

Arts, Linguistics, Literature and Language Research Journal

THE SPACE-TIME OF BRAZILIAN GRAMATIZATION: A DIALECTOLOGICAL AGENDA IN NATIONAL LINGUISTICS

Marcelo Rocha Barros Goncalves

PhD in Linguistics, associate professor
at UFMS and postdoctoral student in
Linguistics at UFSCar

Universidade Federal do Mato Grosso do Sul
(UFMS)

All content in this magazine is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution License. Attribution-Non-Commercial-Non-Derivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0).



Abstract: This work proposes the discussion of the theme of *spatiality* in Brazilian Linguistics and its functioning in the relation language/subject/state in a period that goes from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. We work within a discursive perspective, as Orlandi (2001) says, using Auroux's (2009) considerations on the grammatization process and on the technological instruments of this process, such as dictionaries and grammars. We try to investigate how these linguistic technologies produce discourses in a given Brazilian space-time, and how these discourses are related to the constitution of the Portuguese language. Within a language policy at the end of the 19th century, it is from this discourse on Brazilian spatiality that we can think of a series of practices that will distance the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil from that of Portugal, and, later, try to confirm the unity of a national language. Contradictorily, it is from this same imaginary unit that questions about the concrete diversity of the language spoken in the national territory will arise and gain strength. From our perspective, we perceive the construction and functioning of a dialectological agenda that will permeate Language Studies in Brazil.

Keywords: History of Linguistic Ideas; Brazilian grammar; National Linguistics; Dialectology.

INTRODUCTION

This work, in the area of the History of Linguistic Ideas, proposes the discussion of the theme of spatiality in Brazilian Linguistics and its functioning in the relation language/subject/state in a period that goes from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. Secondly, we present a proposal for the periodization of the constitution of the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil, to reflect, based on this proposal, the permanence

of a dialectological agenda in linguistic studies. We do not take the term spatiality exactly from the perspective of "decoloniality" proposed by Mignolo (2003, p. 46) and "language as local practice" by Pennycook (2010, p. 135).

Anyway, Castanheira (2017, p. 83) presents a very interesting proposal when he analyzes the "political implications of the treatment of spatialities in linguistics", in the relationship between linguistic practices and spatialities. We work here within a discursive perspective, or as Orlandi (2001, p. 27) says, one that considers language in its history and functioning:

In theoretical terms, the contribution of such a perspective is not small when we think that the very way of looking at the constitution of the national language, of conceiving it in its historicity, produces a way of inscribing ourselves, with our methods, in a specific domain of history of the sciences. [...] We are not there, therefore, in the domain of a positivist but historical epistemology, that is, in which there is no separation and hierarchy between subject-object, data-construct, interior-exterior, abstract-concrete, and in the in which history is not evolution and continuity, but displacement and functioning (ORLANDI, 2001, p. 27).

We started our discussion using Auroux's (2009) considerations on the grammatization process and on the technological instruments of this process, such as dictionaries and grammars. We try to investigate how these linguistic technologies produce discourses in a given space-time, and how these discourses are related to the constitution of a given language, in this case Brazilian Portuguese.

Two sensitive complements to the research initiated by Auroux (2009) can be carried out in the face of the Brazilian reality itself: on the one hand, reviewing the place of the constitution of a national language and its subjects now in an environment of colonization, and on the other hand, adding to the analyzes the so-called new reading practices proposed by

French discourse analysis and which work in a characteristic way with the construction of archives, that is, the reading of history, its interpretation.

We observed for the construction of the archive ¹of this work, initially guided by the process of Brazilian grammaticalization at the end of the 19th century, that there were a series of texts in which the issue of Brazilian spatiality was placed, directly or indirectly, and that this produced effects not only for certain disciplines of language studies, such as lexicography, philology and dialectology, but for Brazilian Linguistics in general, thought within the theoretical environment of a History of Linguistic Ideas in Brazil.

How then account, in a relatively long period of time, of texts that are at the same time so disparate and so close?

Said's works (2007 and 2011) on the issue of the Orient in Orientalism and in the book *Cultura e Imperialismo* were inspiring for the development of this research. In the first Mainly, Said will take, among others, the definition of the Orient as a discourse, in direct reference to Foucault's archeology (2004). Says Said (2007) in the preface to the 2003 edition:

My argument is that, without examining Orientalism as a discourse, one cannot understand the extremely systematic discipline through which European culture was able to manage – and even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively. during the post-Enlightenment period. Furthermore, Orientalism had a position of such strength that no one writing, thinking or acting about the Orient could do so without taking into account the limitations on thought and

action imposed by it (SAID, 2007, p. 29-30).

The first step was to take the issue of Brazilian spatiality as a discourse as well, and, as such, it was necessary to contextualize it historically, politically. It was necessary to understand its operation within the relationship language/subject/state in a specific situation of the national territory and think about it from its own conditions of production ².

We say politically because from the historical point of view we have established, we are interested in relating the constitution of this discourse on Brazilian spatiality to the construction projects of the Brazilian nation and the national language, strengthened at the end of the 19th century with the proclamation of the Republic. Ultimately, we would like to understand how this discourse works within a language policy, within a Brazilian language policy.

Within a language policy, it is from this discourse on Brazilian spatiality that we can think of a series of practices ³that will distance the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil from that of Portugal, and, later, try to confirm the unity of a national language. Contradictorily, it is from this same imaginary unit that questions about the concrete diversity of the language spoken in the national territory will arise and gain strength and shape the national linguistics.

Our route will take then, initially, with the discussion about the grammatization process, its adequacy to the Brazilian space-time and its effects for the development of Linguistics in Brazil.

1 We think here like Mazière (2007, pg. 96): "The adoption of the "thematic path" allows, at the same time, nesting the content in a theme and analyzing it linguistically, through the heterogeneity of genres, in an open corpus. Correlatively, one can develop the notion of "archive" as a corpus of AD".

2 See Pêcheux (1990).

3 Let's think of these practices not only from Foucault's definition of discursive practices (See Foucault, 2004), but also as a set of procedures that lead to the production of linguistic instruments, such as grammars and dictionaries.

THE GRAMMATIZATION PROCESS

Auroux's (2009) critique, there is a serious problem in the traditional way of doing the History of Linguistics: that of considering Linguistics as a form of knowledge whose organization and whose formal properties would be stable. The constitution of linguistic knowledge is daily, dynamic and, as all knowledge is a historical reality, it is more important to understand the relationships of this knowledge with its temporal thickness, its horizon of retrospection and its horizon of projection than to organize it in the "ideal timelessness" of the logical order of unfurling the true" (AUROUX, 2009, p.12).

Auroux (2009) poses the question of the constitution of linguistic knowledge in other terms. In *The Technological Revolution of Grammatization*, two theses allow us to revisit the History of Linguistics from another point of view:

(i) contrary to what historians, linguists and philosophers often imagine about the birth of language sciences, Auroux (2009) places writing as a means and not a product of language sciences;

(ii) "the European Renaissance is the turning point of a process that leads to the production of dictionaries and grammars of all languages in the world (and not just European vernaculars) based on the Greco-Latin tradition" (AUROUX, 2009, p. 8).

The overview presented by Auroux (2009) for the constitution of language sciences is somehow related to the mode of constitution of metalinguistic knowledge, in its relationship of continuity with the epilinguistic sphere. The breaking moments of this continuity (the revolutions) include the advent of writing in 3000 BC. C. and the massive grammatization of the 20th century. V d. C. until the end of the 19th century. Thus, writing would be the technology of the 1st technical-linguistic

revolution, while dictionaries and grammars would be the technologies of the 2nd technical-linguistic revolution.

I echo the words of Auroux (2009, p.76), when he defines the phenomenon of grammatization:

Grammatization must begin with the appearance of the first metalinguistic knowledge of a given language (for example, when words or expressions begin to be quoted in a text of another language). It is, however, necessary that this appearance be the first significant margin of a series that extends without much continuity until the writing of grammars and dictionaries [...]. As a matter of fact, the grammatization process never ends, because, on the one hand, languages evolve, and, on the other hand, it is difficult to define how far the grammatization process can take, the length of which has been very variable according to the languages. We can, however, agree on what it means for a language to "be grammatized". It is when we can speak it (or read it), in other words, learn it (in a sufficiently restricted sense), with the help of only the linguistic instruments available (AUROUX, 2009, p.76).

Finally, a small note: the linguistic instruments, in addition to dictionaries and grammar books, that is to say, can also be written in other genres, in the form of science magazines, manuals, etc..., or even as unpublished works. academics (here especially those of a descriptivist nature of the variety spoken in Brazil), provided that the metalinguistic question is posed, that is, knowledge about a given language in contrast to another appears in a series, in a specific space-time.

THE BRAZILIAN GRAMMAR

Grammatization process took different forms, in view of the national linguistic reality itself. The study initiated by Eni Orlandi in partnership with the Paris VII Group on the corpus of Brazil made it possible, mainly for

researchers of the History of Linguistic Ideas in Brazil, to resume the grammatization process due to the complexity in which it was shown in another space that not the European context. As much as the Portuguese language was introduced in Brazil from 1500 with the beginning of colonization, what was rightly accepted to be called Brazilian grammar represents much more the national reality than a mere extension of the Portuguese language in colonized soil.

The first difficulty posed to the researcher is that of getting the balance between the grammatization process in the European context and in the Brazilian context. In Brazil, the colonizing language comes into contact with different languages – indigenous, African, etc., and at different times. We remember with Orlandi (2001) that, unlike European nations, the creation of a state (we dare say nation) independent of Portugal, in Brazil, happened centuries after the Portuguese language had already been introduced by the Portuguese colonizers.

For the process of Brazilian grammar, one must take into account the work of the Jesuits with the Indians, the arrival of blacks to work in gold and coffee, the use of the general language by the bandeirantes, etc. More than that, in this extensive temporal thickness, discussions around the Brazilian national language will also be relevant when the language/state/nation relationship is put in check by Independence. Even though the process of legitimizing Portuguese began much earlier (think of Pombal's language policy), Independence, and later the Proclamation of the Republic, shifted the representation of the national language as such: language of what nation, what language?

Conceiving the Portuguese language as a split between the Portuguese of Portugal and the Portuguese of Brazil is to allow analyzing no longer the relationship between a source

language and a target language, but its own internal relations of regularity and diversity that constitute a distinct space-time, as different hyperlanguages. In the words of Orlandi (2001, p.13):

[...] Since the end of the century. XVI, the language spoken in Brazil is no longer the same as spoken in Portugal. From the life and practices of the subjects who were here, Brazilian society was progressively formed. But the legitimacy of this society with its own institutions, its knowledge, its linguistic practices, its political power is a particular elaboration of the 19th century. With Independence, in 1822, the Brazilian State was constituted as such and the issue of the National Language was raised. Until then, although concrete variations already existed, politically this difference was not given visibility. With the independence and institutionalization of Brazilian society, the question of the National Language is presented in a determined way: Language and State must combine in its foundation (ORLANDI, 2001, p.13).

For Orlandi (2001), the second half of the 20th century XIX is the starting point of Brazilian grammar. In the author's view, Brazil's political independence replaces the discussion about the relationship between languages in a new space-time. Unlike the colonial past, when there was a predominance of other languages, or when the language spoken in the Brazilian linguistic space was referred to the representation of the State, it is only from the 19th century onwards that XIX that the Portuguese language becomes a "sign of nationality", according to Orlandi (2001, p.24).

During this period, intense work was carried out to build the institutional apparatus that made it possible to treat the grammatization process in a different way, thinking about the education of Brazilians. Scientific technologies and institutions, which represent for Orlandi (2001) a new instrumentation,

result in a different way of positioning oneself in relation to the issue of the language spoken in Brazil, now distinct from that of Portugal. The change in grammatical tradition that took place during this period still has in Brazil the particular aspect of promoting issues related to the teaching of Portuguese in Brazil.

In Rio de Janeiro, at that time the country's capital, Fausto Barreto from Colégio Pedro II received a request from the Director General of Public Instruction, Emídio Vitério, to organize the Portuguese Program for Preparatory Exams ⁴. For this request, the Brazilian response was to produce a series of linguistic instruments aimed at this program (more specifically grammars)⁵. What many of these grammars did in addition to respecting the program's instructions was to say that they broke with the Portuguese tradition of philosophical grammar. Orlandi (2001, p. 36) takes as an example, among others, the grammars of Júlio Ribeiro and João Ribeiro, from 1887 and 1881:

Indeed, it is through the school, through debates, manuals, publications in general that this relationship between science and language and the formation of the Nation will be formulated. Politics will intervene with the Proclamation of the Republic in Brazil. Specifically with regard to their language, being an author of grammar means having a responsibility as a man of science and having a position of authority in relation to the uniqueness of Brazilian Portuguese (ORLANDI, 2001, p. 36).

Much later, already in 1959, the Brazilian Grammatical Nomenclature (NGB) was established by a decree of the Ministry of Education and Culture and made mandatory (official) for teaching in Brazil a (fixed) nomenclature of grammatical facts. We consider the NGB a decisive factor in the

process of constitution of the national language "that puts an end to the process of Brazilian grammaticalization.

THE IDEA OF AGENDA

We borrow the term agenda from Toulmin (1992) to better characterize this discourse and its practices, its permanence in a History of Linguistic Ideas on Brazilian spatiality. In the original proposal, the term is used to address together the characteristics of modern thought, and allows you to establish two distinct currents of modernity. A scientific current, best represented in the figure of the French philosopher René Descartes and another of a more humanistic character, moved by the ideals of the European Renaissance, represented by Montesquieu.

Unlike Toulmin (1992), we do not consider this agenda as something that is hidden ⁷or something that is to be discovered. Our proposal aims to deprive a mere content analysis of the matter and intends to make possible the analysis of the archive, organizing it according to the set of procedures and linguistic instruments created for the interpretation of spatiality in the national territory – therefore a dialectological agenda.

As in Foucault's archeology (2005, vol. II, pg. 146), we were not interested in studying "the beginning in the sense of the first origin" nor "the secret [...] relations, more silent or deeper than the man's conscience". What we try to do is "define relationships that are on the very surface of discourses, [...] make visible what is only invisible because it is very much on the surface of things".

Discourse is problematized in relation to the field of discursive events and is, therefore, within a determinable domain on the very surface of its manifestation, in the very event

⁴ The exams functioned as a criterion for admission to university courses.

⁵ The ordinance is dated April 5, 1887. See Maciel (1928), p. 502.

⁶ On the NGB, see Baldini (1999).

⁷ In the original, the subtitle is "The *hidden* agenda of modernity" - emphasis added (Cf. TOULMIN, 1992).

that makes it manifest discourse. Therefore, the descriptive study of these manifest discourses, in their domains imposed by the enunciative fields themselves, fields of knowledge, is not enough, but it is also productive to understand the relations between these discourses and their fields, their rules of coexistence.

Foucault (2005) warns of some of the reasons that led him to adopt the idea that certain statements, based on the study of their relationships, could form a set – sometimes because they referred to a certain object, sometimes because of the type of statement used, sometimes because of the existence of a series of permanent and mutually coherent concepts, sometimes, finally, in the extreme, because of the formation of a set of very dispersed and quite heterogeneous notions.

This way, Foucault (2005, vol. II, p.105) explains that:

[what] makes it possible to individualize a discourse is to attribute an independent existence to it, it is the system of points of choice that it leaves free from a field of given objects, from a determined enunciative range, from a series of concepts defined in their content and use (FOUCAULT, 2005, vol. II, p.105).

For us, therefore, the agenda is at the same time discourse, but also a set of practices, including methodological (and why not epistemological) practices that will permeate language studies in Brazil.

EFFECTS OF BRAZILIAN GRAMMARIZATION

Within this context of Brazilian grammaticalization, we start from the hypothesis that it is possible to think about the constitution of a linguistic agenda for Brazilian spatiality from the last quarter of

the 19th century onwards. We admit, first, a series of coincidences between the process of grammatization in the Renaissance in Europe and in Brazil, either in the conservation and accumulation of an elementary empirical knowledge, or in the opposition between a language I in relation to a language II in grammatization.

It will be possible to detect, in the Brazilian case as well, examples of the use of the same methodology of comparison between languages, as in the case of Garcia (1920)⁸ with the analysis of interlinear translation between Portuguese, French and Tupi, similar to what happened with Tamil, Chinese, Finnish to name a few of Auroux's examples (2009, p.82-84).

The Brazilian linguistic space⁹ would thus be redefined, resumed from the effects of the grammatization process of the Brazilian "language" by the Portuguese of the "new" Brazil. Recognizing, in the case of a colonized country, that it has an external and internal sphere in relation to its own linguistic constitution is, finally, to recognize itself as a linguistic entity. The difference of the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil was recognized, although, not at the same pace, descriptions of the diversity of the language spoken in the national territory began. As Orlandi (2001, p.35) sees:

Grammarization in a colonized country works along a double axis: that of universalization, that of displacement. Having a grammar, under these conditions, means having the right to universality, having the right to the (imaginary) unity that constitutes every identity. On the other hand, to speak of "various uses" is to defend an "other" language. Indeed, once the right to unity has been conquered, one immediately begins to recognize the varieties: the influence of the language of

8 We are referring to the publication of the text *Phrases e Discursos tupis* by Rodolfo Garcia, in n.5 of 1920 of "Revista de Língua Portuguesa" directed by Laudelino Freire. See Freire (1919).

9 See Guimarães' (2007) hypothesis on how languages function in the Brazilian linguistic space (of enunciation): mother tongue/ alien/French x national/official/foreign (See ORLANDI, 2007b).

the Indians, African languages, etc. This recognition is part of the constitution of the unity of Brazilian Portuguese (ORLANDI, 2001, p.35).

There is, however, a small problem in accepting without restriction, as a direct effect of grammaticalization, the contrastive work between the languages involved. Perhaps, the peculiarity of the grammaticalization process in Brazil is that it has sometimes taken place on the basis of the same language. We can think, for example, of one of the characteristics (more or less general) of the process of having a grammar: the translation between languages in Brazil done as a list of words occurred within Portuguese itself.

In Brazilian space-time, unlike European, Portuguese had become the language of the state, first of the monarchy (say Portuguese), and then of the republic, during the period of grammaticalization... But a Brazilian Portuguese (different from of Portugal) which took the position of language of state, language of nation and language of literature, etc... still in the second half of the 19th century. Thus, for Orlandi (2007a) and Aurox (2009) the endogenous grammaticalization of the Brazilian language will interfere in the language/state/nation relationship.

You can see that, in Brazil at that time, thinking about the constitution of an agenda, which has as its object/purpose the construction of a contrastive grammar is to point to the external and internal diversity of the Portuguese language itself. To constitute, therefore, a contrastive grammar of the Portuguese language would be to understand the very reality of the language spoken in Brazil in relation to the Portuguese language of Portugal.

Supported by a new theoretical and philosophical orientation, this constraining

grammar will have the primary purpose of describing the Brazilian linguistic diversity in dialects, transforming Brazilian scholars into true ¹⁰field linguists. It will not be difficult to argue that, years later, the notes by Nascentes (1922) in *Linguajar Carioca* and those by Amaral (1920) in *Dialeto Caipira* will be true contrastive grammars of the Portuguese language of Brazil, subsidies for the first dialectological grammars of the 1930s in against.

This dialectological mentality of the agenda will remain in language studies, not as a “trend” or a mainstream, but as a strand, a kind of linguistic discipline for the description of varieties. A series of subsequent works will be developed already in the 20th century on this basis, such as those from *Geografia Linguística* by Silva Neto (1955) – or even Cândido Jucá (Filho) still in the 1930s and 1940s – to the works by *Atlas Linguístico do Brasil* in the 1960s and its development in regional atlases years later.

If, however, the Brazilian spatiality was analyzed from the perspective of a dialectological agenda, it is with the advent of Sociolinguistics that it starts to be understood in relation to the phenomena of variation and change, related in a certain way to the dialectal differences concerning the language spoken in Brazil. In any case, even understanding that a restructuring of the approach to Brazilian spatiality takes place from the 1960s onwards, and that this was necessary for the very constitution of Brazilian Sociolinguistics, within a general framework of a History of Linguistic Ideas in Brazil, the theme of spatiality in the language sciences seems to remain. Today, for example, there is talk of Geosociolinguistics and pluridimensional approaches.

10 Perhaps it is the case here to allow the History of Linguistic Ideas to open a dialogue with a new area of studies in Linguistics that is gradually being consolidated in Brazil, namely Popular Linguistics. For a better definition see Achard-Bayle; Paveau (2019). For an analysis from this perspective and its relations with Discourse Analysis, see Baronas; Conti (2019).

SPACE-TIME IN BRAZILIAN LINGUISTICS

In order to establish a time frame on studies related to Brazilian spatiality, we initially opted for our work, which reconsiders a series of other proposals for the Portuguese language in Brazil¹¹, considering the following production conditions:

a) It is from the end of the 19th century that the first Brazilian technologies appear in our linguistic production, as a result of the grammatization process. It is also within this initial period (which goes until the publication of *Dialeto Caipira* and *Linguajar Carioca*) that, sometimes through the vehicle of Philology, discussions about linguistic diversity in Brazil are set.

Figure 1

We emphasize that studies in Philology in Brazil, initiated in Portugal by J. Leite Vasconcelos (1901), lasted in Brazil for decades. Just remember that in the 40s of the century. In the 20th century, a study commission in Philology was created, of which some members participated in the episode of the naming of the national language. There are two emblematic administrative acts for philological studies in Brazil, related to the philological commission: the constitution of 1946 and Decree 30.643, of March 20, 1952, “which, by defining the purposes of the Philological Commission of the House of Rui Barbosa, which had just been created, the main one was the elaboration of the linguistic atlas of Brazil” (CARDOSO, 1999, p. 239).

b) Pinto (1978), for example, considers that the option for the dialectological approach to the detriment of the philological one (common even in topical works) occurs in the period 1920-1945. In this period, dialectology

and linguistic geography began to figure in the Brazilian linguistic scenario: sometimes just as a vocabulary specific to research areas, sometimes as integral parts of some Brazilian academic productions¹². During this period, there was also a tendency towards a descriptivist orientation of phenomena.

Figure 2

c) From 1950 onwards, the discussion on Brazilian linguistic diversity, taken from dialectological bases, shifted somewhat from grammar to the making of atlases in Brazil. The linguistic atlases, materialized years later, started to map the Brazilian linguistic diversity. The first discussions and the first realizations for the national linguistic atlas and the regional linguistic atlas will be relevant for us. In this period, parallel to this displacement, we see a possible methodological reorientation (a new instrumentation) expressed in the passage from a traditional dialectology to a modern one.

Figure 3

We thus establish within the distinct phases of this timeline a more or less regular agenda, aimed at describing the diversity of the Portuguese language spoken in Brazil. Our considerations will take, firstly, two distinct moments of this agenda of spatiality: an initial phase, of construction, that goes until the publication of the texts of Amaral (1920) and Nascentes (1922); and another operating phase, which extends to work on the Linguistic Atlas of Brazil. In this second phase, especially if we think about the theoretical and methodological contribution implemented, we also realize that there is a notable difference between the works on Brazilian spatiality up to the 1950s and those published later. We will say that, from Serafim (1955), the agenda

11 We refer to the works of Mattoso Câmara Jr. in *Brazilian Portuguese Studies* (see MATTOSO CÂMARA JR., 2004) and by Carlota Ferreira and Suzana Cardoso in *Dialectology in Brazil* (see FERREIRA, C.; CARDOSO, S. 1994). See also Brandão (1991) and Silva (2004).

12 For example, in Renato Mendonça's *O Português do Brasil*, 1936 and in Candido Jucá Filho's 1945 *Historical Grammar of Contemporary Portuguese*. See Mendonça (1936) and Jucá Filho (1945) respectively.

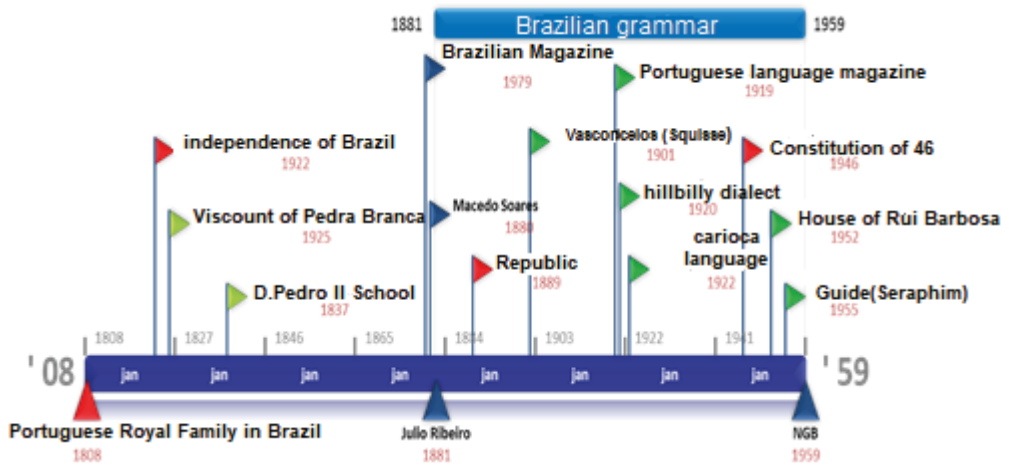


Figure 1: The Brazilian Grammatization.

Source: Gonçalves (2012, p. 16).

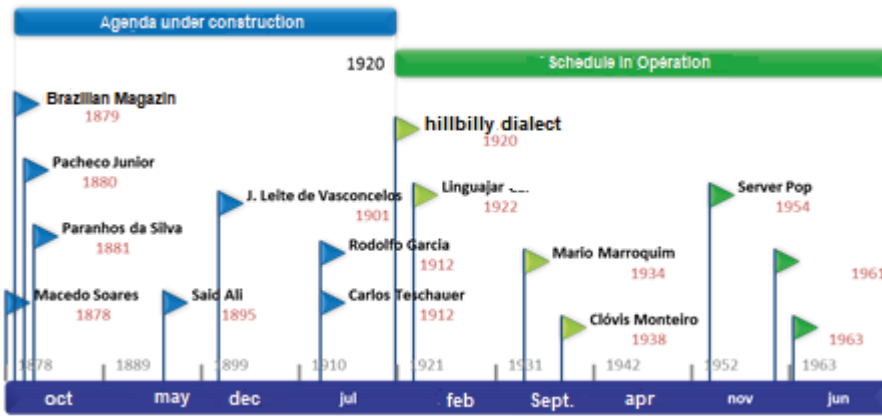


Figure 2: Agenda under construction and functioning.

Source: Gonçalves (2012), p. 17.

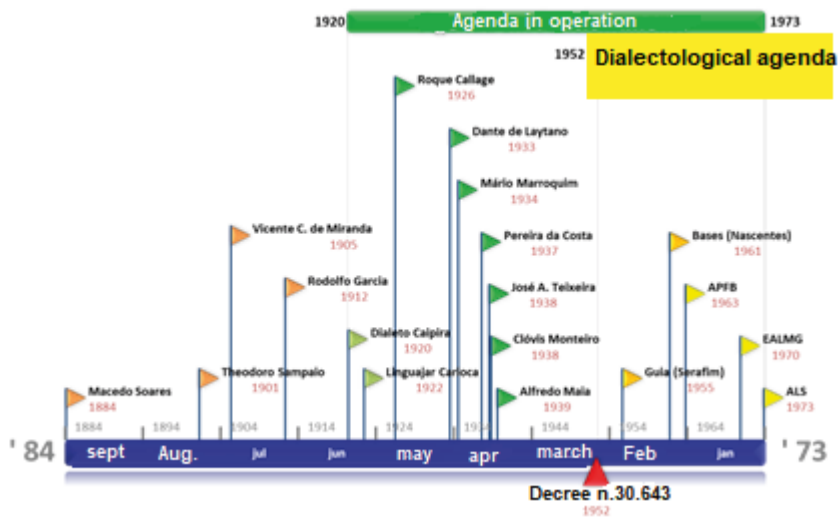


Figure 3: The Dialectological Agenda.

Source: Gonçalves (2012, p.18).

becomes strictly dialectological.

THE QUESTION OF TIME

In this research, we cover almost one hundred years of the issue of Brazilian spatiality in language studies in Brazil. Although our main objective was not to simply and categorically present a periodization of the functioning of the spatiality agenda, the task helped us to better organize our archive in this almost a century of investigation into Brazilian diversity. It was by taking spatiality as a discourse, investigating its production conditions and its permanence and influence over the years, that we were allowed to analyze some academic productions together.

Without letting go of the historical events that were involved in the perception of the Brazilian linguistic reality (its diversity and its distribution throughout the national territory), we chose to define distinct phases of the permanence of this agenda based on the characteristics that were more or less common to the texts and recurrent in them. It is clear that, at the edges, at the limits of these phases, the difficulty of separation increased.

We are certain that the Brazilian grammar that began at the end of the 19th century establishes a productive starting point, insofar as it raises the issue of Brazilian diversity in academic productions based on the opposition between the language spoken in Brazil and in Portugal. It is in this initial period, strongly influenced by the political events that affected Brazil, as is the case with the proclamation of the Republic, that the discussion about what language do we speak? (a Brazilian dialect or the Portuguese language?) will take shape through the differences presented by¹³ national authors between the language spoken here and on the other side of the Atlantic.

In this period, for example, the first spatial

13 Perhaps it is a case of thinking here, à la Maingueneau (2010), of “author” (pg.30) and his “image of...” (p.142): “[...] for an individual to be fully an “author”, it is necessary that third parties establish him as such, by producing statements about him and his work, in short, giving him an “author image”” (the quotation marks are from Maingueneau himself).

distributions of the language spoken in the national territory appear with the works published in the *Revista Brasileira* from 1879 to 1899, in the texts of the Portuguese philologist José Leite de Vasconcelos (See VASCONCELOS, 1901) already at the turn of the 19th century for the 20th century and later with the works published in “*Revista de Língua Portuguesa*” by Laudelino Freire from 1919 to 1924. Of course, if interpreted separately, these productions demonstrate different positions in relation to Brazilian linguistic diversity, but if analyzed together, denote that interpretations of this diversity were almost always based on the difference between Portuguese in Brazil and Portugal.

THE ISSUE OF SPACE

From the point of view of the distribution of Brazilian Portuguese, the topical works of Amadeu Amaral in 1920 and Antenor Nascentes in 1922 are perhaps in fact very different from the works of the turn of the 19th/20th century. But it is not just the dialectological character of the works that allows us to separate them from the others, because if the criterion for establishing this phase were solely and exclusively the issue of method, we would probably be talking about a much larger set of texts. In the first phase, the opposition between the Brazilian dialect and the Portuguese language produces effects that lead to the separation of the two languages on different continents and, at the same time, direct language studies in Brazil towards the establishment of a standard norm (a national language).

The practices arising from this position-taking in relation to the national language have distinct characteristics, and perhaps even produce different linguistic instruments such as school grammars on the one hand and

monographs of regional speeches on the other. The practices are in fact distinct, as they are affected by different production conditions.

Perhaps a meticulous (more meticulous) study of Brazilian grammars (and a large number of academic productions would be part of this package even without the specific name of *grammar*), would allow, in view of the issues involving the teaching of the Portuguese language, to initially separate them into two large groups. On the one hand, schoolchildren, tied to the teaching and maintenance of the written vernacular and, on the other hand, the general (scientific) ones, in which the presence of the study of regional speeches revealed itself more intensely.

for ¹⁴example, of the introduction of a specific, scientific jargon, from a specific field of Linguistics, in some academic productions of the 1930s and 1940s. from 1946, when he introduces the jargon of dialectology and linguistic geography. We think it is enough to point out here that the discourse of spatiality continues to be reaffirmed even within a certain stability of linguistic instruments, even after a few decades.

On another front, we try to relate, as far as possible, the changes that occurred in the 1950s and 1960s in the theoretical-methodological apparatus for the description of Brazilian diversity, with the displacement of the place of production of this linguistic knowledge. We cannot therefore think of this linguistic knowledge as the same, especially if we manage to inscribe it in the very constitution of modern linguistics in Brazil.

The conditions that allow for the production of a discourse on Brazilian spatiality from the 1950s onwards are different and are clearly determined by the production of this knowledge in higher education. In a certain sense, Serafim's (1955) investments in the field of dialectology and linguistic

14 Lexicon of Brazilian Grammatical Nomenclature. See Nascentes (1946).

15 See Brandão (1991) on regional atlases published in Brazil during this period.

geography actually refer this knowledge to the scientific investigation of spatiality, to a technical improvement, which allows him to make a cut in the academic productions of the area, producing a past to discipline in Brazil, a previous moment that must be overcome and renewed.

But this effect for us creates a gap in the history of dialectological mentality. If we were to think from the regional atlases, and not the national one, we would identify that there would be only a very small number of regional atlases published, at least until the 1970s ¹⁵. In the words of Cardoso (1999):

Returning to the idea of a linguistic atlas of Brazil, launched in 1952, researchers in the area of Dialectology met in Salvador, Bahia, in November 1996, at the Caminhos e Perspectivas para a Geolinguística no Brasil Seminar and took on this challenge. During these three days of discussion, in which themes related to a geolinguistic policy for Brazil and methodological issues in general were addressed, it was also agreed to create a National Committee which, from that moment on, would be in charge of giving course to the decisions of the meeting, and implement the national project for the execution of the linguistic atlas of Brazil[...] (CARDOSO, 1999, p. 248).

This gap is perhaps caused by the interference and assumption of another linguistic research paradigm from the 1960s onwards. In a very superficial way, we can say that the constitution of modern linguistic science in Brazil has more or less defined its inauguration with structuralist linguistics by Mattoso Camara Jr. in the 1950s. According to Guimarães (2004, p.33):

In Rio de Janeiro, if there is a permanence of historical studies in the Literature Course at the University of Brazil [...], there is also the configuration of the beginning of modern linguistics in Brazil (specifically structuralism) through the work of Mattoso

Modern linguistics in Brazil is later affected by the introduction of generative studies. Later, studies in Sociolinguistics in Brazil will also be part of these new approaches, which will deeply interfere in the analysis and description of Brazilian diversity, and, of course, in the work of dialectology and linguistic geography in the country.

CONCLUSION

Grammatization process and its effects in Brazilian space-time from the end of the 19th century to the middle of the 20th century. When we analyze what Brazilian grammatization would be, we perceive, on the one hand, the particularity that in Brazil the process took place on the basis of the same language and, on the other hand, that linguistic instruments (or technologies) themselves can be extended beyond grammars and dictionaries. We verified that a study agenda was constituted in Brazil in this period linked to the analysis of the national linguistic diversity. From there, we discuss a proposal for the periodization of linguistic studies in Brazil, with a view to the study of spatiality in national linguistics.

Periodization also allowed us to think about the limits and scope of our concept of the linguistic agenda of spatiality. The first problem resided, therefore, in the effects that Brazilian grammatization had on the permanence of this agenda in language studies in Brazil. We are convinced that we can safely relate the emergence of this discourse on spatiality to the very effects of grammatization in Brazil. In fact, we do not see at a great distance the possible relationships caused by the disjunction of the Portuguese language promoted by grammatization, and its direct effects on language studies, such as the description of the distinct forms in the phonetics, syntax and lexicon of the two languages at the end of the nineteenth century

until the consolidation of an official language in Brazil, distinct, therefore, from that of Portugal.

Grammatization ceased, or rather, its effects diminished in the 1940s with the events that promoted and legitimized the national language as an official language within a language policy. As questions about spatiality and linguistic diversity remained, we believe it is right to characterize, therefore, this detachment of the linguistic agenda from the grammatization process in Brazil as one of the hallmarks of this new period that will encompass academic productions mainly in the 1950s. function of grammatization, the agenda must be thus restructured.

As we did not want to make our periodization so complex, we marked this difference in the linguistic agenda of Brazilian spatiality by establishing distinct periods of construction and functioning. It is within this operating period that the agenda will become, for us, dialectological. Thus, we establish two periods, in three different phases: in construction, the establishment of the agenda of this linguistic agenda since the second half of the 19th century; and in operation, the practices that were involved in the description of Brazilian diversity until the 60's of the 20th century.

REFERENCES

- ACHARD-BAYLE, Guy; PAVEAU, Marie-Anne. **Linguística Popular – a linguística ‘fora do templo’**: Definição, Geografia e Dimensões. Fórum Linguístico. Vol. 16, N° 04, 2019, p. 4257-4270.
- AGUILERA, Vanderci. **Atlas Linguístico do Paraná (ALPr)**. Curitiba, PR: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1994.
- _____ (org.) **A Geolinguística no Brasil**. Londrina, PR: Editora UEL, 1998.
- AMARAL, Amadeu. **O Dialeto Caipira**. São Paulo, SP: Casa editora “O Livro”, 1920.
- AUROUX, Sylvain. **A Revolução Tecnológica da Gramatização**. Campinas, SP: Editora da Unicamp, 2009.
- BALDINI, Lauro. **A Nomenclatura Gramatical Brasileira Interpretada**. 1999. Dissertação (Mestre). Campinas, SP: Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem (IEL)/Unicamp, 1999.
- BARONAS, Roberto; CONTI, Tamires. **Notas sobre a Possibilidade de um Trabalho no Carrefour Epistemológico entre a Linguística Popular e os Estudos do Discurso**. Fórum Linguístico. Vol. 16, N° 04, 2019, p. 4285-4294.
- BRANDÃO, Silvia. **A Geografia Lingüística no Brasil**. São Paulo, SP: Ática, 1991.
- CARDOSO, Suzane. **A dialetologia no Brasil: perspectivas**. D.E.L.T.A., Vol. 15, N.º ESPECIAL, 1999, p. 233-255.
- CASTANHEIRA, Carla. **Práticas Linguísticas e Espacialidades: Um Retorno ao “Lugar”**. Revista Porto das Letras. Vol. 04, N° 01, 2018, p. 83-99.
- FERREIRA, Carlota; CARDOSO, Suzane. **A Dialetoлогия no Brasil**. São Paulo, SP: Contexto, 1994.
- FOUCAULT, Michel. **A arqueologia do Saber**. 7ª ed. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Forense Universitária, 2004.
- _____ **Arqueologia das Ciências e História dos Sistemas de Pensamento**; organização e seleção de textos: Manoel Barros da Motta; tradução: Elisa Monteiro. Série Ditos & Escritos. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Forense Universitária, 2005.
- FREIRE, Laudelino. **Revista da Língua Portuguesa – Archivo de estudos relativos ao idioma e literatura nacionais**. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Rohe, 1919-1924.
- GONÇALVES, Marcelo. **Teorias linguísticas da espacialidade: uma agenda dialetológica na gramatização do português do Brasil**. Tese de Doutorado. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Linguística, Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem (IEL), UNICAMP, Campinas, SP, 2012.
- GUIMARÃES, Eduardo. **História da Semântica**. Campinas, SP: Pontes, 2004.
- JUCÁ FILHO, Cândido. **Gramática Histórica do Português Contemporâneo**. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Epasa, 1945.
- MACIEL, Maximino. **Grammatica Descriptiva Baseada nas Doutrinas Modernas**. 11ª edição. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: F. Alves, 1928.
- MAINGUENEAU, Dominique. **Doze Conceitos em Análise d Discurso**; Organização Sírio Possenti, Maria Cecília Perez de Souza-e-Silva; Tradução Adail Sobral...[et al] – São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2010.
- MATTOSO CÂMARA JR, Joaquim. **História da Lingüística**. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Vozes, 1975.
- MAZIÈRE, Francine. **A Análise do Discurso: História e Práticas**; Tradução Marcos Marciolino – São Paulo: Parábola editorial, 2007.

MIGNOLO, Walter. **Histórias Locais, Projetos Globais**: colonialidade, saberes subalternos e pensamento liminar. Trad. Solange Ribeiro de Oliveira. Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2003.

NASCENTES, Antenor. **O Linguajar Carioca em 1922**. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: Sússekind de Mendonça & Comp., 1922.

_____. **Léxico de Nomenclatura Gramatical Brasileira**. Rio de Janeiro, RJ: CBAG, 1946.

ORLANDI, Eni. (org.) **História das Idéias Lingüísticas**: construção do saber metalingüístico e constituição da língua nacional. Campinas, SP: Pontes; Cáceres, MT: Unemat Editora, 2001.

_____. **Análise de Discurso**: Princípios e Procedimentos. Campinas, SP: Pontes Editores, 2007a.

_____. (org.) **Política Lingüística no Brasil**. Campinas, SP: Pontes Editores, 2007b.

PÊCHEUX, Michel; FUCHS, Catherine. **A propósito da Análise Automática do Discurso**. In : GADET, Françoise; HAK, Tony (org). Por uma análise automática do discurso. Campinas: Ed. Unicamp, 1990, p.163-252.

PENNYCOOK, Alistair. **Language as local practice**. New York: Routledge. 2010.

PINTO, Edith. **O Português do Brasil** – Vol. 1 e 2. São Paulo, SP: Edusp, 1978.

SAID, Edward. **Orientalismo**. São Paulo, SP: Cia das Letras, 2007.

_____. **Cultura e Imperialismo**. São Paulo, SP: Cia das Letras, 2011.

SILVA, Rosa. **Ensaio para uma socio-história do Português Brasileiro**. São Paulo, SP: Parábola, 2004.

SILVA NETO, Serafim. **Guia para Estudos Dialetoológicos**. Florianópolis, SC: Faculdade Catarinense de Filosofia, 1955.

TOULMIN, Stephen. **Cosmopolis**: the hidden agenda of modernity. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago, 1992.

VASCONCELOS, José Leite. **Esquisse D'une Dialectologie Portugaise**. Thèse pour le doctorat de L'université de Paris (Faculté des Lettres). Paris, França: 1901.