each in its own way, because the conditions of colonization were different. Therefore, it is not just any speech. It is a discourse with specificity, with particularities and, mainly, with plurality. Latin American literature is formed by more than one literary system, so it is plural:

aquello que llamamos literatura latino-americana constituye en realidad un conjunto formado por lo menos por dos a três sistemas literários diferentes segun las regiones, que provienen de sistemas culturales em general bastantes diferenciados. (PIZARRO, p. 19)

There is, therefore, no single and complete literary system. There is a confluence of voices. In a society, elements of classical culture share space with elements of popular culture. There is no 100% pure culture. This is reflected in the literature. In *Auto da Compadecida*, we have the representation of cultured literature, that is, we have a text produced in the elite spaces of knowledge construction. However, it brings the voice of cordel literature, elements of popular culture. There is a confluence of speeches. The popular imagination remains through a cultured literary system. These are the echoes of the off-axis voice in the Brazilian scenario, in Brazilian literature.

Auto da Compadecida, rescuing traces of *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, exemplifies a Latin

American production where the voices of a diverse society, a diverse culture resonate. Such influence paves the way for universality, for the transcultural character. However, it breaks with the European paradigm by presenting variants, by presenting its local color. D. Henrique, as a representative of the nobility, of the high social, is not similar to Major Antônio Moraes, representative of the high social in Taperoá. One is noble and the other is a landowner in the northeastern hinterland. The Friar, from *Auto da Barca do Inferno*, does not have the same profile as the representatives of the Church in *Auto da Compadecida*. João Grilo and Chicó, by representing the poor men of the hinterland, impress the difference in relation to the characters of *Auto da Barca do Inferno*. In *Auto da Compadecida*, then, we find the universe of bandits and landowners in the Brazilian Northeast. We find traces of cordel literature that rescues orality as a cultural representation. Such orality can be seen, for example, in the way João Grilo calls *Compadecida*:

Valha-me Nossa Senhora,
Mãe de Deus de Nazaré!
A vaca mansa dá leite,
A braba dá quando quer.
A mansa dá sossegada,
A braba levanta o pé.
Já fui barco, fui navio,
Mas hoje sou escaler.
Já fui menino, fui homem,
Só me falta ser mulher.
(SUASSUNA,1990, p. 170)

This reverse prayer rescues the tone of popular singers, giving the text the marks of orality. It is the representation of popular culture. This popular tone with the colors of the hinterland establishes the cultural difference. It is a reaction to European cultural dependency and is the representation of the subordinate's voice. These are differences, in relation to the universal culture, that allow us to hear the voice off the axis.

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SAINT AND PROSTITUTE: AN ANALYSIS OF MELÂNIA SABIANI IN *A PÉCORA*, BY NATÁLIA CORREIA
SANTA E PROSTITUTA: UMA ANÁLISE DE MELÂNIA SABIANI EM *A PÉCORA*, DE NATÁLIA CORREIA

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ABSTRACT:

This article aims to analyze the figure of Melânia Sabiani, in its two versions, saint and prostitute, immolated by society represented in the play *A pécora*, by Portuguese writer Natália Correia. In the play, Correia portrays the society of Gal, a fictional city that witnesses the rise of a new saint among its residents, Santa Melânia, an event created to protect the young woman's secret affair with the local priest. While being worshiped by the people, Melânia is transformed into Pupi, the prostitute, excluded from the community in order to preserve the religious farce. These two faces of the main character will serve as a basis for our analysis of the feminine and its association with the religious context of the play. As a theoretical contribution, we will base our work on authors who explore the social evolution of women both in the historiographic and mythological realms, such as BARING and CASHFORD (2005), BATAILLE (1987), CAMPBELL (1976) and WHITMONT (1991). In the Lusitanian piece, it is possible to perceive the completely opposite forms of how the feminine is seen within a religious context such as that reproduced in the work. Based on the dogmas and principles of the Christian tradition, we find two antagonistic versions of the woman in the images of the saint and the prostitute. While one is praised and serves as a model to be followed by everyone, the other is rejected and excluded from the social environment for being a reason of shame and degradation. When analyzing the representation of the feminine in Natália Correia's work, we realize that, in Gal, there is only salvation for those who adapt to the models imposed by patriarchal religious power, making empowerment and emancipation in the face of this system virtually impossible.

KEY-WORDS: Feminine; Christianity; *A Pécora*; Natália Correia

RESUMO:

O presente artigo tem como objetivo analisar a figura de Melânia Sabiani, em suas duas versões, santa e prostituta, imoladas pela sociedade representadas na peça *A pécora*, da escritora portuguesa Natália Correia. Na obra, Correia retrata a sociedade de Gal, cidade fictícia que presencia a ascensão de uma nova santa entre seus moradores, Santa Melânia, evento inventado para proteger o caso secreto da jovem com o padre local. Enquanto era cultuada pelo povo, Melânia é transformada em Pupi, a prostituta, excluída da comunidade a fim de preservar a farsa religiosa. Essas duas faces da personagem principal nos servirão de base para nossa análise a respeito do feminino e sua associação com o contexto religioso da peça. Como aporte teórico, fundamentaremos nosso trabalho em autores que exploram a evolução social do feminino tanto no âmbito historiográfico quanto mitológico, como BARING e CASHFORD (2005), BATAILLE (1987), CAMPBELL (1976) e WHITMONT (1991). Na peça lusitana, é possível perceber as formas completamente opostas de como o feminino é visto dentro de um contexto religioso como o reproduzido na obra. Tendo como base os dogmas e princípios da tradição cristã, encontramos duas versões antagonísticas da mulher nas imagens da santa e da prostituta. Enquanto uma é louvada e serve como modelo a ser seguido por todos, a outra é rejeitada e excluída do meio social por ser motivo de vergonha e degradação. Ao analisar a representação do feminino na obra de Natália Correia, percebemos que, em Gal, há apenas salvação para aquelas que se adaptam aos modelos impostos pelo poder religioso patriarcal, tornando o empoderamento e a emancipação frente a esse sistema praticamente impossíveis.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Feminino; Cristianismo; *A Pécora*; Natália Correia

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It is the small fictional town of Gal that Natália Correia uses as a scenario for her play that critically and ironically recounts the events surrounding the phenomena that occurred in the city of Fátima, when three shepherd children may have witnessed the apparitions of Mary, mother of Jesus, important figure to Christians, specially Catholics that have her as one of the main intercessors between mankind and God. These events have triggered a revolution that is not only religious, but cultural and political in Portugal at the beginning of the 20th century because, among other factors, it increased the Catholic belief with regard to Mary, turned the small Portuguese city into a gigantic center of religious pilgrimage and was used as one of the arguments for maintaining Salazarism, an authoritarian regime based on nationalist and fascist principles, founded by António de Oliveira Salazar in 1933, for which religion and religiosity were important bases of support (SIMPSON, 2014, p. 74).

Correia's play presents us with a community whose life is transformed after the farce orchestrated by Melânia and her lover, Father Salata, transforming the town into a center of worship for people in search of the new saint. In the play, Melânia and Father Salata have a forbidden romantic relationship. She is already engaged, and he is the priest of the town. To hide their sin, Salata pretends to be an angel talking to some children that got too close for comfort during one of their secret encounters. Voicing the angel, he says that God sent him to announce that Melânia is a saint, causing the kids to tell everybody about the good news and, all of the sudden, the life in town is dedicated only to the miracles of Melânia Sabiani. The Church sees this as an opportunity to regain power over the population, takes control of the events and sends Melânia to a brothel to ensure that the lie is not discovered. While the image of the saint thrives, the prostitute languishes in humiliation and ends up killed by her own worshipers.

Our intention in this work is to investigate the coexistence and the immolation of two conflicting conditions - saint and prostitute - imposed by society on the main character, Melânia. The character presents us with two contrasting versions of the feminine, the one idealized as a model of purity, worthy of being divinized, and the side considered more demoted, related to sex and degradation. This dualism brings us directly to the theories about the sacred feminine when we examine both representations of the Goddess and essential figures in the history of Christianity, such as Eve and Mary. The Great Goddess, deity worshiped as the creator in traditional societies that thrived before the rise of patriarchalism, carries with her the same duplicity (WHITMONT, 1991) that we found in Melânia / Pupi, her new name when she was relocated to the brothel. She is benevolent and mean, she is the pure young woman and the prostitute, she is light and dark, characteristics that are culturally considered to be directly opposite, but that, to some extent in history, were seen as complementary, part of a whole and not excluding.

The rise of principles that served as a basis for patriarchal traditions ends up separating these attributes, classifying them exclusively as good or evil (WHITMONT, 1991, p. 103). Those who were considered superior were approached by the male gods, the saints and the

faithful who really followed the principles preached. The rest is disowned and associated with the feminine, sin and the Devil. When we approach the representations of the feminine in patriarchal religious traditions, we come across women who, for Judeo-Christian thought, symbolize this duality between sin and grace. Eve, who is said to have introduced sin into the world and condemned all of humanity because of her actions, is the first representative of a type of condemned behavior. She was disobedient, succumbed to temptation and, moreover, corrupted her companion. Mary, mother of Jesus, on the other hand, was worthy to have been chosen among all women to carry the child of God in her womb.

Her obedience to divine precepts, being a virgin before, during and after conception, and kindness were responsible for saving the world from sins and made her worthy of sanctification, even ascending to heaven, body and soul, according to the Assumption tradition to be detailed when dealing with Melânia's assumption. A character of equal importance to explore such concepts related to the Portuguese play was Maria Madalena, who is popularly, in the case of Catholic belief, regarded as the prostitute saved from her life of sin by Jesus Christ, even becoming a saint. Only two of the three women, regardless of the life they could previously have led, are considered examples for having dedicated themselves to God.

In the Portuguese play, for Melânia to be sanctified, she had to "die" and be reborn with a new identity, Pupi, a prostitute in the city's brothel. At the same time, the character is separated into two, the saint and the prostitute, both directly linked to her previous life, but separated immensely. It was not possible for Melânia to represent, at the same time, two characteristics as distinct as these. Contrary to what was accepted as intrinsic to a female divine entity that was believed to be creator until the appearance of male gods, these attributes become opposites in patriarchal religions, as already mentioned. The selective exclusion of certain aspects controls the population and shapes society according to the interests of those who command it and, among such interests, we find the suppression or, at least, the control of sexuality, especially when we take into account the female condition.

Melânia Sabiani can be seen as a character built with two opposing personalities, due to a network of lies initially orchestrated to hide the sinful love between her and the city priest, but which becomes the basis for the control of the whole society. Daughter of a humble family and betrothed to one of the neighbors, Teófilo Ardinelli, whose vines are adjacent to the Sabiani vineyards, the young woman rebels against her parents' will to live her true love. The play's initial motto is the character's failure to wish to live the longed-for freedom and search for ideals that break the customs of a people strongly linked to traditions. Separated from Father Salata after having an abortion as a result of the relationship and placed in a brothel to keep her away from her city, which started to worship her as a saint, especially after being taken by an angel directly to heaven.

If we consider the historical evolution of patriarchy, we will observe the question that, in

order for it to take the power of societies in which culture had women as a central element, it should excise or suppress everything related to them (CAMPBELL, 1976, p. 21 – 22). Whether the Mother Goddess or anyone else who came to succeed her, there was no room for any manifestation of them in a society governed by men. Unless it was a version that served patriarchal purposes. As mentioned, the feminine should be limited to obedient passivity, motherhood and domesticity (WHITMONT, 1991, p. 204), to the perfect representation of someone who would not question their social place and would remain away from power, since it was relegated to residential environment. Of all the faces of the Goddess, the only one allowed is that of the virgin, idealized in the purity of Mary.

In order to be elevated to the category of saint, it is essential that the daughter of the Sabiani was pure, or at least approached it as much as possible. In the exaltations of her faithful devotees, we noticed a glorification of her image, very distant from human and closer to the angelic. The young woman was the “flower of flowers”, “whiter than snow” and “more translucent than water”. There is apparently no sign of stain or relationship with sin, she was, like Mary, the ideal woman for patriarchal society. Thus, in the same way that Magdalene is not sanctified as a prostitute, but as the woman who was saved from her life of sin and joined Jesus, starting to live under the law of God, Melânia also needs to get rid of any mundane aspect to be worthy of worship.

Melânia does not become a saint taking with her all her past life to the apparitions to the shepherds, since this existence is erased and remodeled according to the wishes of those who make use of her divine image. At no point in the play, when the focus is on the sanctified version of the young woman, we are aware of her life before being “chosen” by God, except who her family, the Sabiani, is. In addition, everything was changed, even her academic performance, as shown in the section in which the tour guide responsible for the devotees’ tour is corrected by Zenóbia, a brothel employee, to whom Melânia is taken, who allies herself with the clergy to create the new saint:

GUIA TURÍSTICO: (*em voz de guia*) E agora, senhoras e senhores, vão ver a escola onde a santa em criança revelou uma cultura tão fora do comum...

ZENÓBIA: (*interrompendo*) Ó criatura! Quantas vezes lhe recomendei que ela não passou das primeiras letras porque era curta de ideias? Então não sabe que Deus escolhe os analfabetos para confundir os sábios?[...]³ (CORREIA, 1983, p. 64 – 65)

From this passage, we can develop two analyzes with a focus on Melânia. The first one, and more directly linked to the unfolding of the plot, shows us an aspect of holiness that sometimes

3 TOURIST GUIDE: (in a guide like voice) And now, ladies and gentlemen, you will see the school where the saint as a child revealed a culture so unusual ...

ZENOBIAS: (interrupting) Oh creature! How many times have I recommended that she didn't go past the first few letters because she was short of intelligence? So you don't know that God chooses the illiterate to confuse the wise? [...] (Translated by the author)

appears as a recurrent feature for those who dedicate themselves to the Lord's service, social marginality. Humility, detachment from material goods and other conditions that keep man from what can lead him to perdition, are still premises preached as ideas in Christianity, except, of course, in aspects that use financial prosperity as an attraction for the faithful. It was important for Zenóbia that the saint was portrayed as semi-literate, a great justification when the entire intellectual class of the city was converted immediately for witnessing the miracle. The one who had little development in the school was able to bow even the most intelligent and skeptical of Gal's society, a great asset for the faith in this saint of the people. The following section that accompanies the scene explains the meaning of the contradictions that Melânia's story and appearance played for skeptics, giving legitimacy to the unexplainable and supernatural character of the phenomenon:

Vestida de santa e coroada de rosas, Melânia começa a surgir lentamente no ar, por detrás de um troço das ruínas. [...] O Cientista e o Sociólogo lançam-se também por terra, ficando este de quatro patas no chão e rastejando, aquele, como um verme. Nesta posição, espreitam, com terror, para o sítio da aparição. (CORREIA, 1983, p. 116)

Crowned with roses, as a symbol of her sacred greatness, Melânia is taken to the skies by a mechanical system hidden in the ruins where the miracle would happen, causing an immense wave of excitement in all those present, among them, the Scientist and the Sociologist who before questioned the miracles of the new saint and are now converted by the miraculous appearance, in the play science can also be deceived. In lowered positions, one like a four-legged animal and the other crawling like a worm, they watch in terror at the assumption of the one they had doubted. The scene planned to confirm Melânia's sanctity has the effect of placing her above all the community and of reconstructing social standards, at least momentarily. Thus, there is a redefinition of the powers that govern Gal's society which, from then on, gives much more prominence to the Church than to science.

On the other hand, given the focus of the thesis, Melânia's ignorance plays an important role in her position as a woman. Of the saints of the Catholic Church, few are known to have excelled in academic circles, as in the case of Hildegarda de Bingen, or in leadership roles, such as Joana D'Arc. What these examples have in common and is highlighted is their correct lives and their dedication to the service of God on Earth. If we consider female demotion in patriarchal traditions, women are not only deprived of social power, but also intellectual.

If we take the *Malleus Maleficarum*, one of the books that served as a basis for the definition of concepts related to the feminine in the Middle Ages, we note that it was common, at least for part of the Church, to consider them as mentally inferior, weak of ideas and with a lower level of intelligence. This would be the reason that made them more susceptible to demonic influence (CLARK, 2006, p. 163). Even if this theory seems absurd, even today one can observe women struggle to obtain recognition and insertion in the academy and in the job market, still carrying

the stigma of an imaginary incapacity. Melânia not going forward in her early school years not only ensures a false humility idealized for her saintly figure but guarantees her limited position in society.

With the rise of Melânia, there is also a counterpoint to her intellectual demotion that would be disclosed to the public. Whether it was true or not, there is no room for the character to be known as a prodigy or for attention to deviate from what was most important in relation to her, her holy virtues that separate her from what is mundane. The young saint was not intelligent, and there is no other mention of any quality that would make her stand out compared to the other inhabitants of Gal. What is repeatedly exalted is its glorious incorruptible purity. Melânia had been chosen by the Lord for her irreproachable earthly conduct that made her worthy of such grace.

If we have Saint Melânia, perfect in all aspects and a symbol of purity and devotion to God, we also see, on the other hand, his worldly face, is the one who fell in love with the city priest and the prostitute who serves as a disguise so that the sacred farce is hidden. Melânia, Pupi and the Saint form a trinity in one person that reflects the opposite images of the feminine that is under the context of patriarchal dominance. On the one hand, divine integrity, on the other, the lowest and most abhorrent face of its kind. What we see in this character is a clear separation of patterns created by societies centered on a male discourse and by the Church. However, even if separated from its holy form, it still has a recurring relationship with the sacred.

The main character, being she in the form of Santa Melânia or Pupi, reinforces the concepts involving feminine perdition. Turning to the witch hunt manual, *Malleus Malleficarum*, which has relegated perennial understanding of the figure of women throughout the ages. It claims that one of the reasons for them to associate with the Devil lies in their carnal desires, over which they are unable to maintain control (Part 1, Question 7). Karlsen (1988) and Page (2017), point out the fear and the persecution of this supposed condition, especially those considered as witches, by the instituted powers. There are no references to magic in Correia's work, however, we cannot disassociate Melânia from such characters who are responsible for the temptation and debauchery of men who should stay away from such sins, as good faithful God-fearers. In the case of the Portuguese play, Melânia was able to seduce the town's own priest.

Without having a choice and in order to hide the sin committed in her illicit relationship, Melânia is placed in a brothel, in which she adopts the name of Pupi. From then on, her life is controlled by everyone who, in some way, could take advantage of the miracles of her sanctified double. Teófilo Ardinelli, her promised ex-fiancé, is one of the figures who has more power over her, besides, of course, the Church, which is responsible for the exploration of the Saint. Ardinelli's interactions with the character not only emphasizes a relationship of superiority on his part, but also reinforce characteristics associated with prostitution:

ARDINELLI: (*para Pupi, que conserva a cabeça baixa*) Se esse símbolo da corrupção é a que passa por ser a Bem-Aventurada Melânia, o mundo está perdido. (*Faz o sinal da cruz.*) E o pior dos criminosos tem sempre uma razão para se julgar o mais virtuoso dos homens. Pois não exagero, se disser que a Hiena de Chicago tem muito a aprender com os dois nojentos pastorinhos a quem eu hei-de apertar o gasganete para não brincarem com os sentimentos de um homem honrado.

MELÂNIA: Não há no mundo coisa mais digna de ser cuspidada do que eu. Mas os pastorinhos não mentem. Eles viram o anjo.

ARDINELLI: Devo então entender o pior. A peste da terra contaminou os anjos. Porque, nesse caso, o tal anjo tem menos moral que uma proxeneta. Anda a desviar noivas honestas e, com a promessa do paraíso, mete-as no bordel.

MELÂNIA: (*de olhos no chão*) O anjo... é o padre Salata.

ARDINELLI: Olá! Esse padre afinal saiu-se um bom pássaro. Preparou o golpe do milagre para explorar os peregrinos.

MELÂNIA: Eu tinha que vir para a cidade sem deixar rasto. E isto só era possível se pensassem que eu tinha ido para o céu, que é um sítio onde ninguém nos vai procurar. Foi quando o padre Salata teve a ideia de se servir das duas crianças e disse-me: “Chegou a altura de não decepcionarmos os aborrecidos pastorinhos que não te deixam em paz desde que lhes disseste que eu era um anjo.” Estou muito arrependida. Mas aquelas crianças eram tão curiosas. Ouviram vozes nas ruínas e quiseram saber o que se passava. Prometi-lhes que se guardassem segredo, seriam recompensados com a celeste visão. E foram. Quando o ventre começou a inchar-me (*gesto de indignado assombro de Teófilo Ardinelli*), anunciei-lhes: “Chegou o dia. Irei ver o anjo que vem para me levar ao céu. Fostes eleitos para testemunhar o prodígio porque a voz da inocência é o clarim que Deus escolhe para proclamar as suas maravilhas.” E assim foi.

ARDINELLI: (*colérico*) Quer dizer que tu e esse Casanova de sotaina fizeram de mim o maior corno de Gal. Estou pior que um leão e tu vais fazer companhia aos dois Regedores... (*lógico, falando para si*) O que, aliás, é conveniente porque, se os devotos descobrem que a santa é este caixote de lixo, lá se vai o maior centro turístico da Europa⁴. (CORREIA, 1983, p. 54 – 57)

4 ARDINELLI: (*to Pupi, who keeps her head down*) If this symbol of corruption is what passes for being Blessed Melania, the world is lost. (*He makes the sign of the cross.*) And the worst of criminals always has a reason to think of himself as the most virtuous of men. Well, no exaggeration, if I say that the Chicago Hyena has a lot to learn from the two disgusting little shepherds to whom I will squeeze the gas in order not to play with the feelings of an honorable man.

MELÂNIA: There is nothing in the world more worthy of being spit on than me. But the shepherds don't lie. They saw the angel.

ARDINELLI: So I must understand the worst. The plague of the earth contaminated the angels. Because, in that case, that angel has less moral than a pimp. He is dodging honest brides and, with the promise of paradise, puts them in the brothel.

MELÂNIA: (*eyes on the floor*) The angel ... is Father Salata.

ARDINELLI: Hi! That priest turned out to be a good bird. He prepared the miracle coup to explore the pilgrims.

MELÂNIA: I had to come to the city without a trace. And this was only possible if they thought I had gone to heaven, which is a place where nobody is going to look for us. That was when Father Salata had the idea of using the two children and said to me: “The time has come for us not to disappoint the boring little shepherds who haven't left you in peace since you told them I was an angel.” I'm really sorry. But those kids were so curious. They heard voices in the ruins and wanted to know what was going on. I promised them that if they kept secret, they

From the beginning, we see in the words of Ardinelli Pupi's classification as a symbol of corruption, in comparison to the blessed Melânia. While being worshiped as a saint, pure and perfect, the true persona was trapped in a brothel, in direct contact with sin. Even though such an image of corruption and doom was not always associated with the prostitute, its weight is more than present in the context portrayed in the Portuguese play. First, we must consider that, in more remote times of civilization, the term "prostitute" was used to refer to those women who dedicated themselves exclusively to the sacred, they were the ones who allowed humanity to have contact with the divine (WHITMONT, 1991, p. 155). Bataille (1987), in turn, argues that prostitutes, when "*em contato com o sagrado, em lugares consagrados, tinham um caráter sagrado análogo ao dos sacerdotes*"⁵ (BATAILLE, 1987, p. 87). In this situation, there is an apparent female superiority in relation to the sacred, since direct contact with it would be inherent to women, even in times after societies that had the Mother Goddess as the central deity in the belief system.

However, there is no glorification of these women within the Christian patriarchal context. Women who did not fit the required standards, among them prostitutes, women who could have superiority or sexual freedom and those who lived on the margins of society were associated with evil and sin; they were witches and linked to the Demon (CLARK, 2006, p. 184 - 185). According to Bataille (1987, p. 90), they are in the last degree of social demotion. They know that they are human, but they are aware of living very close to what separates us from animals in relation to sexual behavior. In the Christian world, prostitutes are excluded, just as everything that is impure and horrendous is excluded⁶. Another point to be considered about their presence

would be rewarded with the heavenly vision. And they were. When the belly started to swell (*Teófilo Ardinelli's gesture of indignant astonishment*), I announced to them: "The day has come. I will see the angel who comes to take me to heaven. You were chosen to witness the prodigy because the voice of innocence is the bugle that God chooses to proclaim his wonders." And so it was.

ARDINELLI: (*choleric*) It means that you and that Casanova in a cassock made me Gal's biggest horn. I am worse than a lion and you will keep the two Regents company ... (*clear; speaking to himself*) Which, by the way, is convenient because, if devotees discover that the saint is this dustbin, there goes the biggest tourist center of Europe. (Translated by the author)

5 "in contact with the sacred, in consecrated places, had a sacred character analogous to that of priests" (Translated by the author)

6 Richards points out that sexuality, "*segundo os ensinamentos cristãos, era dada às pessoas exclusivamente para os objetivos de reprodução e por nenhum outro motivo. [...] São Paulo enfatizou que o celibato era o ideal mais elevado, a forma mais desejável de vida, mas que o casamento era uma segunda alternativa inferior aceitável. 'É melhor casar do que abrasar', disse. O casamento tornou-se assim o meio cristão básico de regulamentar o desejo sexual, combatendo a fornicação e perpetuando a espécie.*

O sexo não deveria ser usado por mero prazer. Segundo esta definição, todo sexo fora do casamento, tanto heterossexual quanto homossexual, era pecado, e, dentro do casamento, só deveria ser usado para fins de procriação. Os teólogos medievais enfatizaram que era um pecado mortal fazer amor com a esposa unicamente por prazer"(RICHARDS, 1993, p. 34). Although the rules were valid for both men and women, we observed that deviant behavior was admitted by them regarding the relationship with sex and the catharsis of pleasure.

"according to Christian teachings, was given to people solely for the purposes of reproduction and for no other reason. [...] São Paulo emphasized that celibacy was the highest ideal, the most desirable way of life, but that marriage was a second lower acceptable alternative. 'It is better to marry than to burn,' he said. Marriage thus became the basic Christian means of regulating sexual desire, combating fornication and perpetuating the species.

in society is that, although they were condemned by the Church and relegated to the sphere of the profane, they still had a social role, as they functioned as a way of satisfying the male desire to maintain order:

[...] a prostituição era vista como um meio prático de permitir que os jovens e todas as classes afirmassem sua masculinidade e aliviassem suas necessidades sexuais, enquanto evitava, ao mesmo tempo, que se aproximassem de esposas e filhas respeitáveis, desestimulando-os dos estupros [...] e desencorajando-os em relação à homossexualidade [...] Agostinho escreveu: ‘Se as prostitutas forem expulsas da sociedade, tudo estará desorganizado em função dos desejos’⁷ (RICHARDS, 1993, p. 122 – 123)

Although there is this “importance” for the community, they are not part of the group, much less worthy of respect, since respectable women must be kept safe from men and sexuality that they were not allowed to exploit. They are objectified, they are not sexually satisfied, and this can cause disorder in society. This belief may seem comical, but, again, it takes us back to the duality between instincts and the rational. It was not possible for patriarchy to eliminate natural impulses, so it remained to try to control and satisfy them in such a way that they maintained the functioning of the system preached as appropriate and ideal for the population. In the same way that Ardinelli seeks fun in Gal’s brothel, men, and only them, would be allowed this behavior, since, if they were not prostitutes, women should remain pure before marriage and, when already married, be dedicated only to the husband, besides that, sex could only be done with the purpose of procreation.

Transformed into an object as a prostitute, Pupi is abhorred. She herself takes the position that it would be worth spitting out and is classified as a dustbin by Ardinelli. Her position on this stretch reinforces her demotion to society, either as a prostitute or as a woman. Unlike Santa Melânia, which at every moment seems to be more deserving of adoration and is raised to levels previously only reached by the mother of Jesus, its true form starts to be subjugated and humiliated, the target of vexations both in terms of the social and the religious. It is interesting to observe, in this degraded scene, the occurrence of this relationship with Mary, very far from the sacred glorious realm. While the saint reproduces a copy of the image of the mother of the Son of God idealized by the Church, the prostitute reveals the lies involving the miracles witnessed by the shepherd children. Natália Correia explicitly makes use of Melânia as a parody of the apparitions of Our Lady, especially the one that took place in Fatima. When comparing,

Sex should not be used for mere pleasure. According to this definition, all sex outside of marriage, both heterosexual and homosexual, was a sin, and, within marriage, it should only be used for procreation purposes. Medieval theologians emphasized that it was a mortal sin to make love to a wife solely for pleasure” (Translated by the author)

7 [...] prostitution was seen as a practical means of allowing young people and all classes to assert their masculinity and alleviate their sexual needs, while at the same time preventing them from approaching respectable wives and daughters, discouraging them of rapes [...] and discouraging them from homosexuality [...] Augustine wrote: ‘If prostitutes are expelled from society, everything will be disorganized due to desires’” (Translated by the author)

perhaps, the most important event in the religious history of Portugal, the miracles of Our Lady of Fatima used as a basis for the Salazar regime, with the coup orchestrated by the couple of Gal, the author, again, makes the inversion between sacred and profane, as in the case of the protagonist's forbidden desire associated with divine love.

As we have seen so far, Correia makes use of *A Pécora* not only as a way of questioning the religious standards imposed on society, but on all moral customs rooted in the community. Placing Mary on an equal position with Saint Melânia and lowering the miracles of Fatima not only serve as an affront to what is seen as rules imposed by the Church, but mainly to the way the population absorbs these ideas and applies them to their existence. Putting Maria's apparitions in check or her idealization as a perfect female model leads us to question and exclude not only the validity of these principles, but also the real role of control exercised by them. In the same way that Our Lady commands mankind not only to devotion, but to stop offending God with his sins, the miracle in the Portuguese play also serves to curb the infractions of the characters. If the events of Fatima drive the return of conservatism in Portuguese customs, the miracles of Saint Melânia cause a continuous deterioration of her sinful version. This downward movement is repeated throughout the play, always associating the character with what separates her from perfection in the sacred model, sexuality in particular. As a saint, she is welcomed by society, adored and worthy of the highest spheres of the divine. As Pupi, she has no right to belong to the same universe as the followers of her double.

The degradation exposed by the Portuguese author increases in a proportion directly opposite to the devotion for the new saint. Melânia is at the same time in heaven and in hell, a representation of the feminine that can belong to one sphere as well as the other, depending on how she behaves in the face of social demands. If she is accepted and considered worthy by the community, she can, with great effort, ascend spiritually. Otherwise, you will be at the mercy of suffering retaliation for your choices. For those who do not accept the standards preached by society, a life of exclusion remains, without having the privilege of freedom like other members of society, a situation reinforced by the character when she arrives at the brothel: "[...] I have no right to anything. Not even in the sunlight. There is no hole in the world that I can get into. I am worse than a mouse. I do not exaggerate if I confess to them that I am dead" (CORREIA, 1983, p. 43). Gal operates as a reflection of extreme conservatism, based on precepts whose function is to regulate certain standards and repress others. Considering the author's historical context, in which faith and family are the basis of an authoritarian, patriarchal, and Christian government, both Santa Melânia and Pupi can be part of this universe, each receiving its due glories.

It is worth mentioning that this control has as principle, as we have already discussed in the course of the work, the maintenance of the current power. Regulating material and spiritual life ensures that hierarchical positions do not change, especially when there is an erasure of those who would pose a risk to the social structure. Melânia's miracle revives the faith of a community and removes skeptics and enemies from the Church, returning authority to those

who have lost it. With that, Pupi could never come to surface, however, even if she had tried to end the farce years after the apparitions, her revelation would have no effect on the faithful, as we see in the following excerpt:

MELÂNIA: Calem-se... Calem-se, desgraçados. Cada lamento que soltais vai encher a barriga das aves de rapina. Elas engordam com as vossas chagas. O ar está empestado dos seus arrotos. (*Aponta o ar*) Cheirem! Cheirem! Que fedor a sonhos de futuro!

UMA ENFERMA: Cala-te, víbora!

UM ENFERMO: Deixa-nos lamentar as nossas dores!

MELÂNIA: Não haverá futuro! A teta da santa está seca. Para eles, é o fim do mundo. Oh, como todos vão rir! Como todos vão rir! (*Abrindo os braços e exibindo-se canalhamente*) Vejam-na! Vejam-na! Uma cadela das docas.

Recrudescer o burburinho que se estabelecera entre os Enfermos.

OUTRA ENFERMA: Blasfema!

OUTRO ENFERMO: Bruxa!

MELÂNIA: (*que persiste pateticamente na exibição*) Uma puta! A vossa santa é uma puta.

UM ALEIJADO: (*erguendo-se nas muletas e sobrepondo a sua voz à algazarra*) Companheiro de infortúnio! Arranquemos a língua a esta megera.

TODOS OS ENFERMOS: Sim, sim! Desagravemos a honra da santa!

MELÂNIA: (*tentando suster o assalto*) Não! Não me negueis! Eu trago a prova no meu corpo. (*Levanta as saias, baixa as culottes e mostra as nádegas.*) Se não acreditam, vejam a minha nádega... (*De rabo para o ar e dando palmadas na nádega*) Aqui... aqui... A marca que têm no rabo todos os Sabiani, a honrada família onde nasci.⁸ (CORREIA, 1983, p. 164 – 166)

Melânia tries, ineffectively, to reveal her true identity to the worshipers who waited for the procession to commemorate the saint's canonization. Confession seeks not only to denounce

8 MELÂNIA: Shut up ... Shut up, you bastards. Every lament you release will fill the belly of birds of prey. They get fat with your wounds. The air is plagued by her burps. (*Points to the air*) Smell! Smell! What a stink to dreams of the future!

A SICK WOMAN: Shut up, viper!

A SICK MAN: Let us mourn our pains!

MELÂNIA: There will be no future! The saint's teat is dry. For them, it is the end of the world. Oh, how everyone will laugh! How everyone will laugh! (*Opening her arms and showing off scoundrel*) Look at her! Check it out! A bitch from the docks.

The buzz that had been established among the Sick has increased.

ANOTHER SICK WOMAN: Blasphemous!

ANOTHER SICK MAN: Witch!

MELÂNIA: (*who persists pathetically in the exhibition*) A bitch! Your saint is a whore.

A CRIPPLE: (*standing on crutches and overcoming her voice over the racket*) Mates of misfortune! Let us tear the tongue out of this shrew.

ALL SICK PEOPLE: Yes, yes! Let us honor the saint's honor!

MELÂNIA: (*trying to stop the assault*) No! Do not deny me! I have the evidence in my body. (*Lifts her skirts, lowers the culottes and shows her buttocks.*) If you don't believe me, look at my ass ... (*With her buttocks in the air and slapping them*) Here ... here ... The brand all Sabiani have on the ass, the honorable family where I was born. (Translated by the author)

its sanctified version, but to all those who still take advantage of this lie. We can consider some reasons that explain the impotence of the character in the face of the impossibility of convincing others. First, there is the question of the apparent blindness of the faithful with regard to something that went against everything they believed in. We see that devotion is consolidated, after all, it was years influenced by the doctrine that was created around miracles. They are also represented comically with their lamentations and misfortunes, as if they were hoping that only their faith would save them from such a situation. To discredit the figure of Saint Melânia does not seem to be a valid option for them. Second, Melânia is no longer recognizable due to her age and life in the brothel. If the saint had been taken to heaven by an angel, in flesh and spirit, neither would it be plausible that she and Pupi were the same person, even with the birthmark common to all Sabiani.

She is accused of blasphemy and called a witch for defying the religious system that is more powerful than her. Based solely on the question of the faith and devotion of the characters in the scene, it seems almost impossible for the prostitute to convince anyone that her allegations are true. However, the validity of her speech is also called into question by the fact that the revelations come from a prostitute, Pupi, an excluded. Just as it has no place within the society that surrounds it, it would not have the power to have its speech recognized and validated, and thus any form of empowerment is forbidden, making it succumb to the hands of those who worship her double:

UMA ENFERMA: (*dominando o coro cerrado de imprecações*) Corre, corre, sangue sacrílego!...

MELÂNIA: (*voz entrecortada*) Loucos! Loucos! É o sangue de Melânia Sabiani... leite de todos os canalhas...

[...]

UM ENFERMO: (*sobrepondo-se ao praguejar surdos dos agressores*) Rebenta, rebenta, coração imundo!...

MELÂNIA (*voz mais entrecortada, tentando fugir em vão, à saraivada de agressões*): Juro!... Juro!... É o coração de Melânia Sabiani... covil de todos os escorpiões

[...]

OUTRO ENFERMO (*sobressaindo da toada de impropérios*) Estrebucha, estrebucha, carne pestilenta!...

MELÂNIA (*exangue*): Piedade!... Piedade!... É a carne... de Melânia... Sabiani... templo... de todos... os espectros...

Os Flagelantes tomam inteiramente conta dela e justigam-na com as disciplinas, deixando-a coberta de sangue enquanto gritam.

FLAGELANTES: Por nossos pecados!... Por nossos pecados!... Por nossos pecados!... Por nossos pecados!...

Ouve-se um hino entoado ao longe por muitas vozes. Ficam todos com os instrumentos de agressão suspensos no ar. Melânia cai por terra.

UMA ENFERMA: Glória, glória in excelsis!

O furor transforma-se em alegria. Baixam as muletas, as bengalas, etc.

UM ENFERMO: A procissão entrou em Gal!

OUTRO ENFERMO: Saudemos a imagem da santa!

OUTRA ENFERMA: Para festejar a sua canonização ela fará muitos milagres.

TODOS: Vamos!⁹ (CORREIA, 1983, p. 167 – 169)

Melânia is attacked in defense of the saint and as a way of immolating the sins of the faithful. The violence suffered by her is barbaric, there is no pity or compassion on the part of her aggressors who abandon their human side and surrender to the impulses caused by hatred of the prostitute. It is interesting to see how the author presents us with such a downgrade from those who should be more connected to such a strong religiosity. An extremely current action when compared to the increasingly aggressive speeches coming from groups strictly related to the most diverse religions. Both in Correia's play and in today's world, the Christian maxim of loving your neighbor as yourself seems forgotten or replaced. The same happens with Pupi, eliminated for having left the place designated as appropriate and having entered the path of other people's faith, breaking the standards established by society. Melânia Sabiani is, for the last time in the play, demoted, not only for being killed, but her body is portrayed in a degraded way. Her blood is sacrilegious, her heart unclean and her flesh pestilent; adjectives that reinforce the dishonored position before others and unworthy of clemency. In addition, the character herself associates as a source of food for scoundrels and a refuge for specters and scorpions. Her life, at that time and throughout the time she lived as a prostitute, is worth less than the image of wood carried in the procession, immortalized in false perfection (CORREIA, 1983, p. 164), but which will continue to serve as an example for the devotees.

Representing two sides of the same coin, the character is at the same time the idealized and condemned feminine, while being a saint, is a model for the faithful, as a prostitute, is abhorred. However, in none of these versions, Melânia has any chance of getting rid of the social

9 A SICK WOMAN: (*dominating the chorus of curses*) Run, run, sacrilegious blood! ...

MELÂNIA: (*broken voice*) Crazy! Crazy! It is the blood of Melânia Sabiani ... milk from all scoundrels ...

[...]

A SICK MAN: (*overlapping the cursing of the aggressors*) Burst, burst, filthy heart! ...

MELÂNIA (*more broken voice, trying in vain to escape the volley of aggressions*): I swear! ... I swear! ... It is the heart of Melânia Sabiani ... lair of all scorpions

[...]

ANOTHER SICK MAN (*standing out from the taunt of insults*) Suffer, suffer, pestilent meat! ...

MELÂNIA (*suffering*): Pity! ... Pity! ... It's the meat ... of Melânia ... Sabiani ... temple ... of all ... the specters ...
The Lashers take full care of her and punish her with disciplines, leaving her covered in blood while screaming.

LASHERS: For our sins! ... For our sins! ... For our sins! ... For our sins! ...

A hymn is sung in the distance by many voices. They all keep the instruments of aggression suspended in the air. Melânia falls to the ground.

A SICK WOMAN: Gloria, glory in excelsis!

Fury turns to joy. They lower their crutches, canes, etc.

A SICK MAN: The procession entered Gal!

ANOTHER SICK MAN: Let us salute the image of the saint!

ANOTHER SICK WOMAN: To celebrate her canonization she will perform many miracles.

ALL OF THEM: Let's all go! (CORREIA, 1983, p. 167 - 169)

bonds imposed on her and regulating her life. Melânia Sabiani may present several moments of satire against the religious order and the powers that control the life of the community, but the character turns out to be a caricature even in her few attempts at empowerment. When she tries to follow her feelings and challenge her parents for love, she ends up being trapped in a brothel as a punishment for her sins. In her life as a prostitute, she is exploited by everyone around her, losing her loved ones and any hope of dignity. Finally, when she reveals herself to the world as the real Melânia, she is killed by those who worshiped her under the sacred image.

Natália Correia creates in this character a mirror of a society in which the people, especially women, are subordinated to a system of power that has the capacity to shape it according to the interests of a ruling and discriminatory class. Men can govern and have momentary pleasures that are outside the prescribed norm. Women, on the other hand, have a life left in search of perfect sanctity, following the patriarchal ideal built with the intention of subjugating them, granting them the choice of roles that can be accepted by the group, such as that of an obedient woman, mother of a family or devotee of the Lord, as destined for withdrawal and vexation. In this Portuguese play, there is no happy ending for Melânia, whose figure is always at the service of the patriarchy.

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