

Language Variation and Social Positioning at a Brazilian *terreiro*

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STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

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*To Divina, my mother,
for her strength,
and for all the love she gave.*

ABSTRACT

This study focuses on how language variation correlates with the social structure of a *terreiro*, the place for religious practices of *Candomblé*, an Afro-Brazilian religion. It sets out to examine the plural configuration of the noun phrase in Brazilian Portuguese in the speech of men who are followers of a religious community. The goal was to determine whether marked and unmarked plural forms of the noun phrase were indexical of social factors across participants. Data were collected through ethnographically-informed research during five months in Salvador, Brazil. The study involved participant-observation, field notes, and semi-structured interviews with 18 informants who were grouped by age (younger/older), schooling (higher/lower), sexuality (gay/straight), and role within the *terreiro* (*rodantes* if they can get into a trance and are inhabited by *orixás* – the gods in the religion, and *ogans* if they cannot). It looked at the extent to which plural marking in the noun phrase was constrained by different internal and social factors. Quantitative analyses have shown effects of internal constraints as independent fixed effects over the pluralisation or not of the noun phrase. They also shown interactions between social factors with effects over the pluralisation of the noun phrase. Qualitative analyses of the interviews have unravelled the reasons why the interactions take place the way they do. They also suggested that informants make use of certain mechanisms to take up positionings through metapragmatic evaluations that construct agentive indexicality in the shaping of selves, which helped uncover how the *terreiro* is organised. The work brings contributions to a better understanding of how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured in terms of social positionings, to *Candomblé* more specifically, as well as to sociolinguistics more broadly.

Keywords: Sociolinguistics, Noun Phrase, *Candomblé*, Age, Schooling, Role

PUBLICATIONS FROM THE THESIS

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1

INTRODUCTION

I was running late for the *Candomblé* ceremony. On the way to the *terreiro* (the place for *Candomblé* religious practices), I drove around the *Dique do Tororó*, a lake in Central Salvador, Brazil, surrounded by statues of *orixás* – the divinities worshipped in *Candomblé*. This is a very popular tourist destination in Salvador, and it is emblematic of the influence *Candomblé* has on the city. The ceremony was supposed to start at 7:30 pm. However, I was still driving around the *Dique do Tororó* then. By the time I finally arrived at the *terreiro*, it was already 7:40 pm. To my surprise (and utmost relief) the ceremony had not started yet. There were some delays, which I would eventually learn are considered normal within the community.

Upon arriving at the *terreiro*, a young man warmly waved at me. Due to my clear ‘I-am-late-and-this-is-not-good-for-my-research’ face, he surely understood that I was new to the place. He introduced himself as Selton de *Oxum* and said that he was a grandson of *Babá* (i.e., the leader of the *terreiro*). In *Candomblé* terms, this means that the *Babá* who initiated Selton was initiated by the *Babá* of the *terreiro* I was visiting. I assumed that was a good thing. However, this was apparently not the case, and Selton explained that his *Babá*, who was based in São Paulo, was angry and jealous that he was now part of a different *terreiro* in Salvador. Selton was curious about me, perhaps also slightly amused by the worried look on my face, and started enquiring about why I was there. I answered saying that I was there to carry out a study about *Candomblé* and, in particular, about what happens during open rituals with the final aim of writing a thesis. At first Selton did not seem too convinced by what I thought was a suitably vague, however, credible answer. He kept looking at me and I felt like I really needed to come up with a more descriptive reason for being there. I do not think I ever came up with a great answer for Selton during that exchange. I think that what Selton was trying to assess was whether I was telling the full truth as, as he once told me, “*Candomblé* is a religion of secrets and

gossip”, where not everything that was being said could be said regardless of how mundane a conversation may have been.

After my exchange with Selton, I was left with the feeling that I had somehow been uncovered in my attempt to only vaguely state that I was there to carry out linguistic research for my PhD. I then joined a congregation of about 50 people waiting for the ceremony to start. All visitors, including me, wore white outfits, as it is customary within *Candomblé*. Most attendees were black, and there were a lot of gay men, at least from my perspective. The gay men were gathered in small groups scattered around the big *terreiro* and talked loudly. I could hear portions of their conversations from the distance. For example, I overheard someone stating “She acts like *Oxum!*”, referring to another man in the group whose behaviour was being compared to *Oxum*, a feminine goddess in the religion. I found that remark somehow interesting and it made me think how such a comment could have never been made within other religions in which comparing a man’s behaviour to an important feminine figure would be considered sinful.

Whilst waiting for the *festa* to start I also noticed how most attendees entered the *terreiro* by foot, potentially suggesting that they took public transports to go there. That led me to think that *Candomblé* seemed to be intrinsically linked to the lower classes: having been born and raised in Brazil, I knew that having a car confers status, as public transportation is of low quality and is considered dangerous by the middle and upper middle classes. Interestingly, this also meant that most people arriving there were black, since white people normally own cars in Brazil in general and Salvador in particular. So there I was, in my badly disguised PhD student outfit, waiting for a ceremony that seemed attended mainly by gay, black, lower class people.

At 8:40 pm, finally, the *festa* started. Loud music with lyrics in Yoruba, and the beautiful and powerful beats of the *atabaques* (similar to tambours) filled the space. Inside the large room, there were countless women and effeminate men (the *rodantes*) dancing dramatically, spinning around, opening their arms and moving their bodies up and down, with their eyes closed, trembling: in a trance. Their beautiful and colourful clothes made the room almost spin with them. The attendees, in the meantime, were outside the crowded room, clapping and singing along. Many attendees were peeking through the windows to see the performance which was going on inside. The attendees were clearly impressed by the celebration, and I heard many commenting about how beautiful and well-organised it was. Interestingly, I noticed another group of male members of the place

(the *ogans*), men who were not in a trance and whose job seemed to be welcoming guests and making them comfortable during the ceremony. The *festa* lasted over 4 hours including a break of about 30 minutes and ended with a delicious dinner for everyone: typical food from the region was served with non-alcoholic drinks. The food smelled and tasted strong, very spicy, awesome! It was an amazing experience, as I was doing fieldwork.

This thesis sets out to investigate how a *Candomblé terreiro* is linguistically constructed. As it will be explained in more detail in Chapter 2, *Candomblé* is a religion which originated at the end of the 19th century among black slaves taken to Brazil from Africa. *Candomblé* is important to Brazil, as it has influenced Brazilian culture and society with music, entertainment and, even, commerce. However, being a follower of *Candomblé* carries a high price in Brazil due to stigma and prejudice linked to the non-Christian origin of the religion and its appeal mostly to non-white, poor and little educated people. In addition, *Candomblé* is widely permissive in terms of sexuality, which is in stark contrast with wider heteronormative society values, and this also brings stigma to its followers.

Much work has already been done on *Candomblé*. Anthropological studies are available about the practices of *Candomblé* followers at *terreiros* across Brazil (e.g. Fry 1995; Browning 1999; Van de Port 2005; Prandi 1998, 2000; Matory 2008; Rios 2011, 2012). These studies have suggested that there is a correlation between *role* and *sexuality* among men, but not among women. In *terreiros*, *rodantes* would be effeminate gay men, and *ogans* would be straight-acting straight men. This collinearity reported in the literature, and which I could surely see in action during the first *festa* I attended, drew my attention. Therefore, in this work I sought to understand the role of language in the construction of sexuality among men in a *terreiro*. Anthropologically, the correlation role-sexuality has been claimed to be very important, and it has unravelled criteria for roles to be assigned in *Candomblé*, possibly due to a belief that effeminate gay men fit best the role of *rodantes* because they subvert gender and sexuality social norms from heteronormative society and are more able to do the bodily performances required when in a trance (Birman 1991). Sociolinguistically, however, to my knowledge, we knew nothing about social positionings and how selves are constructed within the religion.

Linguistically, analysing how sexuality is constructed in a context that does not impose the constraints on sexuality one would normally encounter in wider society seemed important. Such analysis had, in my perspective, the potential to bring contributions to

previous anthropological studies, as that specific setting had not been yet investigated from a sociolinguistic perspective, which I found somehow surprising given the presence of *Candomblé* in the larger Brazilian culture and society.

The setting I had ahead of me also seemed promising to study the relationship between language and belonging. Not only for the correlation between role and sexuality, i.e. *rodantes* are gay, *ogans* are straight, but also because of the alleged freedom in terms of sexuality followers enjoy. It seemed important and intriguing to investigate how followers of the religion position themselves in terms of sexuality as it relates to the religion itself, considering moments of trance, roles assigned to followers at the *terreiro*, and the way they acted in their day-to-day practices. In other words, I wanted to analyse how they linguistically constructed a sense of belonging in the religion taking into account their sexualities.

Further, religions are often critical of multiple sexualities which do not conform to the ideal of the traditional family. In *Candomblé*, however, it appeared that effeminacy in men was not condemned, to the point that it even seemed desirable at times, especially during a trance, and same-sex partnership respected. In this sense, it seemed important to analyse the potential relationship between language and religion in a space which, at least on paper, one seemed freer to construct the selves they wanted.

In addition, I thought studying *Candomblé* would be relevant to identity studies by examining how men position themselves in a space where one is free to express multiple sexualities. It must be noted, however, that Salvador is city of contrasts where extreme wealth sits next to extreme poverty and sexual freedom (often in terms of sex workers) coexists with extreme sexual discrimination. Indeed, Salvador is one of the most heteronormative homophobic cities, with one of the highest numbers of homophobic murders in the country (Mott 2007). Therefore, looking at the tensions resulting out of the constraints imposed by the wider society that were at play in this free religious place seemed important. As will be detailed later, indeed, potential contrasts between the micro level (the *terreiro*) and the macro level (the city of Salvador) could be appreciated through the language used by people in the house.

Therefore, initially, this project set out to examine how sexuality was linguistically constructed among male followers of *Candomblé* at a *terreiro*. I visited several *terreiros* in Salvador before deciding on the one I present here and, luckily being granted permission from *Babá* to do my study. I carried out my ethnographic research over 5

months, between August and December 2019. During this time, I did participant observation, took field notes, and collected interviews and self-recordings. I became quite involved with the community. I went to the *terreiro* every day, I ate there, engaged in all sorts of activities, and taught them English. I nearly became “one of them” (Agar, 1980). It was a period of learning for me, in which I played the role of the researcher and that of the volunteer (see Chapter 4). Once I became ‘one of them’, I would sleep at the *terreiro* as well, in a similar fashion to that followed by Kulick (1998).

Identifying the linguistic variable to be studied resulted from the reading of previous literature on how speech is perceived and judged. Based on previous work on speech perception which showed that listeners perceive plural marking in the noun phrase as indexical of male gayness (Mendes 2011; 2016), I decided to look at this variable. Being at the *terreiro*, I quickly noticed that there was variation in this regard among followers, and therefore I decided that the plural configuration of the noun phrase would be my dependent variable in the study.

Being on site also made me appreciate the importance of other factors, both internal and external, which potentially had an effect on the plural configuration of the noun phrase at the *terreiro*. In addition, it also seemed that the marking or non-marking of the plural was one of the mechanisms used by speakers to position themselves within the place. In other words, the variation in the pluralisation in the noun phrase could potentially correlate with how the *terreiro* itself was sociolinguistically structured. By the end of fieldwork, I had recorded 18 informants. They were all men who visited the *terreiro* on a daily basis, many of them residing at the place, especially those who do not get into a trance.

1.1 Research questions

With the potential effects of other social factors apart from sexuality being considered in the study, the three research questions that guided the present study were:

- 1) Is there variation in the plural configuration of the noun phrase in the speech of my informants?
- 2) Does the plural configuration of the noun phrase vary across internal constraints and social factors? If so, which ones and how?
- 3) What does this variation tell us about the way the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured?

Situating the present study in the scope of Variationist Sociolinguistics and in the attempt to answer each or the research questions, the interviews were all transcribed and coded, and quantitative analyses were conducted on the plural noun phrases and how they are constrained by linguistic (internal) and social (external) factors. Further, qualitative analyses of the interviews and field notes were conducted with the aim of complementing the quantitative study, i.e. to further explain results of the quantitative analyses.

1.2 Structure of the thesis

This thesis comprises 8 chapters. Chapter 2 is an anthropological review on *Candomblé*. It opens with a broad description of how *Candomblé* has crossed religious boundaries and influenced Brazilian society with regards to music, entertainment and commerce, in a clear uptake of themes and beats from the religion for consumerism. At the same time, it is emphasised that *Candomblé* enjoys prestige only in these settings, as followers are a target of religious prejudice when what is at stake is serious religiousness. The chapter then turns to a historical account of the origins of the religion, showing: (i) how it arose out of syncretism (fusion of religions) with Roman Catholicism at the end of the 19th century, when there was still slave trade; (ii) moving to a second phase in which it contributed to the rise of *Umbanda* (another Afro-Brazilian religion); (iii) and a third phase called *Africanisation*, with a move to de-syncretisation and valuing of things from Africa, making *Candomblé* an open-to-all religion, not only black people. The chapter concludes with an explanation of how gender and sexuality are understood and experienced by the religion. This chapter is only based on anthropological work, as no linguistic work has, at least to my knowledge, examined language in *Candomblé*.

Chapter 3 is divided into two parts. First, it locates the present study within the scope of Variationist Sociolinguistics, giving an account on how this field of research arose and how it has evolved. Thereafter, theorisations of *indexicality*, *language ideologies*, *identity* and *language as practice* are reviewed. The second part of Chapter 3 deals with the dependent variable of this study, which is the plural configuration of the noun phrase. In this part, I review previous work that has dealt with internal factors constraining plural marking and described each of them. This is followed by a review of the literature on social factors that constrain the pluralisation of the noun phrase. Please note that the pluralisation of the noun phrase is one of the most widely studied phenomena in Brazilian

sociolinguistics. Therefore, although I reviewed prominent and relevant literature on the matter, this review is by no means exhaustive.

Chapter 4 describes the methodology used in this research. I review some work on ethnography and, importantly, sociolinguistic ethnography, to locate the present study in its scope. Following, I provide a description of the macro-level in which the *terreiro* is situated, i.e. the city of Salvador. Historical, demographic and economic aspects of the city are outlined with the aim of providing an outline of the city and wider society the researched community is part of. I then provide a detailed account of the *terreiro* (the micro-level setting), describe the place and its community, how followers live, how they are organised, their daily practices, the hierarchy that guides their lived experiences at the place, and the different roles they partake at the *terreiro*. In doing so, I also describe my role at the *terreiro* as both a researcher and a volunteer. Then, I briefly present the informants and how they were grouped. I conclude the chapter describing how recorded data was collected with my informants for further analyses.

Chapter 5 is the first analysis chapter, in which I quantitatively examine the internal constraints that have an effect over plural configuration in the noun phrase in the speech of my informants, both at phrase level and at noun level in the attempt to answer the first and part of the second research question. The chapter opens with a description of such internal constraints and an explanation as to why they were included in the analyses, and I provide explanations from previous work and my own predictors for such constraints. Then I present some basic descriptive statistics to pinpoint some patterns in the data. Thereafter, I describe the model building process, followed by the results of the analysis of the best fit models in the attempt to partially answer my second research question.

Chapter 6 is the second analysis chapter, in which I quantitatively analyse the potential effects of social factors on plural configuration of the noun phrase in the speech of my informants in order to try to finish answering the second research question. Similarly to chapter 5, this was done at phrase level and at word level. I begin the chapter describing each of the factors and explaining why they were included in the study, which was especially because they showed an effect in previous work. I then provide some basic descriptive statistics to describe initial patterns, to be potentially confirmed in the inferential analyses. Thereafter, I provide an account of the model building process and the results of the best fit models in the attempt to conclude answering my second research question.

Chapter 7, the third analysis chapter, deals with a qualitative analysis of the data in the attempt to answer the third research question. Specifically, I analyse the interviews and my field notes aiming at explaining the interactions found in Chapter 6. In doing so, the way informants position themselves in the production of identifications through a set of mechanisms is depicted. Importantly, in this chapter I also analyse metapragmatic evaluations of participants around the use of standard or nonstandard plural marking, as well as their ideological constructions of selves in this process. Indexicality is also approached in this chapter as a means to agentively and in an aspirational fashion take up positionings that are more relevant to informants for a number of reasons, which are discussed in the chapter.

Chapter 8 concludes this thesis. The chapter opens with a reminder of the research questions at hand and a summary of the main findings of the study in the attempt to show to what extent the research questions were answered. This is followed by a section on limitations and future research, in which I present a critique on my study and provide suggestions for future research. The chapter ends with an account on the implications of the present research, in which I describe how my work brings contributions to sociolinguistics, studies on identities, and to *Candomblé* more broadly.

2

CANDOMBLÉ IN BRAZILIAN CULTURE AND SOCIETY

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I aim to describe and discuss the influence of *Candomblé*, an Afro-Brazilian religion, on Brazilian society, as well as provide an account on the roles followers partake within the religion. Afro-Brazilian religions initially stemmed from African origins and are characterised by the presence of deities known as *orixás*¹, who are revered by their followers at ceremonies and rituals across Brazil (Bondi 2009). Each religion/group is similar in the sense that they all involve people becoming possessed by spirits and they involve deities that have both African and Brazilian origins. These religions are not homogeneously organised across the country, and each community embodies slight variations in their practice of the religions. These variations are due to syncretism (the fusion of different religious beliefs and practices), as a result of historical and cultural factors, and these variations are still a distinctive characteristic of contemporary followers of the religions (Browning 1999; Rios 2012). Afro-Brazilian religions have different names depending on the state or region they are practiced in: *Candomblé* is used in the state of Bahia, and is also the most widely used term for Afro-Brazilian religions across Brazil. Other examples include: *Xangô* in Pernambuco and Alagoas States, *Tambor de Mina* in Maranhão State, *Batuque* is particularly in Southern Brazil, and *Macumba* in some parts of Rio de Janeiro State (Pierucci and Prandi 2000; Prandi 2000; Bondi 2009).

Apart from the religions just mentioned, *Umbanda*, which is also considered an Afro-Brazilian religion, rose in the 20th century as a divergence from European *Spiritism*, another religion (see further below). *Umbanda* maintained several aspects of Spiritism as well as incorporating many of the beliefs and practices from *Candomblé* and Roman Catholicism. Among all the Afro-Brazilian religions, *Umbanda* has the largest number of

¹ A definition of words from Yoruba and Portuguese which are used in *Candomblé* will be provided in the text as they appear. Also, a glossary is provided in the annexes.

followers (Brasil 2010). *Candomblé*, however, is the most influential one on Brazilian society. This is partly due to it being the oldest Afro-Brazilian religion, but also because it is widely and explicitly known for being open to gay people, particularly men, unlike *Umbanda* (Birman 1991). This thesis will focus on *Candomblé* as the core religion to look at in more detail, although it will inevitably be discussed in relation to other religions.

Before going to the sections and subsections of this chapter, I will give a brief overview of *Candomblé* as a religious practice. Broadly speaking, *Candomblé* involves “divination, [animal] sacrifice, cure, music, dance, and spirit possession” (Matory 2008: 108). The main feature of the religion is the *orixás*, considered gods in the religion and who embody the essence of nature. *Candomblé* rituals take place in religious houses called *Terreiros*. Apart from the *orixás*, some *terreiros* also deal with ‘lesser spirits’ whose role is linked with day-to-day activities (Fry 1995). For example, *Pombagiras* (female deities linked to joy, drinking, sex and prostitution), *Pretos Velhos* (the spirits of old black men), *Erês* (the spirits of children) and *Caboclos* (Brazilian-Amerindian spirits). Unlike the *orixás*, these ‘lesser spirits’ are believed to be spirits of dead people. During a *feira* (religious party) at a *terreiro*, these deities will be under the leadership of the major *orixá* relevant to the celebration. At a *feira*, the rituals are led by a *pai de santo* or a *mãe de santo* (the priest(ess) and leader of the *terreiro*), with the help of followers who are initiated in the religion and called *filhos de santo* (if male) and *filhas de santo* (if female). All priests(esses) and some *filhos* or *filhas de santo* will be possessed by either the *orixás* or minor deities. The leaders are also commonly called *Babalorixá* (or just *Babá*) and *Ialorixá* (or just *Iá*). The *feiras* are open to anyone, but some services are secret and cannot be seen or known by the non-initiated. These main features of *Candomblé* are relevant for reading of the next sections, but I will go into more detail throughout this chapter, and specifically in section 2.4.

The chapter is divided into four main parts. In the next section, I describe the role of *Candomblé* in Brazilian society, focusing on instances in which this religion enjoys prestige whilst its followers are simultaneously a target of prejudice. In the subsequent part of the chapter, I will present a historical and anthropological background of *Candomblé* in Brazil, showing how it rose as a syncretic religion in Bahia and how it morphed as a result of coming into contact with Roman Catholicism and European Spiritism, and was influenced by the rise of *Umbanda*. In this part, the historical reasons for *Candomblé* being more prominent in Brazilian society than other Afro-Brazilian

designations will become clear. In the following section, I provide a more detailed description of the beliefs, practices and hierarchical divisions within a *terreiro*. Finally, in the last section, I review anthropological work which gives accounts on the relevance of gender and sexuality and the role they play within the *Candomblé* community. I believe the anthropological and historical description and discussion provided in this first chapter are important to develop a complete understanding of the study at hand, including the focus on language use at the *terreiro*, discussed in the analyses.

2.2 *Candomblé* in the public sphere in Brazil

On the second week of every January, a long religious procession takes place in Salvador, the capital city of Bahia, North-eastern state of Brazil. The procession goes from *Cairú* Square to the *Bonfim* Church, and it is called *Lavagem do Bonfim* (Bonfim's wash), as a reference to the day the slaves were forced to wash the stairs outside the big church for the *Bonfim* Party (a Catholic celebration), in the 18th Century. It is a walk of several kilometres, with thousands of attendees. At first, it was a Roman Catholic event, which ended with a mass at the church. However, it has become highly syncretic. Amidst the thousands of followers, one will find many types of religious practices, but particularly from Catholics and followers of *Candomblé*. Countless *pais de santo* and *mães de santo* walk up and down the procession, either offering to work on purifying a follower's soul or by becoming possessed by *orixás* and other deities. In addition to those who adhere to a religion, non-religious people also attend the procession just for fun. The procession begins as a purely syncretic religious event but, as it progresses through more than 6 hours, ends as a big party: sacred, syncretic and profane all at once. A similar event takes place on the 2nd of February in Salvador, when hundreds of thousands of people travel to the neighbourhood of *Rio Vermelho* to worship and send offerings to *Iemanjá* – goddess of the sea, an *orixá* from *Candomblé*. Although there is less syncretism then, this is also a sacred and profane event that lasts the whole day, just like the *Bonfim's* Wash. Many people go to really worship and praise the *orixá*, but possibly just as many go just to drink and party. This very same *orixá* is celebrated by thousands of people in Rio de Janeiro as well, although on 31 December (Prandi 2000).

Lavagem do Bonfim and the offerings to *Iemanjá* are not official holidays, but moving around to study or work is not feasible because of the crowds, and therefore most schools,

universities and public institutions in Salvador close in both days. From what is publicised in the media as well as accounts offered by many of my friends, it is not inaccurate to say that many of those who attend these events only for entertainment reasons would not see *Candomblé* and other Afro-Brazilian religions as serious practices, and would have a generally negative or dismissive perception towards the religion throughout the rest of the year. On the second week of January or on the 2nd of February, however, when there are great opportunities to have fun, *Candomblé* suddenly becomes a beautiful prospect to them. These two events illustrate well, and in a more specific point in space and time, the presence and influence of *Candomblé* in Brazilian society more generally. The religion enjoys social prestige in music, entertainment, and commerce. At the same time, the followers are a target of prejudice when what is at stake is not entertainment but religiousness, as will become clearer further in this chapter.

In contemporary broader Brazilian society, the religion of the *orixás* is seen as exotic and interesting by many, especially in music, for entertainment and for commercial purposes. The form of *Candomblé* that “enjoys the greatest prestige and is most well-known throughout Brazil is that of the *Ketu* ‘nation’” (Prandi 2000: 645). It is also known as *Nagô* or *Candomblé* of African Nation (*Candomblé de Nação*), from Bahia (Serra 1995). The word ‘nation’ refers here to the different tribes in Africa, mainly in Nigeria, whose beliefs were taken to Brazil. Salvador is the city with the highest number of black people in the country (Moreno 2016), and there are many stereotypes attributed to the inhabitants of the city, especially that they are lazy, happy and love partying all the time. In an apparent reaction to this, the Bahian people have developed a strong sense of pride, of showing their happiness and joy for life as Bahian, and *Candomblé* is part of this process. This sense of being proud-to-be Bahian has been increased with music from their many artists (singers and composers) that reached great success in the whole country. Many of these artists have incorporated rhythms, tales and lyrics from *Candomblé* to their songs, in a clear uptake of *Candomblé* in entertainment.

Entertainment includes commerce. Like most religions, *Candomblé* sells not only services, but also products. These commercial practices are, however, not linked to faith and religiousness in the strictest of senses, but rather a means to capitalise on the public’s fantasy and imagination surrounding the religion. One example is the musical group *Olodum*, which was named after the *orixá Olorum*, the god of gods (Browning 1999), who are best known outside Brazil for their work with Paul Simon (*Rhythm of the Saints*)

and Michael Jackson (*They don't care about us*). Apart from their beat, which sounds like the *festas*, the band uses *orixás'* names and symbols on products they sell, like caps and T-shirts (Prandi 2000).

Van De Port (2005) discusses other instances of the social sphere in which *Candomblé* is made explicitly present in Brazil, such as ecological activism and the black movement. In addition to these, Van De Port (2005: 16) affirms that there is “a re-reading of *Candomblé* elements in terms of gay activism and a merging of *Candomblé* imagery with a global gay iconography that somehow finds its way back into the cult”. The author’s main argument is that there is not one ‘real *Candomblé*’, but rather that cultural products of this religion are so imbricated in social life in Brazil (and mainly in Salvador) that *Candomblé* shapes the public sphere and is re-shaped by what comes back into the religious places. As part of this process, several people go to the *terreiros* taken by friends and/or just out of curiosity, sometimes with no specific or special religious intent. Visitors from the general public do not get to experience the sacred rituals in the secret sessions at the *terreiros*, but rather the public celebrations that are full of music, “dance, food and colourful performances”² (Prandi 1998: 161). Because of this, in entertainment and business, *Candomblé* is taken just for its “aesthetics, which is reproduced in theatre, schools of *samba*, soap operas on television – the *orixás* under reach as a product for authentic consumerism” (Prandi 1998: 161), especially in huge public events.

One of these main events in Brazil that uses the symbols and products of *Candomblé* is carnival. A great portion of the songs performed during carnival are based on *Candomblé* themes. Describing a big party in Salvador, Browning (1999: 79) states that “The scene is a moment of marked solemnity in the most profane of contexts: carnival, five days of extreme political and sexual expressivity. But sacred and secular expressions infect each other in Brazil and force us to rethink the distinction”. The ‘expressions’ refer to aspects of *Candomblé* that, in the author’s account, has a coming out during carnival in regards to some identities because, at the *terreiros*, “*Candomblé* dance is usually done only by women or gay men. But in the carnival, the choreographies are secularised and highly stylised. The explicit message of these dances is not one of shifting gender roles” (Browning 1999:87). This is an account for the irreverent manner carnival is enjoyed,

² Any direct quotation the original of which is in Portuguese has been translated into English by the author of this thesis.

especially when following the *afoxés*, groups that parade on the streets of Salvador and which call themselves as “of Africa”, self-proclaiming their roots and influence in *Candomblé*.

No other religion has made its way so clearly and successfully through carnival and popular music in Brazil. Many would say that it is because the *terreiros* are a free space to be any sexuality one wants to be and (presumably) bring together people from different social backgrounds, which (presumably) approximates it to Brazilian carnival. I, however, tend to believe that this uptake of *Candomblé* in entertainment is due to its exotic (as socially understood) nature, as it amazes the masses when taken in this setting, instead of a serious religious practice at the *terreiros*. Daniela Mercury, for example, sings and dances to countless songs praising all and any of the *orixás*, which seems to have been very profitable, since she is one of the most popular singers in Brazil, especially among gay men, who will come to see her perform on the streets of Salvador in at least 3 of the 5 official days of carnival every year. It would be inaccurate however, to argue that her audience is made up exclusively of followers of *Candomblé*. The religion is at the parties through the songs and moves, and most people are not really thinking of the *orixás* during Daniela’s concerts. This illustrates a clear social prestige of the religion, although in very specific contexts.

In other settings, however, not everything about *Candomblé* is free syncretism, success, and wonder. A Court case against a group of amateur Youtube video producers brought critique and antipathy towards *candomblé* into sharp focus. The video in question, which openly offended followers of *Candomblé* and *Umbanda* was brought before federal Judge Eugênio Rosa de Araújo, who ruled that the video makers were not guilty of religious prejudice on the grounds that, to him, Afro-Brazilian beliefs manifestations “do not have the necessary characteristics of a religion” because they do not have a written code of conduct (Brisolla 2014). Followers of *Candomblé* also suffer prejudice from many Christians, especially neo-Pentecostals, as many of them tend to say people in *Candomblé* are Satanists who praise the demon in disguise of *orixás*, or that they deal with witchcraft to cause harm. Many people also say it is all about charlatanism disguised as fortune-telling. Possibly due to the fact that several fundamentalist Christians have reached prominent positions in Brazil both in politics and the media, *Candomblé* followers have encountered difficulty practicing their beliefs, with some even facing violent assaults. It is not rare for one to watch or read news about a *mãe de santo* (*Candomblé* priestess) or

filha de santo (female follower ritualistically initiated in the religion) being attacked on the street, or of a *terreiro* that was destroyed by fundamentalist Christians. Many neo-Pentecostals also use the fact that there are many gay men at the *terreiros* as evidence to argue that it could never be something good or blessed, saying *Candomblé* is “less than the realm of the devil” (De Port 2005: 23)

Overall, it is true that *Candomblé* enjoys prestige in Brazilian society, especially the *Candomblé de Nação*, from Bahia (Prandi 2000). However, it is also true that the religion followers are a target of prejudice, and it seems that to most people it is beautiful only in entertainment and its commercial usage. It has not always been like this. While in today’s world, there exists a blend of prestige and stigma towards it, historically it faced only persecution and prohibition. The history of how this religion came to Brazil will frame this situation in context. *Candomblé*’s main roots are in Africa, followed by a long and turbulent history in Brazil regarding its constitution as a religion. The historical constitution of *Candomblé* encompasses influence from Catholic Christianity, influence from the rise of *Umbanda*, along with Spiritism, and a subsequent spread of *Candomblé* from Bahia to other parts of the country. I turn to these themes in the next section.

2.3 From the early days to the present: a brief history of *Candomblé*

From the 16th to the 19th century, millions of people were taken from Africa to be enslaved in Brazil, and they took with them their beliefs in the *orixás*. These beliefs were nearly extinguished in the ‘new world’, as the enslaved people were spread, and professing their religions publicly and with other believers was difficult. However, in the 19th century, the black Africans were continuously taken to the now larger urban areas of Brazil and cohabited with many others in their same condition. Possession religions practiced by different tribes in Africa, especially among the *Jeje* and *Iorubá* people in Nigeria, were then united by people of different origins who, together, wanted to keep their beliefs alive (Prandi 2000). From that point, as argued by Prandi (1998), the Afro-Brazilian religions went through a process of syncretism, during the formation of traditional modalities of the cults, i.e. religions of African origins that mixed their beliefs with others, mainly Christian Catholicism; whitening, in the rise of *Umbanda* as both descended from and dissident to *Candomblé* and Spiritism; and Africanisation, with a harking back to traditional, cultural and symbolic ‘things from Africa’ (Bondi, 2012), a desire for de-

syncretism, a move which, according to Prandi (1998), had turned *Candomblé* into an open-to-all religion, followed not only by black people, but poor people of all colours.

Based on the work of Prandi (1998, 2000) and others, I summarise these three periods of Afro-Brazilian religions and their blend with Roman Catholicism and other influences. I will describe some features of *Umbanda* and European *Spiritism*, as they indirectly have had, together with Roman Catholicism, an important role in the re-shaping of *Candomblé* to what it is today, both ritualistically and demographically. Spiritualistic beliefs in Brazil do not refer only to Spiritism, *Umbanda*, and *Candomblé*. However, I aim to limit the present approach to these three because the focus of the present discussion is *Candomblé*, and *Umbanda* and Spiritism, along with Catholicism, play a more relevant role in the historical construction of how the *terreiros* are shaped, and on how they are viewed by contemporary society.

2.3.1 From syncretism to ‘bleaching’ to de-syncretism

There is some anthropological work which offers different explanations for the origins of syncretism in Brazil: impositions of Catholicism by the Portuguese and differing degrees of resistance from black slaves towards the Portuguese (Fry 1982, 1995); a search by the black population in colonial Brazil to be integrated and therefore seen as Brazilian (Prandi 1998, 2000); or the identifications between the Catholic saints and the *orixás* as perceived by African slaves, in a similar way to what happened in Caribbean *Santería* (Raboteu 1975, Browning 1999) are examples of the most well-accepted explanations. Despite the differing views, what remains true is the fact that today there are a number of different syncretic Afro-Brazilian religions in Brazil, and *Candomblé* is one of them. In this section, therefore, I will set aside the discussions on the reasons for syncretism and limit the approach to the features and historical contributions of the religions most notably said to have influenced the constitution of *Candomblé* as it is today.

Towards the end of the 19th century, “originally from France, Alan Kardec’s Spiritism arrived in Brazil, a religion that fused some Hindu-inspired karmic conceptions of the world with Christian precepts and some of the rationalism of the 19th century” (Prandi 1998: 156). This religion first appeared in the South-eastern part of the country and involved communing with the spirit of the dead, seeking help from those who were believed to be superior and helping spirits that were perceived to be inferior. The idea of

superior or inferior spirits was linked to the Spiritist belief in reincarnation, a process to purify one's spirit up to the point that they would not need to return to this world in the form of living matter, but rather as spirits to help those who are in need.

The fundamental books of Spiritism were supposedly written by spirits incorporated by Allan Kardec, in a phenomenon called psychography. Examples of these are *The Spirits' book* and *Heaven and Hell*. Also known as Kardecism and still widely popular in Brazil, this religion focuses on the study of the knowledge brought to the mediums (*médiums*) by the spirits in secret sessions at the spiritist centres (*centros espíritas*) through psychography. The mediums then write messages, which are forwarded to the attendees, and these messages are believed to have been sent by their deceased families, friends or other helpful spirits. With this same methodology, books are written, and they are studied by the followers of the centres, either in public meetings (with no explicit spiritual trance) or as home-study. The mediums do not work exclusively for the religion, but have their professional occupation outside the centre. From Roman Catholicism preaching, Spiritism inherited the idea that helping others, incarnate (living in a body) or discarnate (not living in a body), as one of the most important missions of humans and of paramount importance for their spiritual evolution.

Kardecism has had, from the beginning, a different kind of followers in Brazil, consisting mostly of white people (Birman 1991). Their spiritist centres have always been within the cities, unlike the *Candomblé terreiros*, most notably in the outskirts of the cities. Broadly speaking, black people were allowed to attend the Kardecist centres now that slavery was gone. However, given these attendees' Afro-Brazilian religious background and the fact that Spiritism dealt with the deceased in their rituals, the black Kardecists wished to contact the *orixás* and the deceased they felt represented them best: their ancestral families. European-biased white Kardecists would refuse to accept this. They believed *Candomblé* gods and other deities did not conform with their ideals, seeing them as low-level spirits (Prandi 1998:156), therefore avoided. These racist judgments and practices would, in fact, target the black followers, not the spirits they wanted to worship. Moreover, the biggest portion of the black community that attended the Kardecist centres was, and still is, consisted of lower social classes than their white brothers, and it is probably accurate to state that this other difference took part in the shaping of the actual prejudice against the 'black spirits'.

The tension provoked by the encounter of former followers of *Candomblé* and the new, whiter religion resulted in the rise of third one. In a move seen as the *whitening* of Afro-Brazilian religions (Prandi 1996, 1998), *Umbanda* appeared in the mid-1920s in Rio de Janeiro State as separate from *Candomblé*, from Catholicism, and also from Kardecism. Despite being dissident to these religions, *Umbanda* aggregated characteristics of all of them together, including the followers. Anthropologists have suggested that *Umbanda* centres have always been attended by more white people than *Candomblé terreiros*, and by more black people than Kardecist centres or Catholic churches (Fry 1982; Prandi 1996). From the beginning, this resulted in a complex intersection of judgments among and towards religious people in Brazil, where white Christianity was placed on the top of the chain and African beliefs placed at the bottom. *Umbanda* arose out of this tension, trying to aggregate characteristics to meet all, which incurred in social gains (achieving more religious respect than with *Candomblé*) and risks (less prestige than Kardecism, for example).

From Rio de Janeiro, *Umbanda* arrived in São Paulo and from there it spread to the entire country. After roughly two decades, in 1941 the First Congress of *Umbanda* was held in Rio de Janeiro, with participation from people in attendance from around the whole of Brazil. Prandi (1998, 2000) refers to the rise of *Umbanda* as the ‘whitening’ of Afro-Brazilian religion because it was a “European-African-Indigenous bricolage, genuinely born in Brazil” (Prandi 1998: 157), which ‘cleaned’ itself from elements of *Candomblé*, despite maintaining the ideals from the *terreiros* that this life is to be enjoyed, rather than valuing the karmic Kardecist ideal.

Just like Kardecism, *Umbanda* centres base their doctrine in the preaching of the spirit of the deceased, but also other deities that are received in the medium’s body during public sessions, when followers can talk to the spirits and deities directly, and not through the Kardecist psychography. Also, the spirits worshiped at the centres are of all sorts and ‘colours’, including *caboclos* (spirits of dead indigenous Brazilians) and *pretos* and *pretas velhas* (spirits of old black men and women). *Orixás* are welcome, but they do not hold a monopoly at the centres. Another distinctive feature is that *Umbanda* centres do not put on the long, theatrical parties that take place at *Candomblé*. The rituals and the initiation of followers are far less complex, as they only use vernacular Portuguese instead of Yoruba. They have also nearly eliminated animal sacrifice from their practice. From Catholicism, *Umbanda* followers inherited the urge to practice spiritual and social

charity, and they follow the Catholic liturgical calendar (although not limited to this). Nowadays, *Umbanda* centres outnumber *Candomblé terreiros* in Southeastern Brazil, but not in the Northeastern State of Bahia (Brasil.a 2010).

The importance of describing the rise of this religion here is that it helps explain how *Candomblé*, despite being limited to the poorer north and northeast states of Brazil until the first half of the 20th century, has managed to be the Afro-Brazilian religion that is most notably influential in Brazil despite having fewer followers than *Umbanda*. From a relatively recent past, beliefs and worshipping from *Candomblé* have become a rich cultural heritage in Brazil, which crossed the boundaries of religion, as initially described in section 2.2. From the 1960s, the great migration from the then poor northeast Brazil to São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Rio Grande do Sul, more industrialised states, *Candomblé* set its path to the south as well, and “began to penetrate *Umbanda*’s well-established territory, and followers of *Umbanda* began to convert to *Candomblé*” (Prandi 2000: 644). In addition to this, in 1964 Brazil faced a military coup, followed by the cultural reaction towards the long and difficult period of dictatorship (Prandi 1998) which lasted from 1964 until 1985. According to Van De Port (2005), the white elites of Bahia took some advantage of this moment in a search to ‘fix’ the Bahian’s image as a land of the poor, lazy and illiterate, offering Bahia as an alternative to the political hardship the country was going through. In this process,

Candomblé proved to be a sheer bottomless source of inspiration. Time and again, writer Jorge Amado turned to *Candomblé* in his literary renditions of Bahian life, as did his contemporaries, the sculptor Carybé and the songwriter Dorivall Caymmi. In the late 1960s, a new generation of Bahian artists united in a counter-cultural movement that came to be known as the Tropicália Movement, and that included such figures as Gilberto Gil and Caetano Veloso, discovered *Candomblé* and started to explore its mysticism and spirituality. (Van De Port 2005: 10)

As a result of the great migration and the counter-cultural movement, many people wanted to live a life linked to nature, relating to the exotic and mystical. This, of course, pointed to Bahia and its *Candomblé*, which had its aesthetics, rhythms, and myths spread across the country as a result. "Society left in search of its own roots", and *Candomblé* became fashionable. Going to Bahia became a must "and – why not – go camping in Arembepe. Open the doors of perception, go in search of pleasure, expansion of sensibility, immediate gratification for the body and mind" (Prandi 1998: 159). A search

for Africa as a source of energy and peace through *Candomblé* was necessary. At the same time, *Candomblé* followers were no longer limited to black people. Poor people of all colours started to attend, and wealthy and/or powerful people became their clients and/or representatives outside the *terreiros*. *Candomblé* would even call them *ogans*. This is a post in the religious house but started to be used as an honorific title conveniently given to artists and politicians who, acting as the voice of the *terreiros*, spread the word to the world, ‘africanising’ Brazil. In regards to this, it is accurate to state that *Candomblé* finally “re-encountered Brazilian society in the field of arts, providing popular culture with most of its repertoire, which is converted into profane art for mass consumption and gaining recognition and prestige in return” (Prandi 1998:155). If, on the one hand, *Umbanda* had (and still does have) the biggest number of followers among Afro-Brazilian religions, *Candomblé* has undoubtedly been the most prominent one since the 1960s, at least as an exotic source of inspiration and fun.

In summary, during the colonial period, African-Brazilian religions were, at first, socially dependant to Catholic Christianity which, for several potential reasons, resulted in syncretic practices that still remain. In the late 19th century, after several former followers of *Candomblé* started attending Kardecist centres in South-eastern Brazil, a tension was established in regards to the spirits the different followers wanted to contact. As a dissidence of Kardecism, *Umbanda* originated in Rio de Janeiro in the 1920s, and quickly spread across the country. Due to demographic, political and cultural aspects in the second half of the 20th century, *Candomblé* was reborn and reshaped, and since then has become the Afro-Brazilian religion with the biggest impact on Brazilian culture, arts, and society as a whole. This brief summary gives some notion of the socio-historic aspects that gave rise to *Candomblé* as a religion and its importance in Brazilian society. In the next section, I enter the realm of *Candomblé* more specifically and in more detail, presenting its *orixás*, as well as a description of what it involves in practices, including the roles followers partake in the structuring of the *terreiro*.

2.4 *Candomblé* from inside: the ‘private’ space of *terreiros*

In *Candomblé*, differently from what happens in many other religions, the main divinities have sex, gender and sexuality which correspond to those of humans. Also, just like humans, *orixás* “desire and feel hungry, they demand offerings as the killing of animals as well as diverse foods, they take the body of the followers at moments of celebration

and come to dance” (Rios 2012:56). They also represent different natural elements, have different attributions and are believed to assist humans in a wide range of possible ways. Tables 2.1, 2.2, and 2.3 outline the main gods of *Candomblé* pantheon, showing their attribution, natural element and the instances of human life they assist. Table 2.1 brings the female *orixás*, table 2.2 male, and table 2.3 the androgynous or alternately male or female *orixás*.

Table 2.1: Basic attributes of the main *iabás* (female *Orixás*) in *Candomblé* in ‘Nation’ *Ketu/Nagô*: Bahia and São Paulo - adapted from Prandi (2000)

<i>Orixá</i>	Attribution	Element	Assistance to humans
<i>Oya</i> or <i>Yansan</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of lightning, master of the spirits of the dead	Lightning, wind, and storms	Sensuality, carnal love, atmospheric disasters
<i>Obá</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of rivers	Rivers	Domestic work and female power
<i>Oxum</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of fresh water and precious metals	Rivers, lakes, and waterfalls	Love, gold, fertility, gestation, vanity
<i>Ewa</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of fountains	Headwaters and streams	Domestic harmony
<i>Yemanjá</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of great waters	Sea and great rivers	Maternity, mental harmony, family
<i>Nanan</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of the bottom of the waters	Swamps, mud	Wisdom, seniority, death

Table 2.2: Basic attributes of the main *aborós* (male *Orixás*) in *Candomblé* in ‘Nation’ *Ketu/Nagô*: Bahia and São Paulo - adapted from Prandi (2000)

<i>Orixá</i>	Attribution	Element	Assistance to humans
<i>Exú</i>	Messenger <i>orixá</i> , guardian of the house’s entrance and crossroads	Iron	Communication, transformation, sexuality, sexual potency
<i>Ogum</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of metallurgy, agriculture, and war	Wrought iron	Open roads, soldiers, and police
<i>Oxossi</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of hunting	Forests	Abundance of food
<i>Osaniyn</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of the leaves	Leaves	Effectiveness of cure
<i>Obaluaye</i> or <i>Omulu</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of plagues, illness	Earth, soil	Cure for physical ailments
<i>Shangô</i>	<i>Orixá</i> of thunder	Thunder and stones	Justice
<i>Oshaguián</i> (young <i>Oxalá</i>)	<i>Orixá</i> of creation	Air	Material culture

Table 2.3: Basic attributes of the main *Metá-metás* ('half-half' in Yoruba), in *Candomblé* in 'Nation' *Ketu/Nagô*: Bahia and São Paulo - adapted from Prandi (2000)

<i>Orixá</i>	Attribution	Element	Assistance to humans
<i>Oxumaré</i> (male and female – androgynous)	<i>Orixá</i> of the rainbow	Rain and atmospheric conditions	Harvests (rain)
<i>Logunedé</i> (alternately male or female)	<i>Orixá</i> of rivers that flow through forests	Rivers and forests	The same as <i>Oxum</i> and <i>Oxossi</i> of whom he is the son
<i>Oshalufan</i> (old <i>Oxalá</i> - male and female, as the origins of human beings)	<i>Oxalá</i> of creation	Air	Creation of humanity, the breath of life

In order to meet the *orixás'* needs, the *terreiro* may get highly busy, especially when there are many visitors, or followers initiating or graduating further. The graduation process I will describe now follows what was brought by Prandi (2000), Brondi (2009), and Rios (2012). The *terreiro* aims at linking *aiê* (this world, land of humans) to *orun* (the other world, home to the *orixás*), which is done by using the mystic energy called *axé*, present in every living being and fundamental to the contact with the *orixás*. Through the manipulation of *axé* by the priest(ess), the *orixás* come down into the head and control the body of the leaders or their initiated followers, called *filhos* or *filhas de santo*. Initiation involves a difficult, long and expensive process with preparation and oral study of the secrets and fundamental knowledge at the service of the *orixás*. The process requires graduations after 1, 3, and 7 years. Each graduation is called *obrigação* (obligation).

The naming of the posts in the strict hierarchy of *Candomblé* metaphorically refers to a family: a mother or father in the saint who has sons or daughters in the saint. This is produced and maintained following rules of the religion itself, including the identification of who could be an initiated follower, and which roles each one may play in the house, which is started with initiation. In order to become initiated, a follower will always have either a *pai* or a *mãe de santo*, who is the main leader at the *terreiro*. The first step is to

discover who one's *orixá* is. In order to do this, the priest(ess) consults with the oracle by using the *jogo de búzios* (16 cowries divination) so that the *orixá* can reveal him/herself. At this point, the initiate receives a collar which symbolises their protector *orixá*. After this, the first part of the initiation process is started. Throughout the first phase, those who are able to get into a trance (*virar*) and be possessed by an *orixá* are called *rodantes*. Once assigned this status, the *rodante* then called an *iaô* (any *rodante* who has gone through at least year 1 graduation), and then *ebômi* in the third (7th year). After this, the initiate quickly becomes a *pai* or *mãe de santo* and is therefore allowed to and have the permission from the priest(ess), if they want to, to open a new *terreiro* for themselves and constitute their own family of saints. *Filhos, filhas, pais* and *mães de santo* who get into a trance are all considered the 'wife' of the *orixá* at possession, regardless of the sex/gender of the *orixá*. These initiates are also called *cavalos* (horses) of the gods, in the sense that at possession they are 'mounted' by the *orixá*.

Those who are not ascribed the status of *rodantes* because they do not get into a trance go in another direction. They can be *ogans* (if men) or *equedes* (if women). They are said to have been chosen by the *orixás* not to be their 'wives', but rather 'fathers' or 'mothers' in this world, and their duty is to take care of any *orixá* or deity that comes to possess any of those who are able to get into a trance (the *rodantes*, including the leader of the *terreiro*). After their initiation, they are to be very respectfully referred to as "my father *ogan*" or "my mother *equede*" at the *terreiro*. *Ogans* also have other very important roles for the working of the service, such as dealing with animal sacrifice, do cleaning, playing the tambours and tambourines (*atabaques*) to call the *orixás*. *Ogans* and *equedes* are also responsible for hosting the non-initiated followers and also the visitors in a way to make them feel comfortable at the *terreiro*, either during days of possession in a celebration or not. These celebrations (*festas*) can take place very frequently, depending on how many *filhos* and *filhas de santo* the priest/ess has to initiate at different stages of the process, and once every year after the final graduation.

Festas also take place to achieve, from the assistance of the *orixás*, a goal set by a client (*cliente*), another very important figure in the religion. A client is someone who hires the magical services provided by a priest/ess or, less commonly, an initiated *rodante* (*iaô*). They are not necessarily followers of the religion, and they do not even need to attend one single day during public *festas*. Many clients are normally from other religions. During tough times in their lives (e.g. financial, physical or relationship problems) and

not abandoning their other religious practices, they consult with the leader of the *terreiro* in order to know the best course of action to achieve the solution to the problem. Through divination in the use of the *búzios* (cowries), the priest/ess asks the *orixá* and reveals to the client the hidden problems and their causes. This consultation is most often charged, as well as any potential (and likely) further action that must be taken. The *orixá* will tell the priest/ess what is required so that the god or other minor deities can be satisfied and therefore make whatever the client needs happen. The requirements can take the form of an animal sacrifice followed by a *festa*, or special offerings to the gods and/or deities, usually in the woods or a given crossroad (*encruzilhada*) of the city. This second part usually takes place without the presence of the client (except for the *festa*), who basically pays and waits for the results.

The *pai* or *mãe de santo* dedicates his/her time and energy exclusively to the *terreiro*. The client, therefore, is of paramount importance for the existence of the religion, as *Candomblé* practices demand a lot of money to praise the *orixás* in offerings, as well as to put on the extravagant and animated celebrations and to maintain the house and those who live there. As discussed by Fry (1982) and Rios (2004), the size of the *família de santo* (the *Candomblé* 'family' of a *terreiro*) is representative of how successful the *pai* or *mãe* is. The more *filhos*, the bigger the family, the more frequent and beautiful the parties involving possession, which spreads the word and attracts more clients to help feed this process through the magical services offered.

The family reproduction at a *terreiro* is of a social-theological nature, as the main aim is to have new *iaôs* (initiated *rodantes*) so that the family gets larger. Although biological reproduction precedes the family of saints, at the *terreiro* what really is at stake is the maintenance and growth of the family of initiated, and a very important aspect is the priest/ess' ability to identify, with the help of the gods through the oracle, new *iaôs* who will eventually become *pais* or *mães de santo* and have other *filhos* or *filhas* in the long future. Detecting and training *iaôs* is also important due to the weight of possession for the beauty of a *festa*.

Before several days of the rituals of initiation, sex is prohibited to the initiate as well as to the *pai* or *mãe*. This is because the *axé* (the mystical energy necessary for the contact with the *orixás*) needs to be manipulated, and it is believed to disperse in sexual activities. In this sense, Rios (2012) remarks that "to *Candomblé*, what matters is the moment one may or may not engage in sex" (57), and not who has sex with whom. This alleged

freedom in sexual partnership for followers of *Candomblé* has been a theme of debate over decades. Along with sexuality, sex and gender have an importance in *Candomblé* that is not possible to overlook. Therefore, having addressed the main specific features of the *terreiros*, their beliefs and the organisation of their followers, I address how gender and sexuality are located in and about *Candomblé* in the following section.

2.5 A religion's sexualities and genders

It is a general belief that most leaders at *terreiros* of *Nagô* origin are women. And in what is possibly the first anthropological work to address this aspect of the *terreiros* in Salvador, Landes (1940) stated that, among the few leaders who are men, most “are passive homosexuals” (1940:393). This was reaffirmed by Leacock (1972) in regards to *terreiros* in Belém, northern Brazil, signalling the possibility that most *pais de santo* are gay regardless of the region. Vergolino (1961) also states that “a large part of in-cult gossip and scandal is devoted to supposed sexual idiosyncrasies of cult members” (Fry 1995:194), and even though ‘gossip’ and ‘scandal’ may have a negative meaning, their use in the quoted passage reaffirms gay men’s preference for *Candomblé*. Also, such ‘gossip’ many times takes place in non-offensive situations, although at times they can interfere in the possible choice of roles one is to take at a *terreiro* (Rios 2004). The degree of some variation in permissiveness regarding multiple sexualities as a feature peculiar to *Candomblé* calls for a review of what previous work has offered as possible explanations of homosexuality and the *terreiros*.

In this section, therefore, I aim to discuss the extent to which gender and sexuality are lived in *Candomblé* by approaching how they are imbricated in the way *terreiros* are organised and experienced, providing two different and at times intersecting explanations: a sociological (in subsection 2.5.1) and a theological one (2.5.2). This will be done based on what is generally thought in society, and also according to what previous research has found. It is important to note that there are socio-theological overlaps in some accounts, and any given explanation will be placed in the subsection it fits best. It is also necessary to clarify that most work on gender, sexuality and *Candomblé* result of ethnographic research, and in no way could the findings revisited here be understood as true of each and every *terreiro*. Previous studies, however, help us to better understand

some patterns on the importance of gender and sexuality that are set out in this heterogeneous religion in its diverse practices across Brazil.

2.5.1 Gender and sexuality from *aiê*: gay men at the terreiros as a product of ‘this world’

Similarly to the word *queer* in English, *bicha* has, throughout the last hundred years, been used as one of the most derogatory and powerfully homophobic ways to refer to an effeminate gay man in Brazil. The original meaning of the word in Brazilian Portuguese is that of a small parasite, and it is a noun ending in -a, indicating its feminine gender, which attracts a feminine determiner (article or pronoun). Although it has for decades been used among gay men to refer to each other in more informal, non-offensive contexts, it is still used as a homophobic slur, also with the intention to insult someone who is not gay. Based on observation at *terreiros*, the word entered the discussions about sexuality in *Candomblé* to describe the *pais* and *filhos de santo* who, from the perspective of followers, take the receptive (passive) role when having sex with other men. Birman (1991) reminds us that

In his pioneering study on sexuality in Brazilian society, Peter Fry opposed two prominent models. One of them, called the hierarchic model, distinguishes two unmistakable genders within masculinity, the man and the *bicha*, based on the sexual role attributed to each of them. Being such model a widely dominant one across more popular layers of society, little opposition does it suffer from another, more egalitarian one, in which it is not appropriate to distinguish male genders based on different roles taken by two men in sex: both would be equally ‘homosexual’. It is the first model that feeds the discussion on *Candomblé*. (Birman 1991:40)

Landes (1967) and Fry (1982) had discussed in their work the ways men are named at the *terreiros* where they conducted anthropological research in regards to sexual practices. The words gay and hetero, although widely used in Brazilian Portuguese, were avoided. Instead, *bicha* and *homem* (man) were used. Such usage of the word *bicha* at the *terreiro*, however, does not seem to always denote a derogatory meaning, and it points to the presence of effeminate men at the houses (Rios 2011).

Attempts to explain this explicit and many times seen as positive presence of gay people in *Candomblé* abound. Trevisan (2007) argues that, among other reasons, it is rooted in religious practices in some parts of Africa:

In East Africa cults to *orixás*, there already existed the tradition to consider several features of homosexuality as non-deviant. Besides, transvestism was usual in the rituals, and African cult house leaders used to wear female bridal vestments from the 19th century. (Trevisan 2007:479)

Fry (1995) believes, among other reasons, that this is because stigmatised groups would tend to remain together so that they can be stronger in resisting. He states that

in Belém – and probably in other parts of North and North-eastern Brazil – certain males who claim to prefer the sexual company of other males and who are ascribed the status of *bicha* are attracted to the cults not only because they are popularly defined as niches for male homosexuality but (...) because both male homosexuality and possession cults are defined as deviant in relation to dominant Brazilian values and (...) because to be defined by society as defiling and dangerous is often a positive advantage to those who exercise a profession which deals in magical power (Fry 1995:194).

This is to say, in other words, that gay people who choose to go to *Candomblé* do so because this religion, being a target of prejudice, is prone to be receptive to others who also are. Being mostly non-white, working class and non-Christian, the other followers of *Candomblé* would feel the religion as more supportive towards gay people as well, as they are subject to similar social forces that place them in a lower level of value, and accounted as dangerous.

Analysing the presence of gay men at *terreiros* in Pará in the early 1980s, Fry (1982) attributed the phenomenon as one of an economic nature. Given that *pais de santo* need to dedicate themselves exclusively to the *terreiro*, and that running the *terreiros* demands a considerable amount of money, the author concluded that the position of a leader at *Candomblé*, in the case of men, would better fit the *bichas*. It is important to notice that in those times, gay people could not envisage constituting a family as it was then conceptualised in Brazil, i.e. only one formed by the marriage of a man and a woman. Without strict family ties and responsibilities, gay men could earn their money from the activities of the *terreiro* and reinvest it to promote more exuberant and expensive *festas*, which would give them more popularity to gain more clients and have more *filhos de*

santo. Although Fry (1982) underestimated the role and importance of the *filhos de santo* in the maintenance of the *terreiro* (Rios 2004), his attempt to explain the presence of gay men as leaders in the religion was a valid one for the 1980s.

Another explanation that is normally offered is the fact that the notion of sin as constructed in several other religions is non-existent in *Candomblé*. Due to this lack of judgment of actions and facts that would otherwise be seen as purely sinful, gender, sexual practices and identifications are understood in *Candomblé* as a personal sphere that is not subject to religious condemnation (Caetano 2009:28). In this sense, considering *terreiros* in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia, “it is not shameful to mention, as Lima (1983) writes, that homosexual people share quantitative participation of permanent nature at *Candomblé* with heterosexuals, given that the first may outnumber the latter in metropolitan Salvador” (Caetano 2009:29). Especially because there is no written code for the followers, this lack of written dogma on sexual and other matters is many times used to attack the practitioners of the religion, as invoked in Court and mentioned in section 2.2.

Prandi (2000) argues that “To the initiate, *Candomblé* can also mean the possibility for someone, usually poor and socially marginalised, to have a private god that everyone in the community has to honour and praise. In those moments in which the person is ridden as horse of the god, he or she will be in the centre of the *barracão*, the *Candomblé* stage, alone to dance, be admired and acclaimed by everybody, and sometimes envied” (657). Although Prandi is not discussing gender and sexuality, his argumentation corroborates with Fry’s (1995) view that *Candomblé* will accept anyone who is already a target of prejudice. Being put at the position of ‘a horse’ to be ridden by a private god is many times seen as the perfect opportunity to exercise one’s effeminacy that would be repressed in other contexts. In this sense, heteronormative non-conforming sexualities, especially effeminate gay men, would come to the *terreiros* in search of a way to express themselves with no fear of being judged (Trevisan 2007; Mott 2007). Once initiated as *filhos de santo* they could wear dresses, makeup, crowns and all types of body ornaments they wish with no fear of being judged, being instead glorified when doing so (Mott 2007) and, at the same time, properly serve the *orixás* in the theatrical performance that is required at the *terreiros*.

Landes’ first conclusions concerning the (homo)sexuality of *Candomblé* followers concurred with Trevisan’s (2007) and Mott’s (2007). Her account on this, however, was

part of a more radical project that aimed to describe Salvador as a perfect place for women to live, one in which they would be empowered and not oppressed. Based on ethnographic studies conducted in the 1930s, Landes (1967) saw the prominent presence of women as leaders of *terreiros* as the best emblem of her ‘City of women’. She, however, came across the *bichas*, men who clearly disturbed her desire to affirm Salvador as a female paradise. Facing such an issue, the explanation she offered was that “men who perform the role of priests struggle to resemble their mothers’ figure”, arguing further that they “wish for one thing that *Candomblé* offers ample opportunities, they wish to be women” (Landes 1967: 292). Although most of Landes’ argumentation on this matter may have been heavily influenced by moral values of the time (Santos 2009), her views on homosexuality in *Candomblé* were pioneering in academic publications and are still quoted in most work on this topic.

Finally, popular beliefs in Brazil tend to explain the prominent presence of gay men at *terreiros* as a result of a more ‘direct and fixed’ relationship between characteristics of the relevant *orixá* and some of the *pais de santo*’s personal features (Mott 2007). In such a view, it is believed that some *orixás*, like *Oxumaré* and *Logunedé*, have nonspecific sex and dual sexual orientation in the mythology. Those who explain gay male preference to *Candomblé* due to this fact tend to argue that because some of the *orixás* are not clearly male or female, such identity, duality or multiplicity will better match the gender and sexuality of the followers themselves (Rios 2011). It is not argued that the *orixás* make some of the followers gay, but rather that gay people relate more easily to them than with, for example, the heterosexually portrayed Christian god. There is here an overlap between the sociological and theological views to explain the preference of many gay men for the *terreiros*: *orixá*’s gender matching that of gay men. This relationship, however, is socially constructed, and the way this is established involves an attempt to get the match to fit the hierarchy of *Candomblé* in a way that promotes the *terreiro* in its link to wider society based on social constraints on gender and sexuality. This will be better discussed in subsection 2.5.3, after an account on the theological explanations, which I turn to next.

2.5.2 Influence from *Orun*: multiple genders and sexualities as the *orixás*’ ‘deed’

Birman’s (1991) explanation for the preference of gay men for *Candomblé* is one that differs from a purely sociological perspective. Seeking to “understand the elaboration that the religious system makes of gender and how this relates to society” (Birman 1991:38), she argues that the link between male homosexuality and *Candomblé* is intrinsic to the

religion's beliefs themselves. She believes that "in order to understand the reasons why sexuality and *Candomblé* are articulated", it is necessary to understand how a specific religious perspective "elaborates its differences in relation to others and what meaning is given to sexuality in the structuring of this field of differences" (Birman 1991:39).

The author then provides a possible explanation for the preference of gay men for *Candomblé* as a result of the way the *orixás'* world and the world humans live in are conceptualised by the followers. In doing so, Birman (1991) refers to the fact that, among Afro-Brazilian religions, only *Candomblé* is described as widely open to gay people, especially men, unlike *Umbanda*. She also refers to the *Candomblé* followers' belief in two different worlds, *aiê* (this world, Earth) and *orum* (the 'other world', beyond), which were once only one but set apart forever due to certain *orixás'* disastrous actions. *Orum* is the essence of natural elements, realm of the forces of nature and related to femininity, home to the *orixás*. *Aiê* is humanly used and cultivated, masculine, home to living and deceased persons. As *Umbanda* deals with spirits of the deceased (from and still in *aiê*), then it presupposes gender fixity. Mediums at *Umbanda* centres will consequently behave in ways more aligned with social norms, which will normally entail a 'choice' from the male/female binary. At more traditional *Candomblé terreiros*, on the other hand, only *orixás* are worshiped and present during possession, promoting an encounter between *orum* and *aiê*, being *orum* seen as clearly superior to *aiê*. As they [*orixás*] come from a place more inclined to femininity, they need *cavalos* ('riding horses') in the form of the initiated, who are able to perform any gender, and even more than one at a time, without the constraints of *aiê*. From Birman (1991), it is understood that *Candomblé* followers believe that only those brave enough to cross gender boundaries will be able to properly receive the *orixás* into their self at possession, and those end up being mostly women, and effeminate gay men.

Rios (2011) also offers an explanation based on the theological beliefs at the *terreiros*. In trying to explain how articulations between gender, sexuality and eroticism dissident to heteronormativity are seen as positive, Rios (2011) departs from the mythology inherent to *Candomblé* to discuss gender and sexuality at *terreiros* in Recife (North-eastern Brazil). One example is the story he retells of *Logunedé* (a *metá orixá* – male-female *orixá*), son of incestuous adultery between *Oxossi* (an *aboró orixá* - male) and *Oxum* (an *iabá orixá* – female). Having faced several vicissitudes, *Logunedé* lives a dual gender life, being male at some periods and female at others. As an adolescent, *Logunedé* dressed

in his mother's clothes and accessories and attended a party, where s/he had their identity revealed by other *iabá orixás* and left ashamed. *Oxossi*, the father, followed her, enchanted by her beauty, and had sex with her in the forest. From this tale, Rios (2011:2017) goes on arguing that "it is not homosexuality that will characterise *metá orixás*, as one could think", but rather any kind of hybridism, such as human-animal (*Logunedé* and *Oxumaré*), human-vegetal (*Ossaim*), penis-vagina (*Oxumaré*), for example. In this sense, the author argues that what attracts non-heteronormative sexualities to *Candomblé* and makes them a subject of close attention is much more their social attribution of being strange, non-human, misunderstood and exotic than the sexual role itself, just like the *gods*.

The possibilities of hybridism inter and trans-*orixás* are numerous, and Rios (2011) tries to trace a parallel between what happens in the mythology and what happens at the *terreiro*, "an encounter between 'the other world' and the human world" (Rios 2011:220). This encounter seems to result in more openness to multiple sexualities in *Candomblé*, as gay men seem to make a good fit for leaders, as seen above. Despite the existence of deities of fluid gender, sex and sexualities, however, the force of social conservatism drives the permissiveness of sexuality or not of the religion. The diversity in degrees of acceptance of different sexualities within *Candomblé* is dependent on a number of factors. The instances in which this happens and what seems to be related to this social control of what is widely accepted by the gods will be discussed in the next subsection.

2.5.3 *Aiê* meets *orun* in the making of gender and sexualities at the *terreiros*

From work conducted at a *Nagô terreiro* (i.e. of Yoruban origin) in Recife, the view provided by Rios (2011), especially the possible identification constructed at the *terreiros* between gay men and the exotic features of the *orixás*, opens up for some discussion on the social uptake of some of the *orixás*' multiple genders and sexualities. This multiplicity, widely existing in the spiritual world, is re-shaped in 'this world'. Not only *metá-metás* (or just *metás*) have a dual or indefinite sexual orientation, but also some *orixás* seen as clearly male or female have their gender and sexual orientation fluidity characterised. Examples of these are *Yansã*, a female *orixá* who is also portrayed as masculine at times, and *Oxóssi*, who is said to have had sex with *Logunedé* (Rios 2011). In the mythology that orients *Candomblé*, this multiplicity of bodies and desires goes well and without any prohibition, and to a certain degree the same happens with the followers.

The *terreiro*, however, is in 'this world' and attended by people who are obviously part of a wider society, one which is historically sexist and homophobic. The multiple genders and sexualities of the conceptualised gods are not subject to judgments, and this freedom crosses the boundaries of the unknown to meet the followers, empowering in the religion those who are otherwise socially oppressed. Although the free presence of followers of multiple sexualities is far more stimulated than in most other religious practices in Brazil, there is still some tension in this regard when *aiê* meets *orum*.

To some, in terms of how (homo)sexuality is understood in Brazilian society, it is possible to say that the popular understanding of sexuality is "more about 'masculinity' and 'femininity', or 'being active' and 'being passive', or 'who is on top' and 'who is at the bottom' than about heterosexuality and homosexuality" (Fry & MacRae 1991:50). In the attempt to understand this logic (although concepts of sexuality may have changed in Brazil since 1991) and seeing how it happens in *Candomblé*, using Yoruba vocabulary from the *terreiros*, Rios (2011) approaches a ternary biased distribution regarding male sexuality: (i) *okós* (related to *aboró orixás*), who always take the active role in sex, regardless of the other partner's sex and/or gender. An *okó* is also called *homem mesmo* (the real man); (ii) *adés* (related to *iabás* - female *orixás*), who present themselves with features that are distinctively perceived as feminine, wear female clothing at times and, when they are *pais de santo*, receive all sorts of *orixás*, especially female ones with great dexterity. In sex, they take the receptive role. An *adé* is also called *bicha* at the *terreiros*, or even *bicha mesmo* (the real *bicha*), as noticed by Fry (1982); (iii) *loce*³ (related to *metás* – *orixás* who are *androgynous* or change sex over time) is the one that spends most of the time as an *okó*, is socially perceived as *okó* (masculine) but, in secret, ends up taking the passive role in sex. They can also *fazer sabão* (make soap, sex with no penis penetration, a sexist reference to lesbians widely used by gay men in Brazil). A *loce* is also called *homem* (man).

Despite this ternary categorisation, Rios (2011) noticed in the interviews with his informants that this presumably fixed labelling only gains meaning contextually, as they do not account for the possible choices and practices of the followers at the *terreiro*. They "use, interchangeably and depending on the situations, the various models available", being the homosexual/heterosexual binarism left aside in favour of the *terreiro*

³ 'Loce-Loce' is the greeting to Logunedé, an androgynous *orixá*.

nomenclature at most times, especially when there is money involved: a man who has sex with another man and gets paid for it is not homosexual, but rather an *okó* or *homem mesmo* (Rios 2011). The one who pays, on the other hand, will always be accounted as either *bicha* or *loce*, regardless of what sex roles he takes. In social life outside the *terreiro*, the duality homo vs hetero is at work at less sexuality-centred conversations, and *loces* and *okós* are all seen as *homens mesmo*. However, at the *terreiros*, “during breaks between ritual sequences, in day-to-day gossip, or any other situation where a man who has homosexual practices needs to think of sexual roles of another man, the tripartite *okó-loce-adé* combination comes back to usage, and details about relationships and behaviours are scrutinised and categorised” (Rios 2011:226).

This game of sexuality (or rather sex roles), in addition to gender, seems to fit the rigid frame of *Candomblé* hierarchy as well. Because of the need of openness to impersonating the at times voluptuous performances at possession, especially when under the control of female *orixás* or *pombagiras*, women or *adés* seem to best fit the position of the leader of the *terreiro* or as *rodantes*. As a *pai de santo* said, reported by Fry (1982),

‘there is the right way of doing it, otherwise it is not beautiful. I have a special way of doing it (he stood up and showed how to dance). These things give life to the spirit. It gives life to the presentation of the spirit in *Candomblé*’ (71).

If they are unable to embody the *orixás* and deities with dexterity, the performance is said to be a fake and/or ugly possession (Fry 1982). In this case, they best serve as *filhos de santo* who have other roles at the *terreiro*, such as the *ogans*, *filhos de santo* who do not *viram no santo* (are not possessed, don’t receive an *orixá* or other deities): these have other important responsibilities at the *terreiro*, such as carefully participating in animal sacrifice, singing or playing tambourines or large tambours to promote the necessary *batuque* (beat) at the *terreiro* that is required to create the best context and call the *orixás* and deities to come over the initiated *rodantes*.

This leads some followers to believe that the “construction of mediumship by means of possession engenders transformations in the person and also in social roles in which he partakes. From the male point of view, possession may also alter the role of gender, promoting homosexuality in male individuals who develop this mode of contact with the supernatural, affecting their virility” (Birman 2006:7). To many followers, mediumship therefore has the potential to change one’s self, having its effects “on the person’s nature in terms of gender, ‘feminising’ him in men and ‘empowering’ her in women” (Birman

2006:7). In this sense, already having the ‘feminised’ manners, effeminate men would be able to succeed more easily to eventually lead the *terreiro*. In the case of men said to be more masculine, it is believed that the possession may make them become effeminate. Several *pais* and *mães de santo* argue that this belief could not be based on anything true. Fry (1982:72) reported that “a *mãe de santo* said emphatically that ‘the sexuality of the saints [*orixás* and other deities] does not interfere in the physical integrity of their *filhos* whatsoever”. However, despite the apparent lack of consensus, “female *orixás*’ *filhos* are said to be ‘*bichas*’. In the same way, it is thought that any real *bicha* has a feminine saint as her protector” (Fry 1982: 72).

However, because of this alleged belief from part of the followers that mediumship has the potential to change their self, even affecting men’s virility, there is this widespread belief and fear among several heterosexual men of being possessed by female *orixás*, and especially by *pombagiras*. In such a state of trance, they would be prone to perform movements, speech, and singing in a female manner, and talk about topics (including sexual) related to the realm of femininity-gayness. Although this is overcome by *bichas encubadas* (in the closet) and the *terreiro* ends up promoting their coming out (Fry 1982), the fear remains among others, and normally *pais de santo* who are not effeminate usually do not receive female *orixás* at possession or, when they do it, the performance is said to be ugly (Fry 1982, 1995).

At a first glance, effeminate men are perceived as better at being possessed than non-effeminate men, and in order to become a male leader of a *terreiro*, one has to be a *rodante* (able or subject to be possessed). Therefore, it would seem that *Candomblé* would not do any less than empower gay men. This would set it up as the ‘City of *bichas*’, contradicting Landes’ previous claim (Rios 2004). For those who go through initiation, however, it seems that this is the only path for effeminate men to take. It is true that such a path confers them with some advantages, as being the ‘source’ of magical abilities brings together a fear of danger felt by others and therefore gives them power (Fry 1982). As already noted, this has to do with the social perception of heteronormative non-conforming individuals with the hybrid, exotic and non-human features of the *orixás* (Rios 2011). Hence, if there is a preference at the *terreiros* for women or *adés* to become *rodantes* because their performances at possession are said to bring more beauty, those who (presumably or not) are *okós* fear the possibility of becoming or being perceived as

adés. It is one's contemplation and admiration of a beauty one fears to eventually have themselves.

This puts *adés* in *Candomblé* in a similar position to *hijras* in Hinduism. As described by Nanda (1993: 550), "*hijras* are object of fear, abuse, ridicule, and sometimes pity", but they are also "conceptualised as special, sacred beings" (550) with special powers, also receiving respect. However, "because this respect is motivated by fear, the *hijras* are situated precariously in the social structure" (Hall 1997: 439), which posits them as a target of prejudice. *Bichas* in *Candomblé* are not officially recognised as a third sex as *hijras* are, nor do I think they would like to be, they are men who feel sexually attracted to other men. They face a similar reality as the *hijras* in the sense that they are feared and stigmatised, whereas they enjoy the power that is socially conferred to them because of the magical powers they are believed to hold. In this sense, although powerful as *rodantes*, *adés* have to contend with others' perceptions of them as exotic and related to non-human features of the *orixás*, more specifically the features that are not valued in society.

The apparent diversity concerning how open the religion is to multiple identities seems to also correlate with the 'nation' and the geographic region of the *terreiro*, as well as the position or role one is to take in the hierarchy of the religion (Fry 1995, Rios 2004). In this manner, for example, *terreiros* in Bahia of *Nagô* origin seem to welcome heteronormative non-conforming individuals more openly (Landes 1967, Rios 2004, Rios 2011). Fry (1995) shed some doubt on the general belief that multiple sexualities are always welcome at the *terreiros* by asserting that it is not the same case in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Campinas, all of which are in the southeast part of the country. Rios (2004) addressed the stigma faced by effeminate men at *terreiros* in Rio de Janeiro, discussing the difficulties gay men encounter in *Candomblé* in Rio if they want to take the role of *ogans*, members whose duties are other than being possessed by the *orixás*.

From Rios (2004), it seems that the role of *rodante* (including the leader of the house) is a feasible path for effeminate men, but taking the role of an *ogan* is a more difficult task. This is because *ogans* are also the link between the *terreiro* and wider society. Therefore, while *rodantes* may be effeminate, feminine *ogans* will not cause a good impression of the relevant *terreiro* in the outside world. Although Rios' (2004) account is limited to work conducted in a limited number of *terreiros* in Rio de Janeiro, it was reported well

enough to reinforce the discussion made in this text that effeminate gay men are the best fit for the magical and exotic posts, and one of these happens to be that of the leader.

Task or role divisions based on gender is not unique to *Candomblé*, it is a common practice in several (if not all) religions. At the *terreiros*, however, gay men have a clearer and at times positive position in the structure of the house. Furthermore, one's sexuality is a target of comments and gossip at several moments, including breaks in a *feita*, and in such gossip attributes of the *orixás* or other deities may be used to describe one's manners (Rios 2011). For instance, the duality of *Oxumaré's* sexuality or *Oxum's* femininity may be used to describe a *filho de santo's* effeminacy. This appropriation of gender and sexuality attributions of the worshiped divinities to talk about one's sexuality would not easily find an equivalent in most other religions in Brazil, like Kardecism or Catholicism, for example. Given *Candomblé's* heterogeneity across Brazil, it is not possible to confirm that this is true of all *terreiros*. It is clear, however, that gender and sexuality are seen in a more explicitly positive nature for some very important posts at *Candomblé*, although phobia of gayness is still an issue to a certain degree for others, as it has just been discussed.

In summary, *Candomblé* seems to be home to women and effeminate gay men in the context of possession, believed magical powers, or the feared exotic. This clearly gives them power as leaders, among many other aspects. However, constraints from broader society come into effect in the supernatural setting, in which actors create their sense of self in this economy of desires (and consequently power) that makes femininity convenient at times (e.g. trance), and inconvenient at others (e.g. contact with wider society). All this comes into play in a similar way, as I argued previously, to *Candomblé* as a whole, and in society more broadly. On being seen as exotic, *Candomblé* is taken as beautiful and socially relevant in syncretic events that turn into profane parties (e.g. carnival, *lavagem do bonfim*, *Iemanjá* day), or in popular music. On the other hand, it faces stigma and discrimination, which becomes particularly significant in several aspects such as the location of the *terreiros* and how the people (mainly black, homosexual, poor, uneducated) who seriously follow it (or attend in secret, in the case of the wealthy) are judged, or in the way it is understood as 'just' witchcraft, Satanism or superstition. Furthermore, to many, like the judge mentioned in 2.2, it should not even be regarded as a serious creed. In this sacred religion, a den of doom, a site for charlatanism or any other label, society cites itself. In the realm of the religions practiced in Brazil, however,

whether this is due to a link between one's self and beliefs in the occult or magical powers, or due the *terreiros* being a place for the stigmatised altogether, *Candomblé* seems to have over time become a religion that attracts multiple sexualities and welcomes them more openly than other religious settings.

Given all the openness and, at the same time, tensions lived by gay men in the context of this religion, it seems to be a useful setting to understand not *why* there are so many gay people who follow *Candomblé* (many have given their explanation to such phenomenon), but rather to understand, given the mentioned frame of the exotic and tensions, power and social constraints, *how* the different roles partaken within the *terreiro* (which are linked to sexuality) are constituted by followers of *Candomblé* in language use. The linguistic construction of oneself as *rodante* or *ogan* in different contexts and by the different followers of the religion or visitors may be linked to the perceived and feared exotic-esoteric-eroticised component in the framing of power at the *terreiro* that, apparently, resembles how *Candomblé* is constructed and perceived in broader society.

Broadly speaking, in this study I sought to investigate, in an ethnographic-informed study, how men who are *Candomblé* followers make use of plural configuration in the noun phrase to index social factors, including sexuality, as it will become clear in the remained of the thesis. The study will consider how plural configuration in the noun phrase is used by my informants as indexical of these factors to take up positionings that potentially relate to how they fit the rigid hierarchy of *Candomblé*.

It is important to notice that no sociolinguistic study has, to my knowledge, been conducted in a *terreiro*. We owe most of what we know about *Candomblé* to academic literature from the extensive anthropological work reviewed in Chapter 2. However, this work tells us little about the relationship between language variation and how a *terreiro* is structured. This is one of the gaps the present work aims to fill. My goal is to investigate the social positionings of the informants within the *terreiro* from a sociolinguistic ethnographic perspective, in light of their role within the *terreiro*, traditional social factors and other aspects of their lives. This is done by analysing how language varies in the community, with a focus on the plural configuration of the noun phrase, and examining how such variation correlates to the way people experience their practices at the *terreiro*, how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured.

2.6 Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed some relevant work and discussed *Candomblé* in the public sphere in Brazil, focusing on how it crossed the religious boundaries and reached other social settings. I have also discussed how this religion was historically constructed, as well as presented a more detailed description of the *terreiros* and their beliefs. Further, I have presented the considerations of a number of relevant researchers on how gender and (homo)sexuality relate to *Candomblé*, focusing on some tensions on the degree of acceptance of multiple sexualities at the *terreiros*. This was an introductory chapter that aimed to give a broad description of the context in which the work was done. More details about the specific *terreiro* where the research was conducted will be provided in the methodology chapter.

In the next chapter, I turn to the sociolinguistic background on which this work relies, as well as to the description of the dependent variable, which is the plural configuration in the noun phrase.

3

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I review the concept of Variationist Sociolinguistics and briefly explain some aspects of the theory that have changed as it evolved, which will be explored further in section 3.3. In the second part of the chapter, I present the dependent variable of the study, which is the plural configuration of the noun phrase. Additionally, in reviewing previous sociolinguistic work in Brazil, I explore the internal and social factors that will be taken into consideration in this thesis.

3.2 Variationist sociolinguistics

The theoretical background of this study sits within the field of Variationist Sociolinguistics (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 2006[1968]; Labov 2008[1972], 1994, 2001a, 2001b). Variationist Sociolinguistics, as a field, arose as a reaction against traditional structuralist views of language, particularly those of Saussure and Chomsky, towards an observation of language variation and change, and the social meaning that this variation carries with it.

To Saussure (2006), language is a fixed structure and separated from speech. According to Saussure, linguistic research should focus on the study of language (*langue*) and not speech (*parole*), since language is systematic and predictable. According to him “the ultimate object of linguistics is language taken in itself and for itself” (Saussure 2006:271). Saussure’s views were influenced by the Positivism of his time, according to which the researcher should maintain distance from the object of study, and in this sense his account on language and linguistics is understandable.

Similarly, Chomsky (1965, 1997), the founder of Generative Grammar theory, defended the idea that the researcher should keep distance from the researched object. He argued that the ultimate aim of linguistic research is the communicative competence of an ideal speaker in a homogeneous speech community. His aim was to study a finite number of

rules in a speaker's linguistic competence that can generate infinite sentences, and through such study understand how the human mind functions. To him, the study of speech – or linguistic performance, in his terms – should be disregarded, and for the same reasons that Saussure neglected the study of speech: linguistic performance would be non-systematic and unpredictable, therefore not subject to be analysed.

Labov's Masters' dissertation, which was partially published in Labov (2008[1972]), aimed at studying linguistic change by analysing speech. He noticed that language variation preceded language change, and that although previous authors had attributed a non-systematic nature to speech, he found that it was actually organised, a finding that came to be named "orderly heterogeneity" (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 2006:101). There were patterns that could be made explicit and explained considering internal (linguistic) and external (social) factors, and these factors should be considered in the study of both, language variation and change.

Labov created a methodological model which studies the existence of linguistic variants and their probability of use (Etto & Carlos 2017). The model deals with statistical analyses of collected data, and for this reason it is also known as Quantitative Sociolinguistics. Variationist Sociolinguistics studies the systematic variation of spoken languages and their variants, i.e., the different ways of saying the same thing in the same context and with the same meaning. And "a set of variants is called linguistic variable" (Tarallo 1994:08). For example, in the present study, the marking and the non-marking of the plural in the noun phrase are the variants, while the plural configuration of the noun phrase is the variable.

Linguistic change, in terms of Variationist Sociolinguistics, presupposes previous variation:

[...] for the systems to change, it is necessary that they have gone through some type of variation [...] from such and such structural characteristics, and in a given way of functioning, the system, nearly predictably, has gone in direction X and not direction Y (Tarallo 1994:25-26).

However, variation does not necessarily lead to change. Variants can remain "in combat" in a stable way indefinitely. In any case, there are patterns of variation, and it is the sociolinguist's goal to explain these patterns where before it sounded like 'linguistic chaos' (Tarallo 1994).

In terms of methodology, sociolinguistic research has traditionally relied on semi-structured interviews, collecting a large amount of data so that they can be statistically analysed. Labov (2006) suggests a set of measures to minimise the influence of the recording device and even the presence of the researcher on the speech performance of the informants, which he termed “the observer’s paradox”. This is normally accomplished by making the interviewee focus more attention to *what* they say rather than *how* they speak. Asking them to talk about their lives and their experiences is a way that traditionally has been used to reach such goal.

The aim of sociolinguistics is not limited to investigating variation and change, however. After all, there must be the social component in it, otherwise it would not be (socio)linguistics. One of the main goals of sociolinguistics is to examine language variation and the social meaning such variation carries with it (Levon 2010). In this sense, the use of a given variant may correlate with the speaker’s social class for instance, or schooling, sexuality, gender, race, ethnicity, professional life and so on. On taking sociolinguistics like this, it is also possible to understand that language variation is a means of social mobility, as one is judged as being part of a given social layer by the way they speak, and judged differently if they change the way they speak. Language variation is also a means of maintaining a *status quo* within society, since there will always be a variant which enjoys prestige - generally used by the upper classes, white or highly educated people - over more stigmatised variants. In light of this, sociolinguistic studies also analyse linguistic prejudice.

3.2.1 Developments

Variationist Sociolinguistics has gone through changes over the decades, and today some assumptions and methods are different from before. To Eckert (2012), Variationist Sociolinguistics has gone through three different waves. The first wave of sociolinguistic variation focused mainly on the correlations between linguistic variables in communities whose speech was considered to be homogenous (Gumperz, 1972), and macrosocial categories. Studies in the first wave looked for patterns in socioeconomic stratification and linguistic form, with focus on ethnicity, gender, social class, and age as the main social factors to influence the use of standard or nonstandard forms (Eckert 2012) looking at macrosociological categories, and “speakers emerged as human tokens – bundles of demographic characteristics” (88). The notion of the vernacular was central to the theory,

being the object of scientific examination. The methodology used for data collection was recorded interviews and their quantitative analyses. The first wave understood linguistic change as a result of pressures from within the linguistic system, affecting first those “least subject to the influence of standard language and spreading outward through populations increasingly resistant to change” (90). In terms of social meaning, this was understood based on socioeconomic hierarchy, meaning variables were understood as marking socioeconomic styles, “and stylistic and gender dynamics were seen as resulting from the effects of these categories on speakers’ orientation to their assigned place in that hierarchy” (90). The approach of the first wave saw the importance of variation based on an understanding of categories that selected and classified speakers instead of “through direct knowledge of the speakers themselves and their communities” (90).

The second wave brought about an ethnographic shift to analyse the relation between linguistic variation and local group organisation (Eckert 2012). It also attributed, Eckert continues, social agency to the vernacular use, and also to standard features, being the vernacular seen as a mode of expression of local or class identity. Studies from the second wave looked for local categories with the potential to “shed light on the relevance of macrosocial categories for life in a local setting” (91). A direct relation was then drawn between social dynamics “giving rise to these categories and the use of linguistic variables” (91). All in all, the second wave made use of ethnography to examine local categories that constitute larger categories (Eckert 2012). Both first and second waves of Variationist Sociolinguistics understand that language variation across the various contexts is meaningful socially, although the second wave also described itself as a practice-based approach, and drew heavily on Bourdieu. In terms of identity studies, they assume that language variables mark fixed social categories and reflect them.

The third wave, for its turn, moves away from “the view of variation as a reflection of social identities and categories to the linguistic practice in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape through stylistic practice” (Eckert 2012: 94). Style, in the third wave, is understood as “a multimodal and multidimensional cluster of linguistic and other semiotic practices for the display of identities in interaction” (Bucholtz 2009:46). Therefore, third-wave Variationist Sociolinguistics focused more attention to indexicality (Eckert 2012) at the same time that it saw the fluidity of identities as well as of the indexical field (Eckert 2008). In other words, the view of variation in the third wave considers that variation constructs social meaning and takes part in social change, rather

than just simply reflecting it, and in this aspect it is an important theoretical contribution (or path) to consider/follow in this study, especially because this is an ethnographic study and because it is work that aims to examine how social meaning (here understood as positionings/identifications such as gender, sexuality, schooling, role within the religion, for example) are taken up by informants in language use. It actually aims to analyse how these positionings are constructed in language use through the use of the different forms of pluralisation of the noun phrase to agentively index the different positionalities that are more relevant to them in a given context.

Other concepts, methods and approaches have changed as Variationist Sociolinguistics evolved. The concept of speech community has given way to community of practices (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992, 2007), and studies on speech perception have been incorporated to sociolinguistics (Campbell-Kibler 2005, 2008; Levon 2006; Mendes 2011), for example. Furthermore, studies on indexicality and social meaning have become more numerous, and the view of language as practice and language ideologies has been contributing to the understanding of how language shapes selves. Some of these developments, which are relevant to the present study, are reviewed in the next section, in which I revisit theories around the notions of indexicality, language ideologies, identity, and language as practice.

3.3. Language and the construction of identifications

The work proposed here points to the need for an account of indexicality, language ideologies, identity, and language as practice. It is so because in making their linguistic choices regarding the plural configuration of the noun phrase, informants may be constructing their selves by means of taking up positionings of different identifications, be them related to themselves or to others. It is also important because of the context of *Candomblé*, in which more than one system of understanding sexuality co-exist and intersect (see Chapter 2).

3.3.1 Language and indexicality

The way informants in this study construct themselves and others is part of what I call the sociolinguistic structure of the *terreiro*. To do such an analysis, I chose to look at the

plural configuration in the noun phrase (see section 3.4 below) and how it varies across several social groups. In making use of plural marks, or not, in the nouns within the noun phrase and also in metapragmatic practices about how one or others speak, informants build, shape and re-shape their selves. For these reasons, a consideration of indexicality is important so that we can analyse and understand how informants make sense of themselves and others.

The term *indexicality* has its insights in the theorisation of Charles Peirce, who defines three types of signs: index, icon, and symbol. To Peirce (1935), indices, given their form and presupposed meaning, show evidence of or point to something else and different. The traditional example that smoke is an index of fire is a good illustration. In Peirce (1935), an index differs from an icon. An icon brings an inherent similarity of what it represents, like a picture. A symbol does not have any inherent similarity with what it signifies, but conventionally represents something, like a flag representing a country.

In linguistic studies, it was predominantly Silverstein (1985) who expanded the idea to how specific linguistic uses, through repeated practices, index specific entities in the construction of social meaning. A variable (high pitch, for example) at some point is ideologically linked to something (e.g., femininity) in the process termed *iconisation* by Irvine & Gal (2000). The authors did not argue that high pitch is an icon of femininity, but rather that it is an ideological link made by speakers that makes it have the effect of an icon (process of iconisation). Iconisation refers to the process through which a relationship of co-occurrence (index) is understood as of inherent similarity (icon). As the iconised variable is repeatedly used and interpreted by speakers, it ends up conventionally being seen as evidence of femininity. In this manner, it acquires the characteristics of an index, and the phenomenon is then studied as indexicality.

Ochs' (1992) foundational approach to studies looking at how specific linguistic features are used in the construction of gender made indexicality gain more attention in the study of social identities. Ochs (1992) argues that a social group/category is indexed by language in either direct or indirect ways. In direct indexicality, which is far less common, gender identity is clearly stated in terms of linguistic features as, for example, in the use of pronouns in languages that have different grammatical gender forms. Indirect indexicality, on the other hand, has three phases: (i) language indexes traits (e.g. delicate) and, (ii) because a group of people (e.g. women) make more use of a given set of variables than another group (e.g. men), finally (iii) language users essentialise the link between

language and categories (e.g. women) because of an ideological belief that the trait and the category go together (e.g., woman, and therefore delicate). The essentialising part is ideologically erased, and speaking delicately becomes indexical of femininity. This account has the valuable contribution of showing that indexicality is, most of the time, indirect and always ideological. Ochs (1992) also accounts for the non-exclusive nature of gender indexicality, i.e., the indexing of gender may carry with it the marking of other social features.

The standard pluralisation of noun phrases (all items plural-marked) is socially perceived as indexical of male gayness (Mendes 2016). In the context of this research, if participants make more use of the standard variant, for instance, such usage should not be understood as directly indexical of gayness (sexuality). Following Ochs' (1992), what is being indexed may be something else, but indirectly and socially the standard pluralisation of the noun phrase may be seen as indexical of sexuality. Only careful analysis of linguistic production can unravel this and confirm or reject the social perception found in Mendes (2016), as it is important to see perception and production as two different practices, although intertwined.

Also focusing on how indexicality comes to existence, Agha (2007) notes that, in the building of what comes to be indexical in linguistic use and shapes social meaning, language is reflexive “in the sense that [it] is both a semiotic mechanism involved in the performance of these effects and in their construal” (16). Language use shapes local meaning by indexing meaning and evaluating such indexicality through stancetaking, for example. Or, as Blommaert (2010:1) states it, “we produce messages about our messages” whenever we use language. This process, termed ‘reflexivity’ by Agha, involves the use of language to typify other signs (including other language uses), in processes that involve metalinguistic uses that eventually consolidate, for a certain time and in a certain place, the indexical nature of linguistic features as part of a social organisation (Agha 2007:19-20). Therefore, metapragmatic evaluations of language users, including those of what they consider indexical of identities, allow for a constant move and construction of indexicality itself, c.f. Silverstein (1985) calls “shifters”.

As stated, one of my goals with this study is to understand how the *terreiro* is structured. The way participants talk about the role they partake in the *terreiro* is part of this structuring because this metapragmatic evaluation, in Agha's (2007) terms, constructs indexicality. It constructs what is seen as indexical of this or that role. The way one

describes his own role at the *terreiro* shapes the role, and therefore builds constantly what comes to be indexical of that role. In this sense, Agha's account is of great importance for the analyses of the data in this study, especially the qualitative analyses of the interviews, and the field notes.

Eckert (2008:454) argues that the use of categories to index social meaning is fluid, or a "constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable". In this sense, linguistic variables may index different entities at the same time, even if one of these entities is more prominent than others. That is why, she goes on to argue that "the field is fluid, and each new activation has the potential to change the field by building on ideological connections". In this understanding, specific linguistic features may index masculinity and low social class. In the present study, the same linguistic feature may index sexuality and high schooling, for example, and such indexicality may be in constant flux. Therefore Irvine & Gal's (2000) and Eckert's (2008) are also of paramount importance for the analyses in this thesis.

These language uses, including indexicality building/use, are not naïve. The speaker has their own intentions – accomplished or not – in the interaction. Language use is always indexical and ideological, and always political and involving power relations. As such, it is essential for a linguistic analysis to take these factors into consideration. In the next subsection I review literature on language ideologies and try to locate instances in which this theorisation may be important to my work.

3.3.2 On how categories are ideologically made through language

In this study, categories will be looked at in contextualised and situated practices of self- and otherness- construction or, as Levon (2010:65) suggests, as "a dialogic tension between identity and identification, between desire and ideology, between the individual and society". The ideological component of any interaction between individuals needs to be taken into account if we are to more holistically account for this 'tension between identity and identifications' in terms of gender and sexuality. My goal now is therefore to re-visit literature on language ideologies as studied by scholars previously and to situate how this theory is important to the present study.

To Irvine (2020:1), "language ideologies are conceptualisations about languages, speakers, and discursive practices. Like any ideology, language ideologies are enmeshed within political and moral interests and are shaped by cultural settings. To study language

ideologies, then, is to explore the nexus of language, culture, and politics". In this sense, as language ideologies are what speakers conceptualise in terms of language, speaker and discursive practices, studying them is to study how "people construe language's role in a social and cultural world, and how their construals are socially positioned" (p. 1). They're plural and ideological because as there is one positioning there is inevitably at least another positioning, another way from which the world is observed and experienced (Gal 2021).

We know from the influential papers on language ideology by Irvine (1992), Gal & Irvine (1995), Irvine & Gal (2000) and Irvine (2002) that linguistic differentiation refers to the set of "ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them" (Irvine and Gal 2000:35). In this sense, speakers construct linguistic representations which are ideologically biased, and act based on these representations.

One way I see the importance of the theorisation on language ideologies in the present work is to consider what participants talk about talking. There are instances in the interviews and field notes in which they position themselves (take stances) on ways to speak and, by extension, the speakers. This is done in an ideological way, and it will be interesting and revealing to analyse not only what they do but also the results of such practices in terms of positionality, of how they see themselves and others, and how these practices sociolinguistically situate each follower in the structure of the *terreiro*.

It is true that linguistic differentiation and language ideologies more broadly take shape for political reasons. The 'mechanism' of *iconisation-recursivity-erasure* and further applications and developments of this discussion, however, seem to have been used to examine how features of languages/varieties and (by extension) individuals and groups are judged as compared to others in an attempt to deconstruct capitalist/Western ways of attributing value to these individuals and groups. The move has been to describe how languages and varieties (and their users) are understood as 'better' or 'superior' through the examination of the underlying ideologies in linguistic differentiation. The semiotic practices described by Irvine & Gal (2000) have demonstrated that the differentiation between languages/varieties is ideological, unpacking the political agenda of power maintenance that results out of it. But it may well unravel interesting and potentially different scenarios if the camera is pointed from a different direction: from the perspective

of those who occupy a socially lower position, as perceived both by themselves and externally.

One example can be drawn from the people of Igbo and Yorùbáland, as described by Msibi (2011:66). They lived “without the restrictions of Western gender norms. Women were said to be highly organised, autonomous, and very powerful in these societies”, which was evident, according to Msibi (2011) commenting on Rubenstein (2004), in their worshipping of goddesses, matrilineality, a dual-sex system organisation, neuter linguistic elements or systems. The desire enjoyed by same-sex partners existed in these societies, but “it was not understood in the Western discourse of ‘gay’ and ‘lesbian’” (Msibi 2011:66). An analysis of language ideologies could, for example, show that the lack of ‘neuter linguistic elements or systems’ could have been used by people from Western societies to render the Yoruba people as less civilised or sinful because their linguistic system just expressed their inverted way of living and organising themselves: women at positions of power, same-sex sexual practices as socially accepted, women being able to be husbands (Msibi 2011), for example. What could be unpacked if we used the same tool of language ideologies to examine how groups like these, for instance, judge Western societies through the lenses of linguistic differentiation?

The way I foresaw doing this in this study was by analysing how race or, more specifically, blackness is seen at the *terreiro*. All informants self-categorised themselves as black. Their gods, the *orixás*, are pictured as black, and there are discursive practices which consistently glorify the black community and the Afro-Brazilian ancestry of *Candomblé*. Interestingly, light-skinned informants also categorised themselves as black and thus it seems crucial to qualitatively look at these facts in the context of language ideologies from the perspective of the oppressed. I am not suggesting that informants themselves examine their own practice, but rather that finding a way to look at linguistic differentiation (from the south, from Africa, from inside the *terreiro*) will help to unpack different ideologies at play in the way that groups make sense of themselves and others.

Indexicality and language ideologies are inherently linked to the concept of ‘identity’. In my fieldwork, informants self-categorised themselves against several social factors. This is what I understand as identity as a category of practice, i.e. how the individual sees themselves and others and how they live based on those assumptions. Identity as a category of analysis, on the other hand, is how researchers conceptualise ‘identity’ (and all its other substitutes) in an attempt to analyse how the construction of oneself takes

place. In the next section, I review literature on ‘identity’ and locate how I will approach it in the analyses of the data.

3.3.3 ‘Identity’: gender and sexuality in linguistic studies

The term ‘identity’ has had many uses in the past decades, be it in the humanities and social sciences more generally, or in linguistic studies more specifically. And that goes for how categories (e.g. gender, sexuality, ethnicity, social class) have been conceptualised. Earlier studies on language and sexuality (Legman 1941; Sonenschein 1969; Hayes 1981), for example, focused on analysing or compiling lists of linguistic use that was arguably shared by homogenous (mainly) gay communities. In considering sexuality as part of one’s self, these studies understood identity as a set of fit categories and, in turn, assumed homogeneity in what would be understood as a “gay” or “lesbian” language. In this sense, identity was considered as something one has, a pre-existing condition which, in turn, would be expressed through the various semiotic resources, including language, in an essentialist view of the term. Although valid for identity politics and activism (Bucholtz & Hall 2003), such a view came under scrutiny in later years as a result of academic discussions around the notion of identity and queer activism.

Many scholars, particularly from the 1990s, have argued to approach identities as fluid, fragmented, and in constant construction. One of the most influential arguments (although not the first) for this is found in Butler’s (1990) claim on gender performativity. Following the Foucaultian view of sexuality as discursively formed, as well as drawing on Austin’s (1962) theory of the speech acts and its re-reading by Derrida (1990), Butler (1990) argues that gender does not pre-exist the semiotic practices – including language – that presumably just express it. In Butlerian terms, gender is constituted in what she terms the “reiteration of semiotic practices”, and it is seen as the effect, not the pre-existing cause, of these practices (Butler 1999 [1990]). In that sense, gender identities and gender acts are produced at the same time (Cameron, 2005). Gender is no longer taken as a cultural interpretation of biological difference, it is instead seen as fabricated by the individual’s repeated actions, which are socially perceived as pertaining to sex. For its turn, sex is also thought of as a cultural interpretation that results from the individual’s gendering within the heteronormative matrix, which needs to be binary in order to reach social intelligibility and acceptance. In other words, gender would be a doing, resulting out of reiterated semiotic practices, with sex being its effect (Butler 1999, 2001; Hall 2007).

Although Butler's initial considerations primarily encompassed gender identity, the claim was also considered for other categories. To Cameron (2002[1995]), based on Butler's (1999[1990]) claim, states that we can also take the constitution of "any apparently and substantive social identity label" (16).

Butler's formulation on gender performativity influenced the humanities and social sciences significantly. Cameron (2002), for example, claims that Butler's argumentation on gender performativity involves language use, as:

there are 'stylizations' of the voice (its pitch, tone and accent), of lexical, grammatical and interactional choices, the repetition of which contributes to the construction of a 'congealed' social personal identity for the speaker. Speaking is a classic example of an act that is constantly repeated over time; it is also a classic example of an activity done within a 'rigid regulatory frame'. (Cameron 2002[1995]:17)

Hence, language use, she goes on claiming, is not something that occurs on the grounds of an already constituted identity, given that identity needs to be affirmed and reaffirmed linguistically to come to existence and continue existing: "if identity pre-exists language, if it is given, fixed and taken for granted, then why do language-users have to mark it so assiduously and repetitively?" (Cameron 2002 [1995]:17). The example given by Cameron (2002) pointed to the need of approaching identity as being shaped in social practices (e.g. language), and identity's need to be affirmed and re-affirmed in order to be sustained points to its fragmented nature, therefore subject to change. The fluidity and fragmented aspect of identity, as a tool for analysis, was an important step, although it contrasted with much of what identity is taken to be in identity politics and activism, i.e. identity as a category of practice, more fixed and naturalised.

Also influenced by Butler's (1990) account on identity, queer theory also deserves attention in its consideration of gender and sexuality. At the same time that queer (as a word) gained new meanings in the activism, from the 1990s, it also started being employed to name activist and academic approaches that defy essentialist understandings of gender and sexualities from the 1990s (Halperin 1990, Jagose 2001, Louro 2004). Activism, along with academic discussions, allowed for the best scenario for contestations of heteronormative-informed positions which resulted out of (so understood) sex and gender binarisms that have historically been the ground for the establishment and reaffirmation of power relations in society.

In academia, along with the influence of Foucaultian accounts on the discursive formation of sexuality, this took place drawing on the earlier notion of ‘deconstruction’ (Derrida 1976). The term is mainly attributed to French philosopher Jacques Derrida, who used it in his *Of Grammatology*, first published in French in 1967. In this book, and further discussion on the topic (Derrida 1985), the author builds a radical criticism towards beliefs in binary oppositions and essentialisms as part of an interpretation of the world he referred to as a ‘logocentric tradition’ within the ‘Western metaphysics’, or “a culturally specific system of meaning-making” (Sullivan 2007:50). Derrida (1976, 1985) believes such Western account builds dual oppositions which are unnecessary, as it always creates apparently fixed and hierarchical separations such as true and false or male and female, for example, which would as a result place one part of each binary thinking as opposed and inferior/superior to the other.

The Derridian account that there is no fundamental, essential and purely natural aspect in categories socially perceived as such was exactly what influenced those who affiliated to queer theory. The deconstructive approach proposed by Derrida also allowed for an analysis which “would highlight the inherent instability of the terms, as well as enabling an analysis of the culturally and historically specific ways in which the terms and the relation between them have developed, and the effects they have produced” (Sullivan 2007:51). Hence, for example, a deconstructive interpretation of heterosexuality would contest its naturalness or centrality and disavow any attempt to put it as natural/superior to homosexuality, no centrality can be guaranteed by/to any of them.

As it becomes clear, queer theory also proposed the view of gender as not pre-existing or fixed, but rather in constant construction, fluid, fragmented, and with no binary ‘opposite’. It advocated for no gender and sexuality hierarchy, but fluidity. This very same view has influenced an enormous body of studies on identities from the 1990s in different fields (Livia & Hall 1997).

In order to argue for this necessary (to a certain degree) conflation, in this study, of gender and sexuality (in theory and in everyday practice), a closer look at one of the concepts suggested by Brubaker & Cooper (2000) may be appropriate. Kulick (2000, 2002, 2003) and Cameron & Kulick (2003) argue that studies on language and sexuality should not rely so heavily on the notion of sexual identity in the studies of language and sexuality. Similarly to Brubaker & Cooper (2000), they propose a distinction between *identity* and *identifications*: whereas one may consciously claim the affiliation to a particular *identity*,

such affiliation would rather not be sustained by the wide set of interactions and different performances one may have in social life, and identity would not be able to encompass all the potential and actual positionings an individual may take, which is exactly what seems to happen in *Candomblé* (see Chapter 2), i.e., different models/positionings are taken according to the identifications the individual feels they want or need to construct.

Cameron and Kulick propose that the study of *identifications* would be rather more promising, as they are context-based, and may even contradict the individual's claim or presumed affiliation to an identity in particular (Cameron & Kulick 2003). The authors do not suggest that the concept of identity be dropped – after all, individuals rely on socially perceived notions of identities as static to construct themselves through identifications – as the analysis of my participants' positionings in terms of sexuality may reveal, i.e., they may rely on fixed notions of identities to then construct themselves through identifications which they think is more relevant to them to be salient in a given context. The process of looking more closely at identifications, the authors continue, implies that these are linguistically made more salient contextually, as individuals take up features which are available to them, situationally, features that are more relevant to the selves they want to construct in a given situation, and which may even contradict any identity they potentially feel they are ascribed or to which they claim to be affiliated (Cameron & Kulick 2003). The authors, therefore, suggest that a focus on sexuality as identity is limited, and that there is more to sexuality than what identity can offer.

The view of identifications allows for a way of seeing the constitution of selves (e.g. gender and sexuality) as constant, contextualised, and in creative-meaningful ways on the part of individuals in ways that intersect other modes of being in the world (e.g. social class, religion, profession). As argued by Levon (2010), Cameron & Kulick's (2003) claim on identification as a category of analysis “allows us to explore the totality of potentially contradictory psychosocial processes that influence an individual's outward behaviour” (64). This is how I aim to approach *gender* and *sexuality* as linguistically produced within men at *Candomblé*, with regards to theory and methodology, i.e., as identification practices that result out of the work done from the models that are available to the followers, understanding identifications as fluid both as a category of practice and a category of analysis in this specific context.

On the one hand, there is the fixed and congealed view of gender and sexuality socially available to my informants, as well as the sexuality and gender-fluid pantheon of *orixás*

on which they mirror in the making of their lives at the *terreiro* (see chapter 2). On the other hand, there is the peculiar reality of *Candomblé* as a group socially seen as inferior and suffering prejudice of all types of nature based on social categories seen as inferior: non-Christians, non-heterosexuals, mostly black, poor, and of African origins. The fluidity of gender and sexuality finds its underlying model in the archetypical gods themselves (and more often than not, more than one god of fluid gender and sexuality each ‘guide’ the way a given individual behaves in the world), in addition to how followers need to find a way to fight prejudice and still maintain their way of social life, which are at the same time fluid (in terms of gender and sexuality) and subject to social prejudice. It is in this sense that, as I see, gender and sexuality, on being studied as fluid and as a result of practices of identifications, are so both categories of analysis and categories of practice in the study to be done in this research.

It is true that gender and sexuality fluidity is present at *Candomblé* although limited by both what goes inside the *terreiro* (the roles devotees take) and also constraints of wider society of normative categories. However, I see the need of framing these categories (of practice and analysis) as both fluid in this study – at least to a certain degree. This is not only a theoretical, but also a political stance. Despite usual views that academic work can (or should) be put away from activism, I believe it is crucial that scholarly enterprises be at least aware of what it may promote to those who take part in the study, be it directly or not, positive or not. I understand this needs not be aimed at only in terms of what is done with the product of the study (a written thesis, for example), but also from the very core theoretical notion taken when doing the study, and that includes how gender and sexuality are understood once it is decided that they will be analysed in the data collected with participants. After all, around the present discussion, “how one thinks about identity has consequences for how one thinks about its relationship to language and how one approaches the analysis of linguistic data” (Cameron & Kulick 2005: 114).

Analysing sexuality in the study as it is experienced by the informants, i.e., as fluid although it is a category of practice, seems to me a basis to respect the way they experience their identifications. In such analyses, the linguistic practices of informants are obviously going to be taken into consideration. Therefore, an account of language as practice in the making of selves is necessary for the study to be complete, and will be addressed in the next section.

3.3.4 Language as practice

An important contribution to studies on identity is the consideration of practices through which the self emerges from an individual's agentive enactment of group positionings. In terms of language use as a way to enact gender and sexuality, for example, understanding language as "rehearsed" and with no variation would weaken the possibility to account for a potentially more conscious agentive indexicality, i.e., the possibility that speakers may use variables in a more conscious way than not to reach certain goals in their communities.

In the case of plural configuration of the noun phrase in this study, for example, the marking of the plural may be intentional and not just incidental. It may be because one has had more schooling, for example, but it may also be the case that the schooling has been done with the intention of mastering the standard variant for specific purposes. In this sense, language use as social practice is a way to understand that indexicality may be intentional, as the individual may want to portray themselves in a certain way deliberately through indexicality. And that indexicality may very well be the use of standard or nonstandard language.

In a Bourdieusian perspective, practice emerges out of the inter-relationship involving what he terms as the *field*, the *capital*, and the *habitus* (Bourdieu 1984). To him, field is the space (physical or social) where people interact, and has its own rules, which constrain each individual's position in it. These rules "assign value to the various "assets" that circulate within the field. These value-laden assets are what Bourdieu terms *capital*" (Levon & Mendes 2016: 9). The capital Bourdieu (1990) described can be economic (e.g., wealth, income), cultural (e.g., knowledge, credentials, language) or social (networks, influence). Symbolic capital, although normally not attributed to financial value, represents assets which are valuable in a given field (Levon & Mendes 2016). For instance, at university, during a lesson (the field), the knowledge a student has on a given topic or the way he/she speaks can be the symbolic capital, the valuable asset he/she has in order to engage in the activities in classroom. Such use is governed by the rules of the lesson/field, but the student must also make decisions on the use of this symbolic capital. Therefore, there is the encounter of the individual's previous experiences with the rules of the field and the decisions to make under those rules. This encounter of previous experiences and the dispositions to act in certain ways in the field is what Bourdieu calls *habitus* (Levon and Mendes 2016).

Returning to the example of how informants refer to themselves as being in *this* or *that* role, for example, indexicality is most of the times agentive. The same happens when they describe their individual *orixá*. There is always a component that can be understood as the capital in the field, in Bourdieu's terms, aggregating assets to being on this or that role, or in being *filho* of this or that *orixá*. It's the practice of constructing the habitus through language, therefore language as practice in the construction of specific identifications. It is along these lines that I approach language as practice in the qualitative analysis to come.

The understanding of indexicality, variation and the emergence of identity allows for an approach to language as practice, i.e., as one of the ways individuals and groups interrelate field, capital and habitus in the making of themselves. Third-wave variation analysis approximates the approach of identities as performative in the sense that it sees acts of emergent identities as the result of the enactment that takes place in language use. The understanding of how identities emerge out of language as localised practice seems to suggest that indexicality as a means to construct gender and sexuality be considered both in terms of variation and interaction or, more specifically, interaction in variation.

Considering practice from Bourdieu's as well as Eckert & McConnell-Ginet's (1992; 2007), outlined above, the notion of normativity and of communities of practice, rather than speech communities, may offer important theoretical insights for my analysis. Eckert & McConnell-Ginet (1992, 2007) adopt Lave & Etienne Wenger's notion of community of practice and bring it to sociolinguistics, understanding it as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in some common endeavor" (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet 1992: 464), which is exactly what the *terreiro* is. In this manner, "ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of their joint activity around that endeavour" (464)

Having located the present work in Variationist Sociolinguistics and reviewed background on it and on its developments, I also addressed indexicality, language ideologies, identity, and language as practice. In the next part of the chapter, I present a literature review on the variable considered in this study, i.e., the plural configuration of the noun phrase. I also review previous work in the field and, in doing so, explore internal and external factors that will be used in the analyses, especially the quantitative part of the study.

3.4 Literature review on plural configuration of the noun phrase

This section is a review of the linguistic variable, i.e., the plural configuration of the noun phrase, as well as of internal constraints and social factors. I start by describing the variable and exemplifying it with noun phrases from the dataset. Then I review previous work in the field, focusing on internal and social factors that constrain the marking or non-marking of the plural in the noun phrase. In doing so, I divide the independent variables into syntactic and morphosyntactic factors, and phonological and semantic factors. Finally, I discuss some gaps identified in the field, which the present work has the potential to fill.

For the purposes of this study, the concept of a noun phrase is a set of words without a verb and with a noun as its head (Payne 1997). The head of the noun phrase “is the one word in the phrase which refers to the same entity that the whole phrase refers to” (Wáu 2020:10). Other words may accompany the head, before or after it, clarifying and/or modifying it, such as determiners, numbers, adjectives, and indefinite quantifiers, for example. A noun phrase can be singular or plural, and the focus in this thesis is the noun phrase in its plural form.

In standard Brazilian Portuguese (STA), all plural words in the noun phrase (NP) are marked, i.e., the marking of their plural is redundant (Salomão 2010). This, however, is optional in informal language (Mendes 2016): not all items need to be plural marked and may be nonredundant (-Ø). Phrase (1) below is an example of STA marking, where all items receive the plural marking (-S). As for (2) and (3), one or more items are not marked (-Ø), respectively. Nearly always, once a word in the noun phrase is unmarked, all others to its right (the rest of the noun phrase) are also not plural marked. In either case, the semantic component is kept, i.e., the noun phrase is understood as fully plural. The plural configuration of the noun phrase in the speech of my informants, whether it is standard or nonstandard, is the linguistic variable in this study. For the sake of terminology in this thesis, standard, redundant, marked, and STA will be used interchangeably, and so will nonstandard, nonredundant, unmarked, and -Ø.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>O-S orixá-S divino-S.</i> | Transl. The divine <i>orixás</i> . |
| (2) <i>O-S rodante-S mais velho-Ø</i> | Transl. The older <i>rodantes</i> . |
| (3) <i>O-S terreiro-Ø sagrado-Ø</i> | Transl. The sacred <i>terreiros</i> . |

Plural configuration of the noun phrase is one of the most widely studied phenomena in Brazilian linguistic variation (Antonino 2007; Brandão & Vieira 2012; Oushiro 2015), so much that it is difficult to write a review and not risk leaving important publications out. Therefore, this review is, by no means, exhaustive. One of the reasons for so much interest in the phenomenon may be the fact that there is a real “combat” between the variants in the speech of Brazilians across the country. This phenomenon has taken place throughout Brazilian history through the contact of people who spoke different languages, and has been termed *irregular linguistic transmission* (Lucchesi 2008; 2012; 2015), which is today in a process of sociolinguistic polarisation (Lucchesi 2019).

In this process of sociolinguistic polarisation, at least in part of the country, a change in progress is taking place, with STA forms slowly taking over again. When reviewing research done in three isolated Afro-descendant communities in the interior of the State of Bahia, Lucchesi (2019) included “time out of the community” as a social factor, considering those who had spent at least 6 months outside their communities and then returned. He found that there was a process of change among those who had been outside the community, especially among the younger members of the community, as they had spent time in more urban areas, had studied more and had had access to other means of communication. He termed this change in progress as “top down” and “from outside to inside” the communities, as the participants were assimilating other forms of the language, from nonstandard to standard, and because they were returning home after some time in urban areas. Nominal number agreement was one of the variables analysed by Lucchesi. Findings suggest that the factor “time out of the community” is one of the most important aspects for the change in progress in the communities researched, weakening the context of sociolinguistic polarisation present in Brazil, the context of “combat” between variants, one of them prestigious and the other stigmatised.

This seems to be true only for some parts of the country though, especially in small communities and rural areas. Oushiro (2015), based on 118 interviews with informants grouped by gender, schooling and social class from the city of São Paulo, concluded that the nonstandard variant is an index both of masculinity and of belonging to some neighbourhoods of the city. The analysis of that study also pointed out that the correlation between its use and the general feeling of being *paulistano* (from São Paulo) is gradually disappearing. In her analyses, however, the presence of the redundant and the nonredundant forms of pluralisation of the noun phrase remains stable (i.e., no change in

progress). These results contrast with what Lucchesi (2019) found, showing the apparent change in progress he found is not homogeneous across the country.

When considering social factors, the majority of studies suggest that the nonstandard form is associated with low schooling and masculinity (Mendes 2016). Brandão (2013), for instance, conducted a study involving participants from Brazil and São Tomé, in Africa. She interviewed 18 informants from Brazil, grouped by gender, age and schooling; 22 informants from São Tomé, grouped by gender, age and schooling; and 9 students from São Tomé from different levels of education. She found that “low percentages of the presence of the plural marker in some communities [are] formed of individuals who are illiterate or have a low education level (in particular, those who live inland or are Afro-descendants)” (p. 52) Potentially for these reasons, the nonstandard form associated with low schooling and race is stigmatised, as the standard is not followed by some of her informants.

On talking about Standard Brazilian Portuguese, Scherre (1997) affirms that “in the agreement within the noun phrase, the explicit plural markers are employed in all their pluralisable elements when the head of the phrase is formally plural”. At the same time, it is true that variation is motivated by the pluralisation of the social context and the speakers themselves (according to age, schooling, and geographic region, for example). For these reasons, the nonstandard variant is stigmatised (Mendes 2016), as it is normally favoured by people of lower class and schooling, or from rural areas, not following the classic prescriptive standard described by Scherre (1997).

3.4.1 Internal factors

Internal factors have their importance in the constraint of the plural marking of the noun phrase. Therefore, it is not surprising that several researchers have analysed them in previous work. Here I present the most common internal factors already studied. In doing so, I review work in the field to illustrate why and how such factors were analysed.

3.4.1.1 Syntactic and morphosyntactic factors

The most commonly studied internal factors in previous work on pluralisation of the noun phrase are syntactic and morphosyntactic. In this subsection I present the significance of these factors in the context of sociolinguistics research in Brazil.

One of the internal constraints most taken into consideration in the analyses of plural configuration of the noun phrase is *linear position*. This refers to the position that the word occupies within the noun phrase. Studies have suggested that when in the first position, that word favours number marking (Braga & Scherre 1976; Scherre 1978). In this sense, the first item would be marked whereas the others would be prone to be $-\emptyset$, as shown in examples (4) and (5) below.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| (4) A-S <i>boa</i> - \emptyset <i>maneira</i> - \emptyset | Transl. The good manners |
| (5) A-S <i>maneira</i> - \emptyset <i>boa</i> - \emptyset | Transl. The good manners |

Scherre (1988) had approached this predictor. She conducted research interviewing 48 adult informants in Rio de Janeiro, grouped by schooling (1-4 years of studies, 5-9 years of studies, and 9-11 years of studies), age (15-25 years, 26-49 years, 50 years or more) and gender (male/female). In her research, she also interviewed children (7-14 years) grouped by number of years of schooling (1-4 years of school and 5-8 years of school) and gender (male/female). One of the goals of the study was to describe and explain the set of linguistic factors that constrain the pluralisation of the noun phrase. Scherre (1988) argued that the linear position rule could apply to any element in the first position, but also that the marking of the plural was related to the position of the item in relation to the head of the noun phrase. The change in that position would influence the marking or not of the plural, as can be seen in examples (6) and (7). The position of the item before the head of the noun phrase would favour its plural marking (7), whereas its position to the right of the head would favour the $-\emptyset$ form (6).

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| (6) O-S <u><i>orixá</i></u> -S <i>divino</i> - \emptyset | Transl. The divine <i>orixás</i> |
| (7) O-S <i>divino</i> -S <u><i>orixá</i></u> -S | Transl. The divine <i>orixás</i> |

Scherre (1988) was then describing another constraint: the *relative position* of the word in the noun phrase, which was supported by later work (Brandão & Vieira 2012).

In their study in Nova Friburgo, interior of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Lucchesi & Dália (2020) analysed further the claims by Scherre (1988) about linear and relative position in the noun phrase. Lucchesi & Dália (2020) reached several conclusions: they found that the plural marking of the determiner in first position before the head of the noun phrase is categorical; when there are two determiners, the marking of the plural decreases,

becoming semicategorical; the modifier that occupies the first position before the head is also marked categorically; in cases of phrases with no determiners before the head, the word in the first position is marked in a similar way to when there is only one determiner, i.e. categorically; the marking of the plural in second position, regardless of class, decreases significantly when compared to the item in first position; the frequency of plural marking of post-head modifiers “is always inferior to the nouns that precede them (e.g., *uma-S roupa-S velha-Ø*/some old clothes)” (795); post-head positions are those which are less marked as STA when they are separated by another item (e.g. *o-S rodante-S mais jovem*/the younger *rodantes*).

Scherre & Naro (1992) and Oushiro (2015) argued that *intra noun phrase parallelism* has the tendency to influence the marking of the words within the noun phrase. When a word has its plural marked, chances are higher that the next word is marked (8). When it is unmarked, chances are higher that the next word will also be unmarked (9). This may explain why the non-marking of the plural takes place for the rest of the noun phrase once an item is unmarked.

(8) *O-S rodante-S joven-S*

Transl. The young *rodantes*

(9) *O-s animal-Ø sacrificado-Ø*

Transl. The sacrificed animals

Grammatical class is another internal factor considered in several studies. Guy (1981), for example, conducted research in Rio de Janeiro, interviewing 20 working-class informants grouped by age (15 to 54 years) and gender (male/female), all of whom were illiterate. He found grammatical class constrains the plural configuration of the noun phrase. In his account, determiners, nouns and adjectives, appearing in this order in the phrase, would be more prone to receive the plural marking. He claims that there is a correlation between the linear position of the item in the noun phrase and its class. Scherre (1988), with whom Guy had worked, argues against this claim, since the order of items of different classes may vary to a certain extent, proposing that nouns can occupy the 3rd position, adjectives can also be in the 2nd position and that the plural marking of these items may alter due to this (cf, Lucchesi and Dália 2020).

Considering only the class of the first item (*first item class*) Oushiro’s (2015) work has demonstrated that this is another factor that constrains the pluralisation of the noun phrase. In her study, when the first item of the noun phrase is an indefinite article or a demonstrative, -Ø is favoured, whereas adjectives, indefinite quantifiers and nouns favour

STA marking. Her study has also revealed that *post-head configuration* determines whether marked or unmarked plural is used: “the presence of post-head words favours -Ø marking” (p. 148), whereas their absence favours STA marking of the head.

Regular morphosyntactic pluralisation, with the adding of a sibilant to the word, here referred to as one of the *STA processes of pluralisation*, is another internal factor that influences the marking or not of the plural in the noun phrase. When pluralisation in standard Portuguese is regular (*casa* > *casa-S/houses*, as opposed to *coração* > *coraç-ÕES/hearts*), the tendency is for the word to be plurally unmarked in the noun phrase (Scherre 1988; Oushiro 2015). This, of course, is true in contexts of variation, not being a rule in standard Brazilian Portuguese.

Oushiro (2015) did not find a correlation between the *elements number* and the plural configuration of the noun phrase to a statistical significance. It is well-established, however, that the first element of the noun phrase always favours STA, no matter what grammatical class it belongs to, influencing the marking of the elements that follow it (Baxter 2009). The other elements show more chances of -Ø the more to the right they are in the phrase. Guy’s (1981) study has shown that, from the second position in the noun phrase, there is a gradual decrease in plural marking, being 28% of STA for the second element and reaching 0% for the fifth. This trend had already been observed in previous studies (Braga & Scherre 1976; Braga 1978; Scherre 1978). Such results may explain why the longer the noun phrase, the higher are the chances of there be variation in the nominal number agreement. However, this fact cannot be dissociated from other constraints, such as if the item is the head of the phrase, if it is a determiner, or a modifier (Scherre 1988; Lucchesi & Dália 2020).

There is also the special case of the bare noun phrases, in which in standard Brazilian Portuguese the head is in its singular form but with a potential plural meaning. A bare noun phrase is that which has one or more nouns with no determiner nor plural marks, as in (10) and (11) below:

(10) *Rodante e ogan trabalha..*

Literal Transl.: ‘Rodante and ogan works.’

Meaning: Rodantes and ogans work.

-
- (11) *Criança e adolescente brinca.* Literal Transl.: ‘Child and teen plays.’
Meaning: Children and teens play.

Bare singular nouns in Brazilian Portuguese differ from other Romance languages as they may occupy the position of the subject – (10) and (11) above – or the object in a sentence (Beviláquia, 2015). See (12) below:

- (12) *Eu assisti filme ontem.* Literal Transl.: ‘I watched film yesterday.’
Meaning: I watched films yesterday.

Notice that it is standard not to mark the plural (-S) of the bare nouns in the bare noun phrase because they are singular in form, although they have a plural meaning. The bare noun phrase, although with a plural meaning, is not subject of analyses in this thesis. This is because it is not expected that the speaker marks the plural of the noun, the standard is not to mark if it is the case of a bare noun phrase. Hence, since it is always unmarked, it is impossible to know whether the speaker is producing a bare noun phrase or an unmarked plural noun phrase.

3.4.1.2 Phonological and semantic factors

I have categorised *singular tonicity* and *following phonic context* as phonological factors, and *animacy* as a semantic factor. These three factors are presented in this subsection, based on previous work which has analysed them. Studies have shown that a word tends to be marked when its singular form is a stressed monosyllable in the noun phrase (*Singular tonicity*) (Salomão 2010, Oushiro 2015). The *following phonic context* (whether a consonant, a vowel, or a pause) is another factor that constraints the plural configuration of the noun phrase. Oushiro (2015) found that words followed by a consonant or a pause favour -Ø more than those followed by a vowel. This had already been found in Guy (1981). To Oushiro (2015:144), this may have to do with “the tendency of formation of the canonic syllable CV” [consonant+vowel]. When followed by a vowel, the sibilant may be made into another syllable, whereas “its maintenance in words followed by consonants or a pause generates syllables CVC” (144) [consonant+vowel+consonant].

The tendency, she argues, in the case of words ending in a consonant or a pause, may be phonological in order to avoid CVC syllables.

As for the *animacy* of the head of the noun phrase, findings are not homogeneous across the country. Oushiro (2015) and Brandão & Vieira (2012), for example, investigated if animacy has an effect over plural configuration of the noun phrase. Brandão & Vieira's (2012) results show that when the phrase is inanimate (like in *as pedra-Ø/the stones*), the tendency is for $-\emptyset$, while in her own study in São Paulo Oushiro (2015) has found the opposite.

3.4.2 External factors

External (social) factors have been extensively examined in various Brazilian sociolinguistic studies. Findings of variation and change vary, and are sometimes conflicting. Guy (1981) found no systematic result that showed an effect of age over plural configuration of the noun phrase. He found that women tend to use the standard form significantly more than men. He concluded that these findings are constrained by two internal factors: the next stressed context, and the position of the word in the noun phrase.

Variation in age group, however, is one of the most common factors found to have an effect on pluralisation marking in the noun phrase. The findings sometimes point to a stable variation, whereas others suggest a change in progress in apparent time. In any case, Guy's finding that age had no overall effect on plural configuration is much more of an exception than a rule.

Scherre (1988), for instance, who grouped her interviewed informants in Rio de Janeiro by age, schooling, and gender, reached different results. Her analyses showed that informants with more schooling tended to use STA more often than those with lower schooling, a finding which is not surprising in sociolinguistic studies (Oliveira 1982) and which was confirmed in Scherre's (2006) study on nominal and verbal number agreement. As for gender, her study suggested that women favour STA more often than men. The age group presented a curvilinear distribution not accentuated, with younger and older informants favouring the use of $-\emptyset$ and the intermediate age favouring STA, a context proper of stable variation. Antonino (2007) in her study of agreement in the predicative

found that, considering gender, age, schooling and time in the community, only age was found to be statistically significant, which showed STA among younger participants.

When analysing schooling, age, and gender from interviews with her informants in Vitória, Southeastern Brazil, Biancardi (2011) reached a surprising finding about gender, whereas her findings regarding the other factors were in line with previous research. She found that, in the age category, the younger participants tended to use the redundant form more often than older ones, a finding also reached in other studies (Naro & Scherre 2011), pointing to a potential change in apparent time. For the schooling stratification, the higher education the more chances of use of the standard form, which was expected. As for gender, the results were surprising: men tended to use the redundant form more frequently than women. Biancardi (2011) does not present an explanation for such a phenomenon, but stresses that the community researched is peculiar in regards to this variable, as Benficia's (2010) study on verbal agreement had reached similar results for the gender group with the same community.

One study that includes ethnicity as a variable is Fernandes (1996). Her findings revealed that informants with more schooling tended to use the standard form more often than those with less schooling, supporting what is found by most other studies. As for age, older participants favoured the standard form more often, pointing to a change in progress, from STA, more traditional, to $-\emptyset$, more innovative. Her age groups were 25-49 years, and 50+ years. As for ethnicity, her study has revealed that informants of German and Slavic origins favoured the redundant form, followed by those of Azorean and Italian origins, in this order. Not surprisingly, in the case of gender, women tended to use the $-\emptyset$ less frequently than men.

There are also cases in which gender does not show an effect over plural configuration of the noun phrase. Salomão (2010), for instance, analysed interviews and self-recordings done previously to her research and which were available in a database in São José do Rio Preto, Southeastern Brazil. She grouped the informants by age, schooling, and gender. Surprisingly, she did not find gender as a constraint to the pluralisation of the noun phrase in her study. Schooling and age, however, showed an effect. Lower schooling favoured the use of $-\emptyset$, whereas higher education favoured STA. As for age, younger participants showed more use of STA than older participants, tending to decrease again after 55 years of age. She argues that informants between 26 and 35 years old tend to use STA more often exactly because it is within this age range that informants attend higher

education and start working, a fact she also considers relevant for the prevalence of the standard form.

Other factors that have been researched in studies on linguistic variation in Brazil include cultural orientation (Naro, 1981), occupation, linguistic sensitivity and media contact (Scherre, 1988), as well as geographic origin (Dias 1993). Despite the paramount importance of considering the more traditional factors (age, schooling, social class, and gender), this is important to notice because social factors are not fixed and stable. The boundaries between social factors are not necessarily clear-cut and individuals may pertain to more than one category. For instance, in the case of friends from different social classes, of the interaction of different ages groups through social media, or someone who does not study, but enjoys reading and therefore has a knowledge in a subject, or has done technical courses outside of formal schooling

This is the case in Naro (1981). In her study of subject-verb agreement in a speech community in Rio de Janeiro, she noticed that there were two different groups in a sample of 20 informants. Those informants were all adults, and students of a literacy course aimed at illiterate adults and provided by the Brazilian Government, called MOBREAL. The analyses revealed that part of the group showed a movement of change in progress, whereas the other maintained the standard forms. Those who favoured the standard showed a wider cultural view than those who favoured the nonstandard variant. Traditional variables such as gender, social class and geographic origin did not show any effect over the different choices of the participants. However, those who kept the STA forms reacted more positively to watching soap operas, claiming they watched them and could follow their content, a different trend from those who favoured the nonstandard forms, who reported that they did not watch soap operas and when they did watch they could not follow what was presented. In 1981, Brazilian soap operas targeted the middle class and those with more schooling. Naro and Scherre (1991:10), on reviewing Naro's (1981), claim that watching soap operas (or not) was not considered as causal between the type of language used in the soap operas and used by the informants, given that "both groups are equally exposed to standard language in radio programmes, films and various other TV shows". However, they may have overlooked the fact that in 1981 access to these media forms in Brazil was very limited. Less than half the households at the time had a TV, and access to soap operas was limited to just a few. Therefore, the

subdivision made by Naro (1981) may be accurate in the sense that watching soap operas had a correlation with using the STA forms in the study.

A similar claim is made by Oushiro (2015) when considering schooling. To her, notwithstanding the importance of considering schooling as a social factor, it is somehow limiting to only consider primary, secondary and higher education. Other aspects may be at stake, and somehow related to social class, such as access of participants to social media, social network, external contact, and urban mobility, for example. Therefore, following these studies, other social factors rather than just the traditional ones should be taken into consideration if we are to have a better picture between language variation and society.

Another aspect, which is the core focus in Naro and Scherre (1991), is the fact that not always does a change in progress, and by extent a stable variation, take place linearly over time only. Different variants may be “in combat” among and even within social groups. They argued that a flux and a counter-flux of variation may emerge among participants when they are grouped in a non-conventional way, that is, considering the variation that occurs within the subgroups of each factor. For example, with regards to the socioeconomic factor, they considered aspects such as number of lower class neighbours, the presence (or not) of modern furniture at home, inadequate housing, and difficulty in transportation access. They reported variation within the same social group, with some informants favouring the standard forms and some the nonstandard ones. They termed “creolised” the group that showed more nonstandard forms and were from lower class. This was done in alignment with other studies (e.g. Guy 1981) which claimed that many changes in Brazilian Portuguese “are due to a stage of creolisation of the language among Africans and Afro-descendants during slavery period” (p. 13). Conversely, they used the term “decreolisation” to refer to the practices of informants of lower classes who showed more use of STA. Considering the surprising possibilities, e.g. lower class informants using more STA, they argue for the existence of a flux and a counter-flux involving variation and change in their analysis.

There is no consensus as to whether there was a process of creolisation in Brazil. Lucchesi (2009) argues against such hypothesis. To him, “the access to the target language is determined by the proportion of the dominant population. In other words, the smaller the proportion of the dominant segment, the bigger the chances of creolisation are” (p. 62). As the white population in Brazil has never been less than 30%, reaching nearly half of

the contemporary population (Lucchesi 2009), “the access to the target language models in Brazil has always been bigger than what can be observed in more typical situations of creolisation” elsewhere (p. 63). In addition, he claimed, due to the high mortality among people who were enslaved in Brazil, there was little room for social life, to constitute a family, or even have children, and any possibility of creolisation would die with the death of the person.

Although not talking of creolisation *per se*, Baxter’s (2009) study shows intriguing results. When analysing data obtained from interviews with his informants from two rural communities of Afro-descent (Helvécia, in the interior of the State of Bahia, in Brazil, and Monte Café, interior of São Tomé, in Africa), he found that in Helvécia the pluralisation of the noun phrase is in process of change. Specifically, younger participants favoured the $-\emptyset$ the same way as older participants almost always do. This result, I think, may be because Baxter researched rural communities, and it is well-established that in rural areas $-\emptyset$ is favoured.

Dália & Lucchesi (2021) assume that the variation in the pluralisation of the noun phrase has its origins in the acquisition of Portuguese as a second language by Brazilian indigenous people, African slaves and other people who colonised the region they researched, in a process that has been termed *irregular linguistic transmission* (Lucchesi 2008; 2012; 2015). They conducted research in the 3^o Distrito de Nova Friburgo, interior of the State of Rio de Janeiro, and claimed that linguistic transmission has “perpetuated over time due to strict access to formal education by the biggest portion of the population”. However, they reported that from the mid-20th century there has been an increased use of the standard form, which they attributed to increased schooling, influence of mass communication, as well as to the fact that many inhabitants moved from that rural area to urban centres and then returned to the rural community.

3.5 Gaps in the field

I have reviewed previous and prominent work on the plural configuration of the noun phrase. In doing so, I have presented and discussed internal and external factors that have the potential to constrain the marking or non-marking of the plural in the noun phrase. In this section, my aim is to approach some of the gaps spotted in the field and to suggest how the present study may fill such gaps.

It has been demonstrated that the inclusion of other social factors in addition to those that have traditionally been studied has resulted in interesting and diverse results. The inclusion of these factors has, however, not been practiced widely enough, given that the majority of the studies focuses mainly on schooling, gender, social class, age and geographic region. A factor that none of the reviewed studies has included is the role of the informants within the community (e.g. housewife/secretary, banker/cleaner), presumably because it was assumed to be covered by social class. However, a more fine-tuned investigation is needed as occupation and class do not always go hand-in-hand. After having done fieldwork and understanding better how the *terreiro* is structured, I aim to fill this gap in this study by considering *role* (*rodante/ogan*) – along with other social factors and practices within the *terreiro*.

Most of the studies reviewed here were not ethnographic. There are important social factors that are observable only from an ethnographic perspective, such as urban mobility, contact with different social networks, the subjects of informants' interactions, unelicited use of the language, constant or not constant use of social media. This study aims to fill this gap by linking ethnography and sociolinguistics to unravel these potential practices of the informants and explain why variation may take place in their daily lives.

Finally, I believe that the hypothesis of a process of creolisation among black people in Brazil has not been proved wrong or right due to a methodological issue, at least as far as plural configuration of the noun phrase is concerned. Normally, linguistic studies on the role of race in speech takes one of the following two paths: in the first case, they stratify informants by race (black vs white, for example), and proceed to the analyses based solely on these factors without looking for interactions between race and other social factors. In such cases no significant effect may be shown because of several reasons: informants may be from the same social class or have the same level of education, for example. In this case, the hypothetical study will conclude that there is no effect of race over the linguistic choices of participants. Or, if the white (or black) portion from the sample has more schooling, for example, then the effect may be attributed to race, which is misleading. In a second scenario, studies are done with black isolated communities. Although they may take other factors into consideration, such as schooling, gender and social class, the lack of non-black participants may affect the analysis so that any finding could automatically be attributed to race. A way out of this conundrum would be to have a sample and stratify informants by race and other social factors, and then analyse race in

interaction with other social factors. By doing this, it could become clear what role, if any, race is playing in the linguistic choices of participants, and we would be able to know if there is such a thing as an Afro-Brazilian Portuguese.

3.6 Summary

I began this chapter situating the present study within the scope of Variationist Sociolinguistics. Then I provided a review of what this area is and explained how my work fits within the field. I also reviewed theories on indexicality, language ideologies, identity and language as practice, also discussing how these theories are important for the analyses presented in this thesis. I also described the plural configuration of the noun phrase in Brazilian Portuguese, which is the dependent variable of this study. Then I presented internal factors that, according to previous work, constrain the marking or non-marking of the plural in the noun phrase. I then proceeded to an exploration of previous work that has looked at external (social) factors that may constraint nominal number agreement. In doing so, I reviewed methods and results from different studies, some reaching similar results regarding variation and change and others with contrasting results. Based on previous work done in the field, a discussion of more innovative ways of looking at factors was provided, considering not only the traditional external variables, but also other facets of the participants' lives, such as their daily practices and cultural orientation. Finally, some gaps were identified in the reviewed literature, which the present study sought to fill. In the next chapter, I present the general methodology followed to collect data for this study.

4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I describe my fieldwork in Salvador (Bahia, Brazil), between August and December 2019. The chapter begins with a brief review of the concept of ethnography and sociolinguistic ethnography in particular, which is the methodology within which I locate the present data collection. Thereafter, I provide a description of the city of Salvador (the macro-level setting of this research, see 4.3) and of my preliminary visits to its *terreiros*. I will then describe how and why I decided on a particular site to conduct my research and provide an in-depth description of the *terreiro*, the informants and how they were grouped. Finally, I will present an overview of the methods I used to collect the data this thesis is based on.

4.2 Sociolinguistics and ethnography

Ethnography can be understood as a social research methodology whereby the researcher immerses themselves in the social setting of their informants in order to capture social phenomena (Bernard 2006). It requires the extensive presence of the researcher in the field for a long period of time (Blommaert 2007), which enables the researcher to make ‘thick descriptions’ of the mundane practices of the community (Geertz 1973). It also allows for the analysis and interpretation of their observations to show the reader what it means to be part of the studied community (Bernard 2006).

One of the main goals of ethnographic studies is to describe the cultural scene from the perspective of the researched participants (Agar 1980, Spradley 1980). In an ethnographic point of view, participants’ accounts on their own practices are important for the ethnographer to better understand their perspective of life and how they interpret the cultural and social scene they’re embedded in.

Fieldwork that includes participants as active individuals in the researching process may establish close social relations between them and the researcher, as it is the case of the

presente study. These relations have, as their main goal, the Exchange of information that, in ethnographic studies, is importante because they allow for the researcher to actually enter the researched community. Through constant contact with the group of participants, the researcher may then seek to interpret how they understand the environment and each cultural scene they are part of (Agar 1980). In this manner, as Freitas (2003) defends, in ethnographic studiess the researcher does not pre-define hypotheses to then test them, he rather defines aspects of focus in the observation. This is why it is advisable that the ethnographer should not go for field work with hypotheses or research questions which are ready. Instead, he should allow that the prolonged contact with participants, the observation of in the field of phenomena that are reiterated in the practices of the participants and which pertain to the object of study of the researcher inform and reinforce clearly the goals of the study being carried out.

Doing ethnography implies more than studying people and what they do, it also involves learning from them (Spradley 1980). To this end, it is necessary to be open to what may at first seem to be completely new to us, as well as to question what is familiar to us. In other words, it is necessary to understand that the starting point of an ethnographic enterprise is to take up a conscious attitude of nearly total ignorance (Spradley 1980) and understand that the study being done always implies cultural aspects. Given the tradition of ethnographic studies, one may think that ethnography always seeks to interpret distant cultures in which natives portray behaviours which are completely distinct from those of the researcher. Understanding ethnography as a methodological enterprise to also interpret cultural scenes we are familiar with is, however, mandatory if we are to better understand the intricacies and processes of aspects, facts and actions we take for granted or as natural. In this way, it is possible to do ethnography in any situation that involve people, be them part of an isolated indigenous tribe, a classroom or, in the case of the present work, an Afro-Brazilian religious community within a big city. This is made possible because ethnography contributes for the description and explanation of regularities as well as variation patterns in the social human behaviour, be the researcher part of the researched community or not.

Blommaert (2007) maintains that ethnography is built on two interdependent positions: the first position is *ontological* (i.e., social events are contextualised spatially, temporally and historically) and the second is *epistemological* (i.e., knowledge of social events are situated within the individual, the group or the community where the events take place,

being therefore subjective) (Levon 2010). This is to say that “ethnography rejects the notion of an objective understanding of social action, and instead insists that knowledge is to a certain extent always “slippery” and contingent” (Levon 2010: 66).

Branislaw Malinowski is known for his contribution to ethnography, especially in English-speaking settings very much influenced by the British legacy. He was the first to do participant observation in the way it is done nowadays (Ugwu, 2016). Rampton (2007) maintains that ethnography only had its origins in the work by Malinowski at the beginning of the twentieth century. From Malinowski, we have learned that ethnography involves a set of ethnographic practices, like participant observation and field notes, so that a range of sociocultural phenomena can be recorded.

Lawson (2014) divides the history of linguistic ethnography *as per* Duranti’s (2003) subdivision of the three paradigms of language as culture research. In the first paradigm, better represented by anthropological linguistics and work by Franz Boas, Edward Sapir and Benjamin Whorf, the use of linguistics to analyse culture and history and the interrelationship between language, culture and mind was at the core of the studies conducted (Duranti 2003). Formal investigation of how language use was used in context was not a primary concern of the studies from this paradigm (Lawson 2014).

A shift with more focus on language use by the various speakers, in different contexts and doing different activities gave rise to the second paradigm. Therefore it was only from the early 1960’s, thanks to the emergence of the field of sociolinguistics, that ethnography took a prominent role in linguistic research (Ilbury 2019). In this sense, language was before just one component of a larger semiotic system for individuals to discursively construct meaning (Ilbury 2019). With sociolinguistic ethnography, other practices of the community started to be taken into consideration by the linguist ethnographer when doing research, for example by describing the community’s artefacts, the way informants interact with each other, issues that may arise among them, how they perceive themselves and the world they live in. Looking only at language would be limiting and, ultimately, prevent capturing the practices of the community as a whole.

In his work on ‘ethnography of speaking’ (Hymes 1964), which was later called ‘ethnography of communication’ (Hymes 1974), Hymes maintained that the aim of linguistics was to study the knowledge of social rules about language use that speakers bring about when they speak, which he termed ‘communicative competence’. This was in reaction to Chomsky’s understanding that linguistics should actually be concerned with

understanding the ‘linguistic competence’ of an ideal native speaker of a given language. Hymes’ proposition required that ethnographic tools be used in linguistic studies, as several elements in a given interaction needed to be approached by ethnography of communication, such as setting and scene, participants, act sequence and norms of interaction and interpretation, for example (Wardhaugh & Fuller 2021). From the 1960’s on, sociolinguistics, a field that had just arose among linguistic studies, started making use of ethnographic tools. And that happened in both variationist sociolinguistics, including Labov (1963), and interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz and Hymes 1986), as reported in Lawson (2014). It was also within this time that work situated in the second wave of variationist sociolinguistics invested heavily in the use of ethnography – see various studies reported in Eckert (2012), to analyse how language variation and local group organisation are interrelated and, ultimately, to examine local categories that constitute larger categories.

In the third paradigm, which took place from the end of the 1980’s (Duranti 2003), the focus of sociolinguistic studies shifted from trying to explaining language variation based on social categories (e.g., social class, race, gender) to examining in which ways language use constructs those very same social categories, in a clear change from seeing categories as the cause of language variation to being its actual effect. These studies have heavily been relying on ethnographic tools for data collection and their examination in the attempt to study the role of language in social identity building. Bucholtz (1997), Eckert (2000) and Bucholtz and Hall (2008) are clear examples of this enterprise (Lawson 2014).

In the recent past and up to the present days, a great body of linguistic research interested in examining the social meaning of variation has increasingly combined sociolinguistics and ethnography (e.g. Eckert 2000, Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Mendoza-Denton 2008). In these studies, “scholar have sought to understand the social meaning of variation emically, rather than identifying broad correlations with etic categories that are assumed to affect populations in similar ways” (Ilbury 2019: 68). All in all, it appears that, although ethnography was the main feature of the enterprise of second wave variationist sociolinguistics, it is being fruitfully used in third wave studies as well.

On discussing the intricacies of combining sociolinguistics and ethnography, Levon (2010) argues that, analytically, “a linguistic ethnographic approach allows the researcher to use an array of sophisticated investigative tools to help unpack seemingly complex situations, while interpretatively linguistic ethnography provides a broad theoretical

framework with which to model social interactions” (67). However, he also warns that bringing ethnography and linguistics together may raise tension. For example, what is considered as data and the representative functions of language to the researcher and to the community researched may be at odds between the two disciplines (Tusting & Mabin 2007 cited in Levon 2010). Such potential tension, Levon (2010) argues, relates to a tendency in ethnography to adopt an *emic* (or locally emergent) approach whereas linguistics tends to see things in *etic* terms with over-arching structures existing independently of and directly accessible to the researcher. Levon (2010) suggests that the resolution of this tension can be found in ‘semiotic anthropology’ (Mertz, 2007), that is a “brand of ethnographic research inspired by a renewed interest in Peirce’s (1932) triadic formulation of the relationship between a sign (linguistic or otherwise) and its social meaning” (Levon, 2010: 68). Levon (2010) argues that the expanded conceptualisations of Peirce (symbol, icon, index) allow the researcher to appreciate that the meaning of signs is both structured and emergent, in that it results from conventional sources as well as localised contexts. In other words, individual social practices “are in some way always connected to a larger social and ideological structure” (Levon 2010: 68) and it is therefore impossible to understand the former without also understanding the latter. In doing so, Levon (2010) suggests one can reconcile the tension between the *etic* and the *emic*, between linguistics and anthropology. In line with this suggestion, my data collection was carried out both with an *emic* and *etic* perspective by considering the researched *terreiro* at the micro level and the city where it is located, i.e. the city of Salvador, the macro level.

The second issue discussed in Levon (2010) has to do with the Observer’s Paradox (Labov, 1971). Sociolinguistics and ethnography seem to be at odds with regards to “the positionality of the researcher in the research process” (Levon, 2010: 68). Specifically, with the aim of obtaining objective data, sociolinguists would want access to data provided by participants who act as if they were not being observed, whilst ethnographers reject the whole notion of objectivity on epistemological grounds. In ethnographic research, the ethnographer is an integral part of the social interactions from which the data are drawn, therefore it is neither possible nor desirable not to include the subjective views of both the researcher and the researched (Levon 2010). A solution to this tension may be to conduct research which takes into account the theory of empowerment (Cameron et al. 1992), that is research whereby informants are not seen as mere objects

to describe but as active actors with whom to produce and share knowledge (Levon, 2010).

In line with the suggestion of following a study of empowerment, whilst on site, I sought to ensure that my data collection and research was not only on my informants, but also for and with them. To this end, at the *terreiro* I was both a volunteer *and* the researcher; I was involved in various aspects of life within the community and made sure that the recordings and what followed them were a ‘space’ to share knowledge with my participants and, obviously, also learning from them. In this process, and as part of the argument that this is an ethnography, I made use of a set of tools which are intrinsic to an ethnographic approach. First, and very important, I did *participant-observation* from the beginning to the end of my fieldwork. Doing so required that I got involved with my participants activities, be these cleaning, helping prepare the place for the public *festas*, going around the city (mainly) with *ogans* to dispatch the offerings prepared by the *rodantes*, leaving them by the sea or in the woods, teaching my participants English as asked by *the pai de santo* (a detailed explanation of these activities is provided further in this chapter). Playing this role of a volunteer and an researcher/observer allowed me to nearly “become one of them” (Agar 1980), a condition which was desirable in my ethnographic study, as it allowed me to experience and see the facts and situations from the lenses really close to those of my participants. Although observe and participating at the same time whilst in the field did not produce any data for analysis directly, it helped me understand the data better, as it helped me seeing both the bigger picture and the details pertaining the community under study. It also informed the writing of another ethnographic tool I made use of, which I describe right next.

In addition to being a participant-observer, which was made possible because I played the role of a volunteer and a researcher, I also took notes in my fieldwork journal. Fields notes were taken on a regular basis, preferably every day right after I got back to my accommodation from the field. It consisted of detailed descriptions and narratives of what I witnessed each day in the field, as well as my impressions about the community and all I had learnt from them each day. All my field notes were invaluable for me to find meaning in the other forms of data I obtained. Field notes allowed for establishing links between what participants said and how they said it at interviews and how the *terreiro* was sociolinguistically structured, one of the main goals of the present study. I knew that beforehand, and for this reason my field notes were as detailed as possible, avoiding that

I had to rely on memory for the interpretation of a great deal of the data. Apart from being an additional tool to help in the analyses, including the quantitative analyses of external factors and the qualitative analyses, part of my field notes were directly analysed. Excerpts from the journal were taken to be analysed to support the findings of the quantitative and of the qualitative analyses of the recordings.

I also recorded participants, a tool which has increasingly been used in ethnographic studies. And I decided to do it in two different settings: the more formal context of sociolinguistic interviews, and the less formal context of self-recordings. Although all participants engaged in both kinds of recordings, the self-recordings ended up not being audible enough for an analysis to be conducted, and they had to be left out of the research (more on this further in this chapter). The interviews lasted between 60 and 90 minutes each, and they were done at the *terreiro*. I tried to do no more than one interview per day, as interviewing the participants demanded a lot of preparation and planning, in addition to the fact that I had the participant-observation to continue taking place every day and the field notes to be taken every day as well. The interviews brought questions that asked participants to provide some personal information (age, gender, sexuality, race, for example) and questions that stimulated them to tackle topics that ranged from their life story to their story in *Candomblé*, and to the specificities of the religion itself. Having the participants talk about their lives and their religion, I understand, made the interview setting less formal, as normally people like talking about themselves and their experiences. Also, the interviews allowed for the participants to talk for long periods of time, which also allowed for more possibilities for them to make use of the pluralisation in the noun phrase, the dependent variable I was interested in.

I was on site on a daily basis during about 5 months of my fieldwork. As per what has been exposed about ethnography and, more specifically, sociolinguistic ethnography in this chapter, we can clearly see that it is in this perspective that the present work is situated, both methodologically and theoretically. Methodologically, the study makes use of tools that pertain to ethnography, such as extensive and systematic presence of the researcher at fieldwork, participant-observation, field notes journal, and recordings, resulting in a large amount of data to be analysed. The data analysed in mainly linguistic, and considering the research questions, the analyses depart from the analyses of language variation in the attempt to explain the such variation is linked to or is indexical of the way the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured. Therefore it is a sociolinguistic ethnographic

enterprise. In terms of how the study is an ethnography in theoretical terms, it could not be otherwise given the nature of the research questions, especially the third one. The third research question inquires, based on the indexical link between social identifications, how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured. Ethnography is intrinsically embedded in the attempt to answer such question, and only an ethnographic theoretical and practical approaches can make such analyses possible. And this is done considering the *terreiro* itself, which is considered the micro-setting, and the larger context in which it is located, i.e., the city of Salvador, the macro-setting. I turn to the description of these two settings in the next section, beginning from the bigger picture, the macro-setting.

4.3 Salvador: a city of contrasts

São Salvador da Baía de Todos os Santos, also called Salvador, is the capital city of the State of Bahia (Brazil). Founded by the Portuguese in 1549, it is located at the coast of the State of Bahia (Figure 4.1), more precisely in the *Baía de Todos os Santos* (All Saints' Bay), hence its full name. It was the first capital of Brazil and, in colonial times, the main port for slave trade. Salvador is well known for its food, music and carnival, as well as its Portuguese architecture.

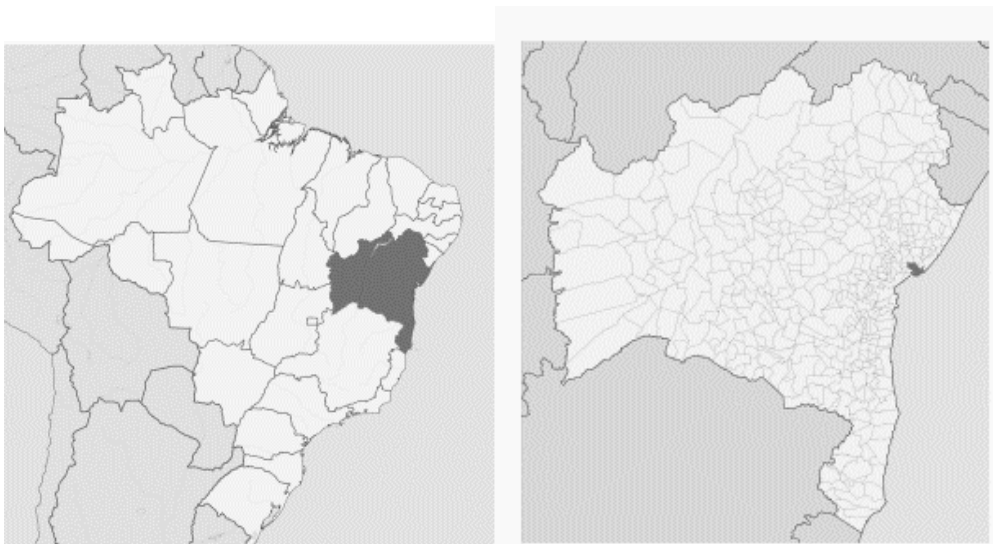


Figure 4.1: Maps showing Bahia State, on the left, and the city of Salvador on the right.

Salvador has 2.6 million inhabitants (Brasil 2010b), making it the most populous city in the Northeast of Brazil, and the third most populous in the country. The city of Salvador is the centre of the so-called Metropolitan Region of Salvador, which includes the neighbouring cities. In the last census, 51.7% of the population of Salvador declared themselves *pardos* (of brown colour), 27.8 % black, 18.9% white, 1.3% of Asian origins, and 0.3% indigenous (Brasil 2010b). It is the Brazilian city with the highest number of non-white people as well as the city with the higher number of Afro-descendants.

Salvador is a city of contrasts; many companies have their headquarters there, however wealth is not proportionally distributed and a great part of the population lives in poverty. The city is ridden with economic problems and social inequality, it is a hub for sexual tourism and urban violence and has a low-quality public health system. A large proportion of the city is made up *favelas* (i.e., shanty towns) which house 32% of the population of Salvador (Brasil 2010b) and are mostly inhabited by black and poor people, whereas the high- and middle-class neighbourhoods tend to be inhabited by descendants of European whites. This punctuation of wealth and poverty is reflected in Salvador's Human Development Index (HDI - a parameter from the United Nations that measures living conditions and life expectancy in different countries. Salvador's average HDI of 0.759 is considered high (Brasil 2010), however it accounts for areas as different as the neighbourhoods with an HDI on par with highly developed Western countries, and the others with an HDI well below the country's average and more in line with that of poorer countries.

The choice of carrying out my research in Salvador was not casual; as detailed in Chapter 2, *Candomblé* originated in Salvador in the 19th century, and it still maintains a strong presence in the city with 1,165 registered *terreiros* (Rodrigues 2016). Interestingly, despite the large number of *terreiros*, only 1.05% of the population declared to be of Afro-Brazilian religions in the last census (Brasil 2010), which might be due to the stigma often linked to these religions.

4.4 Fieldwork Description

This section opens with a description of preliminary visits to several *terreiros* in Salvador with the aim of determining which site to collect data. Then, in the following subsections,

once decided the *terreiro* where the research would be done, a description of the community is provided.

4.4.1 Preliminary visits and decision on the site for data collection

This subsection aims is not yet the description of the part of fieldwork in which I did participant-observation and collected data. Rather, it is a description of my preliminary visits to several *terreiros* in Salvador as soon as I arrived in the city for fieldwork. It brings the issues I face in deciding which place to conduct fieldwork, considering a number of aspects, such as safety, access to the places, the more or less permissiveness one would encounter in the *terreiro* to live their fluid genders and sexualities even or especially once initiated, for example. The subsection closes with my choice for a given place to conduct fieldwork, and my explanations for such a choice.

I arrived in Salvador on 10th August 2019, and the following day I visited *Terreiro A*⁴, one of the oldest and biggest *terreiros* in Salvador (and Brazil). This site is a point of reference to *Candomblé* practices across the country and enjoys visibility in the media. People from all over the country go there to be initiated and/or to visit, and its leader has connections with local and national politicians, as well as other important public figures. Notably, according to people I talked to on site, anthropological work had already been conducted there by a few researchers.

The aim of my first visit was to talk to Tulio⁵, who I had previously contacted by phone to discuss potentially collecting my data there. Unfortunately, on the day of my visit, Tulio was not there. I instead had a meeting with *Babá*⁶ Jorge (*Babá* henceforth), the *pai de santo* and leader of the house. *Babá* was very welcoming. However, potentially due to the fame of the *terreiro*, he wanted to know exactly the reason for my visit and my research interests, and asked many questions about my intentions. I managed to give vague yet not deceptive answers, but it was clear to me that I was dealing with someone

⁴ With the aim of protecting informant's identities, I will for now refer to the visited *terreiros* as "*Terreiro A*" and "other 6 smaller *terreiros*".

⁵ All names of informants and/or people from the community are pseudonyms.

⁶ Father (*Babá*) of the *orixás* in each of the initiated followers and leader of the house. At the *terreiro*, he goes simply by *Babá*. In every *terreiro*, the leader is called *Babá*, if male, so there is no risk of revealing his identity in the text.

who would ask further questions if I ended up conducting the study there. At the end of my visit, he said I was welcome to visit again as many times as I wished, and that if I decided to conduct the study there, I should talk to him again before starting to collect data.

Afterwards, I contacted members of other *terreiros* in Salvador, whose phone numbers I obtained via personal connections, and to whom I enquired about upcoming ceremonies and whether I could join them. To my surprise, no ceremonies were scheduled over the coming weeks, due to smaller *terreiros* not having as many ceremonies as *Terreiro A*. Fortunately, I nevertheless managed to schedule visit days for the upcoming weeks and, although my visits would not coincide with ritual days, I managed to visit 6 other, smaller *terreiros*. In these visits, I talked to the leaders of the *terreiros* and tried to gather information about the community to see whether I would be interested to conduct my research there. The lack of ceremonies was somehow disappointing, as it would be the right place to meet and recruit participants for my study in these smaller *terreiros* which are commonly only attended during the ritual hours. In addition, from my conversations with the leaders of smaller *terreiros*, it became clear that there would be differences between what I would see in *Terreiro A* and in the other *terreiros* (see Table 4.1 further below).

Afterwards, I went back to *Terreiro A* for a longer visit. Again, it was not a day of rituals, but they were getting ready for a big ceremony, which was scheduled for the following day. This time, I talked to Laura, an older lady who had been a follower of that specific house for about 14 years. She had a peculiar way of interacting with me: she would interrupt the conversation at any point and leave, asking me to wait. Then she would come back from a completely different direction (the place is big!) and resume talking. This continued during my entire visit. Laura asked fewer questions about the study than *Babá*, and she was very welcoming and said she would be glad to help. She then showed me around and explained the important role of that particular *terreiro* during times of police persecution and/or prohibition to practice the religion.

On 24th August 2019, I joined a ritual at *Terreiro A*. It was already 07:40 pm and the *feira* had not yet begun, but many followers had arrived. The ritual eventually started around 08:40 pm. During the first section of the ritual, called *xiré*, followers sang to all the *orixás*, but none fell into a trance. After a short break, the ceremony resumed and by then the big circle was filled with people (mostly women) in a trance. Female *rodantes* were

beautifully dressed in feminine attire as per the female *orixás*, whilst the male *rodantes* were dressed in masculine attire as per the male *orixás*. During the second part of the ceremony, the attendees who went into a trance were brought to the middle of the circle. During the trance, the *orixás* would approach the attendees who were not in trance, they would touch and bless them, whilst the attendees who were not in trance would make signs with their hands and wave at each *orixá*. After the trance, a large dinner was served and consumed, after which the *feira* concluded. The whole ritual, excluding dinner, lasted about 4 hours.

As mentioned earlier, besides *Terreiro A*, I also visited six other smaller *terreiros* at the beginning of my research. Table 4.1 below outlines some of my impressions of these locations in terms of differences and similarities between *Terreiro A* and the other smaller *terreiros*.

Table 4.1: Table reporting on differences and similarities between *Terreiro A* and the six smaller *terreiros*.

Location	Positive	Potentially negative
<i>Terreiro A</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Close/easy to get to; • Safe (police presence on site); • <i>Festas</i> happen often, especially in August and September, and every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year; • Likelihood of finding the number of informants I planned to recruit; • Welcoming followers, visitors and <i>pai de santo</i>; • Prominent <i>terreiro</i>, informs <i>Candomblé</i> practices across Brazil; • Other researchers have examined their practices, and they seem to be used to taking part in studies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Because of its visibility, there seems to be more constraint in terms of gender and sexuality even for male <i>rodantes</i> (the clothing, for example), although it seemed clear to me that the division effeminate <i>rodantes</i> vs straight-acting <i>ogãs</i> was in place; • Having been involved in previous studies, they may not be too keen on my study; • Due to their visibility and connections with media and politicians, this <i>terreiro</i> may not be the truest expression of <i>Candomblé</i> (it seemed a bit ‘touristy’).
6 other smaller <i>terreiros</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Welcoming <i>pais/mães de santo</i>; • Far more open to gender & sexuality fluidity when it comes to vestments at possession; as informed by the leaders with whom I talked; • As the trance seems to be the ‘space’ that best symbolises the place, the effeminate male <i>rodantes</i> vs masculine-acting <i>ogãs</i> division may be better observable in everyday linguistic practices there 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not very close to the city (might be unsafe to travel to); • <i>Festas</i> do not take place very often (this is fine with regards to interviews, but may be a problem for the self-recordings); • They are not prominent and therefore taken less seriously by the mainstream <i>Candomblé</i> community

As it is apparent, *Terreiro A* looked like the best place for my research; it seemed to be the best environment for an ethnographically-informed study (e.g., there were people onsite all the time, there were regular ceremonies throughout the year) and it was the easier, and safer, to reach from my accommodation. There was, however, a potential drawback linked to gender and sexuality fluidity potentially being more influenced than elsewhere by the wider heteronormative Salvador, which was illustrated in the practices described above, like the clothing of the men in a trance. In any case, there seemed to be more advantages in conducting the research there than elsewhere. Therefore, my next aim was to be accepted to be onsite for the next 5 months by *Babá* and, most importantly, by the community. After a further conversations with *Babá*, I received his approval, and it was decided that the research would be conducted at *Terreiro A* (which I will refer only as *terreiro* in the remainder of this thesis).

4.4.2 A ranch within the big city

This first part of this subsection starts with a general presentation of the *terreiro* chosen to be the site for fieldwork in the study. It starts with a description of the physical and social features of the place, including the importance that hierarchy has in the religion. It draws the attention to the fact that many people live on site whereas others visit on a regular basis. It then goes on to describe an open ceremony – a *festa* –, in which description the differences between the roles partaken in the religion start to be made more evident. Also along with the description of the *festa*, I discuss present my approach to recruiting potential informants for my research in these events.

Inside the city of Salvador, land of parties, good food, poverty and extreme social inequality, there is a big ranch which is distinctive from the urban architecture surrounding it. A great deal of people attend this place every day, and several of them live there. It is run by *Babá*, a 50-ish years old man who has been the leader for decades. The social structure is very strict; those who have been longer in the house are respected by the ones who have arrived more recently. The story of this house mingles with the origins of *Candomblé*, and this was the *terreiro* where I chose to, and eventually was allowed to, recruit informants for my research.

The *terreiro* is large and about 20 people live there permanently. At its entrance there is a big house surrounded by smaller houses, where other people, who are initiated

followers, stay now and again. The structure of *Candomblé* is highly regimented, for example, initiated do things (including eating) before the non-initiated. However, this does not mean life goes by calmly, and there are often disputes among the initiated. Each one of them wants to have the last say on matters linked to the house, and this is particularly true when *Babá* is not around.

When I decided on which site to carry out my research, I already had an idea of how a *terreiro* is structured and works. The anthropological work reviewed in Chapter 2 taught me, for example, about the roles partaken at a *terreiro*, that is *equede*, *ogan*, and *rodante*. I could not be sure, however, how these roles were lived in the given *terreiro*, and how the members organised themselves, both in their day-to-day life and/or during a *feira*. To this end, I decided to attend another *feira*, hoping to be able to document its organisation as well as what people did during the ceremony.

On 31st August 2019, I attended the *Festa de Oxum*. There were about 50 people, including visitors. From that day on, I changed my approach. With the approval from *Babá*, I started talking to people briefly about my study and gauge interest from them in participating. After learning a bit from them, I obtained their contact information (phone/WhatsApp) and asked if I could get in touch another day to see if they would like to participate. Everyone I asked gave me their phone numbers, and the attitude towards participating in the study was very positive from most of them.

During the *feira* I noticed that the roles partaken at the *terreiro* were very clearly set and followed. The *rodantes* would be inside the big house (*barracão*) getting into trances with the *orixás* and dancing all night. In the meantime, some of the *ogans* played the *atabaques*, whilst others, together with the *equedes*, took care of those *rodantes* who may not have been feeling very well, and others talked to visitors, welcoming them and explaining to them how the *feira* was structured.

On that evening, I noticed two important things (which I later confirmed during other ceremonies): (i) days of *feiras* are not a good time to talk in detail with anyone. Everybody's either focused on the trances or engaged in talking to others, like one would do at a party. On the other hand, days of ceremonies are good to meet people who would not go to the *terreiro* every day, talk to them, gauge some potential interest in my research and, potentially, get their details for future contact; (ii) days of *feiras* are not appropriate to interact with the members of the *terreiro*, as they are very busy with the ceremony and often unreachable, especially during the trances. These reasons confirmed that I had made

the right choice in going for *Terreiro A*, as I would have only been able to meet people during days of ritual at smaller *terreiros*.

4.4.2.1 The *terreiro* from deep inside

This part of the subsection describes what I experienced during the extensive and intensive participant-observation during fieldwork at the *terreiro*. It starts by narrating the different tasks *ogans*, *equedes* and *rodantes* took on a daily basis, outside the ritual hours, and how they relate to one another. Then there is a description of the two rituals that would take place every week at the place and what I learnt in terms of the path one needs to follow in order to become an *equede*, an *ogan* or a *rodante* by observing the rituals and by observing the daily life at the *terreiro*. This second part of the subsection closes with the description of some tensions that are raised among initiated followers of the religion, especially when the leader of the place is absent.

I started attending the *terreiro* every day. Daily activities normally began in the early afternoon, so I would normally arrive then and leave only late at night. *Babá* was absent most of the time and it was the *equedes*' job to book consultations to clients interested in the magical powers of the *pai de santo*. The *ogans*, on the other hand, were always engaged in cleaning the place and keeping it tidy. In addition, they received the visitors, showed them around the house and, if the visitor was interested in booking a consultation, the *ogans* would take them to the *equedes*. The *rodantes* spent most of their time studying, by which I mean receiving oral instructions from older members in the house, as all knowledge about *Candomblé* is orally transmitted. Younger *rodantes* could also be out of the *terreiro*, taking courses in various disciplines, for example nursing, radiology, languages, under the suggestion of the *pai de santo*. Finally, the *rodantes* could also be making secret preparations (witchcraft) for clients of the *pai de santo*, who delegated to them the duty of preparing what needed to be prepared. As mentioned, these preparations were secret, and I was not allowed to access the spaces where they were being made. Once ready, and this was normally at night, an *ogan* (or seldom a *rodante*) would do the *despacho*, which is when they would bring the preparations to a crossroad, the woods, a lake, or the ocean.

At the *terreiro*, rituals were held every Wednesday and Friday throughout the year. However, note that these were not the big *festas* I mentioned earlier, which took place

less frequently. The Wednesday ritual was called *Amalá de Xangô* (*Xangô* is the name of an *orixá*) and it always started from the big room (*barracão*) with people in a trance, and lots of singing and dancing. During the ritual, visitors had the chance to go close to the statue of the *orixá*, pray, and, if they wished, leave a contribution to the *terreiro*. Afterwards, the ritual would move outside, where the same practices would take place. After the ritual, *ogans* and *equedes* would take care of the *rodantes* who were still in a trance until the *orixás* left their bodies. Food made of okra and meat, called *amalá* (like the name of the ritual), was served at the end, and one would have to eat it using their hands only, no cutlery allowed. During the Friday ritual, called *ebó de Oxalá*, similarly there was trance, music and dance. This, however, took place inside the *barracão*; there all the attenders would go to a small room where somebody was possessed by *Oxalá*, the *orixá* of the ritual. One was then supposed to kiss the feet of the *orixá* as an act of respect and devotion, and eat a preparation made of unseasoned wheat, after which they had to return to the main space and wait until everybody had done the same. These weekly rituals took place with fewer people than in a *festa*.

By observing daily life and rituals at the *terreiro*, I could clearly see that there was a strict hierarchical structure among the followers. Normally, the *rodantes* would receive orders from the *equedes* and the *ogans* because they “are born fathers/mothers already”, as I heard many times at the *terreiro*. That means that on a given *festa* an *orixá* would choose someone to be an *equede* or an *ogan*, and that was their initiation. They do not get into trances, and their main duty is to take care of the *orixás* that come to inhabit the *rodantes*. The fact that the *equedes* gave orders, many times even to *ogans*, contrasted with what happens in wider society in Salvador, as in the *terreiro* the *equedes* exercise power that they do not enjoy outside it.

The *rodantes* have a different path to follow at the *terreiro*; when they arrive, they are called *abians*, that is apprentice. The *abians* perform all kinds of duties for the maintenance of the *terreiro*, such as helping the *ogans* clean the house, do gardening, and move furniture around. Importantly, as *abians* they are not initiated as it needs to be confirmed that they can be inhabited by *orixás* before the initiation takes place. The initiation happens during a *festa*, the costs of which need to be met by the future *iaô* (an initiated *rodante*). After being initiated, the initiate needs to graduate. This is meant to happen 1 year, 3 years and 7 years after the initiation. However, the graduations do not normally take place at the ‘right time’ because the initiate cannot pay for the *festa* due to

lack of funds. This is something I saw during my fieldwork, when normally 3rd year graduation took place about after 5 years of initiation.

It is worth noting that the year of initiation is considered the year of “birth” within the religion, therefore length of initiation strictly prescribes life at the *terreiro*. For example, if an initiate is 5 years old (i.e. they were initiated 5 years before), they will have to give priority to someone who is 7 years old. This is valid for any aspect of life at the *terreiro*, from decision making to eating turns, from sitting on chairs vs on the floor to having the final word on an issue. Interestingly, at the *terreiro*, the *ogans* have priority over a *rodante* until the *rodante* reaches their 7th year graduation, after which the *rodante* will be fully respected by the other members and will only owe to the *pai de santo*.

Despite the strict hierarchical structure, there were tensions amongst the followers, and this was particularly true with regards to whom had the right to be physically (and perhaps mentally) closer to *Babá*. Being allowed to enter *Babá*'s room, for example, was seen as a clear sign of *Babá*'s approval at the *terreiro* and initiates would fight over the attention and privilege given from *Babá*. This might be because *Babá* had the power to break the rigidity of the above-discussed rules and allow, for example, a 1-year old *rodante* to eat before a 5 year old *ogan*. In spite of this, *Baba* maintained that the rules of *Candomblé* are centuries years old, passed over by their ancestors, and therefore must be respected. That did not prevent him, however, from having his favourite *filhos* or *filhas*.

4.5 My role at the field: a researcher, “the new *abian*” and “the *professor*”

My main aim during my fieldwork was to collect data, however in the role of the participant-observer, I not only observed, I also acted. Since my research sits within the framework of ethnography, I had to familiarise myself with things that were (at least initially) new to me in order to be able to look at things from the lenses of my informants (Spradley, 1980). Additionally, even if they did not expect anything from me, I felt I needed to offer something back to the community and, the more I offered, the more they asked for. As such, my role at the *terreiro* became that of a volunteer and a researcher.

I first talked to *equede* Maria to whom I offered my help. Maria was mostly in charge of the kitchen, however she seemed to give orders to *ogans* across the *terreiro*. From that day on, I was there cleaning, gardening, moving things around, almost as if I were an

ogan. Equede Maria seemed to find pleasure in asking me to do things and, especially, to see them done as she desired them to be done. Although it was at times tough (she made me clean a lot!), that was a great way to gain more access to different areas of the *terreiro* (I even ended up cleaning *Babá's* room) and I got to chat with potential participants in the house. After some time, when my duties would keep me busy until very late at night, I even was allowed to sleep over at the *terreiro*.

As mentioned earlier, the more I helped the more help I was asked for, and *Babá* even asked me if I could translate their website into English. I initially wanted to refuse, as I thought it would be too much work, but eventually ended up accepting as they had given me full access to their house, and gaining access to a place of *Candomblé* as an outsider is not an easy task. So there I was, playing the role of the volunteer and the researcher at the same time. *Babá* also asked me to teach basic English to the people in the house. Again, I accepted the task with hesitation as I was worried the members would change the way they related to me due to the power that knowing and teaching English has in Brazil, but I eventually accepted the task, giving lessons on Monday and Saturday afternoon. What I thought would happen, did happen indeed and, if before I started teaching English other members would jokingly call me *the new abian*, once I started teaching I became the *professor* (teacher), and I was never asked to clean again.

Finally, I also volunteered working with Diego who, every evening, had to dispatch the preparations the *rodantes* had spent the day busy with. As I would normally go to the *terreiro* by car, Diego then would ask me to drive him to the beach, to the woods and to *Dique do Tororó* (a lake surrounded by statues of *orixás* in Central Salvador) so that he could dispatch the preparations. Each package was tightly wrapped to make it impossible to say what was inside. However, I could smell the scent of cooked food and fruits, so I imagine that was the content of the packages we dispatched together. I drove Diego around many times, and I really enjoyed doing so. To me as a researcher, it was particularly nice to have time in the car to chat and learn about *Candomblé* from him; to me as a volunteer, it was nice to be able to help Diego travel around without him having to rely on public transport.

From this depiction of my life at the *terreiro*, one can clearly see how I embraced the role of the participant-observer and, as such, had the privilege to engage in activities which I would have not been able to access as a non-initiated. In a way, it felt as I had “become one of them” (Agar 1980). I was doing things and learning about *Candomblé* whilst

gaining their trust, which was something that would prove especially important for the next phase of my research, i.e. recording the informants, which was scheduled to start in early October 2019.

4.6 Participants

For this research, I interviewed 18 informants, all men, grouped by several social factors (see below). I decided to work only with men because previous anthropological work had demonstrated that the collinearity role-sexuality only happens only among men (Birman 1991; Rios 2011). This would allow me the examination of potential ways language variation participates in the construction of sexuality among men within the *terreiro*. As the analyses will show, the results showed that gender would have been another potential factor to include in the research. However, further data collection with women was not possible, as only after the analysis of the sexuality factor was it clear that gender should have been considered (see Chapter 7). All participants formally consented to participate in the study.

All informants were *filhos* to *Babá* (sons to *Babá* in the religion), and they had all been initiated in *Candomblé* at the time of data collection. Half of them were *ogans* and half of them were *rodantes*. I privileged informants who were at the *terreiro* on a daily basis, regardless of whether they lived there or not. I believed that investigating the speech of initiated *filhos* of the *terreiro* who were there on a regular basis would allow me to understand how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured.

Table 4.2: Social factors and their levels

Social Factors	Levels
Age	“Younger” or “Older”
Schooling	“Lower” or “Higher”
Sexuality	“Gay” or “Straight”
Race/ethnicity	“Black”*
Time in Salvador	“Up to 9 years” or “10 years or more”
Time in Candomblé	“Up to 5 years” or “More than 5 years”
Role	“ <i>Ogan</i> ” or “ <i>Rodante</i> ”

As table 4.2 shows, the informants were grouped in 7 social factors. The race/ethnicity factor has only one level because all informants self-identified as black. This made the quantitative analyses of the role of variation in this factor on the chosen dependent variable unavailable. However, I kept it in the table because race/ethnicity is dealt with in the study qualitatively. A description of the social variables listed above, as well as the distribution of informants with regards to these variables is presented in Chapter 6. An account of the reasons for which I decided to choose these specific social variables is also provided.

4.7 Recordings

The audio-recordings done with participants were in two formats: interviews and self-recordings. All informants did both. Interviews lasted 60 minutes on average (Table 3), and they were recorded with a Zoom H4nsp with two *lavalier* BY-M1 microphones. All recordings were stored in WAV format. Each interview was divided into 4 parts: (i) personal history of the interviewee's life, in which they would talk about topics such as infancy, teenage, adulthood, whether they were married or not, whether they had children or not; (ii) personal history of the interviewee's life in *Candomblé*, in which they would talk about topics related to their involvement in the religion, what their role was, how being in *Candomblé* had changed their life,; (iii) topics related to *Candomblé*, where the informant would talk about their knowledge of the religion, its structure, its origins, or the history of the *terreiro*; and (iv) more personal details, and self-identifications of the interviewee such as their income, age, sexuality, and race/ethnicity. These four parts were just a guide for the interview, not a straitjacket, and not all participants were asked all the questions. Additionally, for example, often items in (i) and (ii) were talked about together, as many interviewees saw the story of their lives as inherently linked to their story in *Candomblé*. In any case, the interviews were conducted in such a way that information about the social factors of interest could be collected with informants.

All interviews took place at the *terreiro*. Although I was assigned a room that I could use for this task, Laura (who was in charge of the keys) was not always around, therefore some of the interviews took place in other parts of the *terreiro*. The *terreiro* is noisy and that sometimes slightly interfered in the quality of the recordings, which were nonetheless all audible. Conducting the interviews on site was important to me due to the ethnographic

nature of my research: I wanted informants to feel “at home” and as relaxed as possible. The interviews were carried out across three months, as not all informants were available at the same time (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Interview recordings with dates and length

Informant	Date	Length
Antonio	09/10/2019	01:07:35
Ari	25/11/2019	01:06:28
Caio	08/10/2019	01:01:19
Daniel	02/12/2019	00:51:33
Diego	26/11/2019	01:06:26
Edson	11/10/2019	01:00:10
Eduardo	01/11/2019	01:00:39
Samuel	03/12/2019	01:02:15
José	08/12/2019	01:30:48
Lucas	17/11/2019	01:00:12
Naldo	29/11/2019	01:05:31
Nilton	11/11/2019	01:08:11
Paulo	02/11/2019	01:08:18
Regis	13/12/2019	00:54:23
Roberto	18/10/2019	01:04:00
Rodnei	01/11/2019	01:05:01
Tales	27/11/2019	01:05:55
Tiago	02/11/2019	01:04:04
TOTAL		19:22:48

All self-recordings lasted at least 1 hour. They were conducted using the PCM Recorder App with an external BY-M1 *lavalier* microphone and were stored in WAV format. For this type of recording, informants were asked to wear the microphone and keep my phone (with the PCM Recorder App running) in their pockets for at least 1 hour (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4: Self-recordings with dates and length

Informant	Date	Length
Antonio	10/10/2019	01:10:44
Ari	23/11/2019	01:12:32
Caio	05/10/2019	01:05:29
Daniel	10/12/2019	01:15:20
Diego	28/11/2019	01:07:27
Edson	15/10/2019	01:08:05
Eduardo	01/11/2019	01:15:44
Samuel	04/12/2019	01:03:45
José	03/12/2019	01:20:58
Lucas	19/11/2019	01:09:09
Naldo	29/11/2019	01:14:44
Nilton	08/11/2019	01:07:18
Paulo	01/11/2019	01:02:11
Regis	14/12/2019	01:25:32
Roberto	23/10/2019	01:05:52
Rodnei	15/11/2019	01:02:03
Tales	30/11/2019	01:18:57
Tiago	02/11/2019	01:10:49
TOTAL		21:16:39

Due to the recording set up and the noisy nature of the *terreiro*, the quality of the self-recordings was very low, and this data was therefore not analysed. As a consequence, the analysis detailed in the following chapters is only based on the interviews and my field notes.

Before the analysis, all interviews were transcribed with ELAN version 5.8 (Nijmegen 2020). Coding for the linguistic variables of interest was also done in ELAN, where I individuated all NPs and coded each word within each NP. The data was then exported to Excel and further analysed in R version 3.6.3 (R Core, 2022).

4.8 Summary

In this chapter I situated my research within the field of sociolinguistic ethnography before providing important information about the city of Salvador (macro-level description), which is where the research was conducted. I also described how I made contacts with *terreiros*, and how I decided on which site to carry out my research. Following, I also described the structure of the *terreiro* I selected and the practices of the participants (micro-level description), providing some insights on how the *terreiro* relate to the wider society in Salvador. I then presented the informants and how they were grouped. Finally, I described how I collected data with informants and how they were stored and processed for analysis. In the next three chapters, I will provide a description of the analysis of the data collected with the aim of answering the research questions of the study.

5

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES: INTERNAL FACTORS

5.1 Introduction

Within Brazilian society, it is often believed that gay men use the standard plural marking (STA) in the NP more than straight men, who are perceived to use the more the unmarked plural (-Ø) (Mendes, 2011, 2016; Barbuio 2016). Work investigating production of nominal plural in Brazilian analysing gender showed that women use the STA plural marking more often than men (e.g. Narro & Scherre 2003, Oushiro 2015).

When I started my fieldwork, having read the above-mentioned papers, I had variation in plural marking in the NP in mind in terms of what could be analysed in the speech of men, considering what has been described in this thesis already: studies suggesting that most *rodantes* are gay and usually effeminate, whilst most *ogans* are straight-acting and straight. I could not be sure, of course, whether there would be variation in the way the plural is marked at the *terreiro*, therefore I was open to consider other types of linguistic variation, had it been necessary. Not unsurprisingly, as soon as I started my fieldwork, it became very clear that variation in plural marking in the noun phrase took place within the community. In addition, thanks to the interviews, I was quickly able to identify on site the collinearity between *rodante* and gay and *ogan* and straight reported in the literature (see Chapter 2). As such, the plural configuration in the noun phrase (S ~ STA / -Ø) was confirmed as the dependent variable of this study, which was analysed with regards to the two groups of men mentioned above (*rodantes* and *ogans*) within the religious community. The role of internal constraints and other external independent variables (detailed in this chapter and Chapter 6, respectively) on plural marking was also considered.

In the remainder of the present chapter, I will present each of the linguistic (or internal) factors taken into account in this thesis and how they relate to the plural configuration of the NP and to individual words within the NP, whether marked (i.e., standard, STA) or unmarked (i.e., nonstandard, -Ø). An analysis of internal constraints is able to show us what (linguistic) factors may be at work in determining whether which of the variants is

used by the speaker regardless of social factors as argued elsewhere (Oushiro 2015), i.e., the analysis of linguistic constraints may explain, by itself, why language variation is taking place from within the linguistic system perspective and with less influence from social factors. This is one of the reasons why, in this study, the internal and social factors are analysed separately: some variation in the plural configuration in the noun phrase may be explained based on the analysis of the internal factors themselves, and the same can be said about social factors when internal factors are unable to provide a full or partial explanation. Another reason for the internal and external factors to be analysed separately in this study is because when attempting to do multivariate modelling with both, the external factors that were significant before ceased to be significant, which is not uncommon to happen when internal and external factors are run together.

The analysis is carried out both at (i) word level, that is considering each word in the NP separately; and at (ii) phrase level, that is taking the NP as a whole. In the first case, the plural realisation of each word was labelled as either $-\emptyset$ or STA; in the second case, however, the plural realisation of the whole NP was labelled $-\emptyset$ if at least one component of the NP carried a nonstandard realisation. As such, NP marked STA were only comprised of standard plural marking. Analysing plural configuration at both levels also allowed the investigation of variation in plural marking within the NP, as previously done in similar work (Scherre 1997, Oushiro 2015). In this chapter, the description of the analysis of the internal factor will be firstly at the level of the NP as a whole and then at the level of the analysis of each component of each NP thereafter.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows: first, the dependent variable will be presented, followed by the independent variables, and the coding process during the analysis. The chapter concludes with a presentation of the statistical analysis and an account of its results.

5.2 Dependent variable: Plural configuration of the noun phrase

Findings in previous studies conducted in Brazil on the indexicality of the plural configuration of the noun phrase have informed the interest in conducting the present study, although from a different perspective: looking at speech production and doing ethnography. Recall that standard Brazilian Portuguese, and consequently the standard realisation of the plural of the NP, has been reported to be perceived as indexical of

gayness (Mendes 2016) and indexical of femaleness in speech (Oushiro 2016). In addition, standard Portuguese is indexical of higher education and politeness (Mendes 2016). Mendes (2016) asked five men to read a passage which was then played to 106 listeners, who were asked to rate the speakers on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being *least gay-sounding* and 5 *most gay-sounding*. Most listeners rated speakers in line with their actual sexual identities. Mendes also asked his listeners what made them rate a speaker as more/less gay-sounding vs more/less straight-sounding. Interestingly, several listeners reported that a speaker's use of standard vs non-standard plural NP drove their judgement. What is even more interesting is that the passage in question did not have any case of nonstandard NP (Mendes, 2016), therefore the listeners could have not used this cue to inform their judgements. It was speech perception studies like Mendes (2011, 2016) that helped me raise some interested in looking at how sexuality is constructed in speech, although now from the perspective of a speech production and ethnographic study, with the potential to uncover practices of indirect indexicality by the participants.

Speech perception studies like Mendes' (2016) can in fact reveal that indirect indexicality may be at work in listeners' perceptions. In Mendes' work, interviewing listeners after they had rated speakers revealed that listeners were in fact relying on the social stereotype that gay-sounding men use the standard form of the pluralisation in the noun phrase more often than do straight-sounding men. The study suggests, therefore, that indirect indexicality is taking place in the participants' speech perceptions. However, although we know that it is sexuality that is being indirectly indexed as the last layers in the indexation chain, it is difficult to show what in fact is being directly indexed, although overlooked, and the processes it involves.

Studies on speech production, especially if they make use of ethnographic methods for data collection and analysis, have the potential to uncover all the steps involved in indirect indexicality. By looking at how language users use language and with the aid of ethnographic tools, we can reveal which identifications are involved, what is being directly indexed and what is in fact being indirectly taken (indexed) by participants in the field. It also opens up for the possibility to observe and analyse all the steps followed in the construction of the indirect indexicality at work. For these reasons, the present work, as a speech production and ethnographic study, was proposed with the aim at looking at the role of the plural configuration in the noun phrase – the dependent variable in the study – in the linguistic construction of sexuality by the participants.

At the *terreiro*, I immediately noticed that there was variation in how the informants marked the plural in the NP. Below some examples of it, taken from the dataset:

(13) *O-S orixá-S divino-Ø*. (Transl.) The divine *orixás*.

(14) *As pessoa-Ø má-Ø*. (Transl.) The evil people.

In (13), there are three elements in the NP, at phrase level standard Brazilian Portuguese requires all the elements a plural marking (e.g., *O-S orixá-S divino-S*). However, this is not what we see in the example above whereby the informants only mark the plural in the first two elements. Similarly, in (14) all the three elements in the NP would receive a plural marking in standard Brazilian Portuguese (*A-S pessoa-S má-S*). However, this is, again, not what we see in the example above. Cases as such abound in the data. As mentioned above, this is not the only phenomenon in terms of standardness and nonstandardness in Brazilian Portuguese in the data. However, it is what I decided to look at more carefully for two main reasons. First because this phenomenon has already been looked at in speech perception studies as it correlates to sexuality, and I would like to look at it from the way speakers actually use language, i.e. speech production. Second because I needed to narrow down the study so that the examination could be as exhaustive as possible. Therefore, the envelope of variation includes and limits to the plural configuration of the noun phrase, considering the NP as a whole and also considering each word in the NP separately. In total I analysed 1.199 tokens of pluralisation at the level of the whole NP and 1.373 tokens at the level of each word within the NP. All tokens were obtained from 18 interviews of approximately 60 minutes each carried out at the *terreiro* (Chapter 4). Note that, since the data showed that plural marking for each first item of the NP was standard, the first element was dropped from the analysis. This somehow determines a similar number of tokens between the two levels of the dependent variable, as most noun phrases contained 2 elements only.

Finally, the examples above are here used to also circumscribe the variable context. For example, at the level of NP as a whole, (13) could be as STA+STA+STA, or STA+ STA + Ø, or STA+ Ø+ Ø. The same can be said for (14). The data never showed configuration such as STA+ Ø+STA. Summarising, for all NPs, (i) the first item of a NP was always in STA; (ii) once an item was unmarked, all the following ones were also unmarked after it

(to its right); (iii) there were no intercalation of STA and – Ø in the middle of the NP. The second pattern has been previously described by Guy (1981). He claimed that there was a considerable fall in the number of STA in words in the 2nd position compared to the 1st, reaching 0% in words at 5th position. Therefore, the longer the noun phrase is, the more chances to observe -Ø occurrences. This might be because marking the plural of elements beyond the first in the NP is redundant, and does not add any semantic value to the noun phrase.

Some occurrences of NP were not included in the study, as their context was ambiguous to clearly note whether variation occurred or not. Below are some examples.

Ambiguity cases:

(15) *Os ônibus 37 e 48 chegam aqui.* (Transl.) Buses 37 and 48 bring you here.

Neutralisation contexts:

(16) *Os santos são os orixás.* (Transl.) The [catholic] saints are the *orixás*.

(17) *Os grandes jogos.* (Transl.) The big games.

(18) *As duas chamadas que recebi de Sofia.* (Transl.) The two calls I got from Sofia.

Categorical contexts

(19) *Povos africano.* (Transl.) African peoples.

For example, *ônibus* (15) in singular and plural forms are homophones, whereas in (16), (17) and (18), the final -s was pronounced as alveolar fricative, and it therefore could not be told apart from initial -ch and -j. Finally, (19) shows how the first item in the NP is always STA in the data.

5.3 Independent variables – internal factors

In this section, I will present the internal factors considered in the study both at the NP and word levels, and explain why they were considered as potentially affecting the plural configuration in the NP.

5.3.1 Internal factors at phrase level

Based on the literature (Scherre 1988; Oushiro 2015) and initial observations, four internal factors were taken into account for the analysis at NP level; these were (i) *Elements Number* (i.e., the number of elements in the NP), (ii) *First Item Class*, that is the grammatical class of the first item in the NP, (iii) *Post-head Configuration*, that is whether the NP ends with the head or a determiner, and (iv) *Animacy*, that is whether the NP is animate or inanimate (Table 5.1). At first the coding was very detailed, but had to be re-grouped to ensure that the dataset was not imbalanced, as explained in each case below, with examples from the dataset.

Table 5.1: Internal factors at phrase level and their sub-factors

Factors	Sub-factors
Elements number	2, or more than 2
First item class	Definite article, definite determiner, indefinite determiner, numbers, or head at beginning
Post-head configuration	Determiner, or head as end
Animacy	Animate [+human], or inanimate [-human]

Elements number describes the number of words in the NP. Previous work has shown that the likelihood of a word taking the $-\emptyset$ configuration increases the more to the right the given word is found in the phrase (Braga & Scherre 1976; Braga 1978; Scherre 1978; Guy 1981). In other words, there is a tendency of the items on the right not to be marked the longer the noun phrase is. This is, I believe, a case of linguistic economy. Indeed, once a word has been plurally marked, it is clear that the noun phrase is plural. Note that, although the first element of the NP was not analysed at the word level, it was counted as one element in this case. It was initially hoped to code this level according to the actual number of elements in the NP (2, 3, 4, and 5). However, due to a huge presence of 2-element NPs and a very small number on NPs with more than 2 elements, and following Guy (1988), it was decided to code the level of this factor as “2” or “more than 2” to make the dataset more balanced. For example, in *As mulheres casada- \emptyset* (The married women),

the elements number is more than 2, the first and second elements are STA and the third is $-\emptyset$.

First item class describes the grammatical class of the first item in the NP, that is whether it is the head of the NP, i.e. a noun, or not. Previous work has shown that the head attracts variation to the noun phrase when not at final position (Oushiro 2015), therefore the decision of taking this aspect of the NP into account. The head is the component that brings more semantic value to the noun phrase. This factor also has the following levels: “definite article”, “definite determiner”, “indefinite determiner”, “number”, and “head at beginning”. Due to small numbers of tokens, definite and indefinite determiners were grouped semantically. The former included possessives, demonstratives, and adjectives, whereas the latter includes indefinite lexicon such as *some*, *a/an*, *various*, *plenty of*, and *many*. The other levels were not grouped as there were sufficient tokens to account of each one. An example from the dataset is *Os barco- \emptyset* (The boats), in this case the first item class is the definite article *Os* (The).

Post-head configuration describes whether there is a determiner after the head of the NP or if the NP ends with the head. This was identified as a relevant factor for this study as previous work has shown that, after the head, unmarked plural forms are more likely to appear (Scherre 1988). For example, Oushiro (2016) showed less $-\emptyset$ when the head is at the end of the NP. It may be the semantic component that determines which variant is used. If the head is $-\emptyset$, all items after it do not need to be STA in order for the NP to be seen as plural. Initially, I coded this variable as head as end and all the possible grammatical classes in Brazilian Portuguese. However, due to small numbers in certain categories (smaller than Guy’s (1988) minimum 15% rule), the levels were: “determiner” and “head as end”, which allowed for more balanced numbers in each level. An example of the first category is *As função-S [head] deste- \emptyset terreiro- \emptyset* (The [religious] practices of these *terreiros*), where the NP continues with a determiner after the head; whereas an example of the second category is *Essa-S coisa-S* (These things), in which the NP ends with the head.

Differently from other studies (Brandão & Vieira 2012), Oushiro (2016) showed that *Animacy* (i.e., whether the NP refers to +human or -human) affects plural realisation. Specifically with an animate NP, speakers favour the use of STA. Oushiro (2016) maintained that the effect of *Animacy* is not homogeneous across Brazil, as others reported the opposite result (e.g., Brandão & Vieira 2012). I decided to investigate

Animacy to shed more light on the role of this factor on plural marking in NP and, potentially, help in making sense of previous incongruent results. As a native Brazilian Portuguese speaker, I tend to think that animate [+human] components of the NP attract STA, as speakers tend to be more precise when speaking about [+human] than about [-human]. This factor was coded as “animate” if the NP was +human and “inanimate” if it was -human. Whilst coding my data, I decided to consider the word *orixá* as animate to (i) respect the followers’ belief that, as humans, *orixás* exist, have feelings and act according to their particular character and (ii) my dataset showed that *orixás* was often plurally marked as humans were. For example, in *Os filhos no terreiro* (The *filhos* in the *terreiro*), the NP is animate, as the head of the NP is animate (+human); in *Sete ano-Ø de santo* (Seven years of initiated), the NP is inanimate since its head is inanimate (-human).

5.3.2 Internal factors at word level

At word level, eight internal factors were taken into account in line with previous studies (Scherre 1988; Oushiro 2015). Table 5.2 below reports each of the factors taken into consideration, which will then be described in the remainder of this section. Similarly to what happened at phrase level, the initial detailed coding had to be re-coded to ensure a more balanced dataset, as explained below, and illustrated with examples from the dataset.

Table 5.2: Internal factors at word level and their sub-factors

Factors	Sub-factors
Number of items	2, or more than 2
Linear position	Final, or non-final
STA process of pluralisation	Sibilant, or other processes of pluralisation
Relative position	Head, or post-head
Following phonic context	Consonant, vowel, or a pause
Singular tonicity	Stressed, or non-stressed
Class	Noun, or other
Intra noun phrase parallelism	Post-equal, or post-different

Number of items refers to the number of words in the whole NP, although what is at stake in this part of the analysis is each word individually. Considering the number of words would allow to analyse if, for example, there was an interaction between the linear position and the relative position of the word in the NP, as done elsewhere (Guy 1981; Scherre 1988). Again, it was assumed that the greater number of items in a given noun phrase, the higher the chances for a given item to be plurally unmarked depending on its position in relation to the head. For the same reasons described above, to keep the dataset balanced (Guy 1988), the detailed levels of this factor were collapsed into “two” and “more than two”. As such, in the NP *Os filho-Ø* (The *filhos*), for example, number of items was coded as two, whereas in *Os filho-Ø novo-Ø* (The young *filhos*) the number of items was coded as more than two.

Linear position describes whether the word is at final or non-final position in the NP. Since Brandão (2013) argued that the first position favours number marking, and given the tendency reported by Guy (1981) of non-marking a plural the more a word is towards the end of the NP, this factor was considered in this study. Again, it was initially hoped to code for all positions from 2nd to 5th. However, due to the low number of tokens in the higher positions, linear position was coded with two levels, “final” and “non-final”. For example, in *Os filho-Ø no-Ø terreiro-Ø* (The *filhos* in the *terreiros*), if *filho-Ø* is under analysis, then linear position is non-final; on the other hand, if *terreiro-Ø* is being considered, then linear position is final.

STA processes of pluralisation refers to the processes whereby, in standard Brazilian Portuguese, would be at work in the pluralisation of the word being analysed. This factor was coded as “sibilant” versus “other processes of pluralisation”. According to Oushiro (2015), this is one of the most widely considered factors in the study of NP pluralisation in Brazilian Portuguese. I believe that when the plural marking is constituted by the adding of a sibilant, only, it is easier for speakers to just drop it if it does not compromise the semantic component of the noun phrase, whereas other processes of pluralisation demand more changes to be unmarked and, hence, are kept. For example, in *As mulheres* [plural to *mulher*] *mais velhas* [plural to *velha*] (The older women), STA process of pluralisation in *velha[s]* is sibilant [-s], and it is other processes of pluralisation in *mulher [-es]*.

Relative position describes whether the word under analysis is the head of the NP or comes after it (i.e., it is post-head). Previous studies have argued that the position of the item before the head of the noun phrase favours its plural marking, and its position to the right of the head favours $-\emptyset$ (Scherre 1988). In addition, as already stated, the head is the item with the biggest semantic value in the noun phrase, therefore its position determines the likelihood of other items to be STA or $-\emptyset$. Initially, the levels of this factor were pre-head, head, post-head. The first category was however discarded as only one token was found as $-\emptyset$ in the data, and only two levels were then considered in the study. For example, in *Os grandes líder- \emptyset religioso- \emptyset* (The great religious leaders), *líder* is at “head” position, whereas *religioso* is at “post-head” position. Notice that, once the head is unmarked, what follows it tends to also be unmarked.

Following context comprises three levels, “vowel”, “consonant” or “pause”, and accounts for the phonic context right after the word taken into account. Previous studies have claimed that this factor is relevant in the study of NP pluralisation, although results are not homogeneous. For example, Oushiro (2015) showed that the word tends to be unmarked when the next phonic context is a consonant, but not a vowel. This may have to do with the phonic facility of making a plural form when it precedes a vowel, creating another syllable. For example, in *O-S orixá-S* (The *orixás*), the next following context after the initial position is a vowel.

Singular tonicity will show whether the word taken into account in its singular form is stressed or non-stressed in the NP (Salomão 2010). As detailed elsewhere in this thesis, stressed words attract more marked plural forms than non-stressed words. Since previous work did not analyse this factor in the Brazilian Portuguese spoken in Salvador, it was decided to add it to the current study. For example, in *As má-S ações-S* (The evil actions), we have *má* [stressed word in singular form].

Class describes whether the grammatical class of the word under analysis is a “noun” or “other”. Again, it was initially hoped to include all grammatical classes in the levels of this factor. However, there was a greater number of nouns compared to the other classes, causing imbalance *as per* Guy (1988). Therefore the two-way classification was finally implemented for a more balanced dataset. For example, in *O-S menino-S* (The boys), if *menino-S* is under analysis, it is the case of a noun.

Intra NP parallelism describes whether the word under analysis follows a word with the same plural marking or no plural marking, i.e. if the pattern is “post-equal” or “post-different” (Scherre & Naro 1992; Oushiro 2015). For example, in *Os grandes líder-Ø religioso-Ø* (The great religious leaders), if *líder* is under analysis, then *Intra NP parallelism* is post-different (as *líder* is unmarked and follows *grandes*, which is marked). On the other hand, if *religioso* is under analysis, then it is post-equal (it is unmarked and follows *líder*, which is also unmarked). Considering that the first item was always marked in the data, the coding had to be done disregarding the first word of the noun phrase. Albeit I thought this factor would have been useful to clarify the reasons for variation in the NP pluralisation, I ended up leaving it out of the analysis because whenever a variant appeared, it would virtually always be the same case of plural marking as to the one which came before, i.e. the factor was nearly-categorical.

5.4 Descriptive statistics of the internal factors

Descriptive statistics describing the distribution of the internal factors taken into consideration in this thesis are presented below. Table 5.3 reports the overall distribution of plural configuration by internal-independent variables at NP level and table 5.4 at word level. Overall, we can see that, in most cases, the higher the number of tokens, the lower the percentage of STA plural. This is valid, for example, for *Elements number*, which counts 1,027 tokens of NPs with 2 elements, 72.63% of which are STA pluralised. As for the 171 NPs with more than 2 elements, 74.26% of them show STA plural. This total-percentage inverted relation is true across the whole Table 5.3, except for some levels from *First Item Class*. This is also shown in Table 5.4, with the exception of *Following Context*, *Singular Tonicity*, and *Intra NP Parallelism*.

Let’s take a closer look to patterns which can be seen in the dataset. At the NP level, besides what was already stated for *Elements Number*, we can see the if the head is at the beginning of the NP, interestingly, this makes the NP more standard, whereas the presence of the definite article and other definite determiners do the opposite. This is not in line with similar work carried out on Brazilian Portuguese spoken in other areas of the country. *Post-head* shows us that NPs ending with a determiner show a higher percentage of STA than NPs which have the head at the end. This has probably to do with what I will term the “post-different rule”, as all NP -Ø marking will begin in this context of difference

from the previous item. Animate NP also determine a higher percentage of STA realisation, in line with what was reported by Oushiro's (2015).

Table 5.3: Overall distribution of plural configuration
by internal-independent variables and their levels at phrase analysis

Variables and levels	Total N	% of STA plural from Total N
Elements number	1198	72.87
Two	1,027	72.63
More than two	171	74.26
First Item Class	1198	72.95
Definite article	488	68.44
Definite determiner	153	68.62
Number	225	73.33
Indefinite determiner	261	79.31
Head at beginning	71	87.32
Post-head configuration	1198	72.87
Head at the end	1056	72.06
Head+determiner	142	78,87
Animacy	1198	72.87
Inanimate	732	71.17
Animate	466	75.53

Table 5.4: Overall distribution of plural configuration
by internal-independent variables and their levels at word analysis

Variables and levels	Total N	% of STA plural from Total N
Number of items	1274	73.23
Two	1030	72.33
More than two	244	77.04
Linear position	1274	73.31
Final	1195	72.63
Non-final	79	82.27
STA process of pluralisation	1274	73.23
Sibilant	1026	71.24
Other processes of pluralisation	248	81.45
Relative position	1274	73.23
Head	1,139	72.69
Post-head	135	77.77
Following context	1,274	73.23
Consonant	572	68.18
Vowel	264	73.10
Pause	438	79.90
Singular tonicity	1,274	73.23
Stressed	58	65.51
Not stressed	1,216	73.60
Grammatical class	1,274	73.23
Noun	1,121	72.70
Other	153	77.12
Intra noun phrase parallelism	1,274	73.23
Post-different	324	1.85
Post-equal	950	97.57

Turning to a description of the behaviour of factors at word level, somehow surprisingly, we can see that NPs with more than two elements favour $-\emptyset$ NPs. And it is surprising because the longer the NP, the more likely it is for it to be $-\emptyset$, including in terms of nominal number agreement (Guy 1981; Baxter 2010). Words in non-final position are present in the higher percentage of NPs of this factor, that of STA. This is not surprising,

as normally once a word is unmarked, the others in the rest of the NP tend to be unmarked as well (Scherre 1988). Continuing, words with a sibilant as marker of STA pluralisation favour the STA plural less than other processes of pluralisation, which has been found in previous work (Oushiro 2015). Words which are post-head show a higher percentage of STA plural, but they are much less frequent than words at head position. With regards to *Following Context*, we can see that words followed by a pause show a higher percentage of STA plural, followed by words followed by a vowel and a consonant thereafter. Consonant has the highest number of cases and the lowest percentage of STA pluralisation at word level. Non-stressed words in the NP are more recurrent in the dataset and they were realised with STA plural forms more than stressed words. There was a great numerical difference between the categories ‘nouns’ and ‘other’, yet the percentage in pluralisation did not vary greatly between the two categories. Specifically, for noun, 72.7% of words were STA marked, whereas 77.12% of other were STA marked. Intra noun-phrase parallelism is nearly-categorical. Post-equal words showed a percentage of 97.57% of STA plural.

A final observation is needed with regards to the factors *Relative Position* and *Grammatical Class*. A noun (class) is always the head of the NP (relative position), which means they are collinear and need to be tested separately. Intra Noun-Phrase Parallelism should be disregarded from the inferential analysis, as the initial findings show it is nearly-categorical in its distribution.

The basic statistical distribution only serves the purpose to visualise some potential patterns. The actual significant results can only be known through the analysis of the model, which I do next.

5.5 Quantitative analyses of internal factors

In this section, I firstly describe how the best-fit model was obtained for each dataset, followed by their results.

5.5.1 The model building process for internal factors

After transcribing the interviews in ELAN version 5.8 (Nijmegen 2020), all the NPs were manually coded by me both at the whole NP and the word level. The data was then

exported to Excel and further analysed in R version 3.6.3 (R Core, 2022) A full factorial model, that is a model comprising all the independent factors described above and their possible interactions, was automatically stepped down using the Step() function in R, resulting in a considerable number of significant effects. The model was analysed with an Anova() to identify significant factors and/or interactions, and informant was entered as random effect. These procedures revealed that several factors shown to be “significant” in the first version were actually not significant, so they were taken out of the model. Following these procedures, I reached the “best” fit model, i.e. one that gave me solid, significant, non-misleading results.

5.5.2 Analysis of internal factors at phrase level

For this part of the analysis, the variable ‘plural configuration of the noun phrase’ was looked at in terms of how the NP has its plural marking performed by informants: (i) whether completely marked (STA) – with all words prone to have their plural mark marked; or (ii) whether the NP is partially marked (-Ø). And for (ii) I say partially marked because the first item is always marked (STA) in the data. Table 5.5 is a model to analyse the effects of Elements Number, First Item Class, and Animacy on the variable plural configuration, as it was shown to be the best model.

Table 5.5: Regression model for internal factors at phrase level (Ref. STA)

Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-2.48837	0.65194	-3.817	0.000135
Elements number (more than 2)	0.53789	0.23478	2.291	0.021958
First item class (definite article)	0.72014	0.41922	1.718	0.085827
First item class (definite determiner)	0.71117	0.45400	1.566	0.117243
First item class (indefinite determiner)	0.07265	0.43793	0.166	0.868247
First item class (number)	-0.28554	0.45164	-0.632	0.527245
Animacy (inanimate)	0.81529	0.18556	4.394	1.12e-05

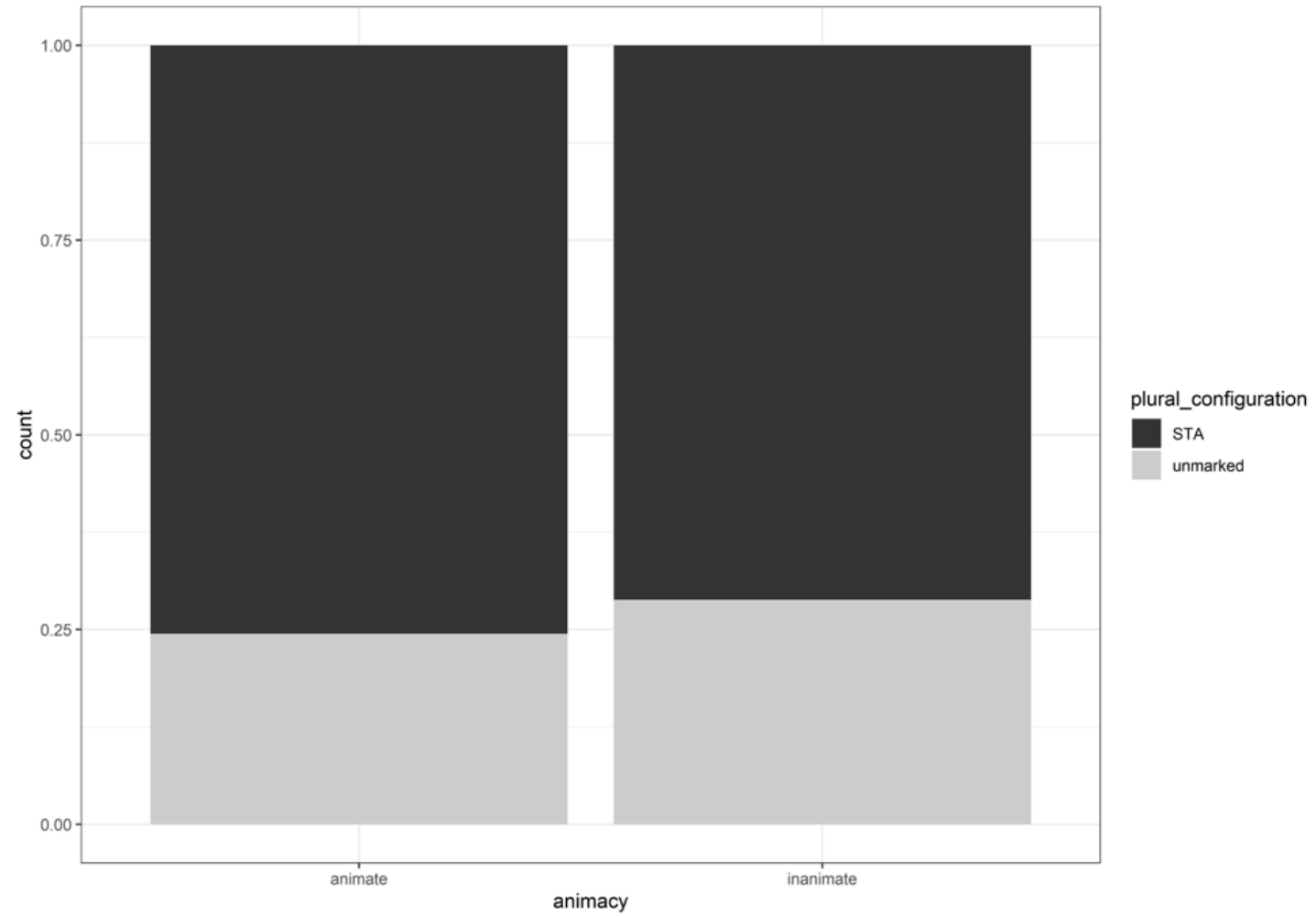
Total N: 1198. Random effect: Informant (18). Log likelihood = -499.0

The model shows a significant effect of *Elements Number* on plural configuration. In NPs with more than two elements, informants use the unmarked plural form more often than in NPs with two elements. In standard Brazilian Portuguese, a mark of plural is added to

all elements of a plural noun phrase, marking the plural of the NP several times (depending on the number of elements) with no need of this semantic (plural) marking once the first element is marked. It is in because of this that we say that, in standard Brazilian Portuguese, the plural configuration of the noun phrase is redundant, as all elements receive a plural mark when, semantically, they do not need to. And I claim they do not need to because, as language varies and we see phenomena such as the one described by the model above, i.e., informants using the unmarked plural when there are more than two elements more often than when there are two elements, we can find situations of nonredundant noun phrases as well. In this case, as the present finding shows, and I predicted earlier, it becomes clear this may be due to linguistic economy: because there is no semantic value added in the marking of the plural to the rest of the elements of the noun phrase, marking the plural in the first element is enough to make the noun phrase plural without the possibility of creating any problems of communication in regards to that because of this plural configuration. Additionally, this effect somehow relates to the finding that, at least in Brazilian Portuguese, once an element is unmarked in the NP, the rest of the NP tends to also be unmarked (Narro & Scherre 2003). Further, for NPs with only two elements, the standard form of pluralisation is more expected than when the NP is longer (Guy 1981).

Animacy also showed a significant effect on plural configuration. Specifically, inanimate NPs favoured the use of the unmarked plural form over animate ones. This finding is not in line with Brandão & Vieira (2012), but agrees with Oushiro's (2015) results that inanimate NPs attract the use of $-\emptyset$. Therefore, it seems the effects of animacy and inanimacy on plural configuration are not homogeneous in Brazilian Portuguese, as argued by Oushiro (2015). The results found here may be due to speakers wanting to be clearer about the plural of the word if the noun phrase is animate. What I mean by that is that it seems that the (grammatical) system of the language has been conventionalised in such a way by speakers of the researched community in such a way that animate [+human] noun phrases "need" to be more redundantly marked in terms of pluralisation than inanimate [-human] noun phrases, as if there were a hierarchy between animate and inanimate noun phrases withing the grammatical organisation of the vernacular spoken by the participants in the study.

Figure 5.1 depicts the effect of animacy on pluralisation, when the head of the noun phrase is inanimate, the noun phrase tends to be nonredundant more than when the head is animate.

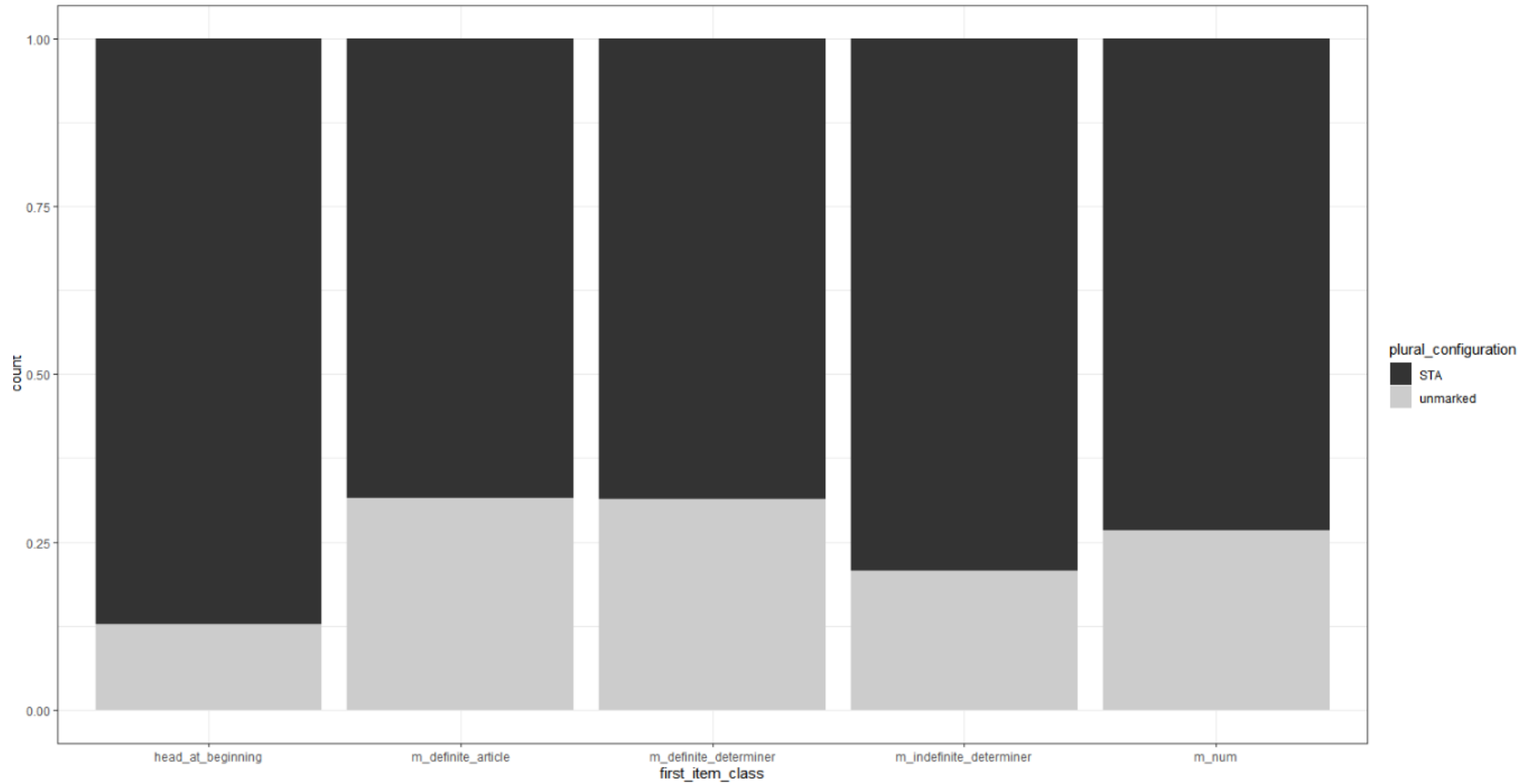
Figure 5.1: Animacy

As for the factor First Item Class, it is the grammatical class of the first item before the head position in the NP, or the head itself if it is the first item in the NP. No significant effect was found from each of the four levels as opposed to Head at Beginning. However, in Anova and when considering the factor as a whole, First Item Class was found to have an effect over plural configuration. This is important to note, although Anova does not allow us to analyse what effect precisely is taking place because it considers the whole factor, and not its different subfactors independently. Considering Figure 5.2, pairwise comparisons (Table 5.6) of the level of this factor were carried out and reported below. As can be noticed, when the first item is a definite article, $-\emptyset$ is favoured in the noun phrase more often than when an indefinite determiner is in first position ($p = 0.0321$). This finding suggests that it may have to do with the potential for semantic force attested by definite articles (their definiteness feature). This definiteness feature of the articles makes them the item with the strongest semantic force in terms of pluralisation within the noun phrase. Therefore, once used at the beginning of the noun phrase and pluralised, there is less need to plurally mark the rest of the phrase, which exactly the phenomenon described by the model which happens in the speech of the informants. We can also see that when a definite article or a definite determiner is in first position, the unmarked form is used more frequently than when the first item is a number ($p = 0.0006$ and $p = 0.0093$ respectively). Again, I suggest that definite articles and definite determiners (their definiteness feature) bring enough semantic information with the necessary force for the rest of the noun phrase, whereas a number attracts more nominal number agreement following it.

Table 5.6: First item class subfactors (Ref. STA)

Contrast	Estimate	SE	df	z.ratio	p. value
Definite article–Indefinite determiner	0.64750	0.225	Inf	2.883	0.0321
Definite article – Number	1.00568	0.252	Inf	3.990	0.0006
Definite determiner – Number	0.99671	0.304	Inf	3.276	0.0093

Figure 5.2: First Item Class



Summing up, the analysis reported above partially confirms previous work and some of my own predictions. Specifically, NPs with more than 2 elements tend to be $-\emptyset$ more than shorter ones due to linguistic economy and the lack of semantic value in marking the plural of all components. Findings are also aligned with Guy's (1981) argument that NPs with only two elements vary less than those with more than two elements. Inanimacy favours the unmarked plural, as also found by Oushiro (2015) but differently from Brandão & Vieira (2012). A first item, being a definite article, attracts $-\emptyset$ in the noun phrase more often than when an indefinite determiner is in first position. A definite article or a definite determiner in first position attracts the unmarked form more frequently than when the first item is a number.

5.5.3 Analysis of internal factors at word level

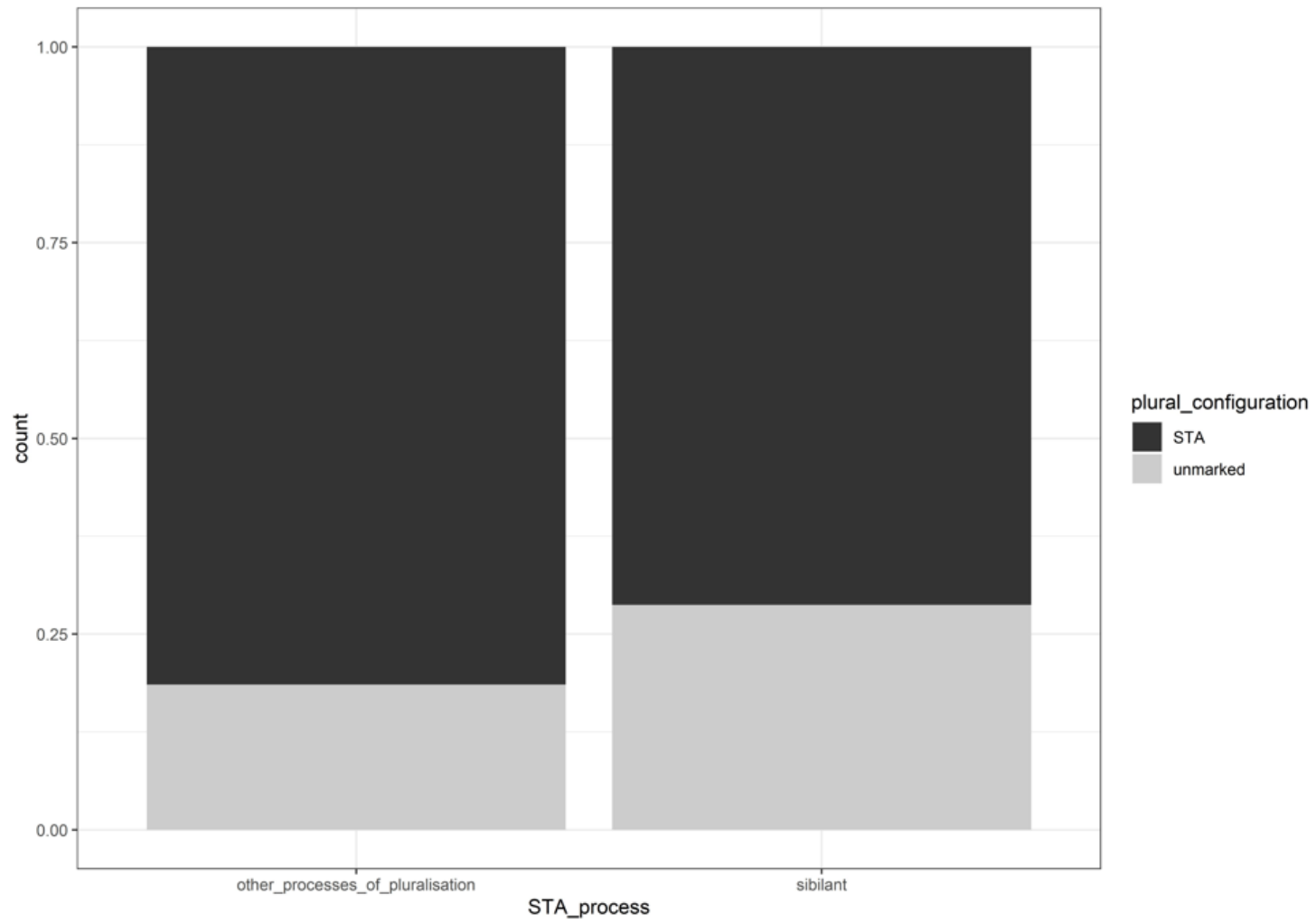
In this section, I turn to the analysis of the dataset at word level. Table 5.7 below reports results for the regression analysis, and Figures. 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 bring the summary of the model showing the internal factors that showed independent fixed effects on plural configuration variation, as the analyses showed no evidence of significant interactions.

Table 5.7: Regression model for internal factors at word level (Ref. STA)

Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-1.96877	0.54401	-3.619	0.000296
STA process (sibilant)	0.69310	0.24512	2.828	0.004690
Following context (pause)	-0.62421	0.18790	-3.322	0.000893
Following context (vowel)	0.07653	0.20558	0.372	0.709697
Singular tonicity (stressed)	1.01752	0.38410	2.649	0.008072

Total N: 1274. Random effect: Informant (18). Log likelihood = -527.2

Figure 5.3: STA process



The morphophonological processes of pluralisation, here called STA Process, is one of the most widely studied phenomena in NP plural marking in Brazilian Portuguese. In most studies, the findings are not different from the current one, i.e. the addition of a sibilant in STA favours the -Ø plural marking by informants (Figure 5.3). It is worth noting that the way the dataset was coded for the analysis, sibilant vs other processes of pluralisation, may also explain the current result. However, previous studies (Scherre 1988, Oushiro 2015) show similar findings, so I do not consider the recoding a drawback. Here we can see that regular plurals tend to be in unmarked form, whereas irregular plurals tend to be marked with STA. What this finding shows us is that, as I argued, dropping the sibilant is a far simpler process in the language system than changing irregular plurals in order to make them unmarked. This may help in explaining the reason why the unmarked form is favoured when, in standard Brazilian Portuguese, the plural is made by simply adding a sibilant to the word (which is then just dropped in the unmarking process) more so than in irregular processes of pluralisation, which would demand more changes to the words for them to be unmarked within the noun phrase. Hence, I would argue that this is, as well, a case of linguistic economy. In addition, because adding a sibilant to a word is the most common means of pluralisation in Portuguese, it is not surprising that it is the one that varies the most.

Analysis of the factor *Following context* revealed that words followed by a consonant or a vowel are unmarked more often than words followed by a pause. This finding is illustrated in Fig. 5.4 below. This finding may be explained by the fact that a pause sounds like not just the end of a noun phrase, but the end of a whole sentence or even of a turn. As such, the plural form of the noun phrase which has been redundant until the second last item – a condition for the last item to be plurally marked in the data analysed in this study – continues as marked in the last position as a way to further mark the plural nature of the noun phrase when what comes right after it is a pause.

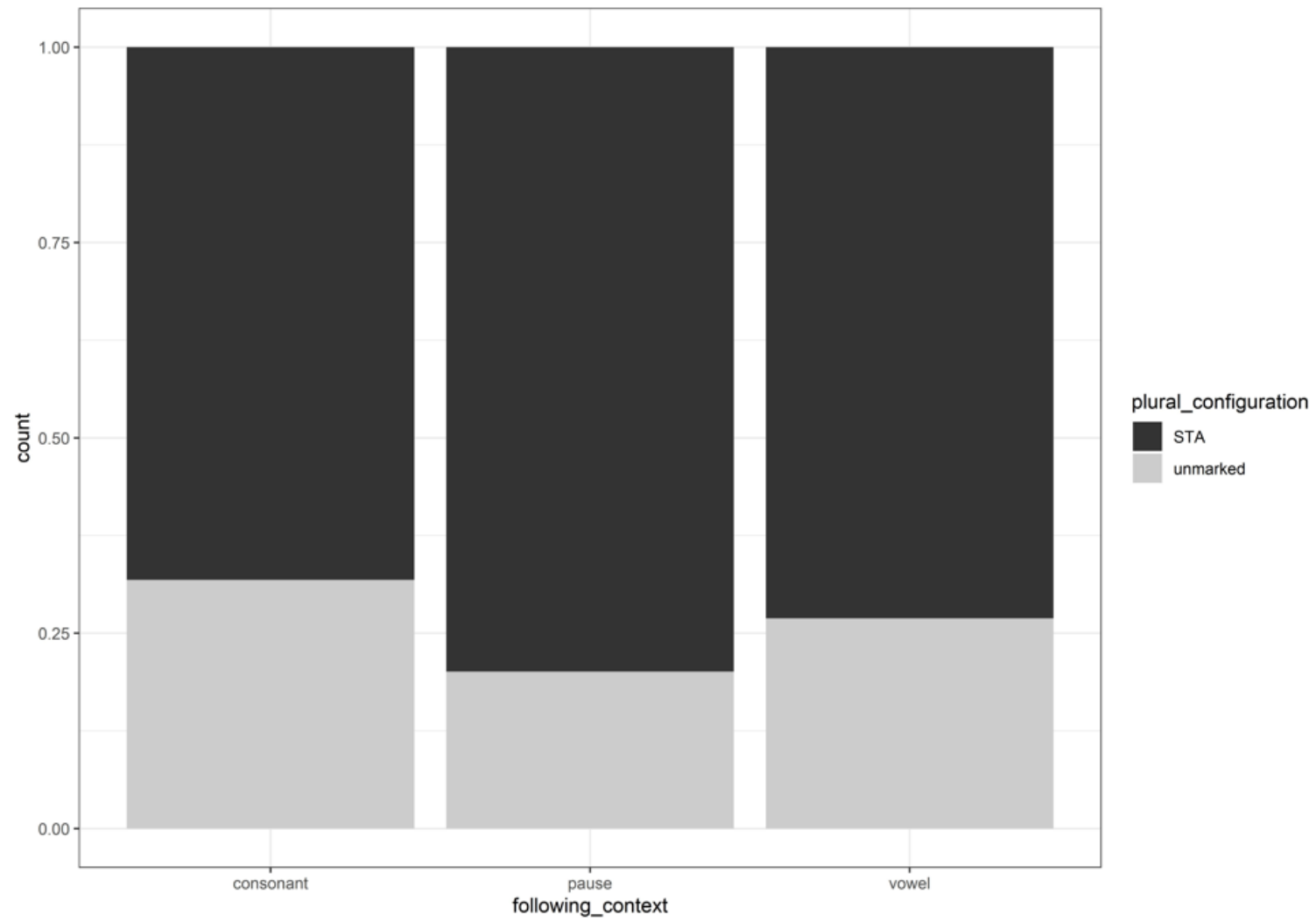
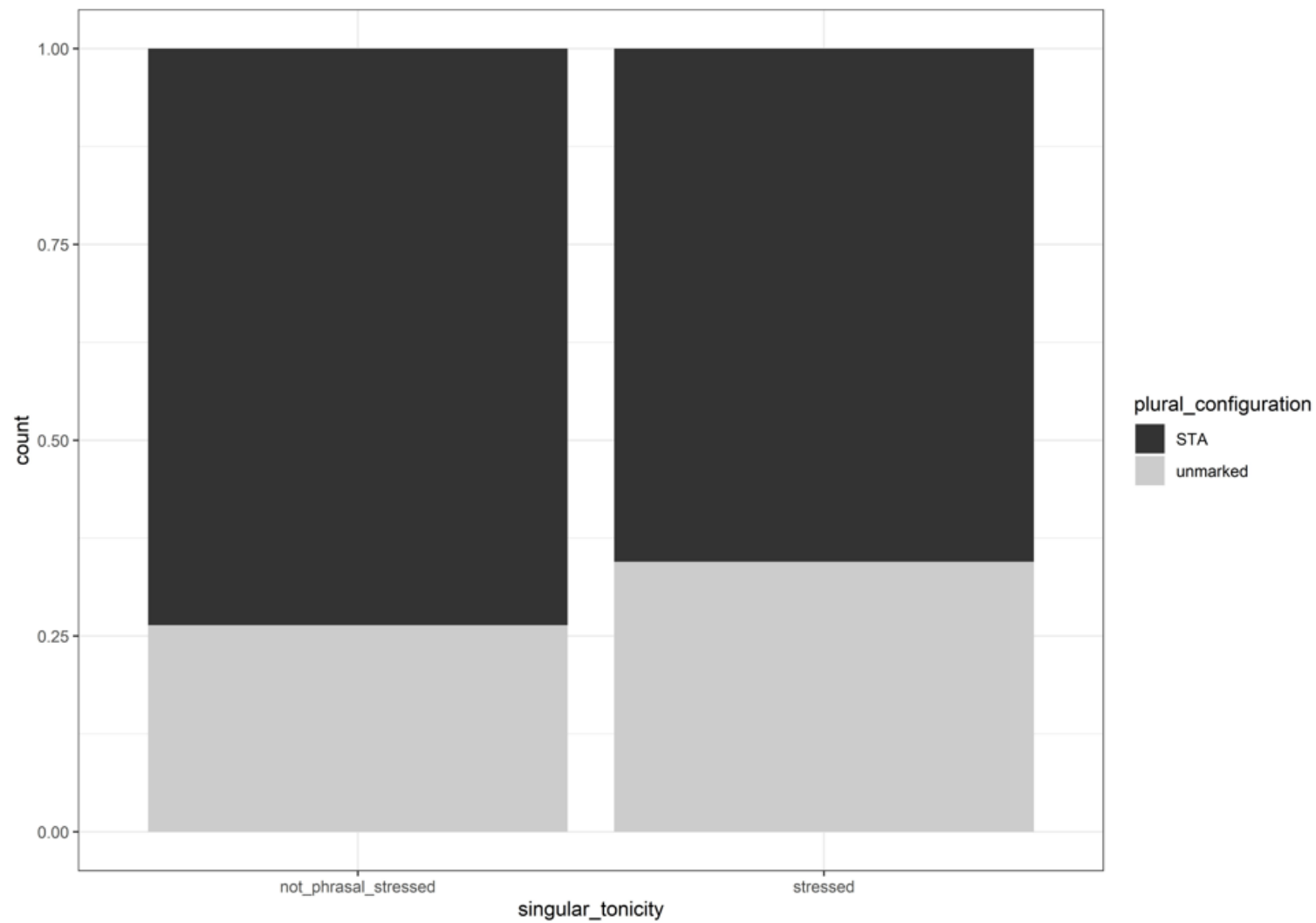
Figure 5.4: Following context

Figure 5.5: Singular tonicity



Singular tonicity was reported to affect plural configuration in previous work in Salomão (2010) but not in Oushiro (2015). According to Oushiro this is because the tonicity (stress) of the word favours the -Ø form because of words which are more commonly used with zero marking. In the present study, results (Fig. 5.5) corroborate Salomão's (2010) work, and this is particularly true when the stressed word is either at the end of the NP or is followed by other words with -Ø marking.

Figure 5.5 shows that stressed words tend to be unmarked more often than the unstressed ones, as also reported in Dias & Fernandes (2000). This finding can be explained by the position of the stressed words. In the dataset, stressed words occupied mostly the last position in the noun phrase. As already demonstrated, the non-marking of the plural begins from the second item in the noun phrase and continues on to the third and so on. Therefore, the last item within the noun phrase is the one which is prone the most to be nonredundant, i.e. to not receive the mark of plural. As stressed words occupied mostly the last position in the noun phrase this helps explain the finding that stressed words tend to be unmarked more so than unstressed ones within the noun phrase. This is in line with what happens to the factors *Number of Items* and *Relative Position*, as for these factors the more to the right within the noun phrase the element is, the more chances there are that it be unmarked.

The analyses reported above aligns with what previous work has found as well as some of my hypotheses. The addition of a sibilant in STA favours the -Ø plural marking, which has been found in Scherre (1988) and Oushiro (2015). I argued that this happens for two reasons: this process of pluralisation is the most common in Brazilian Portuguese, so one would expect to find more variation in such process, and dropping the sibilant is less complex within the system than changing irregular plurals. The model showed that words followed by a pause are plural-marked more often than when they are followed by a consonant or a vowel. The analyses also showed that stressed words tend to -Ø plural marking (Dias & Fernandes 2000; Salomão 2010).

5.6 Discussion

The goal of this chapter was to present and discuss the analyses of the role of internal factors in the variation in plural marking of the noun phrase by my informants. To this

end, I analysed the dataset both at the noun phrase and word levels. With regards to the NP level, *Elements Number* and *Animacy* showed a significant effect on plural marking. Specifically, the length of the NP influences the variation in pluralisation as NPs with more than two elements tend to have their plural unmarked more often than NPs with only two elements. I argued that this is due to linguistic economy, as the lack of (plural) semantic need to be added to the other elements within the noun phrase once the first element is marked. I also followed Guy's (1981) understanding that the longer the noun phrase the more likely it is to be unmarked, except for the element at first position. In addition, inanimate NPs tend to get the $-\emptyset$ mark more often than animate NPs, and I argued that within the system it seems to have been conventionalised that animate noun phrases need to be marked more so than inanimate ones, as if there were a hierarchy between animate and inanimate noun phrases, although this finding has been demonstrated to not be homogenous across Brazil. Initially, *First Item Class* did not show any significant effect, but pairwise comparison has revealed significant effects for some of its sublevels: in my understanding, given its definiteness feature, when a definite article is at the beginning of a plural noun phrase, it is plurally marked as it is at this position, but attracts unmarking for the remainder of the noun phrase more so than when what is at the beginning of the noun phrase is an indefinite determiner. For the same reason, for their definiteness, a definite article or a definite determiner at first position attracts more unmarked forms to the noun phrase more often than when a number is at first position.

With regards to the word level analysis, results showed that informants use more $-\emptyset$ plural marking for words that have a sibilant as a plural marking in STA, to which I argued that it is less complex within the structure of the language to just drop the sibilant than making more substantial changes to irregular plurals in order to unmark them. In addition, words followed by a pause are plural-marked more often than those followed by a consonant or a vowel. This finding differs from previous work carried out in São Paulo (Oushiro 2015), which may indicate regional variation in the feature. Regarding the results in the present study, I argued that a pause may be taken in a similar fashion as the end of a noun phrase and, since the second last item of the noun phrase is marked (a condition for the last item to be marked), it makes sense to close the "noun phrase" marking it until its very last item. Finally, *Singular Tonicity* showed that stressed words attract the $-\emptyset$ plural marking. The fact that stressed words occupy the last position more often than other positions in

the NP in the dataset was an explanation offered for this phenomenon, as this position is the one that presents most cases of unmarked forms of plural.

Overall, what the analyses show is that, although linguistic economy was argued to be the reason for two factors, namely elements number and STA processes of pluralisation, it can be applied to the explanation, at least partially, of all factors that impact the plural configuration in the noun phrase. In fact, there is no communicative drawback when the remainder of a plural noun phrase is unmarked as long as the first item is marked. Therefore, the redundancy in the pluralisation of items in the noun phrase is expendable as far as communication is concerned. This principle seems to surround all findings regarding internal factors presented and explained above, otherwise there would not be variation in their use, i.e., there would not be more than one way to pluralise the noun phrase and mean the same thing.

Additionally, another aspect that needs to be considered is the fact that, in order to explain the findings, it was at times necessary to make use of the concept of convention about the linguistic system. This was the case, for example, in the explanation to the fact that inanimate noun phrases attract the unmarked plural form more often than the animate ones in the data. Although this chapter is dealing with internal/linguistic constraints, it is impossible to dissociate language from those who use it, i.e., it is not possible to think of language without implying society, and considering how something is conventionalised is considering how people at some point in time ‘decided’ that something linguistic would be a certain way. Once conventionalised, the phenomenon under consideration seems to only follow internal, linguistic rules, but it is important to remember that those very rules were integrated into the linguistic system by those who use it.

A given point in space and time where the nonredundant forms of pluralisation in the noun phrase in Brazilian Portuguese may very well have been the colonial times. This is what is argued, as demonstrated in the literature review of this thesis, by Lucchesi (2008; 2012; 2015) when he discusses the term *irregular linguistic transmission*. The term refers to the acquisition of Portuguese as a second language by Brazilian indigenous people, African slaves and other people who spoke other languages. Potentially, in some of these languages the pluralisation in the noun phrase is nonredundant, as it happens in English, for example. As a result of the contact among different people who spoke different languages, this non-redundancy was implemented into the language in the creolisation of

Brazilian Portuguese via irregular linguistic transmission, as Lucchesi argues, as the nonredundant became part of the language variation in Brazil, being some of them prone to be explained only from within the system and only taking the conventional aspect of the language as a departing point.

Given that even within the internal factors we cannot disregard the role of society in the shaping of a language, social factors need indeed to also be taken into consideration. The present quantitative analysis has shown the importance of the internal factors in describing variation in the NP. The following chapter will deal with external factors. This further analysis will allow us to appreciate the role of social variables on plural marking as well as describe the social meaning the variation at stake carries with it.

6

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSES: SOCIAL FACTORS

6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter I analysed the variation in the plural configuration of the noun phrase considering internal factors only. The focus was on the dependent variable, the plural configuration in the noun phrase, and how variants could be explained from within linguistic aspects of Brazilian Portuguese, based both on what has already been found in previous work and/or what was found on site. The goal of the present chapter is to describe the role of external factors (to be described in the next section) on variation in plural marking in the noun phrase. Using a quantitative approach, I will provide an analysis of how these social factors act, independently or in interaction, on the linguistic variable at hand and, in doing so, provide an account of the social meaning constructed via such in the speech of my informants.

The chapter opens with a brief description of the social factors taken into account, the reason for which they were considered in the present work and how I coded them for the analysis. I will then present my statistical approach, ahead of an account of the results this analysis yielded.

6.2 External factors

The social factors which were considered were age, schooling, sexuality, race/ethnicity, time spent in Salvador, time in *Candomblé*, and role within the *terreiro*. These specific factors were chosen in line with previous work (e.g. Scherre 1988; Oushiro 2015; Lucchesi 2019) and my observations during fieldwork. All these variables were considered in the coding process and tested in the analyses.

Age is a factor which has traditionally been considered in sociolinguistic studies, both in terms of stable variation (e.g. Guy 1981; Scherre 1988; Antonino 2007) and others with regards to process of change (e.g. Naro & Scherre 2011; Dália & Lucchesi 2021), as correlations between language variation and age, for example, may be a sign of change

in progress (Labov 2001). The informants in this study belong to two age groups: “older” were participants who were 18 (or above) in 2011, that is when same-sex marriage was legalised in Brazil; “younger” were the participants who were not yet 18 in 2011. I chose this variable as I assumed an effect of the same-sex marriage becoming legal (and homosexuality therefore more normalised) due to the importance of this step for the Brazilian civil rights movement in the country, and how it changed the way people talk about the concept of family in Brazil. Importantly, I believe, this law may have had repercussion on how Brazilians discuss gender and sexuality and how different gender and sexuality groups talked about themselves. By dividing participants into two groups I could investigate whether the change in the law had an effect on my participants, in an attempt to investigate both whether what was reported in previous work (e.g. Guy 1981; Scherre 1988) held true among my informants and whether any change in progress could be identified.

The next social factor I investigated was *schooling*, which previous sociolinguistic research has reported to interact, at least to a certain extent, with linguistic choices (Salomão 2010). I coded schooling as “higher” if the informant was attending or had completed a university course at the time of fieldwork, and “lower” if the informant had only attended compulsory education. Attending university is not as common in Brazil as in Europe, for example, and, indeed, only a minor part of the population does attend. In addition, taking schooling into account was also important because it relates to issues of linguistic stigma and prestige, as people with higher education tend to use more standard forms or, at least, the forms they use tend to be considered better than those used by people not educated at university level. It is worth noting that, whether this factor by itself may explain the variation attributed to it, it may be questionable (Oushiro 2015). Although schooling may play a role in linguistic variation, other aspects not strictly related to it may be at stake as well, such as the contact speakers have with different social networks and social media. In her study, Oushiro (2015) took social class into consideration together with schooling in order to determine to what extent schooling influences the plural configuration in the noun phrase. In the present study, social class was not considered because informants could not be grouped as such, as considering their income, all of them belonged to lower class, *as per* IBGE (Brasil 2010b).

In terms of *race/ethnicity*, I would have grouped my informants in two groups, that is “black” and “white”. However, all informants considered themselves black. In spite of

the lack of variation within the pool of participants, race/ethnicity was qualitatively investigated in the current study. This is not only because previous work has looked at this variable (e.g. Baxter 2009; Brandão 2013), but also because of the importance blackness has within *Candomblé* due to the link to the ancestors and initiators of the religion, which is approached in the qualitative part of the study.

Initially, my intention was to stratify the informants *as per* their *time spent in Salvador* in two groups: those who have been living there more than half of their lives and those who have lived less than half of their lives in the city. This factor is similar in nature to the factor “time out of the community” considered in Lucchesi (2019). However, considering the structure of *Candomblé* – the *terreiro* has *filhos de santo* spread across the country – such configuration was not possible without a great imbalance in the data, as many participants who were interviewed spent their lives outside of the city. On the other hand, leaving this factor out of the analysis could mean disregarding an important aspect in the research, as people have their ways of speaking locally defined as well. Taking the above into account, it was then decided to group the participants into those who lived in Salvador “up to 9 years” and those who lived in Salvador “10 years or more”.

Time in Candomblé was initially coded as ‘most of their lives’ and ‘less than half of their lives’. However, after my interviews it became clear that such a classification was not viable among my informants as many of them had not spent more than half of their lives in the religion. That is why I then decided to create two groups based on whether the informant had reached the important 5-year watershed in the religion, the typical midpoint during the process of graduating within the religion. After the initiation, followers who are *rodantes* would graduate at 1 year, 3 years, and 7 years in the religion. However, these graduations do not happen exactly when they are supposed to due to a number of reasons, mainly because it is expensive for the person who graduates to pay for ceremony, clothes and food, therefore often the 3 year graduation is normally held in year 5. This is an important graduation for the initiated, as it is when they ‘go deeper’ in *Candomblé* and therefore I used this important watershed in the coding. Therefore, this factor was coded as “5 years maximum” and “more than 5 years”. No linguistic study has, to my knowledge, analysed the potential effects of this factor in *Candomblé*.

All informants were asked how they self-report their *sexuality*. Some interesting answers were given, such as “normal”, “I only fuck”, and “I am a man”. In these few cases, I supplied terms such as gay, straight, bisexual, pansexual and asexual, and their answers

Table 6.1: Informants grouped in social groups

Informant	Age	Schooling	Race/ Ethnicity	Time in Salvador	Time in Candomblé	Sexuality	Role
Antonio	Older	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Ari	Older	Higher	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Daniel	Older	Higher	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Eduardo	Older	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
José	Younger	Higher	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Lucas	Younger	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Nilton	Older	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Regis	Younger	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Tales	Younger	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Straight	<i>Ogan</i>
Paulo	Younger	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>
Caio	Younger	Lower	Black	Up to 9 years	5 years maximum	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>
Diego	Older	Higher	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>
Edson	Older	Lower	Black	Up to 9 years	More than 5 years	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>
Samuel	Younger	Lower	Black	Up to 9 years	More than 5 years	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>
Naldo	Younger	Lower	Black	Up to 9 years	5 years maximum	Straight	<i>Rodante</i>
Roberto	Younger	Higher	Black	Up to 9 years	More than 5 years	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>
Rodnei	Younger	Higher	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>
Tiago	Younger	Lower	Black	10 years or more	More than 5 years	Gay	<i>Rodante</i>

were either “straight” or “gay”. The initial plan of the study broadly aimed at analysing the role of sexuality in linguistic variation among the speech of informants following previous work in sociolinguistics in Brazil (e.g. Lima 2009; Mendes 2011, 2016). Also, previous anthropological work (e.g. Birman 1991; Fry 1995; Browning 1999; Rios 2012) had found a collinearity between role (*rodante/ogan*) and sexuality (gay/straight). During the coding process, it became clear that this collinearity exists also in my data (see Table 6.1).

The last factor considered was *role* within the *terreiro*. As described in Chapter 2, previous research has reported that, in *Candomblé*, men who get into a trance and are inhabited by the *orixás* (*rodantes*) are more effeminate, whereas men who do not get into a trance (*ogans*) are straight-acting (Birman 1991; Rios 2011). This correlation between sexuality and role is only available among men, which is why I only interviewed male informants for this project. Informants self-identified as either “*rodantes*” or “*ogans*” and whether their post within the religion (role) affected plural configuration in their speech was investigated. This factor has not, to my knowledge, been looked at in *Candomblé* in linguistic studies.

6.3 Basic descriptive statistics of the external factors

The overall distribution of plural configuration by external-independent variables and their levels at (1) the noun phrase and (2) the word analysis is reported in tables 6.2 and 6.3. The descriptive statistics were obtained from the two sets of tokens, this time considering potential correlations between social factors and plural configuration in the noun phrase.

Similarly to the case of the internal factors considered in the previous chapter, at phrase level, the higher the number of tokens, the lower the percentage of STA plural. This was, however, not true for the social factor role (Table 6.2); *ogans* used more plural forms than *rodantes*. Specifically, the former used plural forms 73.31% of the time compared to the latter, who used it 72.37%.

The fact that all other factors present the same pattern, i.e. the more tokens, the lower the percentage of STA, may be interpreted as an indication of a change in progress in the way STA is used within the *terreiro*. With regards to age, for example, one can see that, despite a lower number of tokens from older participants than younger ones (specifically 516 vs

682), the older informants used STA 76.74% of the time, whereas the younger informants used it 69.94% of the time. It seems that young speakers use proportionally less STA than older ones. A similar pattern was also identified at word level (Table 6.3).

Table 6.2: Overall distribution of plural configuration by external-independent variables and their levels at phrase analysis

Variables and levels	Total N	STA	% of STA plural from Total N
Age	1198	873	72.87
Older	516	396	76.74
Younger	682	477	69.94
Race/Ethnicity	1198	873	72.87
Black	1198	873	72.87
White	0	0	0
Sexuality	1198	873	72.87
Gay	495	406	82.02
Straight	703	467	66.42
Role	1198	873	72.87
<i>Ogans</i>	637	467	73.31
<i>rodantes</i>	561	406	72.37
Schooling	1198	873	72.87
Higher	323	279	86.37
Lower	875	594	67.88
Time in Salvador	1198	873	72.87
10 years or more	946	638	67.44
up to 9 years	252	235	93.25
Time in <i>Candomblé</i>	1198	873	72.87
5 years maximum	150	133	88.66
more than 5 years	1048	740	70.61

Table 6.3: Overall distribution of plural configuration by external-independent variables and their levels at word analysis

Variables and levels	Total N	STA	% of STA plural from Total N
Age	1274	933	73.23
Older	472	365	77.33
Younger	802	568	70.82
Race/Ethnicity	1274	933	73.72
Black	1274	933	73.72
White	0	0	0
Sexuality	1274	933	73.72
Gay	529	432	67.81
Straight	745	501	67.24
Role	1274	933	73.72
<i>Ogans</i>	674	433	64.24
<i>rodantes</i>	600	500	83.33
Schooling	1274	933	73.72
Higher	342	296	86.54
Lower	932	637	68.34
Time in Salvador	1274	933	73.72
10 years or more	919	614	66.81
up to 9 years	355	319	89.85
Time in <i>Candomblé</i>	1274	933	73.72
5 years maximum	158	142	89.87
more than 5 years	1116	791	70.87

Finally, there is a considerable numerical difference between the percentage of use of STA plurals between the levels of schooling, the levels of *time in Salvador* and those of *time in Candomblé*. Interestingly, however, also these percentages follow the general pattern reported earlier, that is the higher the usage, the lower the percentage of STA plural marking. At the same time and not surprisingly, schooling seems to play an important role in showing an effect in plural configuration, with clear differences in percentage of STA use. These descriptive remarks will be quantitatively tested in the remainder of the chapter, which reports on the quantitative analysis of the data.

6.4 Quantitative analysis of social factors

In this section I will firstly describe how models have been built and the results of the analysis thereafter. Analyses were conducted both for the noun phrase as a whole and for each component in the noun phrase individually.

6.4.1 The model building process for social factors

The coding process of the social factors was done along with the coding of the internal factors, which was described in the previous chapter. A full factorial model was built, that is a model including all social factors and their potential interactions or as fixed effects, and participant as a random effect⁷. A lot of significant effects were shown. The model was then automatically stepped down using the `step()` function in the *lmerTest* package in R (Kuznetsova et al, 2017), and some factors ceased to be significant, being therefore taken out of the model. The significance of the factors in the, at that point, best fit model obtained was then analysed with `Anova()`. More factors were shown not to be significant, and they were left out of the model. This last version of the model gave me less, yet solid and non-misleading results, and was therefore considered the best model.

6.4.2 Analysis of social factors at phrase level

This section reports the quantitative analysis of the effect of the social factors described above on the dependent variable ‘plural configuration of the noun phrase’ (which could have been either -Ø or STA) considering the noun phrase as a whole. The noun phrase was marked nonstandard if there were one or more unmarked plural forms, and standard if all plurals were marked according to standard Brazilian Portuguese. Table 6.4 below shows the result of the best fit model for this analysis. Note that since role and sexuality were collinear, only sexuality was included in this model. A further model with role instead of sexuality is described later.

⁷ Participant was included as random effect to take into account individual-level variation in production, therefore obtaining a better picture of the role of each fixed factors and their potential interactions on the dependent variable of interest.

Table 6.4: Regression model for external factors at phrase level including sexuality (Ref. STA)

Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-01908	1.1696	-0.163	0.87044
Age (younger)	-3.8974	1.4153	-2.754	0.00589
Schooling (lower)	-1.0066	1.4439	-0.697	0.48572
Sexuality (straight)	-1.9149	1.3564	-1.412	0.15803
Age (younger) : Schooling (lower)	2.9048	1.4848	1.956	0.05042
Age (younger) : Sexuality (straight)	2.7329	1.3995	1.953	0.05085
Schooling (lower) : Sexuality (straight)	1.9669	1.5078	1.305	0.19205

Total N: 1198. Random effect: Informant (18). Log likelihood = -511.7

Age was the only factor which showed a significant effect on the dependent variable. Specifically, younger participants use the unmarked form of the plural noun phrase less often than older participants. This may suggest a change in progress, but may also be due to a peculiarity of contemporary life at the *terreiro*. There seems to be a trend for younger followers not to live at the *terreiro*. It might be that by being in closer contact with wider society they favour the STA over \emptyset in their speech.

The pattern shown in Figure 6.1 was not significant when sexuality was included in the model, but it was when role was used (see below). It is shown here to illustrate the different effects, sexuality or role, two collinear factors, have on the model.

When sexuality is substituted by role in the model, results are different. As can be seen in Table 6.5, the model now shows significant interactions between age and role (Anova $p = 0.001967$), age and schooling (Anova $p = 0.03000$), and role and schooling (Anova $p = 0.027192$).

Results indicate that overall *rodantes* use the unmarked form more frequently than *ogans*. This finding is incomplete, however, as the analyses of the interactions between age and role show that this is only true for older *rodantes*. As I will describe in the discussion, this may be again linked to the new followers spending more time outside the *terreiro* than older followers. Overall, the interaction found can be seen in Figure 6.2.

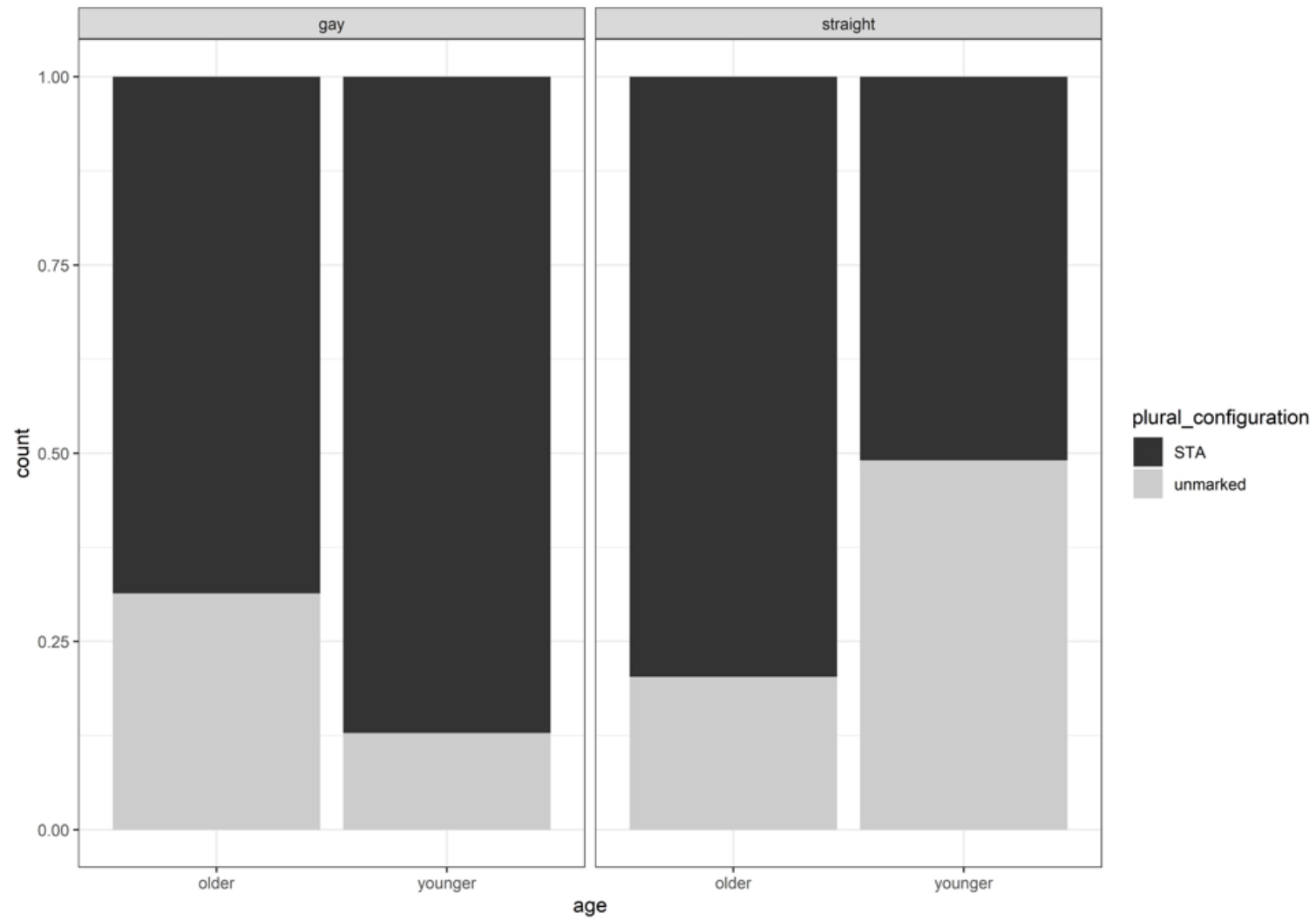
Figure 6.1: Interaction between age and sexuality -phrase level

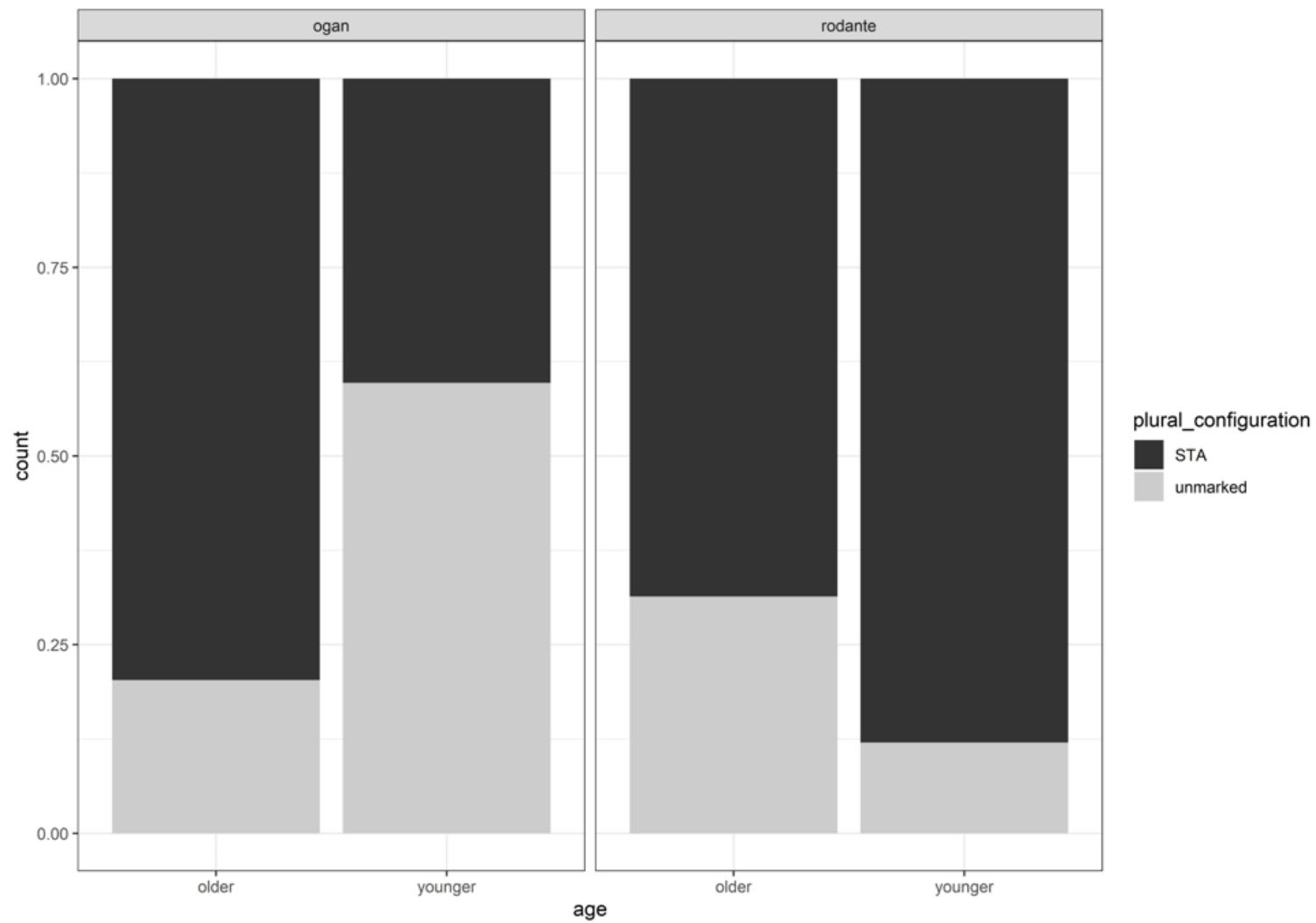
Figure 6.2 – Interaction between age and role – phrase level

Table 6.5: Regression model for external factors at phrase level including role (Ref. STA)

Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-2.1994	0.6766	-3.251	0.00115
Age (younger)	-0.7635	1.0784	-0.708	0.47898
Role (<i>rodante</i>)	2.1786	1.0059	2.166	0.03033
Schooling (lower)	1.1118	0.8214	1.354	0.17588
Age (younger) : Role (<i>rodante</i>)	-3.2679	1.0558	-3.095	0.00197
Age (younger) : Schooling (lower)	3.3517	1.1294	2.968	0.00300
Role (<i>rodante</i>) : Schooling (lower)	-2.5122	1.1374	-2.209	0.02719

Total N: 1198. Random effect: Informant (18). Log likelihood = -507.0

It is interesting that sexuality did not appear to have an effect on the dependent variable, but role did interact with age. This suggests that it is not the sexuality of the participant that affects their use of the standard vs unmarked noun phrase, but rather what their role is at the *terreiro*.

Pairwise comparison for the interaction shown in Figure 6.2 demonstrated that older *rodantes* use $-\emptyset$ more often than the younger ($p = 0.0038$). This difference may at first be indicative of an ongoing change in progress among the participants. By taking into account my field notes, I realised that this change only pertains to informants in the *rodantes* category. Young *rodantes* have more contact with written Portuguese, which tends to be more standard than spoken Portuguese. A larger number of young *rodantes* than *ogans* was taking vocational courses, perhaps not to limit their lives to the *terreiro* as it was customary in the past, which in turn puts them more in contact with standard language than it would have been otherwise possible at the *terreiro*. The same pattern is not true among *ogans*, probably because this “move” to a life outside the *terreiro* is not a common trend among the *ogans*, many of whom live at the *terreiro* and have professional lives only within the reality of the *terreiro*. As a result, an apparent change in progress is not shown by the model among *ogans* of different ages as it is the case among *rodantes*. It is therefore not a universal change-in-progress, but nevertheless a change over time, as this effect of role was only available among *rodantes* but not *ogans*. The younger *rodantes* are spending more time and having more contact outside the *terreiro*, and this could

potentially lead to a linguistic differentiation emerging among role. Therefore, a kind of time-linked change even if not a change-in-progress in a traditional sense.

In the literature, schooling has been widely shown to have an effect on plural configuration (Fernandes 1996; Biancardi 2011; Brandão 2013; Lucchesi 2019). The unmarked form of plural noun phrases in Brazilian Portuguese is perceived, among other aspects, as indexical of lower education (Mendes 2011, 2016), and this has also been shown in production studies (Narro and Scherre 2011, Oushiro 2015). It is not, therefore, surprising that schooling has shown an effect on the variable in this study in interaction with age, as Figure 6.3 shows.

Figure 6.3 and pairwise comparison show that among those with higher education, the older participants use the unmarked plural form more often than the younger ($p = 0.0107$). This finding suggests that standard language was overall less valued in the past than it is now, as older participants who have long been in the religion and with higher education use $-\emptyset$ more often than highly educated younger informants. This can be supported in the theorisation of Lucchesi (2008; 2013; 2015) on *irregular linguistic transmission*, according to which the emergence of variation in the pluralisation of the noun phrase resulted out of the contact of people who spoke different languages in colonial times. It is important to notice that *Candomblé* was, at first, a religion of black people only, originating among African slaves (see Chapter 2) and, therefore, the contact of African languages with European Portuguese gave rise to the variation. It appears that for a long period of time, as people in *Candomblé* lived in the *terreiro*, had little education and little contact with wider society, the stigmatised variant ($-\emptyset$) was favoured by most of them and standard language was less valued than it is today. With the new trend of younger *rodantes* not living in the house, taking courses and having contact with wider society, the STA plural form seems to be taking over within this age and role group. This is happening in a similar fashion as the one described in Lucchesi (2019), who considered “time out of the community” as a factor which showed an effect over the plural configuration of the noun phrase ($-\emptyset \sim$ STA). For these reasons, we can talk about a change in progress in apparent time, even if just true for highly educated *rodantes*.

The model results also show interaction between schooling and role over how informants make their plural form choices (Figure 6.4).

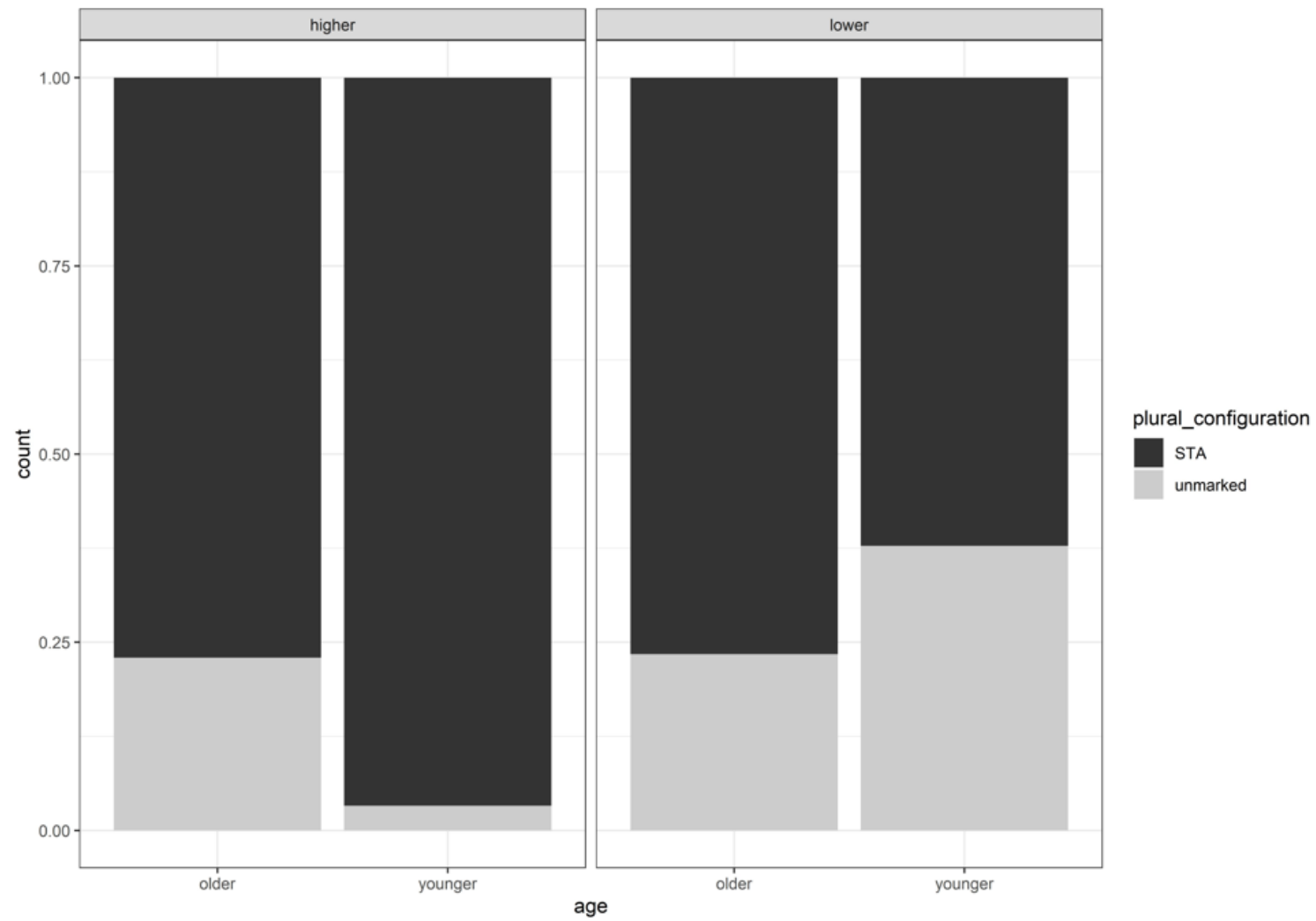
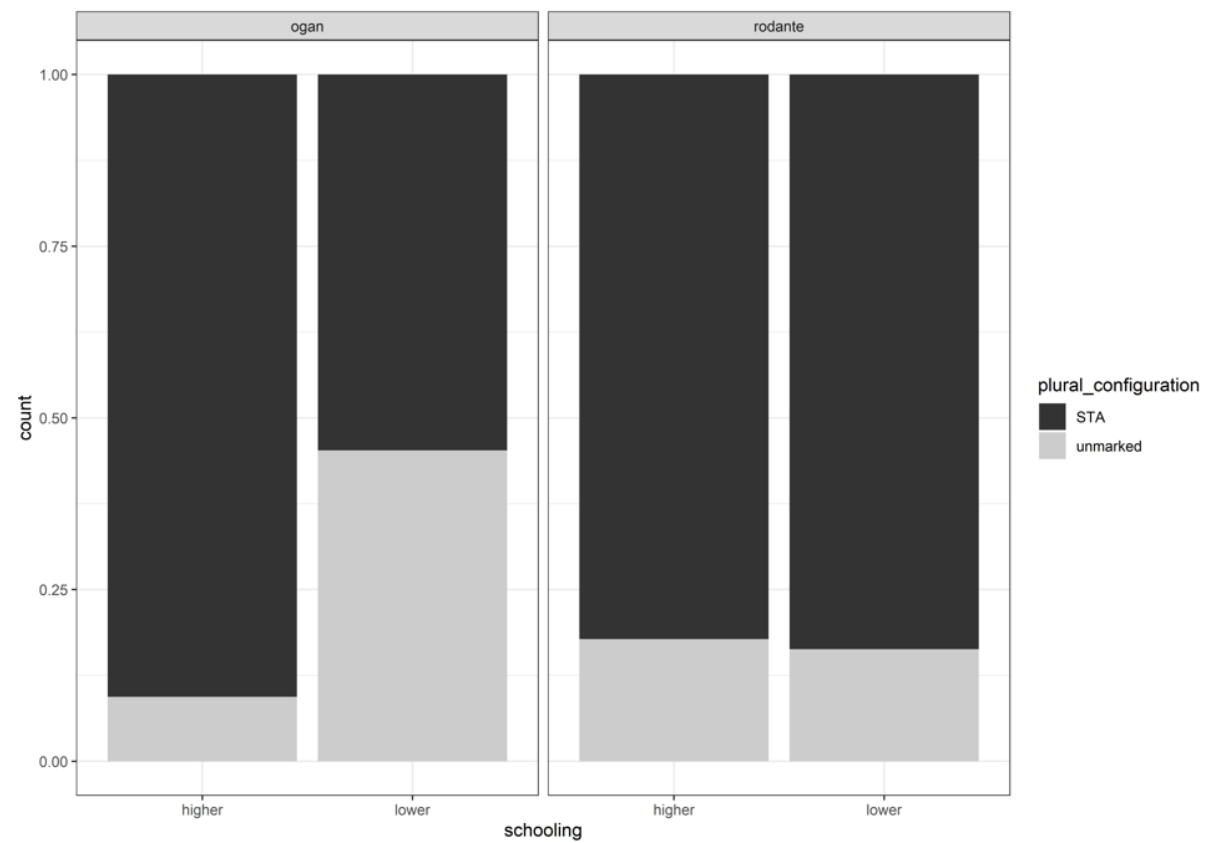
Figure 6.3: Interaction between age and schooling – phrase level

Figure 6.4: Interaction between role and schooling – phrase level

The investigation of the interaction shown in Figure 6.4 through the pairwise comparison shows that among those with lower education, *ogans* use $-\emptyset$ more often than *rodantes* do ($p = 0.0019$), an indication that role plays an important role in the effect over plural configuration. As argued earlier, younger *rodantes* have more access to formal language than do *ogans*. Taken together, these results indicate that role is not a construct only based on the attributions at the *terreiro*, rather it also involves sexuality and studying, with younger *rodantes* using standard plurals in the noun phrase more than older *rodantes*.

6.4.3 Analysis of social factors at word level

For this section, the analyses will focus on how social factors have effects on the plural configuration in the noun phrase considering each word of the noun phrase separately. This word-level analysis allows for the investigation of potential social effects that the analyses of internal effects may not have been able to explain. Table 6.6 and figure 6.5 below show the result of a model with sexuality.

Table 6.6: Regression model for external factors at word level including sexuality (Ref. STA)

Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-0.5826	1.3285	-0.439	0.6610
Age (younger)	-3.3456	1.6426	-2.037	0.0417
Schooling (lower)	-1.8114	2.0516	-0.883	0.3773
Sexuality (straight)	-1.3532	1.5813	-0.856	0.3921
Age (younger) : Schooling (lower)	3.7951	1.8338	2.070	0.0385
Age (younger) : Sexuality (straight)	1.5065	1.9786	0.761	0.4464
Schooling (lower) : Sexuality (straight)	2.4138	1.9099	1.264	0.2063

Total N: 1274. Random effect: Informant (18). Log likelihood = -533.8

The findings shown in Table 6.6 and in Figure 6.5 regarding the interaction between sexuality and age were not proven to a significant level in the model. As for the interaction between age and schooling, it will be better analysed from the next model, which includes role instead of sexuality.

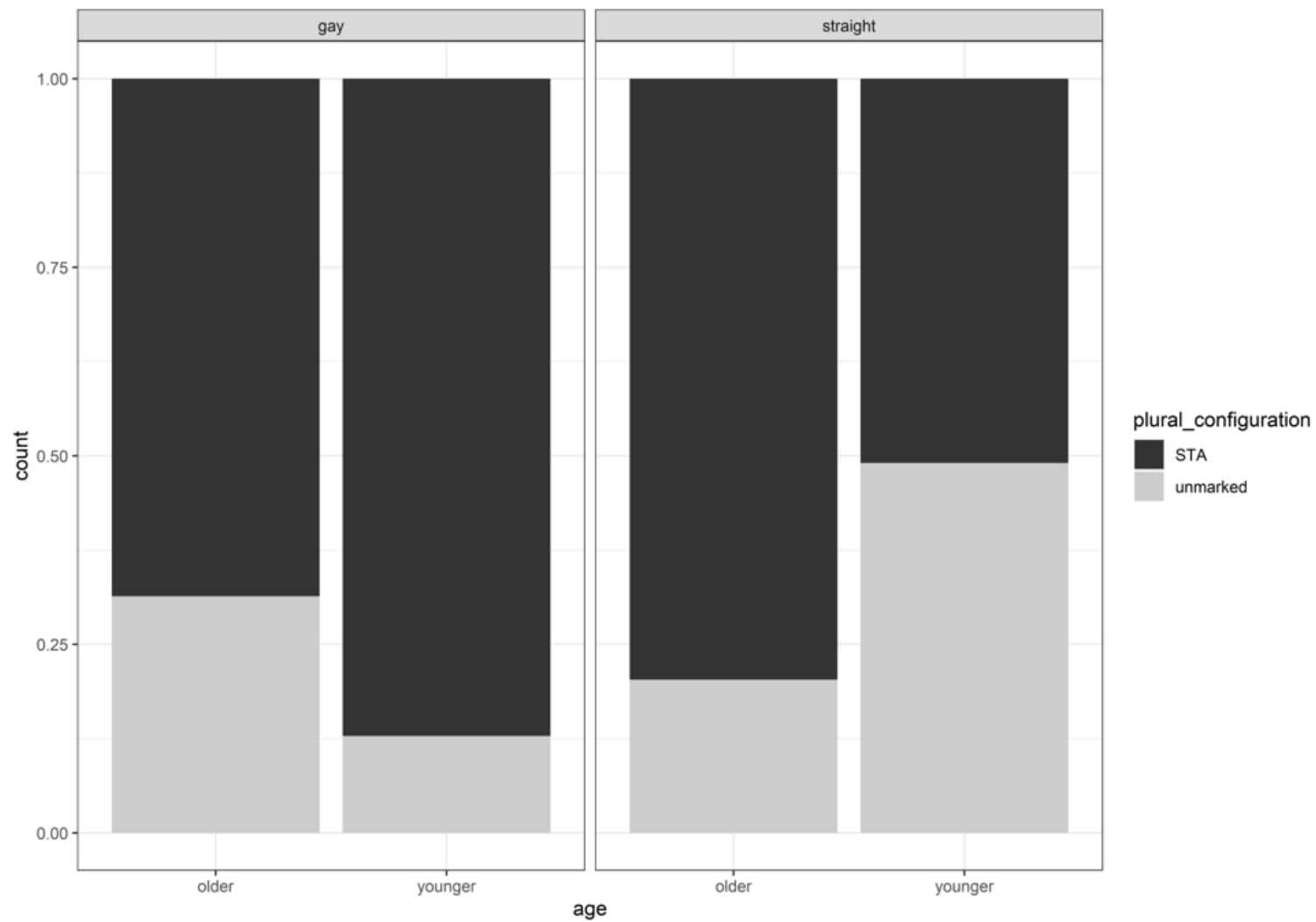
Figure 6.5 – Interaction between age and sexuality – word level

Table 6.7 below shows the result of the best fit model with role instead of sexuality. Results revealed two significant interactions, one between age and schooling and the other one between role and schooling. The interaction between age and schooling found by the model stood statistically significant with Anova ($p = 5.006e-05$), and that between role and schooling also did ($p = 0.000301$). The interaction between age and role did not show a significant effect, so it was left out of the model.

Table 6.7: Regression model for external factors at word level including role (Ref. STA)

Fixed effects	Estimate	Std. Error	z value	Pr(> z)
(Intercept)	-1.7523	0.7188	-2.438	0.014775
Age (younger)	-2.5482	1.0295	-2.475	0.013322
Role (<i>rodante</i>)	0.8714	1.0149	0.859	0.390555
Schooling (lower)	0.5211	0.9351	0.557	0.577362
Age (younger) : Schooling (lower)	5.4548	1.3451	4.055	5.01e-05
Role (<i>rodante</i>) : Schooling (lower)	-4.5904	1.2700	-3.614	0.000301

Total N: 1274. Random effect: Informant (18). Log likelihood = -529.2

Results revealed that younger participants use the unmarked form less frequently than the older ones. As discussed previously, this may be indicative of a change in time due to the fact that younger participants do not spend as much time at the *terreiro* as older participants did and still do. Again, this appeared true, however, only among the young *rodantes*. Figure 6.6 shows the interaction between age and schooling.

Further analyses of the interaction shown in Figure 6.6 between age and schooling with pairwise comparison showed that, among those with higher education, the older participants use the unmarked form more frequently than the younger ones ($p = 0.0133$). This is consistent with the analyses at noun phrase level and, as argued earlier, this finding seems to suggest that the use of standard Portuguese was less valued in the past. Interestingly, among those with lower education, the use the $-\emptyset$ form is more common among younger than older participants ($p = 0.0008$). To explain this, it is worth noting that, for example, during the interview, Diego stressed that primary education in the past was stricter and more demanding than it is nowadays, and this is something I heard from other informants whilst at the *terreiro*. Indeed, results obtained by an assessment

conducted by the Brazilian Ministry of Education has demonstrated that the quality of education in the country has lowered in the past 10 years (Brasil 2020). This may indeed explain the current result; as the model shows that, overall, among older participants with less education the use of standard language was more valued in the past than it is now, a different trend from that found for the *rodantes* with higher education.

The interaction between role and schooling (Figure 6.7) revealed that among *ogans*, those with higher education use -Ø less frequently than those with lower education ($p = 0.0001$), which indicates the role of schooling on the plural form used by the participants. In addition, among those with lower education, *ogans* use the -Ø form more often than *rodantes* do to a highly significant level ($p = < .0001$).

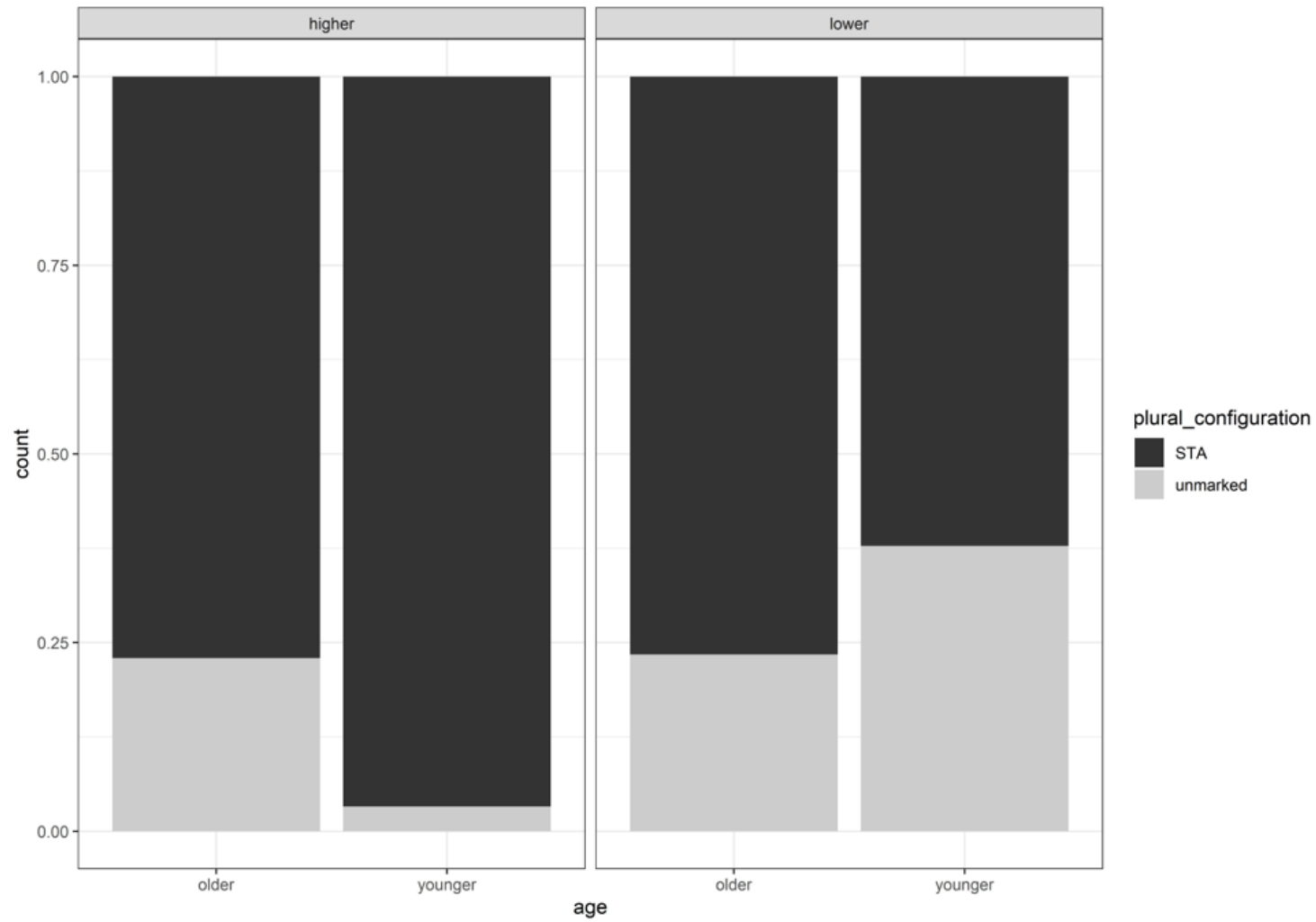
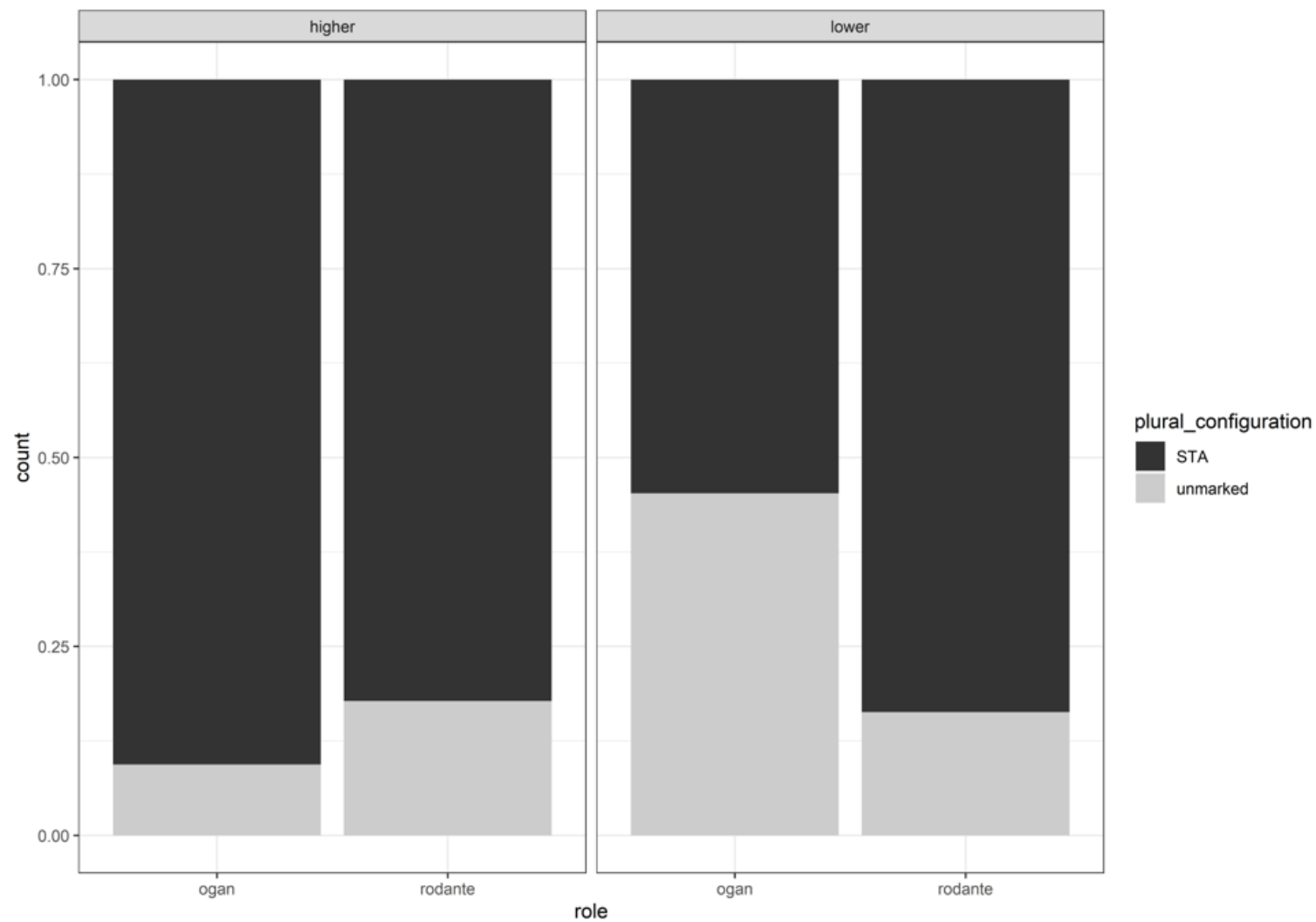
Figure 6.6: Interaction between age and schooling – word level

Figure 6.7: Interaction between role and schooling – word level

It remains the finding that role plays such an important role in the plural configuration in the noun phrase not because of its attribution *per se* or because it is collinear to sexuality, but because it is a far more complex construction, as I will discuss in chapter 7. From the comparison of both models (the one including sexuality and the one including role), it is clear that it is not sexuality alone that is promoting a more frequent use of STA, but the fact that it is part of the notion of role at the *terreiro*.

6.5 Discussion

Initially, the goal of the present study was to analyse the role of language in the construction of sexuality at the *terreiro*. Basing myself on previous anthropological work, I suggested a direct link between role and sexuality in *Candomblé*: *rodantes* are gay, *ogans* are straight (Chapter 2). Although this collinearity can be found also in the present study, sexuality did not show an effect in the use of plural forms, whereas role did. Not only did role show an effect, but it also interacted with other factors. The findings brought up in the analyses call for a better consideration of how role is constituted in the religion, and how it relates to the linguistic choices made by informants.

The analyses reported above have shown that younger participants use STA plurals more often than older ones, however that seems to only be true among *rodantes*. In addition, younger participants with higher education also use STA more often than older informants with higher education, whereas among those with lower education, *rodantes* use STA more often than *ogans*. All in all, the use of STA plurals is spread across participants, especially young *rodantes*.

As discussed in the analyses, younger *rodantes* have more contact with formal language, not only because of formal schooling (secondary and higher education), but also because they take extra courses to prepare themselves for the job market. The same pattern is not true for *ogans*, who have their professional lives limited to the *terreiro*. This helps explain the findings brought up in the analyses, as contact with formal language facilitates the use of formal language. However, it may not be just a matter of studying, but also of how roles are lived and constructed in the religion and why.

As it is believed by the followers of the religion, the roles a man can assume in *Candomblé* are that of a *rodante* or that of an *ogan*. *Rodantes* have the ability to get into a trance,

ogans do not (see Chapter 2). However, as the ethnographic study has revealed, the differentiation goes far beyond that. First of all, it should be stressed that only *rodantes* may eventually become a *pai* or a *mãe de santo*, i.e. leader of a *terreiro*. *Ogans* have important functions for the daily life of the *terreiro*, but they will never run one. Running a place is, therefore, a position of power that is constructed throughout one's life in the religion. Being in such place demands having and using tools that confer power to the individual. One of these tools may be the knowledge and practice of standard language as a variant of prestige. Indeed, the leader of the *terreiro* gives public speeches, deals with politicians, other organisations and the wider population in general. That explains the necessity for this person to master standard Brazilian Portuguese which they acquire, among other ways, whilst studying, something that, as described above, is an activity *rodantes* – especially the young ones – do accomplish but not necessarily the *ogans*.

This suggests that the division of roles at the *terreiro* is not only defined by the ability to get into a trance. In general, *ogans* have less access to studies, do not get into a trance, are straight, will never be leaders of a *terreiro*, and have attributions at the *terreiro* that do not demand a deep knowledge of standard Portuguese. *Rodantes*, on the other hand, have more access to studies, get into a trance, practice witchcraft paid by clients, are gay (with one exception), and may eventually become leaders of *terreiros*. This configuration may explain why younger *rodantes* use the redundant plural marking more than do younger *ogans*, and also the apparent change in progress which occurs among *rodantes*, i.e., young *rodantes* with higher education use STA plural forms more often than older *rodantes* with higher education because they study more and are having more contact with wider society. As a result, it is suggested that formal language was less important in the past among *rodantes*, as the younger use STA more often than the older. It is as if using standard Portuguese is now more important for a *rodante* in their progress with the religion than previously. This does not appear to have changed for *ogans*, i.e., standard language is not relevant for the attributions of this role, as described in the methods chapter.

As for sexuality, the lack of a significant effect on language choices was somehow surprising. However, it is here argued that sexuality needs to be taken into consideration as part of the wider concept of role in *Candomblé*. Recall that all *ogans* self-identified as straight, whereas all *rodantes* self-identified as gay, except for Naldo, who is younger, has lower education and, as will be clearer in the qualitative analyses (see Chapter 7),

favours the marked plural forms in the noun phrase. Therefore, on being straight and favouring the marked forms of the plural noun phrases, Naldo goes against the social stereotype of the straight guys (or of people of lower education) who do not mark the plurals within the noun phrases. As a *rodante*, however, he meets the social expectations that he should use standard Brazilian Portuguese, as *rodantes* are understood to be gay and, therefore, are expected to have a more standardised way of speaking (see Chapter 7). If, on the one hand, Naldo impedes one from meeting the expectations of finding straight participants favouring standard forms of pluralisation within the noun phrase, he, on the other hand, is in line with what one would socially expect from a *rodante*, i.e. the use of standard plurals. Expectations based on social stereotypes within the *terreiro* about roles (and sexuality) probably lie much more in the performance of participants like Edson, who is gay and *rodante*, and favours -Ø (see full discussion in Chapter 7).

Therefore, the point here is that, although sexuality did not show an effect on language choices of participants regarding the pluralisation of the noun phrase in the quantitative analyses, it is indirectly present when we consider how it is intrinsically related to role in one way or another within the organisation of the *terreiro*, and participants like Naldo and Edson are very good examples of this. Sexuality is taken into consideration intrinsically when roles are assigned in the religion despite many participants denying at interview that this was the case. It is also true, on the other hand, that there are other aspects that are collinear to role, e.g. path in the religion, ability to get into a trance, ability to practice witchcraft. Probably, none of these potential factors would by themselves explain the more prominent use of STA plural forms in the speech of *rodantes*. However, a wider notion that includes all of them – along with sexuality – does, and that is the notion of role.

The use of the nonredundant plural mark in the noun phrase is stigmatised in Brazil due to its association with lower class and low schooling. Conversely, the use of the redundant form is valued. It is true that the redundant plural marking is associated with gayness, as shown by perception studies (Mendes 2011, 2016; Barbuio 2016), but this production study shows that, in the case of the informants from this particular *terreiro*, it is actually related to other aspects such as schooling and role. In this sense, it is even possible to argue that *rodantes* may benefit from the (mis)association of plural marking with sexuality when it is actually role that is at stake, a clear case of indirect indexicality. On

being gay, *rodantes* may be believed to use standard language (even when they do not) more than do *ogans* (straight), and this also confers them with some power, as standard Portuguese is socially valued.

7

QUALITATIVE ANALYSES

7.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I quantitatively examined the effect of external factors on the plural configuration of the noun phrase both at the noun phrase and at word level, that is whether plural was realised as STA or -Ø. Several interactions were found on the dependent variable, namely interactions between age and schooling, role and schooling and role and age. In the present chapter, I detail the qualitative analysis of my field notes and of the interviews with the informants with the objective of explaining the interactions reported earlier, as well as reporting and explaining in which contexts either of the forms tends to appear in the speech of the informants. As detailed in Chapter 4, the interviews focused on the informants' narratives about their lives, their lived experiences within the religion and the description they provide of *Candomblé*.

Before moving onto the specificities of the qualitative analysis, table 7.1 reports the general distribution of the informants across the social factors which proved significant in the quantitative analyses described earlier:

Table 7.1: Distribution of informants across social factors that showed an effect in interactions

Informant	Role	Schooling	Age
Antonio	<i>Ogan</i>	Lower	Older
Ari	<i>Ogan</i>	Higher	Older
Daniel	<i>Ogan</i>	Higher	Older
Eduardo	<i>Ogan</i>	Lower	Older
José	<i>Ogan</i>	Higher	Younger
Lucas	<i>Ogan</i>	Lower	Younger
Nilton	<i>Ogan</i>	Lower	Older
Regis	<i>Ogan</i>	Lower	Younger
Tales	<i>Ogan</i>	Lower	Younger
Caio	<i>Rodante</i>	Lower	Younger
Diego	<i>Rodante</i>	Higher	Older
Edson	<i>Rodante</i>	Lower	Older
Samuel	<i>Rodante</i>	Lower	Younger
Naldo	<i>Rodante</i>	Lower	Younger
Paulo	<i>Rodante</i>	Lower	Younger
Roberto	<i>Rodante</i>	Higher	Younger
Rodnei	<i>Rodante</i>	Higher	Younger
Tiago	<i>Rodante</i>	Lower	Younger

Please note that in the transcripts of the interviews below, information that could potentially reveal the identity of the participants were removed. In addition, the STA use in the NPs is marked as -S whereas the nonstandard variant is marked as -Ø. The signalling of the plural configuration (STA or -Ø) will serve the purpose of further illustrating the findings from the quantitative analyses. In particular, using data from my field notes and interviews with the participants, I will further describe the reason for such interactions as well as the social meaning they index.

7.2 The role of *schooling* in interaction with *age*

In Chapter 6, I reported a significant interaction between schooling and age on the use of word plurals in the NP. Specifically, among younger participants, those with lower education use $-\emptyset$ significantly more often than those with higher education. In addition, older participants with higher education use $-\emptyset$ more frequently than younger participants with higher education. The following excerpts taken from interviews with different informants, along with their analyses, serve the purpose of illustrating and explaining these findings.

(...)

Pedro: *Quanto tempo você viveu no norte do Brasil?*

Roberto: *Eu morei lá por 4 ano- \emptyset , o tempo necessário para cursar o-S ano-S de minha graduação.*

Pedro: *E como foi sua experiência de viver lá?*

Roberto: *Foi um tempo de experiência-S completamente nova-S, em uma cultura com coisa-S totalmente diferente- \emptyset da-S de Salvador. Lá parece nem mesmo ser o mesmo país em que estamos aqui.*

Pedro: *O que, por exemplo, era diferente?*

Roberto: *Ah...Tudo, a-S pessoa-S, no jeito de falarem, o-S costume-S, a-S roupa-S, a-S comida-S, tudo.*

Pedro: *O que é diferente na maneira com que eles falam?*

Roberto: *Por exemplo, a impressão que me dava era a de que toda-S a-S pessoa-S lá tinham alta formação educacional porque falavam de forma apropriada, obedecendo regras de concordância verbal e nominal.*

Pedro: *Muito interessante... E você gostou da experiência de ter vivido lá?*

Roberto: *Sem dúvidas. Foi uma da-S experiência-S mais melhor-ES da minha vida. Eu voltei porque tinha terminado meu curso e não tinha a-S condiç- \tilde{O} ES de permanecer lá, senão acho que teria ficado até hoje.*

Pedro: *Lá existem terreiros de Candomblé?*

Roberto: *Existem sim! Na verdade foi lá que eu me aprofundei mais na religião e fiquei*

(...)

Pedro: How long did you live in the North of Brazil:

Roberto: I lived there for 4 years, just the time necessary for me to study and get my degree.

Pedro: And how was the experience of living there?

Roberto: It was a time of completely new experiences for me, in a culture with totally different things from the ones in Salvador. One would think they're in another country there, different from the one we're in here.

Pedro: What experiences, for example?

Roberto: Oh...Everything, the people in the way they talk, the customs, clothing and food, everything.

Pedro: And what is different in the way they talk?

Roberto: For example, the impression I had was that all people there was highly educated as they spoke properly, following grammatical rules of verb and nominal agreement.

Pedro: And did you like the experience of having lived there?

Roberto: No doubts on that. It was one of the best experiences in my life. I returned because I had finished my course and I didn't have the means to remain there, otherwise I would have stayed there up until today.

Pedro: Are there *Candomblé terreiros* there?

Roberto: Yes, there are! Actually, it was there that I got deeper in the religion and got more

mais interessado em ser iniciado. Voltando para Salvador, então, eu dei seguimento a esse plano, vindo para este terreiro, conhecendo Babá e dando início ao processo de iniciação.

(...)

interested in being initiated. On returning to Salvador, then, I pursue my plans, coming to this *terreiro*, meeting Babá and beginning the process of initiation.

(...)

Excerpt from interview with Roberto

Roberto is younger and has higher education. In line with what has been shown in the quantitative analysis, i.e., that younger participants with higher education use STA more often than younger participants with lower education, Roberto presents us with this kind of plural marking in the noun phrase in most cases. Note, as well, Roberto's stances towards the differences of the city where he lived for four years. As he starts talking about it, including the fact that plural marking is more standard, his own pluralisation of the NP becomes more standard as well. He that it seems everybody there is highly educated, as they speak with "spoke properly", including following [standard] rules of nominal number agreement. In this sense, Roberto takes a stance in which he equates NP agreement with schooling, meaning he thinks that people of higher education use standard NP agreement whereas people with lower education would tend to favour -Ø, and such a stance is reflected in his own speech once he favours the standard forms as he talks about the differences of the city he lived. A similar pattern is seen in Daniel's speech, which will be analysed further on in this section.

Now let us have a look at my interaction with Rodney below, also younger and highly educated.

Pedro: Quem é seu orixá? Fale um pouco dele, por favor.

(...)

Rodnei: Mas, tem medos também [de Omulu]. Muita-S pessoa-S têm medo dele porque ele é um orixá muito sério.

Pedro: mhm

Rodnei: Com ele não se brinca, pode nem falar o nome dele toda hora.

Pedro: Parece que eu já ouvi alguma coisa falando aquelas coisas de doença, de praga, alguma relação dele com isso.

Rodnei: Sim, tem. Omolu é orixá da praga né?

Pedro: Who is your *orixá*? Talk a bit about him, please.

(...)

Rodnei: but, there are fears [of *Omulu*] as well. Many people are afraid of him because he is a very serious *orixá*.

Pedro: mhm

Rodnei: You don't play with him; one can't even speak his name all the time

Pedro: It seems that I've heard people talking about illnesses, plagues, something related to this.

Rodnei: Yes, there is. *Omulu* is the *orixá* of plagues, isn't he?

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: *Ele, é orixá da-S enfermidade-S. A gente pede a ele que ele afaste da gente essa-S enfermidade-S, doença-S no geral.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: *A gente pede pela misericórdia de Nanã né? Que ele afaste da gente essa-S doença-S, essa-S praga-S. Ele pode.*

Pedro: *E ele é o mesmo que Obaluaê?*

Rodnei: *Sim. Obaluaê é o título, que é o bá rei o é o Oluaê da terra. Ele era o rei da terra.*

Pedro: *E o que é atotô?*

Rodnei: *É a saudação.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: *É a gente saúda ele né?: “atotô”.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: *Significa silêncio. Ele é o orixá que age no silêncio. Ele gosta do-S sonho-S.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: *Tem muita-S pessoa-S que:, saúdam ele: “atotô”.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: *Entendeu?*

Pedro: *Eu entendi.*

Rodnei: *Mas isso é mais seguido pelos mais antigos, que passaram a maior parte da vida deles aqui na roça. Hoje é diferente. Nós temos mais liberdade para ter uma vida independente do terreiro, o que acaba refletindo também na forma com que lidamos com a religião. Não levamos esses detalhes tão a sério, entende? (risos).*

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: He is the *orixá* of the illnesses. We ask him to ensure we do not get these illnesses, we do not get sick.

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: We ask him through the mercy of *Nanã*, right? That he preserves us from these illnesses, these plagues. He can.

Pedro: Is he the same as *Obaluaê*?

Rodnei: Yes. *Obaluaê* is the title, which is the “obá” (king) of *Oluaê* (Earth). He was the king of Earth.

Pedro: An what is “atotô”?

Rodnei: It’s the greeting.

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: We greet him right?: “atotô”.

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: It means silence. He is the *orixá* who acts in silence. He likes dreams.

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: There are many people who greet him: “atotô”.

Pedro: *mhm*

Rodnei: Understood?

Pedro: Yes.

Rodnei: But this is more respected by those who have been here in the *roça* most of their lives. We now have more freedom to have a life independent from the *terreiro*, which ends up reflecting also in the way we deal with the religion. We do not take these details so seriously, understand? (laughter)

Excerpt from interview with Rodnei

Rodnei is younger, with higher education and *rodante*. All plural NPs realised by the informant are STA, that is he uses the standard form of the language as far as plural NPs are concerned. This illustrates the finding that among the younger, those with higher education use -Ø less frequently than older participants with higher education.

The literature on anthropological studies (Fry 1982), as well as field notes taken on site, reveal that in the past all *filhos de santo* (*rodantes* and *ogans*) would spend most of their lives at the *terreiro*. It was not uncommon that people lived there, rarely leaving it for activities outside. That is why Rodney, after talking about the seriousness of dealing with the *Orixá Omulu* and the caution necessary when calling his name and greeting him, says that “this is more respected by those who have been here in the *roça* most of their lives. We now have more freedom to have a life independently from the *terreiro*, which ends up reflecting also in the way we deal with the religion. We do not take these details so seriously [how to call *Omulu*, greet him, say his name], understand?”. This excerpt suggests that a life outside the *terreiro* is a new trend in *Candomblé* and it may be because of this that among the younger, those with higher education favour STA over -Ø in the noun phrase. This interaction between age and schooling is further supported by the finding that among the older participants the opposite is true, that is those with higher education favour the -Ø marking. This fact may show a change in progress, as in the past standard Portuguese may have not been valued as it is now amongst participants.

When it comes to those with lower education, the findings are different, for they use -Ø more frequently than STA, as the excerpt below illustrates.

Pedro: *Tem quanto tempo que você tá fazendo [arte marcial]?*

Tales: *Tem seis mê-Ø já fazendo já esse esporte. Tô gostando/aí agora em dezembro eu tenho uma luta em Feira de Santana. Um campeonato aí baiano aí pa gente fazer.*

Pedro: *É tá engajado mesmo.*

Tales: *Eu já tinha feito já na minha infância já. Meu-S pai-Ø me botaram já no Karatê já porque na escola eu não me dava muito bem, não gostava de estudar.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Tales: *Aí eu comecei a criar gosto por ar/arte-S marciais-S, e aí/tô fazendo aí. Tô querendo co/entrar fazeno o/o jujitsu tamém. Porque o rap que ele é de segunda quarta e sexta. É/e/pretendo fazer jujidsu que é terça e quinta.*

Pedro: *Aí vai ficar a semana inteira.*

Pedro: How long have you been studying [martial arts]?

Tales: It's been six months that I've been doing this sport. I'm enjoying it/nw in December I'll have a competition in *Feira de Santana*. A Bahian championship we can take part in.

Pedro: Yes, you're really engaged.

Tales: I had already done it when I was a kid. My parents enrolled me in Karate because I did not do well at school, I did not like studying.

Pedro: mhm

Tales: Then I started to like martial arts and now I am doing it you know. I want to start doing jujitsu as well because Rap is Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. And I intend to take jujitsu classes which is Tuesdays and Thursdays.

Pedro: Then you'll be there the whole week.

Tales: *Exatamente.*

Pedro: *Você está trabalhando?*

Tales: *Não tô trabalhando no momento, não.*

Pedro: *Cê já trabalhou?*

Tales: *Já trabalhei já. Meu primeiro trabalho foi na barbearia. Trabalhando de cabeleireiro/logo no início disso. Foi através de meu-S amigo-Ø que, mu/eles, sempre gostavam de corte de cabelo e eu tipo só olhava aquilo como corte-S de cabelo normal-Ø.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Tales: *Achei que nunca ia conseguir exercer essa função.*

Pedro: *Sei.*

Tales: *E ao longo do tempo eu fui assistindo um vídeo/vi a coisa bem/que tipo eu me identifiquei com aquilo, com aquela profissão.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Tales: *Aí fui atrás assistindo vídeo e num fiz nenhum curso pra algum preparatório pa isso, e sempre assistindo vídeo, vídeo, vídeo, vídeo, vídeo, até que meu-S amigo-S fizeram o curso. Eles passaram a-S dica-Ø pa mim. Ai eu fiquei/pegando meu-S primo-Ø peguei meu pai peguei meu-S ti/*

Pedro: *Pra testar?*

Tales: *...tio-Ø. Pa testar o-S corte-Ø de cabelo, até que um dia eu/eu ta/eu tava, eu tava trabalhando em uma barbearia, foi meu primeiro trabalho.*

Pedro: *Cê tinha quantos anos?*

Tales: *Eu tinha 16 ano-Ø.*

Pedro: *16 anos.*

Tales: *Tinha 16 ano-S.*

Tales: Exactly.

Pedro: Are you working at the moment?

Tales: I'm not working at the moment, no.

Pedro: Have you ever worked?

Tales: I have yes. My first job was in a barber shop. I worked as a barber, from the beginning. It was through friends of mine who, many of them always enjoyed haircutting and I looked at that like normal haircuts.

Pedro: mhm

Tales: I thought I'd never be able to do it.

Pedro: I see.

Tales: And as time passed, I started watching a video, I saw something that like, I identified myself with that, with that profession.

Pedro: mhm

Tales: Then I kept watching videos and for one of them I took a preparatory course always watching videos, videos, videos, videos, videos, until my friends took the course. They gave me the clues. Then I practiced it cutting the hair of my cousins, my unc/

Pedro: To test yourself?

Tales: ...uncles. To test the haircuts, until one day I was working in a barber shop, it was my first job.

Pedro: How old were you?

Tales: I was 16

Pedro: 16.

Tales: 16.

Excerpt from interview with Tales

Tales is younger, with lower education and *ogan*. Nearly all NPs are realised as -Ø, meaning he uses the nonstandard form of the language as far as NPs are concerned. This illustrates the finding that among the younger, those with lower education use -Ø more

frequently than those with higher education. Tales reveals that he did not like to study, which may explain why his choices for pluralisation of the noun phrase is the nonstandard -Ø.

Aiming to illustrate and explain the interaction (schooling and age) by age, let's now analyse some cases below, starting with an excerpt from the interview with Ari, an older *ogan* who lives in the house.

Pedro: *O que um ogan faz, por exemplo?*

Pedro: What does an *ogan* do, for example?

Ari: *Por exemplo, se tem um ogan que é pedreiro.*

Ari: For example, if there is an *ogan* who is a bricklayer,

Pedro: *Certo*

Pedro: right

Ari: *...então, tiver alguma reforma, vai fal/chamar o ogan fulano que é pedreiro e ele vem fazer aqui.*

Ari: ...then, if a building needs to be done up, the *ogan* is going to be called because he is a bricklayer and then he does the job at the *terreiro*.

Pedro: *Entendo.*

Pedro: I see.

Ari: *A casa pode juntar, se ele realmente num tiver condição de fazer de graça, a casa vai juntar, vai pagar pra ele fazer ou ele mesmo no caso se ele podendo fazer serviço ele vai fazer.*

Ari: The house can pay something, if he can't really do it for free, the house will pay for him to do the job, or he will sort of pay for him if he do the job for free.

Pedro: *Mas isso ocorre com o iaô também? O rodante, homem e iaô?*

Pedro: But does this happen to *iaôs* [initiated *rodantes*] as well? The rodante, *iaô* man?

Ari: *É mais com o ogan.*

Ari: It's more with *ogan*.

Pedro: *mhm*

Pedro: mhm

Ari: *Mas pode ocorrer com qualquer um.*

Ari: But it may happen to anyone.

Ari: *É, tipo, sou ogan e sou professor, e eu moro na casa.*

Ari: It's like, I am a teacher and I am an *ogan*, and I live in the house.

Pedro: *mhm*

Pedro: mhm

Ari: *Então, se tem algum curso, se tem alguma coisa pra fazer, se tem algum texto pra rodar,*

Ari: So, if there is a course, if there is something to be done, if there is a text to work

se tem algum projeto, eu venho e faço o projeto. work on, if there is a project, I will go and do it.

Pedro: *Tendi.*

Pedro: I see.

Ari: *Esta semana mesmo, há algum-S ano-S atrás a gente mandou um projeto, acho que tá sen/tá pra ser aprovado agora. Eu vim aqui, trabalhei no projeto todo e fiz porque é/é/é função da casa, você ser pertencente a casa você tem que é/é mesmo que não seja algo diretamente vinculado ao/a/à liturgia, você é tem que/é de sua obrigação tá aqui, pra fazer. É uma diferença do-S tempo-Ø passado-Ø e agora. Antes a gente vivia na roça, eu continuo vivendo na roça. Mas o-S mais novo-Ø de hoje não mora aqui, eles estão na roça mas não moram aqui. Isso mudou muito a configuração da casa, pois não se vive na roça mais, só o-S mais velho-Ø, como eu.*

Ari: This very week for example, and that was some years ago now, we sent a project, I think it's being approved. I came here, I worked on the project and did it because it's an attribution of the house, you belong to the house so you have to, even if it's not something directly related to the liturgy, you are the one who has the obligation, you're here to do it. It's a difference from old times and now. Before we lived in the *roça*, I still live in the *roça*. But the younger nowadays do not live here, they are at the *roça* but they do not live here. This changed a lot the configuration of the house, as the youngers do not live at the *roça* anymore, only the older ones, like me.

Pedro: *mhm*

Pedro: *mhm*

Excerpt from interview with Ari

Ari is *ogan*, older, and with higher education. Despite his schooling, he uses the nonstandard plural marking (-Ø) most of the times. In his description of what an *ogan* does at the house, he reveals that he lives at the *terreiro* and that not living there is a new trend, which is mostly followed by younger initiated. This may explain the fact that he uses the nonredundant plurals, as his contact with language is mostly at the *terreiro*. It might be also a case of language change, where highly educated older participants favour the nonstandard plural marking over STA, the opposite of what happens with highly educated younger *rodantes*, those who have more contact with the outside world.

The example given by Ari is also emblematic. When asked about what an *ogan* does, he gives the example of a bricklayer, someone who does not necessarily need to have higher education. The conflation between *education* and *living in the house* (related to age) may explain why those who live in the house favour the nonstandard plural form over STA. However, Ari seems to be an exception, as he has higher education and uses -Ø marking. In his case, the explanation lies in the fact that he has been living in the house most of his life and had contact with nonstandard language, in an interaction between age and schooling.

Indeed, schooling alone does not tell the whole picture. Quantitative analyses indicated that older participants with higher education use $-\emptyset$ more frequently than younger participants with higher education. The analysis of the following excerpt from another *ogan* may help in illustrating and understanding this finding.

Pedro: *Você acha que essa magia, esse mistério pra quem tá de fora ou pra quem vem numa cerimônia, você acha que eles veem mais essa magia esse mistério no ogan, na equede ou nos iaôs?*

Daniel: *Num todo, nos, no-S orixá- \emptyset que tá ali incorporado.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *Porque Candomblé tem gente de, de/de/de todo-S os jeito- \emptyset .*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *Pessoa-S estudada-S.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *É pós-graduado, mestrando*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *E pessoas que nunca foram na escola*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *E convivendo junto e dividindo, a-S mesma-S coisa-S, mesma-S comida- \emptyset . E todo mundo pisando no chão, no mesmo chão. Todo mundo descalço. Então tem essa junção tem essa união.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *E as pessoa- \emptyset que veem de fora. Como eu/como uma pes/uma pessoa já me perguntou se conheço aquela p/aquela menina é jornalista. Eu digo "é", "aquela/aquele rapaz ali ele/ele é advogado?" "é", "aquela pessoa ali é, fulano de tal né importante?" eu digo "é". E tem pessoas que não sabem, nem se pronunciar não sabe falar e tal.*

Pedro: *Entendo.*

Daniel: *Tem toda essa coisa.*

(...)

Pedro: Do you think this magic, this mystery for those who are outside and for those who come to a ceremony, do you think they see this magic and mystery more in the *ogan*, the *equede* or the *iaôs*?

Daniel: As a whole, in the *orixás* who are there in the trance.

Pedro: mhm

Daniel: Because [in] *Candomblé* there are all sorts of people.

Pedro: mhm

Daniel: Highly educated people.

Pedro: mhm

Daniel: Postgrads, masters.

Pedro: mhm

Daniel: And people who never went to school.

Pedro: mhm

Daniel: And living together and sharing the same things, the same food. And everybody stepping on the same ground, the same ground. Everyone barefoot. So there is this junction, this union.

Pedro: mhm

Daniel: And the people who come from outside... Like I, a person has already asked me if I know that p, that girl whether she is a journalist. And I said "yes", "that,that man over there is he, is he a lawyer?" "yes", "that person over there, is this person important?" and I say "yes". And there are people who do not, they don't know how to speak.

Pedro: I see.

Daniel: There is all this.

(...)

Pedro: *Tem muitos trabalhos que são coisas/práticas comuns do Candomblé, como uma oferenda que se faz pra/no mar pra Iemanjá ou...*

Daniel: *mhm*

Pedro: *Ou então algum pedido que se faz pra/*

Daniel: *Determinado-S orixá-Ø.*

Pedro: *É, exato, e que envolvem não sei al/alguma coisa alguma erva algum óleo alguma coisa/e/eu sei que essas práticas existem.*

Daniel: *Sim.*

Pedro: *Não/não quero entrar muito nelas mas eu sei que tem/eu queria saber quem pode fazer isso e quem não pode. Se tá relacionado a ser ogan ou não ser ogan por exemplo. Ogan pode fazer esses tipos de trabalho, ele tem, habilidade e autoridade pra fazer isso ou tem que ser rodante, tem que ser iaô, tem que ser pai de santo?*

Daniel: *Feitiço o trabalho or/*

Pedro: *É.*

Daniel: *Cada um, cada um aqui escolhido, a gente tem a habilidade, a gente aprende numa convivência a fazer a-S coisa-Ø até mesmo pra nos proteger né?*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *Então a gente vai aprendendo cada coisa mas, dentro do candomblé cada um tem sua permissão, tipo na ausência, na ausência, é, de uma pessoa, mais velha, a gente vai fazendo, né? É uma hierarquia aqui, então, cada um tem sua função, sua missão, e o/o ogan ele pode ajudar nessa junção aí, e a gente tá participando, a gente, aprende a fazer, a gente é a pessoa que leva esse/esse trabalho esse feitiço, até o local, que ele deve ser, despachado, arriado ou, oferendado.*

Pedro: *Você disse que tem pessoas aqui que não sabem nem pronunciar não sabem falar e tal. O que você quis dizer com isso?*

Daniel: *Eu quis dizer que tem gente que não sabe se comunicar, que não sabe falar direito, que nem coloca o-S s-S direito na-S palavra-*

Pedro: *There is a lot of work that are common practices in Candomblé, like this offering done in the sea to Iemanjá or...*

Daniel: *mhm*

Pedro: *Or some wish made to*

Daniel: *Certain orixás.*

Pedro: *Yes, exactly, and they involve some herbs or some oil or something, I know these practices exist.*

Daniel: *Yes.*

Pedro: *I don't want to dig too much into them but I know, I would like to know who can do this and who cannot, whether it is related to being an ogan or not an ogan for example. Can an ogan do these types of work, does he have the ability or the authority to do this, or does it have to be a rodante, an iaô, does it have to be the pai de santo?*

Daniel: *witchcraft, the work or*

Pedro: *Yes.*

Daniel: *Each one here chosen, we have the ability, we learn living together to do things even to protect ourselves, you know.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Daniel: *So, we learn each thing but, within Candomblé each one has their permission, like in the absence of an older person, we do things, you know? It is a hierarchy here, so each one has a role, a mission, and the ogan can help in this junction there, and we are participating, we learn how to do, it is us who take these things, the witchcraft to the given place, where it must be dispatched, left, or offered.*

Pedro: *You said that there are people here who don't know even how to pronounce, they do not know how to speak etc. What did you mean by that?*

Daniel: *I meant that there are people who don't know how to communicate, who don't know how to speak well, who do not use the –*

S. Assim não conseguem se comunicar bem, principalmente aquelas que só cuidam da limpeza da casa, diferente daquelas que estudam ou estudaram, entende?

Pedro: Entendo.

S well in the words. Therefore they can't communicate well, especially those who only deal with cleaning, differently from those who study or have studied, understand?

Pedro: I do.

Excerpt of interview with Daniel

Daniel is older, attended higher education, and *ogan*. Although most of the NPs realised by this informant are STA, there is the presence of $-\emptyset$ as well. Therefore, his speech aligns, at least to some extent, with that of Ari's, potentially due to both being *ogans* and despite both being highly educated. This excerpt is in line with the quantitative finding that older who are highly educated favour the $-\emptyset$ more than younger participants who are highly educated.

When Daniel was asked why he had said that there were people at the *terreiro* who did not speak well, he made some metapragmatic evaluations (Agha 2007) by stating that some people there "don't even know how to speak", people "who do not use the s-S well in the words. Therefore, they can't communicate well". Here the informant is clearly referring to the pluralisation of the noun phrase. Interestingly, in Daniel's perspective, those who do not mark the plurals in the NP in a standard way do not communicate well, or do not know how to speak well. Also interestingly, it is precisely when Daniel is taking this stance that his pluralisation of the noun phrases becomes standard, whereas it was less standard, i.e. nonredundant, when he was talking about other things, like how life at the *terreiro* is. A similar pattern is followed by Roberto. While Roberto's usage of standard pluralisation of the noun phrase is linked to his understanding of schooling, Daniel's is related to being able or not to communicate well. Further, Daniel's metapragmatic evaluations create indexicality: in his account, using $-\emptyset$ is indexical of not communicating well. Interestingly, he attributes this lack of knowledge of standard Portuguese to those who clean, that is the *ogans*.

7.3 The role of *role* in interaction with *schooling*

The quantitative analyses (see Chapter 6) showed an interaction between *schooling* and *role*. The analyses suggest that, among *ogans*, $-\emptyset$ is less often used by those with higher education than by those with lower education, showing a clear effect of schooling on plural marking among *ogans*. As for the followers with lower education, the analyses

showed that *ogans* used the unmarked form more often than *rodantes*. The excerpts from the interviews that follow, as well as their analyses, will illustrate the link between NP plural marking and the interaction between role and schooling and, additionally, try to explain why this interaction takes place the way they do.

Let us start with José, a highly educated younger *ogan*, and observe both his realisations of NP pluralisation as well as his stance that schooling is desirable if one wants to be “a good *ogan*”.

(...)

Pedro: *E qual foi a reação de seus familiares quando você decidiu entrar para o Candomblé?*

José: *Com relação a isso eu posso dizer que tenho familiar-ES esclarecido-S. O-S meu-S pai-Ø sempre foram bastante abertos com relação à minha decisão. Minha avó também me apoiou, deixando claro que era uma decisão minha.*

Pedro: *Que bom! Agora, pelo que tenho percebido, ser iniciado no Candomblé exige muito esforço e dedicação, toma bastante tempo também, estou certo?*

José: *Ah...nisso com certeza! São várias-S hora-S em muito-S dia-S na semana que temos que passar aqui, a serviço da-S coisa-Ø do terreiro, a serviço do Candomblé enfim.*

Pedro: *E isso não te traz problemas para os seus estudos, não te atrapalha?*

José: *Se traz problema-S para meu-S estudo-S... Não, na verdade não. O pensamento atual sobre isso é diferente do que já foi no passado. Antigamente, uma vez adentrado-S no Candomblé, o-S ogan-Ø tinham que passar a maior parte da vida deles aqui na roça, vivendo exclusivamente em função do Candomblé.*

Pedro: *Hoje não é mais assim?*

José: *Apesar de hoje ainda termos que passar muita-S hora-S por semana aqui, nós valorizamos muito o-S estudo-S. Não é todo mundo, claro, especialmente para o-S ogan-S mais velhos, mas quem quer estudar faz seu-S esforço-S e consegue. Afinal de contas, um bom ogan tem que saber se comunicar bem para receber a comunidade, e com o-S estudo-S em dia isso se torna mais fácil.*

(...)

Pedro: And how did your family react to you becoming part of *Candomblé*?

José: In regards to this I can say my family was very open. My parents have always been open about my decision. Also, my grandmother has always supported me, making it very clear that it was my decision, and mine only.

Pedro: That’s good! Now, from what I have been observing, being initiated in *Candomblé* requires a lot of effort and dedication, it also takes a lot of one’s time, am I right?

José: Ah...absolutely! We spend several hours at many days each week here, at the service of the *terreiro* in all that is necessary, at the service of *Candomblé*.

Pedro: And doesn’t this bring you problems to your studies, doesn’t it keep you from studying?

José: If it brings problems to my studies... No, actually it doesn’t. The current understanding on this is different from what it was once in the past. In the past, once men became part of *Candomblé* as *ogans*, they would have to spend most of their lives here at the *terreiro*, living exclusively to serve *Candomblé*.

Pedro: Isn’t it like that now?

José: Although nowadays we still have to spend many hours per week here, we really value studying. It’s not true for everybody, especially to older *ogans*, of course, but those who want to study make an effort and they manage. After all, a good *ogan* has to know how to communicate well with the community, and with studies this becomes easier.

(...)

(...)

Excerpt from interview with José

From the interview, it is easily noticed that José makes use of the redundant, standard forms of pluralisation in the noun phrase far more often than -Ø. As shown in the quantitative analyses, this is due not only to his schooling, but because he is a highly educated *ogan*, an interaction that showed an effect in the quantitative analyses in the linguistic choices of the informants regarding the pluralisation of the noun phrases. Further, we can observe José's stance that studying further is a new trend among *ogans* like himself, as well as his stance that "a good *ogan* has to know how to communicate well with the community, and with studies this becomes easier". By "communicate well" we cannot automatically presume that José is also talking about the pluralisation choices in the noun phrase. We can, however, see that he equates high schooling to being good at communicating with the community and, further, we can notice that the only turn in which all noun phrases realised by José is the one in which he talks about studies, in a similar way to what happens in Roberto's speech (see above). José's stances towards good communication and studying, and the fact that he is a highly educated *ogan*, therefore, helps illustrating the link that involves the interaction between schooling and role and his favouring of the redundant, standard forms of pluralisation of the noun phrases. *Ogans* of lower education, however, make different choices in the pluralisation of the noun phrase, as will be illustrated and analysed further in this section.

Let's now analyse the case of Diego, an older *rodante* who has always studied and attended university.

Diego: *Tem um lugar chamado (nome de uma rua).*

Diego: There is a place called (name of a street).

Pedro: *mhm*

Pedro: mhm

Diego: *Foi aonde eu nasci/e daí, né?eu sou, minha/minha família eu sou/ minha mãe teve 6 filho-S.*

Diego: It was where I was born, me and my family, my mother had 6 children.

Pedro: *A minha também.*

Pedro: Mine too.

Diego: *Ah que ótimo. Então/ e minha mãe ela teve seis filho-S é/eu comece/eu estudei/estudo né?/estudei, eu fiz o primário,*

Diego: Ah, good. So, my mother she had 6 children and I started, I studied primary school, secondary school, and I studied

- fiz ginásio, eu fiz administração, pela (nome da universidade).* Business and Administration at (name of the university).
- Pedro:** *Nível superior?* **Pedro:** Higher Education?
- Diego:** *Nível superior.* **Diego:** Higher Education.
- Pedro:** *mhm, mhm* **Pedro:** mhm, mhm
- Diego:** *E nível médio eu fiz/é técnico em química, né?* **Diego:** At secondary level I studied Chemistry Technicity.
- Pedro:** *Química.* **Pedro:** Chemistry.
- Diego:** *Em nível médio.* **Diego:** At secondary technical level.
- Pedro:** *Esses cursos num/num tem mais né?* **Pedro:** These courses no longer exist, do they?
- Diego:** *Mas assim/não num tem mais não. Isso era há mui/há tempos atrás né? Era muito puxado, a gente tinha que estudar mesmo. Não era como esse-S curso-S de hoje que passam todo mundo, basta frequentar. Não era assim não. E como eu disse, além do curso técnico, eu fiz o curso superior.* **Diego:** But like this, they don't exist anymore. This was a long time ago, right? The course was very demanding, we had to really study. It was not like these courses nowadays in which everybody gets approved, as long as they attend. It was not like that, no. And it's like I said, apart from the technical course, I took higher education.

Excerpt from interview with Diego

Diego is older, *rodante*, and has higher education. In line with what was reported for the quantitative analyses, he makes use of STA over the -Ø marking of plurals. As Diego talks about his life, we learn that he went to school and to university. Furthermore, he stressed that when he was a student, school was demanding, and definitely more demanding than nowadays (“It was not like these courses nowadays in which everybody gets approved, as long as they attend”). In the case of Diego, as shown elsewhere in the literature (Lucchesi 2019), one can confidently suggest that he favours STA in the plural marking of the noun phrase due to schooling, as well as to his own stance towards what good schooling is.

Moving on to Lucas, who is an *ogan*, and with a different life story from that of Diego's.

- Lucas:** *Porque praticamente eu nasci dentro da casa.* **Lucas:** Because I virtually was born inside the *terreiro*.
- Pedro:** *Sim.* **Pedro:** I see.
- Lucas:** *Eu tenho 18 ano-Ø de idade hoje em dia estudei por muito esforço, mas nunca gostei de estudar.* **Lucas:** I'm 88 (I think it's 18?) today and I studied with lots of effort, but I never enjoyed studying.

- Pedro:** *Nunca gostou de estudar?* **Pedro:** You never liked studying?
- Lucas:** *Nunca gostei de estudar (ri)* **Lucas:** I never enjoyed studying. (laughs)
- Pedro:** *Mas cê estudou quant/* **Pedro:** But you studied until...
- Lucas:** *Estudei até a quinta série.* **Lucas:** I studied until 5th grade.
- Pedro:** *Até a quinta série?* **Pedro:** Until 5th grade.
- Lucas:** *Foi.* **Lucas:** Yes, it was.
- Pedro:** *Cê tinha quantos anos quando terminou a quinta série?* **Pedro:** How old were you when you finished 5th grade?
- Lucas:** *Nó que eu parei na quinta série eu tinha (inaudível) ano-Ø.* **Lucas:** When I stopped 5th grade I was (inaudible).
- Lucas:** *Acho que uns 16 ano-Ø.* **Lucas:** I think about 16.
- Pedro:** *16?* **Pedro:** 16?
- Lucas:** *15 ano-Ø.* **Lucas:** 15.
- Pedro:** *mhm* **Pedro:** mhm
- Lucas:** *15 ano-Ø mais ou meno num lembro não uai.* **Lucas:** About 15, I don't remember very well, you know.
- Pedro:** *Não, não tudo bem/é/mais ou menos.* **Pedro:** It's fine, just approximately.
- Lucas:** *Porque eu lembro que eu ia mais pa bagunçar. (ri)* **Lucas:** Because I remember that I went to school just to mess around. (laughs)
- Pedro:** *Ah tá.* **Pedro:** I see.
- Lucas:** *Era muito bagunceiro. E, e agora eu tô sentindo muita falta na realidade/na minha vida né?/no colégio é comecei a tirar minha habilitação quando eu completei 18 ano-Ø que agora que eu vim conseguir que eu/botei na cabeça né eu tenho que tirar* **Lucas:** I loved messing around. And now I am missing it a lot in reality, in my life, right? At school I started studying for my driver's license when I turned 18 and only now that I need to get it, I put in head that I have to get it.

Excerpt from interview with Lucas

Results detailed in the previous chapter showed that among the *ogans*, it was those with lower education that used -Ø more than those with higher education. Lucas is an *ogan*, with lower education, and younger and, in his speech, amply uses the -Ø marking of plural in the noun phrase. Interestingly, and in line with some previous suggestions, his schooling is very low (he has not finished primary school and he did not like studying). Here we see how different level of studies (Diego and tertiary education vs Lucas and hardly any education) and therefore of contact with formal education and the informants stances towards studying, influence the choice of marking the plural of the NP.

Samuel, however, despite the low level of education, favours STA over -Ø, which can be explained by his life story, as well as by his activities and stances related to reading.

Samuel: *Minha mãe foi uma guerreira nesse quesito de criação, soube as/soube adestrar eu e os meu-S irmão-S muito bem por sinal. Ela soube fazer com que todos estudassem muito, pois ela não tinha tido isso ela mesma na infância. Teve que trabalhar e deixar de estudar.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Samuel: *Uma infância muito tranquila, eu estudei boa parte em escola privada né? Fiz aquele primário e tal na escola prim/primária porque minha mãe achava isso importante, depois eu parti pra pro ensino médio enfim pra escola pública. Aí eu parei, não fiz curso superior. Mas eu fiz um curso técnico de radiologia, que é com o que eu busco trabalho hoje.*

Pedro: *Isso/isso foi onde?*

Samuel: *Isso foi, então, eu sou de (nome de uma cidade) né?*

Pedro: *Cê nasceu em (nome de uma cidade)?*

Samuel: *Na verdade eu nasci em (nome de outra cidade).*

Pedro: *mmm*

Samuel: *Só que a distância de uma pra outra é 1 quilômetro.*

(...)

Pedro: *E o que você gosta de fazer no seu tempo livre?*

Samuel: *Ah, eu sou muito sociável. Eu saio muito, vou pra balada, gosto de conhecer pessoas. Sou sociável na-S rede-S sociai-S também, gosto muito de usar o Instagram, o Facebook, assistir filmes e assistir vídeos no Youtube. Eu também leio muito. É muito importante.*

Samuel: My mother was a fighter with regards to raising kids, she knew how to “tame” me and my brothers very well, you know. She knew how to make us all study a lot, as she had not had that herself as a child. She had to stop studying to work.

Pedro: *mhm*

Samuel: [I had] a very calm childhood, I studied for the most part in a private school, you see? I went to that primary school and so in the school, because my mother thought it was important, then I went to secondary school, anyway, to the public school. Then I stopped, I did not go for higher education. But I took a technical course in radiology, and it's in that field I am looking for a job now.

Pedro: Where was this?

Samuel: So, this was in, I am from (a city's name), right?

Pedro: You were born in (a city's name)?

Samuel: I was actually born in (another city's name).

Pedro: *mmm*

Samuel: But the distance between both cities is just 1km.

(...)

Pedro: And what do you like doing in your free time?

Samuel: Ah, I am very sociable. I go out a lot, I go dancing, I like meeting new people. I am also very sociable on social media, I like using Instagram and Facebook a lot, I watch films and videos on Youtube. I also read a lot. It's very important.

Excerpt from interview with Samuel

Samuel is a *rodante*, younger, and with lower education, therefore his choice of using the redundant plurals may sound contradictory given his schooling. One of the reasons for this to happen, however, might be that in his childhood, he studied in a private school, which is normally of better quality than public schools in Brazil. In addition, he did some further education, therefore fostering his use of standard Portuguese. Another interesting aspect of Samuel's interview is regarding his use of social media, which implies he communicates with people outside the *terreiro*. Also, he reads extensively and has a stance towards reading ("It's very important."). These aspects may have had an influence in his use of standard Portuguese in the sense argued by Oushiro (2015).

On the other hand, *ogans* of lower education have another story to tell.

Pedro: *Você estudou, foi pra escola?*

Pedro: Did you study, did you go to school?

Eduardo: *Estudei assim, nunca fui assim um estudante brilhante né?*

Eduardo: I did, yes, I've never been a bright student, right?

Pedro: *Ah é?*

Pedro: Really?

Eduardo: *É, era muito homem de brincalh/de brincar, meu negócio era mais trabalhar, sempre gostei do-S meu-Ø trabalho-Ø.*

Eduardo: I love messing around, I liked playing, I was more inclined to work, I've always enjoyed my jobs.

Pedro: *mhm*

Pedro: mhm

Eduardo: *Mas assim memo consegui estudar até a sétima série.*

Eduardo: But in any case I managed to study until the 7th grade.

Pedro: *Sim.*

Pedro: I see.

Eduardo: *Mas também trabalho, tenho hoje a profissão de eletricista de/eletricista veicular.*

Eduardo: But also working, today I am a mechanic, and I fix vehicles.

Pedro: *mhm*

Pedro: mhm

Eduardo: *Né?*

Eduardo: Right?

(...)

(...)

Pedro: *E o que você gosta de fazer no seu tempo livre?*

Pedro: And what do you like doing in your free time?

Eduardo: *Ah, gosto de ficar em casa, passar o tempo com os filho-Ø. Namorar. hahah*

Eduardo: Ah, I like to stay at home, spending time with my children. Make love. haha

Excerpt from interview with Eduardo

Eduardo is older and an *ogan* with lower education. In the few occurrences of plurasilation of the noun phrase in Eduardo's speech, he favours the -Ø over STA. This is consistent with what was previously suggested with regards to schooling and to the

informant's stances to studying. Whilst Samuel studied hard at school, Eduardo liked "to play" at school and always preferred to "work" over studying.

It seems that *rodantes*, even those who do not study at the tertiary level, take different stances towards studying, they take extra courses and engage more in activities that demand reading and writing. This is because the role of *rodante* implies improvements in itself, whereas since "*ogans* are born fathers already", there is no need for them to master standard language within the religion. This may foster the use of STA in the noun phrase for younger *rodantes*, whereas the opposite happens to younger *ogans*.

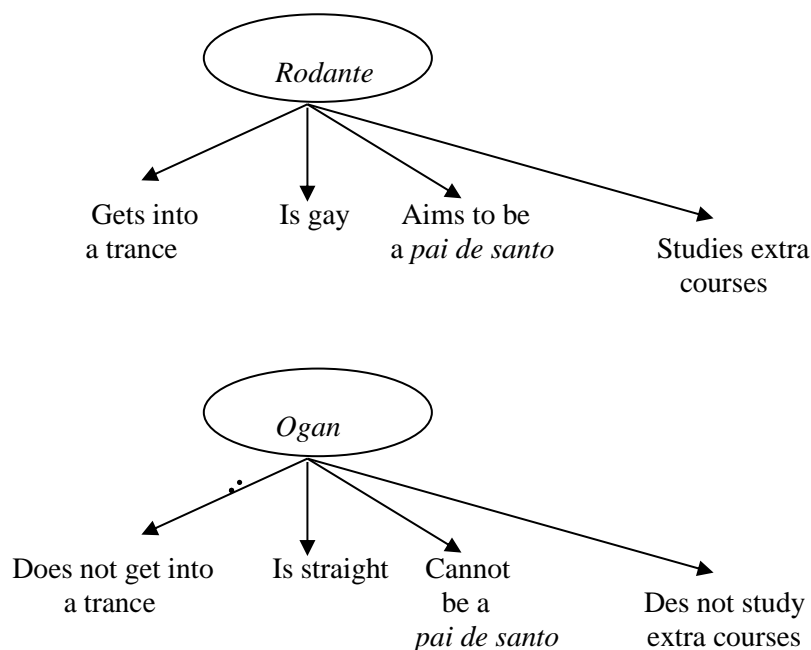
7.4 The role of *age* in interaction with *role*

In this section, although I will mention a great deal about the studies carried out by my informants, I will only refer to non-degree courses, as consideration of the role of formal education was dealt with in the two previous sections.

An aspect which is important to stress again is the concept of role in the community researched (see also Chapter 6). According to *Candomblé*, a *rodante* is a person who has the ability to get into a trance with an *orixá*, whereas an *ogan* does not have that ability. However, as my field notes and participant-observation show, this difference is only the starting point for the distinction between these two groups. For example, all *ogans* self-identified as straight, whereas all but one *rodante* self-identified as gay. Interestingly, at the *terreiro*, I often heard that "an *ogan* is born a father already", and this was always said with pride by the *ogans*. What they mean with this sentence is that they are the "fathers" who take care of the *orixás* when they come to Earth and that they call the *orixás* during the *festas* by playing the *atabaques* (similar to tambours). This gives the *ogans* a place of privilege as they were "born" in the religion with those powers which, importantly, are not learned at school as the *ogans* do not need to study to become *ogans*. The role of *rodante*, on the other hand, is linked to education and learning, both within and outside the religion. As stated elsewhere, once initiated, they enter a period of learning which can last up to 7 years. The learning is needed to prepare the *rodante* to eventually become *pai* (or *mãe*) *de santo*, role that an *ogan* will never have. Differences can also be seen at the level of sexuality. Although, as explained elsewhere (Chapters 4 and 6), sexuality and role are collinear, sexuality is just one layer of role even if the two are often used as

synonyms. Figure 7.1 below shows the configuration of roles taken by men at the *terreiro*, illustrating that differences are more complex than getting into a trance or not.

Figure 7.1: Configuration of *rodantes* and *ogans*



Moving on, the quantitative analyses reported in Chapter 6 have shown that young *rodantes* use STA more than young *ogans*. The next excerpts will be useful to illustrate this and further investigate the quantitative results qualitatively.

Pedro: *Desculpa falar disso, mas você trouxe. Como foi esse 1 mês na cadeia?*

Pedro: Sorry to talk about this, but as you have brought it up. How was it to spend this one month in jail?

Regis: *Oxe! foi muito estranho porque eu nunca tinha ido pa cadeia né? Foi minha primeira vez. E quando chegou lá a-S pessoa-Ø era muit/mal tratada-Ø/quando eu cheguei lá eu cheguei já apanhando do-S agente-Ø penitenciário-Ø.*

Regis: Oh! It was very strange because I had never been in jail, you know. It was my first time. And when I arrived there [I noticed] people were badly treated, when I arrived there the prison officers beat me.

Pedro: *Dos presos também?*

Pedro: The other inmates as well?

Regis: *Não do-S agente-S penitenciário-Ø.*

Regis: No, the prison officers.

Pedro: *mhm*

Pedro: mhm

Regis: *O-S preso-Ø não, porque o-S preso-Ø comentou lá do portão: "tu foi/você fez o quê/você fez o quê pa tá aqui?", e aí eu falei com o-S preso-Ø "não, eu fui roubar".*

Regis: The other inmates no, as they commented from the gate: "you were, what did you do, what did you do to be taken here?", and then I told them that "no, I stole".

Pedro: *mhm*

Regis: *Mas aí acabou me pegando. Eles "ah então tá/tá de boa fica aí de boa. Você já foi preso várias vez-Ø ou só uma vez só?" Falei "foi a primeira vez mesmo" aí o-S cara-Ø/o-S preso-Ø falava: "ah então fique de boa rapá/fique de boa cê vai sair".*

Pedro: *mhm*

Regis: *"Cê vai sai/tem juíz que tem/tá botando pa fora, fique de boa".*

Pedro: *mhm*

Regis: *Aí nisso passou 1 mês/quando passou 1 mês eu sai da cadeia.*

Pedro: *Você é rodante ou ogan aqui na casa?*

Regis: *Eu sou ogan, já nasci ogan.*

Pedro: *Como assim já nasceu ogan?*

Regis: *É que é assim né veio, ogan já nasce pai, felizmente. E aí é pai para o resto da vida.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Regis: But then they caught me. They said “ah, so right, just relax. Have you been caught many times or only once?” I said “this was my first time, really” and then they, the inmates would say: “oh, so then relax dude, you will be released”

Pedro: *mhm*

Regis: “You will leave this place, the judges are, they are releasing people, relax”.

Pedro: *mhm*

Regis: And then after a month, after a month in jail, I was released.

Pedro: Are you a *rodante* or an *ogan* here?

Regis: I am *ogan*, I was born an *ogan* already.

Pedro: What do you mean you were born an *ogan*?

Regis: It’s because it’s like this dude, an *ogan* is born a father already, fortunately. And it’s for life.

Excerpt of interview with Regis

Regis is younger, with low education, and *ogan*. All plural NPs realised by him contain at least one -Ø plural mark (this is excluding the first element of the NP, always STA, as it is standard across the data). Interestingly Regis reminds us that “*ogan já nasce pai*” (an *ogan* is born a father already). Recall that birth at *Candomblé* is the moment in which the *orixá* “chooses” someone to be initiated, therefore starting the initiation process. *Ogans* are chosen by “an *orixá*” during a *feita* to be “their father”. This means that the *ogan* will take care of the *orixá* every time the entity comes to the *roça* and gets into a trance with a *rodante*. The *ogan* will play the *atabaques*, therefore call the *orixá* down to Earth, take care of the *orixá* and send the *orixá* back to the land of the *orixás* (these last two tasks are commonly carried out with the *equedes*, i.e. women who do not get into a trance). Stating that “an *ogan* is already born a father” confers a lot of power as well as specific tasks to an *ogan*, among which the lack of need of further education both within and outside the religion. Lower education, which seems to be characteristic of most younger *ogans*, may explain Regis’, and other younger *ogans*’, use of nonstandard Portuguese.

Naldo’s interview is also helpful in further describing this interaction, this time from the perspective of a younger *rodante*.

Naldo: *Eu, eu num sei exatamente o que é um ebó, mas eu sei o objetivo que a-S pessoa-S dizem que é entendeu? É porque eu vim pra cá com, un-S olho-S, e eu enxergo hoje em dia totalmente com olho-S diferente-S. Eu nunca vi ninguém chegar aqui e falar "eu quero matar fulano de tal", "eu quero marido de fulano de tal" como tem muita gente que fala por aí.*

Pedro: *Entendo, e assim é esse preconceito que cê tá exemplificando aí é ignorância?*

Naldo: *Sim sim, eu/eu na verdade a minha visão era a seguinte: eu achava que era tudo fingimento.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Naldo: *Mas só que quando aconteceu comigo aí eu, entendeu?*

Pedro: *mhm*

Naldo: *Enxerguei com outro-S olho-S.*

Pedro: *Entendi, mas quanto a esse preconceito que existe ele é um preconceito religioso contra o Candomblé?*

Naldo: *É tudo misturado velho é terrível, é porque assim de/você depende muito com/vário-S fature-S. Depende do quanto a pessoa é fanática religiosa. Se por exemplo eu chego pra um evangélico, que a, é o/são o-S segmento-S mais radical-S, no caso o-S neopentecostai-S, eles têm muito, muito, muito mais isso. É até triste, porque como a/o candomblé é religião de origem africana, você vê que a-S pessoa-S negra-S evangélica-S que geralmente são pessoas com menos acesso ao estudo. Num tô falano assim algo com preconceito. Mas é/por causa do/da própria conjuntura do Brasil geralmente negro ele é mai/menos estudado.*

Pedro: *mhm*

(...)

Pedro: *Mas na sua percepção como é a aceitação ou não aceitação de quem não é hétero no Candomblé?*

Naldo: I, I don't know exactly what an *ebó* is, but I know its objective as people say, understand? It is because I came here with a type of perspective, and today I see things with totally different eyes. I've never seen anybody arrive here and say "I want to kill this person", "I want somebody else's husband" as many people say it happens.

Pedro: I see, it's this prejudice you are exemplifying due to ignorance [about the religion]?

Naldo: Yes, yes...I, in fact my perspective was as follows: I thought that it was all just a fake performance.

Pedro: *mhm*

Naldo: But then when it happened to me then I, understand?

Pedro: *mhm*

Naldo: I saw things with other eyes.

Pedro: Got it, but this prejudice that exists, is it religious prejudice against *Candomblé*?

Naldo: It's all mixed dude, it's terrible, it's because, it depends a lot on various factors. It depends on how much a person is afanatic. If, for example, I talk to the evangelical people, who are the most radicals, in this case the neopentecostals, they have a lot more of this. It is even sad because *Candomblé* is a religion of African origin, you see that it's evangelical black people who generally are people who have access to less formal education. I'm not talking like with prejudice. But it is because of the Brazilian general structure in which black people have less access to education.

Pedro: *mhm*

(...)

Pedro: But in your perception, how is the acceptance or not of people who are not heterosexual in *Candomblé*?

Naldo: *Eu acho que é bastante aceito né? Até porque alguma-S entidade-S têm um caráter sexual meio ambíguo aqui.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Naldo: *Então acho que é bastante aceito assim.*

Pedro: *Como as entidades que cê tá falando, é orixá/*

Naldo: *Algun-S orixá-S. É, por exemplo a gente tem, pelo menos a-S história-S que eu já vi, Logunedé, Oxumarê, que têm qualidade-S masculina-S e feminina-S.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Naldo: *Então eu acho que é, apesar de eu já ter ouvido de mais velhos que homossexual antigamente tinha um probleminha aqui mas era por causa do momento que era outro né?*

Pedro: *As pessoas, homens gays mulheres lésbicas você acha que eles têm dificuldades de estar na religião?*

Naldo: *Não, não até porque por exemplo o Diego, ele, é né?, gay, tem alguma-S iaô-S aí que são lésbica-s, e/eu nun/nunca vi nenhum problema aqui sa/. Eu/inclusive eu vejo muita-S pessoa-S vindo aqui, muito-S gay-S. Eu acho que porque, como as outra-S religiõe-S excluem elas desse processo, elas acabam vindo aqui b/buscar o divino aqui entendeu?*

Pedro: *Você acredita que te/existem menos gays entre os ogãs do que entre os rodantes? Ou pelo menos homens afeminados não nessa/não necessariamente gays?*

Naldo: *É... eu acho que sim. Tem menos homen-S afeminado-S como ogan-S, e mais entre o-S rodante-S.*

Pedro: *mhm, entendi. E por que isso?*

Naldo: *Aí acho que é uma pergunta para o pai de santo.*

Naldo: I think they're fairly accepted, aren't they? Even so because some entities have a sort of sexually ambiguous character here.

Pedro: mhm

Naldo: So, I think they are fairly accepted.

Pedro: The entities you are talking about, are they the **orixá**

Naldo: Some *orixás*. It's, for example we have, at least the stories that I have heard, *Logunedé*, *Oxumaré*, who have male and female qualities.

Pedro: mhm

Naldo: So I think that...although I have heard older people here saying that homosexuals in the past had some problems here, it was because that was another time, wasn't it?

Pedro: People, gay men and lesbians, do you think they have difficulties being part of the religion?

Naldo: No, no, even so because for example Diego, he, isn't it? He is gay, there are some *iaôs* here who are lesbians, I've never seen any problem here. I, I see many people coming here, many gay men. I think it is because, as other religions exclude them from this process, they end up coming here in search of the divine, understand?

Pedro: Do you believe that there exist fewer gay men among the *ogans* than among the *rodantes*? Or at least fewer effeminate men who are not necessarily gay?

Naldo: Yes...I think so. There are fewer effeminate men as *ogans*, and more among the *rodantes*.

Pedro: mhm, got it. And why is that?

Naldo: I think this is a question for *the pai de santo*.

Excerpt of interview with Naldo

Naldo is younger, with lower education, and *rodante*. If schooling alone were considered, we would expect at least some use of -Ø in his speech, yet all NPs used by the informant are STA. Field notes taken on site indicate that Naldo has finished secondary school and is taking a preparatory course to take the *ENEM* (a compulsory test for those who want

to enter a public university in Brazil) and enter university to study medicine, and this is probably why his realisations of NPs are only STA. Here we clearly see a practical example of the interaction between role and age; in this sense, the difference between young *rodantes* and *ogans* resides in the two opposite educational path they will follow after completing compulsory education.

Interestingly, Naldo is the only *rodante* who reported to be straight. Yet his use of redundant plurals is prominent. At the same time, he has lower education but is getting prepared for a highly competitive test to enter medical school, which puts him in contact with standard Portuguese more so than the straight men who are *ogans* and the older *rodantes*. That is why I claim this is a case of the interaction between age and role.

The following excerpt from an interview with Caio further supports this suggestion.

Pedro: *O que você sabe sobre Logunedé?*

Caio: *Logunedé mora tanto na mata, como no-S rio-S, na-S água-S. Alguma-S pessoa-S dizem "ah Lodunedé é uma criança". Não ele não é uma criança. Ele foi um adulto, ele teve filho, ele usa o ofá, de Oxossi, ele usa o abebé de Oxum, ele sai com essa-S duas ferramenta-S. O ofá, que é, é a flecha, o abebé que é o espelho.*

Pedro: *Ok.*

Caio: *Um espelho, bem bonito, era da mãe, a mãe usava pra se ver e tudo mais essa-S coisa-S entendeu?*

Pedro: *mhm*

Caio: *É um orixá que ele é muito, assim muito difícil da gente lidar com ele pois existem vários elemento-S. Ele num é muito de aceitar o-S erro-S. Por isso eu sou assim, difícil de lidar também.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Caio: *Entendeu? Tudo dele tem que ser muito certinho, tem que ser muito cuidadoso, tem que ser muito cauteloso para mexer com esse orixá.*

Pedro: *Parece que nem tá falando do mesmo orixá dependendo de onde cê tá lendo.*

Pedro: What do you know about *Logunedé*?

Caio: *Logunedé lives in the woods as well as in the rivers, the water. Some people say "ah, Logunedé is a child". No, he is not a child. He was an adult, he had children, he uses Oxóssi's ofá, he uses Oxum's bebé, he goes around with these two tools. Ofá is the arrow, and abebé is the mirror.*

Pedro: Ok.

Caio: A very pretty mirror, which belonged to his mother, the mother used it to see herself and all these things, understand?

Pedro: mhm

Caio: He's a very, very difficult *orixá* to deal with because there are several elements. He does not accept mistakes. That's why I am like this, hard to deal with as well.

Pedro: mhm

Caio: Understand? Everything for him has to be very correct, one has to be cautious, very careful when dealing with this *orixá*.

Pedro: It even seems you are not even talking about the same *orixá*, depending on what you are reading.

Caio: *É.*

Pedro: *Que ele era andrógino inclusive que num era masculino nem feminino eu já li isso.*

Caio: *Não. Aqui ele é masculino. Ele tem sim alguma-S coisa-S da mãe, mas ele não é andrógino.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Caio: *Tem pessoas que falam "ah ele passa 6 mese-S homem 6 mese-S mulher" não, é porque ele passa 6 mese-S com o pai e 6 mese-S com a mãe*

Pedro: *mhm*

Caio: *Entendeu?*

Pedro: *Entendi.*

Caio: *Ou seja, então ele mora no mato, e mora na-S água-S.*

Pedro: *mhm*

Caio: *Ele é homem.*

(...)

Pedro: *Você estuda?*

Caio: *Ah, não tem como nos dias de hoje estar no Candomblé como rodante e não estudar.*

Pedro: *Como assim?*

Caio: *O próprio Babá nos estimula muito a estudar. Se queremos ter sucesso dentro do Candomblé é preciso estudar muito, e não só os fundamentos da religião. Eu por exemplo faço um curso de enfermagem todos os dias. E agora estou fazendo esse curso de inglês que você está oferecendo para a gente. Rodante tem que estudar, não dá para ficar parado.*

Caio: Yes.

Pedro: [Some texts say] that he was androgynous, that he was neither fully masculine nor feminine.

Caio: No. Here he is masculine. He does have some traits from his mother, but he is not androgynous.

Pedro: mhm

Caio: There are people who say "ah, he spends 6 months as a man and 6 months as a woman" but no, it's because he spends 6 months with his father and 6 months with his mother.

Pedro: mhm

Caio: Understood?

Pedro: I did.

Caio: So, he lives in the woods, and he lives in the waters.

Pedro: mhm

Caio: He is male.

(...)

Pedro: Do you study?

Caio: Ah, it's not possible nowadays to be in Candomblé as a *rodante* and not to study.

Pedro: How so?

Caio: *Babá* himself really encourages us to study. If we want to be successful within Candomblé it's necessary to study, and not only the fundamentals of the religion. I, for example, take a nursing course every day. And now I am taking this English course you are offering us. A *rodante* must study, one can't be stuck.

Excerpt of interview with Caio

Just like Naldo, Caio is younger, with lower education, and *rodante*. Once again one would expect him, based on formal education alone, to use at least some nonstandard plural NPs. However, all plural NPs used by Caio are STA. Caio is the informant with whom I had the most extended contact during fieldwork. He takes a vocational nursing course funded by the *pai de santo*, and joined the English course I taught at the *terreiro*.

He reported that the *pai de santo* advised him that one needs not limit themselves to what is offered by *terreiro* and that, in this respect, studying is very important. Interestingly, similar suggestions were reported also by other younger *rodantes* but not by other informants. This may explain Caio's stance towards studying (for a *rodante*) and, consequently, his realisations of pluralisations of the NP favouring the standard form. Once again, this appears to indicate that the construction of the role of *rodante* is that of one who studies. As such, they have more contact with formal Portuguese which can be seen in their use of standard plurals.

During my fieldwork, I met Glória, an *equede* who was always at the *terreiro*. According to my field note, we met before one of the English classes:

Glória was at the entrance of the classroom when I arrived. We started talking about the fact that some students were dropping out and she mentioned that most people at the *terreiro* did not care about studying, except for the *rodantes*, as “*rodantes* take studies seriously, and that's why they learn everything about *Candomblé*”. She said that *Candomblé* demands followers to study and to spend a great deal of time learning as learning what is necessary take time. *Rodantes*, she said, were different, especially the younger ones. She said “these gay guys really study, don't they? You can see that in the proper way they speak and also in your English course”.

(Field note taken on 14 October 2019)

In Glória's account, *rodantes* study more than the other people at the *terreiro*, which is consistent with what we have been seen earlier. Furthermore, she equates *rodantes* with gay men, in the process of indirect indexicality. If we take Glória's account as representative of what it is understood at the *terreiro*, one may suggest that *rodantes* profit from the fact that most of them are gay and, therefore, are perceived to speak in a “proper way”, which in turn gives them power. It is therefore not surprising that the *rodantes*, especially the younger ones, make use of the STA more often than the other people at the *terreiro*. Taking into account Glória's view of the world, gay men can be distinguished from straight men thanks to “the proper way they [gay men] speak”.

In the next excerpt, we can read Edson's account on speaking “properly” as well. It also helps illustrate and support the finding in the quantitative analyses that, within the interaction between age and role, older *rodantes* use the unmarked form of the plural in the NP more often than the younger ones. Therefore, we can notice that Edson favours the unmarked plural form more often than do Naldo and Caio, for example, even though Edson's own stance towards studying for a *rodante* is similar to Caio's.

Pedro: *Como você entrou no Candomblé? Ou você foi da religião desde sempre?*

Edson: *Não. Eu era da Umbanda quando eu morava em São Paulo. E eu conheci Babá em uma visita que ele fez lá. Ele jogou o-S búzio-Ø pra mim e deu que/que eu era rodante e filho de Airá e tinha que fazer santo. Ele disse que eu podia fazer santo aqui no terreiro. Ai eu me organizei e vim pra cá.*

Pedro: *E como foi sua chegada aqui?*

Edson: *Eu pensei que ia ser muito difícil, principalmente porque eu não estudei muito, sabe? Só fiz até a 8ª série.*

Pedro: *E qual era o problema nisso?*

Edson: *Rodante tem que estudar mais, tem que ser mais instruído. Veja Babá, como ele fala bem em público.*

Pedro: *Fala bem como?*

Edson: *Ele fala sem errar. Fala bonito. Tem que ser assim para um pai de santo como ele. Eu preciso ser assim, falar como Babá. Falar direito faz/faz a-S pessoa-S te respeitar mais aqui dentro. Eu já/já percebi isso. Mas não voltei a estudar. Quando a gente fica mais velho vai ficando mais difícil volt/voltar a estudar, não é?*

Pedro: *Mas então, você pensou que seria difícil. Não foi?*

Edson: *Não foi, Pedro. Sab/sabe quando você chega num lug/quando chega e sente que aquele lugar é a sua casa? Foi assim comigo. E eu sou do tempo/no tempo que eu cheguei aqui o-S homem-Ø não entrava na cozinha. E eu logo de cara consegui isso, a-S equede-Ø que cuidava da cozinha me aceitou muito bem. Isso deu até inveja em muito-S outro-S home-Ø.*

(...)

Pedro: *Como você se autodeclara com relação a sexualidade?*

Edson: *Eu sou gay.*

Pedro: How did you end up coming to Candomblé, or have you always been in the religion?

Edson: No. I was from *Umbanda* when I lived in São Paulo. And I met *Babá* in a visit he made there. He consulted the cowries for me and that showed that I was a *rodante* and son to *Airá* and that I needed to initiate. He said I could initiate here at the *terreiro*. Then I organised myself and moved here.

Pedro: And how was your arrival here?

Edson: I thought it would be very difficult, mainly because I did not study much, you know. I only studied until 8th grade.

Pedro: And what was the problem in this?

Edson: *Rodante* has to study more, has to be better instructed. See *Babá*, how well he speaks in public.

Pedro: What do you mean?

Edson: He speaks with no mistakes. He speaks beautifully. It has to be like that for a *pai de santo* like him. I need to be like that, speak like *Babá*. Speaking properly makes people respect you more here. I have already noticed this. But I did not go back to my studies. When one gets older it gets harder to get back to studies, doesn't it?

Pedro: But then, you thought it would be difficult. Wasn't it?

Edson: It was not, Pedro. You know when you arrive in a place, when you arrive and feel that that place is your home? It was like that for me. And I am from the time, the time when I arrived here men could not enter the kitchen. And I soon got to do it, the *equedes* who took care of the kitchen accepted me very well. This made other men jealous.

(...)

Pedro: How do you self-identify in terms of sexuality?

Edson: I am gay.

Pedro: *E isso já foi algum problema aqui?*

Pedro: And has this ever been a problem here?

Edson: *Não, nunca. Inclusive meu namorado é um ogan da casa.*

Edson: No, never. My boyfriend is an *ogan* from this house, by the way.

Pedro: *Então tem ogan gay também.*

Pedro: So there are gay *ogans* as well.

Edson: *Não, ele é okó. Nem todo mundo sabe que a gente namora, viu?*

Edson: No, he is an *okó*. Not everyone knows that we have a relationship, ok?

Pedro: *O que é um okó?*

Pedro: What is an *okó*?

Edson: *Ah... não sei explicar direito. Ele é homem, homem mesmo, e eu sou adé.*

Edson: Ah...I don't know how to explain well. He is a man, a real man, and I am an *adé*.

Pedro: *Não entendo o que é okó e adé.*

Pedro: I don't understand *okó* and *adé*.

Edson: *Adé é o que chamam de gay lá fora, de bicha. Mas é esquisito porque lá fora gay também namora com gay. Aqui adé namora com okó. E okó é o homem que fica com o adé, ele faz o papel de homem. É que okó namora mulher também. Eu morro de ciúmes dele aqui/ciúmes com a-S equede-Ø e a-S rodante-Ø da casa. Mas fazer o quê? Quem ama, ama.*

Edson: *Adé* is what they call gay out there, *bicha*. But it's strange because gays have relationships with gays. Here *adés* have relationships with *okós*. And an *okó* is the man who has a relationship with an *adé*, he takes the role of a man. It's that *okós* also have relationships with women. I'm terribly jealous of him here with the *equedes* and the (female) *rodantes* of the house. But what can I do? If I love, I love.

Pedro: *Entendi. E como você se autodeclara com relação a raça e etnia.*

Pedro: Got it. And how do you self-identify in terms of race and ethnicity?

Edson: *A-S pessoa-Ø diz que sou pardo. Mas não concordo com esse negócio de pardo. Eu sou negro. A gente deve muito ao-S nosso-S antepassado-Ø, o-S escravo-Ø. Se não fosse eles, nós não existia hoje. Eu quero ser parte dessa família, na verdade eu sou parte dessa família porque eu sou negro, do-S meu-S ancestral-Ø. O Candomblé recebe todo mundo, mas é uma religião de origem africana, e nós não pode esquecer isso nunca.*

Edson: People say that I'm of brown colour. But I don't agree with this. I am black. We owe a lot to our ancestors, the slaves. If it were not for them, we would not exist today. I want to be part of this family, I am actually part of this family because I am black, from my ancestors. *Candomblé* receives everybody, but it's a religion of African origins, and we can never forget that.

Excerpt of interview with Edson

Edson is *rodante*, older, and with lower education. Most of his noun phrases are nonredundant (-Ø). In the excerpt from his interview, we can once again see that, to *rodantes*, studying is especially important (although he never pursued further education). His words clearly show his stance towards studying, seeing it as important for a *rodante*, and how “speaking properly” is aspirational. And this is not only with regards to studying to speak standard Portuguese – which is what I gather from his references to the way *Babá* speaks in public, but also with regards to the respect that “speaking properly” gives within the *terreiro*. As described in the methodology chapter, *rodantes* receive orders from *ogans* and *equedes* until they reach the 7th year graduation. Mastering standard

Portuguese will help them to establish their power along this hierarchy and, therefore, be more respected by others at the *terreiro*. In addition, there is also aspiration, which seems to be more important for them, to eventually become a *pai de santo*, for which “speaking properly” is necessary. When Edson describes the way *Babá* speaks and says “he speaks with no mistakes” and “I need to speak like that”, he seems to imply that speaking standard Portuguese will help one to become a *pai de santo*. In this manner, it holds true that younger *rodantes* mark the plurals in the noun phrase more often than the older ones because they take extra courses and are in more contact with the outside urban society. However, they seem to have such practices aspiring at having more respect within the *terreiro* and, ultimately, using it as a tool to facilitate their path into becoming one day a *pai de santo*, a path Edson has not followed, but seems to regret not having followed. This is consistent with Daniel’s stance that people who do not mark the plurals are people who cannot communicate well. We can see here the strong link between mastering standard Portuguese and becoming a *pai de santo*. Interestingly, the analysis seems to indicate that younger *rodantes* are the ones who have really bought into this practice, and therefore using the redundant forms can be seen as indexical of potentially becoming the future leader of a house.

Another important aspect of Edson’s interview is his stance on being black within the religion. Recall that all informants, even the ones who appeared white to me, self-identified as black. It seems that blackness is something desirable in *Candomblé*. The *orixás* are pictured as black, people are repeatedly reminded that their ancestors, from whom the religion originated, were black slaves, and all informants proudly self-identified as black. This clearly appears in Edson’s speech when he says “But I don’t agree with this thing of brown colour. I am black.”, “We owe a lot to our ancestors, the slaves.”, and “I am actually part of this family because I am black, from my ancestors. *Candomblé* receives everybody, but it’s a religion of African origins, and we can never forget that”. In this sense, although it was not possible to analyse race and ethnicity in the quantitative part of the study because all informants self-reported to be black, we can qualitatively perceive that the construction of blackness is intertwined with the construction of the *terreiro* itself, and of *Candomblé* more broadly.

7.5 Discussion

This chapter sought to further analyse the reasons for the three statistically significant interactions revealed by the quantitative analyses between age and schooling, role and schooling, and age and role. Regarding the interaction between age and schooling, the analyses have shown that among the younger informants STA is favoured due to a higher level of education whereas older informants favour -Ø despite their level of education due to having extensively lived at the *terreiro*. As for the interaction between role and schooling, the analyses confirmed the quantitative results by showing that among the *ogans*, those with higher education use STA more frequently whereas among those with lower education, *ogans* use -Ø more frequently than *rodantes*. Finally, as for the interaction between role and age, the analyses have shown that younger *rodantes* favour STA over -Ø due to increased learning both within and, crucially, outside the *terreiro*. *Ogans*, on the other hand, since they are “born a father already”, enter the religion with some privileges, and do not appear to have, or need, to engage in further studies. Older participants, *rodantes* or *ogans*, are from an earlier period in which nearly everybody lived at the *terreiro* and, consequently, they virtually only had contact with everyday Brazilian Portuguese, hence why they do not use STA in the noun phrase as frequently as the younger ones.

The analyses of the above interactions also show some mechanisms of construction of identifications by the informants as they position themselves in interaction with others, as well as when they talk about themselves and/or others. Socially speaking, as argued by Mendes (2011; 2016), the use of STA in the marking of the plural in the noun phrase is perceived by listeners as indexical of male gayness, whereas the use of -Ø is perceived as indexical of men who are straight. The present research has shown, with a production study, that such perceptions take place indirectly, they are probably based on social stereotypes more so than what actually happens. First, results showed that *ogans* (who are all straight) in general use STA more than do *rodantes* (who are all gay but one), which is the opposite configuration of what is socially perceived. However, if one focuses on the *rodantes*, results indicated that the younger ones use STA more often than the older ones, a case that was argued to be a potential change in progress. If the use of STA among *rodantes* is socially perceived as indexical of sexuality, such indexicality is indirect, in Ochs’ (1992) terms, whereas what is directly indexed is role. In the present work, I have extensively shown and argued that younger *rodantes* aspire to be more respected within

the *terreiro* and to eventually become a *pai de santo*, and that studying more and speaking standard Portuguese are strategic choices to achieve those aims. Therefore, this can be considered as a case of agentive and aspirational indexicality more related to role and, as role is an umbrella term that includes sexuality, the use of STA among *rodantes* may be perceived as (indirectly) indexical of sexuality, as my exchange with Glória seems to show (see analyses of field notes in this chapter). But this is a role effect, not a sexuality effect. In the case of the present study, we can talk about a sexuality effect only from the perspective of what is perceived and in terms of indirect indexicality. This is substantiated by the lack of a main effect of sexuality over plural configuration of the noun phrase (Chapter 6).

Let's now turn to Daniel's and Edson's views about "speaking properly". Daniel's metapragmatic evaluation (Agha 2007) that there are people in the house who cannot speak properly or communicate well because they do not mark the -S is a case of constructing indexicality through stancetaking or, in Agha's (2007) terms, reflexivity. Through such metapragmatic evaluations, Daniel creates selves in his perspective, whereby not marking the plurals in the noun phrase becomes indexical of not being able to communicate well. Edson makes a similar claim when remarking on *Babá* speaking well and commenting on his aspiration to speak as well as *Babá* to be more respected in the house and to have a tool to facilitate and support his chance of eventually becoming a *pai de santo*. This is a case of ideological metapragmatic evaluation that creates indexicality: speaking "properly", in Edson's account, is indexical of a good *pai de santo* and, as he says, he needs to "speak like that", most likely, I believe, as he desires to become the leader of a house one day.

Another way in which metapragmatic uses show their presence in the analyses can be found in the assertion that "an *ogan* is born a father already", which I heard many times on site and was a recurring theme of the interviews. By saying, almost reiterating, that "*ogan* is born a father already", they ensure the *ogan* is someone who is "born" (in the religion) with all the relevant powers and, as such, deserves respect from the very beginning, even if they do not undergo a long and hard training as the *rodantes* do. It is also a case of producing "messages about our messages" (Blommaert 2010:1), as argued in the theoretical background of this thesis. Again, metapragmatic evaluations, including

those of what is considered to be indexical of identities, allow for a constant construction of indexicality itself.

Another further important finding from the qualitative analysis of the interview and field notes is the fluidity of identifications, more specific sexualities (Cameron & Kulick 2003) at the *terreiro*, in a similar way to that defended by Butler (1990) or those adherent to Queer Theory, i.e., in a situated, performative way. Rios' (2011) account on the different 'models' of sexuality within *Candomblé* reveals a ternary biased distribution of male sexuality, which intersects with gender: (i) *okós* (related to *aborós* – male *orixás*) always take the active role in sex. An *okó* is masculine-acting; (ii) *adés* (related to *iabás* - female *orixás*), present themselves with distinctively feminine features. During the sexual act, they take the receptive role. An *adé* is also called *bicha* (effeminate gay man) at the *terreiros*, as noted also by Fry (1982); (iii) *loce* (related to *metás* – *orixás* who are androgynous or change sex overtime) is socially perceived as an *okó* (i.e., masculine-acting) but who secretly has sex with other men. This naming of 'categories' within *Candomblé* is somehow different than the one used in the society more broadly, i.e. male/female and straight/gay/bisexual. The configuration, or 'model' in Rios' (2011) terms, of sexuality which is peculiar to *Candomblé* is linked to the distribution of some characteristics attributed to the gods (*aborós* and *iabás*, with fixed genders and sexuality-fluidity in many cases, and *metá-metás*, with fluid genders and sexualities).

In Edson's interview, the co-presence of the two models was apparent when he reported that he sometimes self-identifies as gay and others as an *adé*. From his words, it appears that he is not very comfortable with the label 'gay', as "it's strange because gays have relationships with gays", whereas he does not. He continues saying that "*adés* have relationships with *okós*. And an *okó* is the man who has a relationship with an *adé*", therefore Edson's partner "takes the role of a man". His response that he is gay, however, is a clear sign of him adjusting to a categorisation more in line with wider Brazilian society, that is, he is taking up a positioning that is more relevant to him in a given context, as Cameron and Kulick (2003) argue that happens when we construct our identifications. As Rios (2011) notes, individuals transit between the two models, the one from the *terreiro* and the one in wider society. Edson labelling himself sometimes as gay and sometimes as an *adé* even though to him these are two different categories shows this fluidity of the indexical field (Eckert 2008): his choices are informed by what he thinks is more relevant, what self he wants to portray in a given context. This is an example of

different ways the world can be experienced, as Gal (2021) argues when discussing language ideologies. In addition, it also shows the tension between identity and identifications, the individual and wider society, as discussed by Levon (2012).

Agentive indexicality is a further topic which has been discussed in the qualitative analysis. Younger *rodantes* see the importance to master standard Brazilian Portuguese and, consequently, the pluralisation of the noun phrases. To improve their knowledge of the language, they study and maintain contact also outside the *terreiro*. This is done in an aspirational fashion. This is because “speaking properly” ensures a higher degree of respect at the *terreiro* and will help in the process of becoming a *pai de santo*. In this sense, marking the plurals in the noun phrase is indexical of young *rodantes*, but this indexicality is aspirational, hence intentional. It is not just a result of further studies. It is something that pre-exists that and derives from their aspirations to promote change for themselves (that is being more respected and growing within the religion). As such, using the plural mark in the noun phrase becomes *capital* in the *field* (*terreiro*) and has the potential of bringing *assets* for the speaker, constructing the *habitus* (Bourdieu’s 1984).

In Candomblé, each initiate is *filho de um orixá* (son to an *orixá*), therefore another way informants construct themselves is by means of comparison to their *orixá*. This can be seen in Caio’s interview when he describes *Logunedé* as an *orixá* difficult to deal with, and states “That’s why I am like this, difficult to deal with as well”. I tend to think that this is one reason for the existence of the role of *abian*, the apprentice that spends some time at the *terreiro* before being initiated. The traits of the given *abian* need to be known before a given *orixá* “chooses” them to be their son. And once the “paternity” or “maternity” of the *orixá* is revealed, there seems to be an effort from the initiate to adjust to the characteristics of the relevant *orixá*. This is something that I have seen during fieldwork, in which I witnessed several times initiates stating, for example, “I’m *filho* to *Oxum*, I like caring for others”, “I’m *filho* to *Xangô*, I don’t accept injustice”. In this sense, being *filho* of a given *orixá* becomes part of the construction of one’s self, and even indexical of their traits, else their traits become indexical of being *filho* of the relevant *orixá*.

Concluding, the qualitative analysis of the interview has clarified the interactions individuated in the quantitative analysis, providing an explanation for such findings. In addition, they have helped unravel the mechanisms which informants use to construct

themselves at the *terreiro*. Ultimately, the configuration of the noun phrase, whether STA or -Ø among informants, correlates to how the *terreiro* is organised. It relates to who has more or less power, who has the potential to become one day a leader of a house, what changes can be promoted in the *terreiro* with STA use, who is more respected, how the informants relate to one another when taking up positionings in interaction, and how their identifications are built by means of metapragmatic evaluations, fluidity of identities, language ideologies, language as practice, and indexicality. In other words, the structuring of the *terreiro* is directly related to how informants make linguistic choices regarding the plural configuration of the noun phrase.

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8

CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This project set out to investigate the sociolinguistic positionings of the followers of *Candomblé* in a *terreiro* in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil. Specifically, I examined the plural configuration of noun phrases in the speech of 18 male informants and whether potential variation in the plural configuration in the NP correlated with internal constraints and social factors with the ultimate aim of describing how the specific *terreiro* I considered was sociolinguistically structured. To this end, an ethnographic study was carried out over five months in 2019, which involved direct participant observation, field notes, and 60-minute interviews. The recorded data and the field notes were then analysed with the aim of answering each of the research questions mentioned in the introduction of this thesis (Chapter 1).

In the next section, I summarise the main findings of this work and present them in relation to each research question. Subsequently, I explore the limitations of the present work and provide suggestions for future research. Finally, I discuss the contributions of this study to sociolinguistics, studies on identity, and *Candomblé* more broadly.

8.2 Summary of findings

This research examined to what extent the variation in the plural configuration of the noun phrase is correlated to how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured, i.e. how variation is used by informants to take up positionings within the community of practice they are part of. The three main questions that guided the study were:

- 1) Is there variation in the plural configuration of the noun phrase in the speech of my informants?
- 2) Does the plural configuration of the noun phrase vary across internal constraints and social factors? If so, which ones and how?

- 3) What does this variation tell us about the way the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured?

Upon starting fieldwork, I quickly realised there was variation in the plural configuration in the noun phrase in the speech of my informants. The analysis of the interviews confirmed the presence of such variation, and the plural configuration in the noun phrase became the linguistic variable in this study. Therefore, this responds the first research question positively.

As for the second research question, the quantitative analyses in the study revealed that variation in the plural configuration of the noun phrase is constrained by a set of internal and external factors. With regards to internal factors, at the phrase level, results indicated a significant effect of *elements number*, *animacy* and *first item class* on the plural configuration of the noun phrase. At word level analysis, *STA processes of pluralisation*, *following context* and *singular tonicity* showed to have an effect over my dependent variable.

Interestingly, results showed that in the case of noun phrases comprising more than two elements, informants use the unmarked plural form more often than in noun phrases with only two elements. This, I argued, was due to linguistic economy, since there is no added semantic value in marking the plural of all components in the phrase. I also suggested that this relates to the fact that, once one item is pluralised, the rest of the noun phrase tends to be unmarked because the noun phrase would be understood to be plural already (Naro & Scherre 2003; Guy 1981).

As for *animacy*, my informants used the unmarked plural more frequently when the head of the noun phrase was inanimate than when the head was animate. This phenomenon has been reported elsewhere (e.g., Oushiro 2015), however it seems to be linked to specific varieties of Brazilian Portuguese, as others have reported the opposite result (e.g., Brandão & Vieira 2012). I suggested that inanimate noun phrases foster unmarked plurals because speakers want to be clearer about the plural of the head if the noun phrase is animate.

First item class also proved to affect the plural configuration in the noun phrase. Specifically, results showed that when the first item of the noun phrase was a definite article, the unmarked form of the plural was favoured by the informants. The opposite was true when the head of the noun phrase was an indefinite determiner. Again, I argued

that this may have to do with the semantic force of definite articles as, once they are used at the beginning of a given noun phrase and plurally marked, this allows for the lack of marking of the plural for the rest of the noun phrase.

Turning to the results of the analysis at word level, the model showed that the addition of a sibilant in STA favours the nonstandard marking of the plural, which is in line with previous work (Scherre 1988; Oushiro 2015). I suggested that this may be because it is easier for speakers to drop the sibilant marker than make more changes in the case of irregular plurals. In addition, since the adding of a sibilant is the most common manner of pluralisation in Brazilian Portuguese, it is expected that it would lead to increased variation. As per the *following context*, words followed by a pause were found to be marked more often than those followed by a consonant or a vowel. Lastly, the significant effect of *singular tonicity* indicated that stressed words tend to be unmarked more often than unstressed words, differently from what reported by Oushiro (2015) but in line with Dias & Fernandes (2000). In the data, stressed words occupied the last position more often than other positions, and this may explain why they were unmarked.

Chapter 6 reported the analysis of the role of social factors on the choice of plural configuration by my informants, both at phrase level and at word level. Surprisingly, *sexuality* did not have an effect over plural marking, be it independently or in interaction with other factors. At phrase level, results revealed significant interactions between *age* and *role*, *age* and *schooling*, and *role* and *schooling*. At word level, significant interactions were found between *age* and *schooling*, and *role* and *schooling*.

Considering the results at phrase level, the interaction between *age* and *role* showed that, among younger informants, *ogans* used the unmarked forms more often than *rodantes* did, and that the older *rodantes* used the unmarked form more often than the younger ones. I argued that this may be due to younger *rodantes* having more contact with standard Portuguese (via further education) than both older *rodantes* and *ogans*. I suggested this is a sign of a change in progress, however not at universal level. This suggestion was further supported by the finding that younger *rodantes* do not live in the house as much as they used to in the past, therefore being more exposed to standard Portuguese. Considering the interaction between *schooling* and *age* at phrase level, it was demonstrated that, among younger participants, those with higher education tended to use the unmarked plural less often than those with lower education and that older participants with higher education

used the unmarked plural more often than younger ones. This last finding suggests that standard language was less valued in the past at the *terreiro*, since older participants with higher education use $-\emptyset$ more frequently than highly educated younger participants. This is an apparent change in progress supported by the theorisation of Lucchesi (2008; 2013; 2015; 2019), according to whom the irregular linguistic transmission – the emergence of variation in the pluralisation of the noun phrase resulting out of contact among people who spoke different languages in colonial times – is now being changed ($-\emptyset \sim -S$). Young people in his research are leaving their isolated communities to go to urban areas in search of studies and work, and return to their communities speaking a more standard Portuguese, in a similar fashion to what is happening to young *rodantes* at the *terreiro*. Finally, with regards to the interaction between *schooling* and *role*, it was shown that among *ogans*, those with higher education used $-\emptyset$ less often than those with lower education, therefore showing a clear effect of schooling on plural marking among *ogans*. Among the followers with lower education, *ogans* used the unmarked form more often than *rodantes*. Once again, I argued that this was because *rodantes* have more contact with standard language. In addition, I suggested that *rodantes* used more standard Portuguese aspirationally, that is to obtain more respect and, potentially, one day become a *pai de santo*.

Regarding the study at word level, the interaction between *age* and *schooling* revealed that, among younger participants, those with higher education use the unmarked plural less frequently than those with lower education, confirming the importance of *schooling* on plural marking. As for the interaction between *role* and *schooling*, the model revealed that among those with lower education, *ogans* use the nonstandard plural more frequently than *rodantes*. I argued that *role* is more complex than getting into a trance or not. Being an *ogan* involves being “born a father already”, not studying further, being straight, and never be able to become a *pai de santo*. A *rodante*, on the other hand, must go through initiation and subsequent graduations after 1, 3 and 7 years in the religion, are gay, take extra courses, have more contact with wider society by leaving the *terreiro* more often, and can aspire one day to become a *pai de santo*, something they envisage dearly. With such a configuration of roles, it was argued that using the standard form of plural within the noun phrase is indexical of *rodantes*, but it is an agentive indexicality, as they make all efforts to be more respected in the house and aspire to become a *pai de santo*.

In summary, with regard to the second research question, results showed that variation in the plural configuration in the noun phrase varies across internal constraints and social factors. The internal constraints were *elements number*, *first item class*, and *animacy* (at phrase level), and *STA processes of pluralisation*, *following phonic context*, and *singular tonicity* (at word level). The social factors found to have an effect over plural configuration were *age*, *role* and *schooling* in interactions. Specifically, at phrase level, there were interactions between *age* and *role*, *age* and *schooling*, and *role* and *schooling*, whereas at word level the interactions were between *age* and *schooling*, and *role* and *schooling*.

Turning now to the third research question, qualitative analyses of the interviews as well as of my field notes were used to appreciate what variation in the pluralisation in the noun phrase shows about the structuring of the *terreiro*. Specifically, it was shown how informants make use of several mechanisms, positioning themselves in the construction of self and others in language use. One of these mechanisms identified was *indirect indexicality* (Ochs 1992). I suggested that despite the use of pluralisation in the noun phrase being seen as indexical of *gayness*, what it in fact indexed is *role*: young *rodantes* make efforts to speak a more standard version of Portuguese in an agentive way.

Participants were found to take up positionings about themselves and others, such as the metapragmatic evaluation (Agha 2007) expressed by Daniel that those who do not mark the plural noun phrases cannot communicate well. This was also suggested by Edson when referring to how well (i.e., “with no mistakes”) *Babá* speaks, and that he needed to speak in a similar way to gain more respect within the community and to help with becoming a *pai de santo*. Such ideological metapragmatic positionings create indexicality within the community. For example, in Daniel’s account, marking the plurals within the noun phrase becomes indexical of someone who can communicate well. As for Edson’s perspective, speaking “properly” is indexical of someone who is more respected in the community and of someone who has more chances to become a *pai de santo*, and consequently of a *pai de santo* himself.

The statement I frequently heard that “an *ogan* is born a father already” is a further case of metapragmatic use, a case of message about a message (Blommaert 2010). It creates the figure of the *ogan* as someone who is “born” in the religion, therefore deserving of respect as the “father” who takes care of the *orixás*, and being the bridge between the

terreiro and wider society. As such the statement “an *ogan* is born a father already” also creates indexicality, and *ogan* becomes indexical of a respected person within the community, a condition that a *rodante* has to gain by means of mastering standard Brazilian Portuguese. In this sense, metapragmatic evaluations, or reflexivity, in Agha’s (2007) terms, allows for a gradual and constant construction of indexicality within the community.

Although not strictly related to the pluralisation processes of the noun phrase, informants take up different positionings when it comes to construct identifications in a fluid, performative way. This could be seen in Rodney’s interview, when he talks about his *orixá* and how he has to be respected, but also reveals that a strictly traditional approach in the religion is observed by older people in the house, whereas the younger ones are less rigorous in their approach. By taking up different positionings according to what is more relevant to him at a given moment, he builds different selves with regards to how he relates to the religion. Another example of this can be found in the use of the words “gay”, “adé” and “okó” (or “the real man”) by Edson. When it is relevant for himself to make use of the wider society model, Edson self-identifies as gay, whereas when the *terreiro*’s model is taken into account, he self-categorises as an *adé* who has a relationship with an *okó*. This is even if, in Edson’s words, gay and *adé* are not interchangeable. This is a clear case of transiting of the individual between the two models (Rios, 2011), in which the individual labels themselves in different ways, showing how the indexical field is fluid (Eckert 2008). It is so because the choices are made according to what is more relevant to the speaker. It’s an example to ideologically experience the world one lives in (Gal 2021), showing the tension between identity and identifications, the individual and wider society (Levon 2010).

Another mechanism is agentive, aspirational indexicality. The way younger *rodantes* seek more studies and more contact with wider society to master standard language is, as argued, aspirational for two reasons: they want to be more respected within the community, they want one more tool to facilitate their growth within the religion. It is, for them, capital in the field (Bourdieu 1984) which has the potential to become their asset in the *terreiro*. This creates agentive indexicality. Using the marked plural in the noun phrase becomes indexical of younger *rodantes* and what being a *rodante* represents. As such, one can see how marking or not marking the plural within the noun phrase, i.e. the variation under study in this research, is inherently linked to how the *terreiro* is

structured. Marking the plural becomes, by several direct and indirect mechanisms, indexical of someone who deserves more respect. It is also indexical of a good *pai de santo* or of someone who aspires to become a *pai de santo*. Marking the plural, therefore, brings power. Not marking the plural in the noun phrase, on the other hand, is indexical of someone who cannot communicate well, someone who is less respected within the community, in Edson's account. It is clear, therefore, that the plural configuration in the noun phrase – along with the metapragmatic evaluations on its use – correlates with how people position themselves at the place, it correlates with how selves and positions are constantly built. Ultimately, it correlates with how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured, therefore providing an answer to the third research question.

8.3 Limitations and future research

In this section, I present some limitations of the present research and provide an account of how they can be addressed in further research.

When I planned the current study I wanted to investigate how informants make use of plural forms in the noun phrase in two contexts: formal context - the interview, and informal context - the self-recordings. As explained in the methodology chapter, due to the noisy environment at the *terreiro*, the self-recordings were of poor quality and, therefore, could not be analysed. In hindsight, I should have asked the informants to do the self-recordings in quiet spaces in the *terreiro*. For further research, it is recommended that self-recordings – or any another means to capture more natural interactions – should be designed and participants instructed so that the audio quality will be improved.

It has been suggested in previous research that pitch range is indexical of sexuality in Brazil (Barbuio 2016). As explained in this thesis, the initial goal of this research was to examine how sexuality is sociolinguistically constructed at the *terreiro*. Given what previous work has suggested that variation in pitch range correlates with sexuality, this further variable may also have been analysed, which I suggest for future research on this same topic.

Besides my exchange with Glória reported in Chapter 7, I did not collect any information as to whether the use of STA plural marking in the noun phrase is indexical of male gayness at the *terreiro*. It would be interesting to more closely investigate the perception

of the variation in the dependent variable at the *terreiro* with a speech perception experiment to fully appreciate how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically constructed. For further research, it is recommended that speech production and speech perception are considered together, so that a better picture of how the *terreiro* is structured is portrayed. The study involved only male participants because previous anthropological work indicated that the collinearity between *role* and *sexuality* took place only among them. However, *sexuality* did not show an effect over plural configuration in the noun phrase. Had I known that, I would have also included women in the study to investigate the role of gender, if any, in the pluralisation of the noun phrase. For further studies, it is highly recommended to include gender in the social factors taken into account to investigate its role in the structuring of the *terreiro*.

8.4 Implications

Despite its limitations, the present study has far-reaching implications for the fields of sociolinguistics, studies on language and identifications (namely gender and sexuality), language and underrepresented speech communities, and for *Candomblé* itself. To my knowledge, this is the first sociolinguistic study which has analysed the speech of followers of an Afro-Brazilian religion. It investigates how social positionings are built through language variation at a *terreiro* and, in doing so, gives visibility to *Candomblé*, a religion that is often a target of prejudice and discrimination and, therefore, an underrepresented speech community. Before this study, all we knew was the structuring of a *terreiro* from the perspective of anthropological work. Now we also know better how the *terreiro* is sociolinguistically structured. It is hoped that this study will promote further sociolinguistic research of language variation in *terreiros* to fully understand this fascinating religious space.

I believe the main finding in the study is that sexuality does not show an effect over the pluralisation in the noun phrase. Rather, it is role, a far more complex concept than one getting into a trance or not, and which includes sexuality as one of its most salient “layers”. Most probably, it is the sociolinguistic perception that marking the plural in the noun phrase is indexical of male gayness that makes listeners (like Glória, see Chapter 7) think that (indirectly) it is sexuality that has an effect over the plural configuration of the noun phrase, when it is in fact role. This finding has the potential to demystify stereotypes

around the notion of language use, gender and sexuality, as it helps us to better understand that there are other aspects at stake in the pluralisation of the noun phrase.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1 – Glossary

1. **Aboró** /a.bo.r'ɔ/ – Male orixá.
2. **Adé** /a.d'ɛ/ – Effeminate gay men, also referred to as *bicha*.
3. **Aiê** /aj.'e/ – Planet Earth, where humans live.
4. **Atabaques** /a.ta.'ba.kis/ - Musical instruments similar to tambours, used in Candomblé. It is believed that the *orixás* come to inhabit the *rodantes* when the *atabaques* are played.
5. **Axé** /a.ʃ'ɛ/ – The mystical energy present in every living creature. It is of fundamental importance for the contact with the *orixás*. It is also the name of a very popular music style in Brazil (*Axé Music*), which arose out of the popularisation of *Candomblé*.
6. **Barracão** /ba.xa.'kẽw/ - A big room where *rodantes* dance to music and get into a trance.
7. **Bicha** /b'i.ʃɐ/ – Gay men, in everyday Brazilian Portuguese. Usually offensive.
8. **Bruxaria** /bru.ʃa.r'i.ɐ/ - Witchcraft
9. **Cavalo** /kɐ.v'a.lo/ – Horse. In the context of *Candomblé*, it refers to the person who is in a trance.
10. **Despacho** /des.'pa.ʃu/ - The act of taking preparations made by *rodantes* or the *pai de santo* to nature (a lake, the ocean, the woods). This is normally done by an *ogan*.
11. **Ebômi** /e.bõ.m'i/ - It is said of all *rodantes* who have reached the third graduation in order to become a *pai* or *mãe-de-santo*.
12. **Encruzilhada** /ẽ.kru.zi.ʎ'a.dɐ/ – Crossroad, where *mães* and *pais-de-santo* leave offerings to the *orixás* and other deities, usually after the order of a client.
13. **Encubado** /ẽ.ku.b'a.do/ – In the closet, usually used in a pejorative way with expressions like “*bicha encubada*”.
14. **Equede** /ɛ.k'ɛ.dʒi/ - A *filha-de-santo* who does not get into a trance. She will rather have other duties at the *terreiro*, such as cleaning, cooking or hosting visitors at a *feita*.
15. **Erê** /e.r'e/ – Spirits of children, cultuated in *Umbanda*.
16. **Festa** /f'ɛs.tɐ/ – Party. In the specific context of *Candomblé*, it refers to the public celebrations that involves possession, music and food.
17. **Filha-de-santo** /f'i.ʎɐ dʒi s'ẽ.to/ – A woman (or female child) who is ritualistically initiated at *Candomblé*.
18. **Filho-de-santo** /f'i.ʎɐ dʒi s'ẽ.to/ – A man (or male child) who is ritualistically initiated at *Candomblé*.

19. **Iabá orixás** /i.a.b'a o.ri.ʃ'a/ – Female *orixás*.
20. **Iaô** /i.a.'o/ – It is said of all *rodantes* who have been initiated.
21. **Jogo de búzios** /ʒ'o.gu dʒi b'u.zjʊs/ – Cowrie-shell divination.
22. **Loce** /lo.s'e/ – Greeting to *Logunedé*, a *metá-orixá*. It is also used to refer to manly man who has sex with other men.
23. **Mãe-de-santo** /m'ãj dʒi s'ẽ.tʊ/ – The priestess and leader of a *terreiro*.
24. **Metá-metá** /me.t'a me.t'a / – Normally used as just 'metá', refers to the *orixás* who are either androgynous or male/female alternatively
25. **Ogan** /o.g'ã/ – A *filho-de-santo* who does not get into a trance. He will rather have other duties at the *terreiro*, such as helping the priest/ess in animal sacrificice, sing or play instruments, or host visitors at a *feira*.
26. **Okó** /ɔ.k'ɔ/ – Manly man who never take the receptive role in sex, regardless of whom he has sex with.
27. **Orixás** /o.ri.ʃ'as/ – Divinities worshipped at *Candomblé* and other Afro-Brazilian religions.
28. **Orun** /o.r'ũ/ – A world separated from *aiê*, where the *orixás* live.
29. **Pai-de-santo** /p'aj dʒi s'ẽ.tʊ/ – The male *leader* of a *terreiro*.
30. **Pombagira** /p'õ.bɛʒ'i.rɐ/ – Female spirit worshipped at some *terreiros*.
31. **Pretas-Velhas** (n) /pr'e.tɐs v'ɛ.ʎɐs/ – Spirits of old black women, believed to have been slaves, cultuated in *Umbanda*.
32. **Pretos-Velhos** (n) /pr'e.tʊs v'ɛ.ʎʊs/ – Spirits of old black men, believed to have been slaves, cultuated in *Umbanda*.
33. **Rodante** /r'ɔ.d'ãn.tʃi/ – Any follower who is chosen by the *orixás* get into trances.
34. **Terreiro** /te.x'ej.rʊ/ – The place for the religious practices in *Candomblé*.

Appendix 2 – Pro forma information sheet and consent form (English version)

Pro forma information sheet and consent form



Information for participants

Research study: Language, gender, and sexuality in Candomblé

PhD student: Pedro Eduardo de Lima

Contact details: e-mail: mobile phone:

I would like to invite you to be part of this research project, if you would like to. You should only agree to take part if you want to, it is entirely up to you. If you choose not to take part there won't be any disadvantages for you and you will hear no more about it.

Please read the following information carefully before you decide to take part; this will tell you why the research is being done and what you will be asked to do if you take part. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign the attached form to say that you agree.

You are still free to withdraw at any time, during or after fieldwork. You will not need to give any reason if you decide to withdraw. Should you decide to do so, you just need to let me know, which can be done in person while I am at the *terreiro*, or using my contact details provided in this Information Sheet if I am not present.

For my PhD thesis, I am interested in the relationship between language, gender and

sexuality in *Candomblé*, and my main question aims to understand the role of language in the ways that gender and sexuality are constituted in the context of the *terreiro*. I am looking for men who are followers of *Candomblé* and aged 18 or over to take part in the study.

I will be around the *terreiro* for 4-5 months, observing the practices of the group and participating in the collective activities that are open to the public, which include the daily and non-secret practices of the *terreiro*, as well as the days of *festas* that are open to the public. During the time I will be present, I will take notes about what goes on at the *terreiro*. In addition to this, I will ask you to use a small recorder to capture and record your speech whilst you interact with other people in three different situations, with each recording lasting around 15-20 minutes. This will be important in the study for me to analyse the way you interact with different people and in different naturally-occurring situations at the *terreiro*. You will also be interviewed by me. At the interview, we will talk about your life, your relationship to *Candomblé* and other people at the *terreiro* and how you express yourself and perceive others here in terms of gender and sexuality. Other topics may arise at the interview, which will be recorded, and will last approximately 60-90 minutes. The interviews will allow me to look at language use in a context different from the day to day at the *terreiro*. If, at any point during the interview, you feel you do not want to discuss or talk about any given topic, your decision not to talk about it will be respected. The self-recordings and the recording of the interview will be transcribed and analysed in my research. If you accept to participate in all recorded activities, you will be consenting to a maximum of 2.5 hours of audio-recorded participation, in addition to time for further explanation you may request from me about the research, either during or after fieldwork.

If you do not want to engage in both recording activities described above, you can choose to participate in only one of them. You will also have the chance to decide, at a later stage, to participate in an activity of the study you had not chosen to participate in initially. In this case, I will need another written consent form from you.

I will keep everything that you say confidential. In analyses and publications that arise from this research, I will never refer to you by your real name, and will instead always use a pseudonym. I will also change or remove any information from the recorded audio that might personally identify you. You will also be able to ask me to erase any part of the conversations that contains your participation. While I am able to guarantee your

confidentiality in these ways, I cannot guarantee that others who also participate in the study will do the same. There is thus a slight risk that your confidentiality could be breached by others, although it will not be by me.

The audio recordings and my notes will be securely stored, and I guarantee that only my supervisors and I will have access to them. I will use the data (the recordings, transcriptions, and the notes I keep from my observations) for analysis in my PhD thesis and for related publications/conference talks, always maintaining the pseudonyms to protect your identity.

Aside from the opportunity to talk about yourself, your religion, the *terreiro*, your life, as well as to interact with other people, you will receive no direct benefits from your participation in the project. However, the goal of this study is to better understand how the relationship between language, gender and sexuality at *Candomblé* takes place and, in this manner, it will give more visibility to this religion not only in Brazil, but also abroad. This visibility has the potential to make *Candomblé* better known, which may contribute to fighting the various kinds of prejudice that the followers face. The project, therefore, has the potential to bring social gains and promote well-being in the long term, and you will play a central role in this process. You will also be informed about the findings as soon as the research is complete, if you wish.

It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. If you do decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep and be asked to sign a consent form.

If you have any questions or concerns about the manner in which the study was conducted please, in the first instance, contact the researcher responsible for the study. If this is unsuccessful, or not appropriate, please contact the Secretary at the Queen Mary Ethics of Research Committee, Room W104, Queen's Building, Mile End Campus, Mile End Road, London or research-ethics@qmul.ac.uk.



Consent form

Please complete this form after you have read the Information Sheet and/or listened to an explanation about the research.

Title of Study: Language, gender and sexuality in *Candomblé*

Queen Mary Ethics of Research Committee Ref: _____

- Thank you for considering taking part in this research. The person organizing the research must explain the project to you before you agree to take part.
- If you have any questions arising from the Information Sheet or explanation already given to you, please ask the researcher before you decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

On accepting to participate, you agree with the following:

- I consent to take part in the following activities (tick as many as you like, but you must tick at least one):

() self-recordings;

() interview.

- I consent to have data provided by me used for the following (you must tick the first option, and may tick the following options if you wish):

() to have my recorded speech data used in analyses as part of this project;

() to be anonymously quoted in publications;

() to have my voice anonymously played at academic presentations.

- I understand that if I decide at any other time during the research that I no longer wish to participate in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and be withdrawn from it immediately.
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for the purposes of this research study. I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of current UK and European data protection regulations.

Participant's Statement:

I _____, agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in the study. I have read both the notes written above and the Information Sheet about the project, and understand what the research study involves.

Signed:

Date:

Investigator's Statement:

I _____, confirm that I have carefully explained the nature, demands and any foreseeable risks (where applicable) of the proposed research to the volunteer.

Appendix 3 – Pro forma information sheet and consent form (Portuguese version)



Informações para os participantes

Projeto de pesquisa: ‘Linguagem, gênero e sexualidade no Candomblé’

Estudante de doutorado: Pedro Eduardo de Lima

Contato: e-mail: celular:

Eu gostaria de te convidar para participar desse projeto de pesquisa, caso você concorde. Você só deve concordar em participar se você assim o desejar, fique completamente à vontade. Se você escolher não participar, não haverá nenhum tipo de desvantagem para você, e você não será procurado novamente para participar.

Por favor, leia as informações abaixo cuidadosamente antes de decidir participar; elas te dirão por que esta pesquisa está sendo feita e o que será pedido de você caso você participe. Por favor, pergunte sobre quaisquer pontos que não estejam claros para você ou se você desejar ter mais informações.

Caso você decida participar, peço que assine o formulário em anexo como forma de confirmar sua participação.

Você é livre para desistir a qualquer momento, durante ou depois da pesquisa de campo. Você não precisará dar nenhuma razão se você decidir não mais participar. Caso você assim decida, você apenas precisa me dizer, o que pode ser feito pessoalmente enquanto eu estiver no terreiro, ou usando os dados para contatos fornecidos texto no informativo caso eu não esteja presente.

Para minha tese de doutorado, estou interessado na relação entre linguagem, gênero e sexualidade no Candomblé, e minha pergunta central no estudo busca entender o papel do uso da língua nas formas com que gênero e sexualidade se constituem no contexto do

terreiro. Estou procurando por homens que sejam seguidores do Candomblé e com idade igual ou maior que 18 anos para participarem do estudo.

Estarei presente no terreiro por 4-5 meses, observando as práticas do grupo e participando de suas atividades coletivas e que são abertas ao público, o que envolve os trabalhos diários e não secretos no terreiro, bem como os dias de festas que sejam abertas ao público. Durante minha presença, farei anotações no meu caderno de campo sobre o que acontece no terreiro. Além disso, pedirei a você que, em três situações, utilize um pequeno gravador de voz para captar e gravar sua fala enquanto interage com outras pessoas, durando entre 15 e 20 minutos cada gravação. Isso será importante no estudo para que eu analise como você interage com pessoas diferentes e em situações diferentes e naturais no terreiro. Além disso, pedirei a você que me conceda uma entrevista que durará entre 60 e 90 minutos. As entrevistas me permitirão olhar o uso linguístico em um contexto distinto do dia a dia do terreiro. A entrevista que teremos será sobre sua vida, bem como sua relação com o Candomblé e sobre como você se expressa com relação a seu gênero e sexualidade no contexto da religião. Outros assuntos poderão ser abordados durante a entrevista, que também será gravada em áudio. Se durante a entrevista houver alguma pergunta ou assunto sobre os quais você não deseja falar, sua vontade será respeitada. As gravações que você fizer e a gravação da entrevista serão transcritas, e tanto a transcrição quanto os áudios serão analisados na pesquisa. Se você aceitar participar de todas as atividades gravadas, você estará consentindo engajar em um máximo de 2,5 horas de participação gravada em áudio, além de tempo para explicações adicionais que você possa me pedir sobre o estudo, seja durante ou depois da pesquisa de campo.

Se você não quiser participar das duas atividades gravadas descritas acima, você pode escolher participar de apenas uma delas. Você também terá a oportunidade de decidir participar, posteriormente, de uma atividade do estudo que você não tenha incluído em sua escolha inicial. Nesse caso, precisarei de outro consentimento por escrito seu.

Manterei tudo o que você disser de forma confidencial. Em análises e publicações que resultem da pesquisa, nunca me referirei a você por seu nome verdadeiro, e utilizarei ao invés disso um pseudônimo. Também modificarei ou removerei quaisquer informações dos áudios gravados que possam te identificar pessoalmente. Você também poderá solicitar que eu apague qualquer parte que contenha sua participação. Embora eu possa garantir sua confidencialidade com esses procedimentos, não posso garantir que outras

pessoas também participantes do estudo farão o mesmo. Sendo assim, há um pequeno risco de que sua confidencialidade seja quebrada por outras pessoas, mas seguramente não será por mim.

As gravações em áudio e minhas anotações serão armazenadas em segurança, e eu garanto que somente meus supervisores e eu teremos acesso a elas. Usarei os dados (as gravações, as transcrições e as notas que eu tomar a partir de minhas observações) para análise em minha tese de doutorado e para apresentações orais e publicações de trabalhos acadêmicos futuros, sempre usando um pseudônimo com o fim de proteger sua identidade.

Para além da oportunidade de falar sobre você, sua religião, o terreiro e sua vida, além de interagir com outras pessoas, você não receberá benefícios diretos por sua participação no projeto. Entretanto, o objetivo do estudo é entender melhor como se dá a relação entre linguagem, gênero e sexualidade no Candomblé e, sendo assim, dará maior visibilidade a esta religião não somente no Brasil, mas também no exterior. Essa visibilidade tem o potencial de tornar o Candomblé mais conhecido, o que pode contribuir para o combate aos vários tipos de preconceito que os seguidores sofrem. O projeto, assim, tem o potencial de trazer ganhos sociais e promover o bem-estar a médio e longo prazos, e você terá um papel central nesse processo. Você também será informado sobre os achados do estudo assim que a pesquisa for terminada, caso você queira.

Fique à vontade para decidir participar ou não do estudo. Se você decidir participar, você poderá ficar com este texto informativo, e pedirei a você que assine um formulário de consentimento.

Se você tiver quaisquer questões ou preocupações sobre a forma com que o estudo for conduzido, por favor contate, primeiramente, o pesquisador responsável pelo estudo. Se o contato não resolver a questão, ou se for inapropriado, por favor contate a Secretária do Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da Queen Mary (Secretary at the Queen Mary Ethics of Research Committee), sala W104, no [edifício] Queen's Building, [endereço] Mile End Campus, Mile End Road, Londres, ou pelo e-mail research-ethics@qmul.ac.uk.



Formulário de Consentimento

Por favor, complete este formulário depois de ler o Texto Informativo e/ou ouvir a explicação sobre a pesquisa.

Título da pesquisa: Linguagem, gênero e sexualidade no Candomblé

Número de referência do Comitê de Ética em Pesquisa da Queen Mary University of London: _____

- Obrigado por considerar participar desta pesquisa. A pessoa encarregada do estudo deve explicar o projeto a você antes de você concordar em participar.
- Se você tiver perguntas que surjam a partir da leitura do Texto Informativo ou da explicação já dada a você, por favor pergunte ao pesquisador antes de decidir se você participará ou não. Você receberá uma cópia deste Formulário de Consentimento para que tenha com você e possa consultá-lo quando quiser.

Ao aceitar participar do estudo, você declara o seguinte:

- Dou consentimento para participar das seguintes atividades (marque quantas desejar, mas é necessário marcar ao menos uma):
 - () auto-gravações;
 - () entrevista;
- Dou consentimento para que dados fornecidos por mim sejam usados para (você deve marcar a primeira opção, e pode marcar também as demais caso queira)
 - () a análise na presente pesquisa;
 - () ser transcritos anonimamente em publicações;

() ser anonimamente tocadas em apresentações acadêmicas

- Entendo que se eu decidir, a qualquer momento durante esta pesquisa, não mais participar do projeto, eu posso notificar os pesquisadores envolvidos e ser excluído imediatamente do estudo;
- Dou consentimento para o processamento de meus dados pessoais para os propósitos deste estudo. Entendo que tais informações serão tratadas de maneira totalmente confidencial, e utilizadas de acordo com o que está determinado no documento Ato de Proteção de Dados de 1998 (Data Protection Act 1998).

Declaração do participante:

Eu _____, confirmo que estou satisfeito quanto à explicação fornecida sobre a pesquisa citada acima, e concordo em fazer parte do estudo. Li tanto as informações contidas acima quanto o documento Texto Informativo sobre o projeto, e entendo o que a pesquisa envolve.

Assinatura:

Data:

Declaração do pesquisador:

Eu _____, confirmo que expliquei cuidadosamente ao/à participante a natureza, as demandas e os riscos possíveis (se houver) do estudo proposto.

Appendix 4 – Interview sample (English version)**Interview (sample)****(i) Personal background**

1. What is your name?
2. Where were you born?
3. How long have you been living in Salvador? In which part of the city do you live? How is it living there?
4. Where else have you lived? Talk about these other places (if any) you have lived.
5. Is your family originally from Salvador? Are there other family members who live with you? Who do you live with?
6. What do you do? Talk about your job. Have you had other jobs? What were they? Which of your jobs have you enjoyed the most, and why?
7. Where did you go to school as a child? How was it like?
8. Are you studying at the moment?
9. What do you study / Why have you chosen to study this? / Why did you stop studying?
10. Do you plan to go back to your studies? / Do you plan to study further after you have finished secondary school / university? Why?
11. What do you do for fun in your free time?
12. What places in Salvador do you like going?
13. Are there places you avoid? Why?
14. Do you have a partner/boyfriend/girlfriend/spouse?

(ii) *Candomblé*: personal history at the religion and overall experience

15. [If you are in a relationship] Are they from *Candomblé* as well? Do they come to this *terreiro*?

16. Do you have other people from your family at *Candomblé*?
17. How long have you been in *Candomblé*?
18. Tell me about how you became a follower of this religion. How has this experience been over time?
19. Talk about positive and/or negative reactions you noticed from people close to you when you decided to take part in *Candomblé*.
20. How do you feel people, in general, react when they find out you are from *Candomblé*?
21. How long have you been part of this specific *terreiro*? Why did you choose to attend this one?
22. What is your role at the *terreiro*? How is this experience? How do you react to it?
23. Who is your *orixá*? Tell me a little bit about him/her.

(iii) ***Candomblé: the religion***

24. What do you know about *Candomblé* as a whole? What is *Candomblé*?
25. If you know, tell me how *Candomblé* originated and where.
26. If you know, tell me a little bit about the history of this specific *terreiro*.
27. Tell me about some *orixás* and their features.

(iv) **Self-identifications**

28. How do you self-identify in terms of gender and sexuality?
29. How is it to be gay/straight/bisexual... in *Candomblé*?
30. How do you self-identify in terms of race and ethnicity?
31. How is it to be a black/white/mixed-race person in *Candomblé*?
32. If you live at this *terreiro*, what is your monthly income?
33. If you don't live at this *terreiro*, what is the *per capita* monthly income in your household?

Appendix 5 – Interview sample (Portuguese version)**Interview (sample)****(i) História pessoal**

1. Qual é o seu nome?
2. Onde você nasceu?
3. Há quanto tempo você mora em Salvador? Em que parte da cidade você mora?
Como é morar lá?
4. Onde mais você já morou? Fale um pouco sobre outros lugares que você já morou, se for o caso.
5. Sua família é originalmente de Salvador? Há outros membros da família que vivem com você? Com quem você mora?
6. O que você faz? Fale sobre seu trabalho, se for o caso. Você já teve outros empregos? Em que eram? Qual de seus empregos você mais gostou e por quê?
7. Quando criança, onde você estudou? Como era?
8. Você está estudando no momento?
9. O que você estuda? Por que você escolheu esse curso? / Por que você parou de estudar?
10. Você planeja voltar aos estudos? / Você planeja estudar na universidade quando você terminar o Ensino Médio? / Você planeja estudar mais quando terminar a faculdade? Por quê?
11. O que você gosta de fazer no seu tempo livre?
12. Que lugares de Salvador você gosta de visitar?
13. Há lugares de Salvador que você evita ir? Por quê?
14. Você tem um(a) companheiro(s)/namorado(a)/esposo(a)?

(ii) *Candomblé*: história pessoal na religião

15. [Se você estiver em uma relação] Ele ou ela é do *Candomblé* também? Ele ou ela frequenta este terreiro?
16. Há outras pessoas de sua família no *Candomblé*?
17. Há quanto tempo você está no *Candomblé*?
18. Fale sobre como você se tornou um seguidor dessa religião. Como tem sido essa experiência?
19. Fale sobre reações positivas e/ou negativas que você tenha notado vindas de pessoas próximas a você quando você decidiu vir para o *Candomblé*.
20. Como você sente que as pessoas em geral reagem quando elas ficam sabendo que você é do *Candomblé*?
21. Há quanto tempo você tem sido parte desse *terreiro* em específico? Por que você decidiu frequenter este aqui?
22. Qual é o seu posto no terreiro? Como é a experiência? Como você se sente?
23. Quem é seu *orixá*? Me fale um pouco sobre ele/ela.

(iii) ***Candomblé: a religião***

24. O que você sabe sobre *Candomblé*? O que é *Candomblé*?
25. Se você souber, me fale sobre como o *Candomblé* surgiu e onde.
26. Se você souber, me fale um pouco sobre a história deste *terreiro*.
27. Me fale sobre alguns *orixás* e suas características.

(iv) **Autodeclarações**

28. Como você se autodeclara com relação a sexualidade?
29. Como é ser gay/heterossexual/bissexual... no *Candomblé*?
30. Como você se autodeclara com relação a raça e etnia?
31. Como é ser uma pessoa branca/negra/de raça mista no *Candomblé*?
32. Se você mora no *terreiro*, qual é sua renda mensal?
33. Se você não mora no terreiro, qual é a renda mensal *per capita* na casa onde você mora?