CAIPIRA DIALECT STYLIZATION AND THE REPRESENTATION OF MODERNITY

IN BRAZILIAN TELENOVELAS

by

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Caipira dialect stylization and the representation of modernity in Brazilian telenovelas

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In this paper, I investigate the language ideologies associated with the caipira dialect of Brazilian Portuguese in the Brazilian *telenovela* television genre. This research complements prior quantitative sociolinguistic studies on telenovelas which have found that viewers tend to adhere to the standard linguistic model offered by middle-class telenovela characters. In this paper, seven excerpts from the five telenovelas considered are analyzed for linguistic form and discourse content. The linguistic analysis is based on an identification of the main features used in caipira dialect performance, namely prosody, the caipira *r*, and grammatical non-concord. I suggest that the limited range of particularly salient features used in these performances creates distinction from middle-class characters and can be interpreted as dialect stylization. In the analysis, I engage with anthropological research which has found that telenovelas positively portray middle-class values, and claim that the stylized caipira dialect indexes a regimented identity which acts as a backdrop against which middle-classness is constituted. In these telenovelas, the caipira character is discursively and visually portrayed as uneducated, rural, a proponent of family values, and rooted in tradition. These indexicalities reference both historical realities and stylized representations of caipiras found in early-twentieth-century literature and are represented as out of line with middle-class values. Because the middle class is strongly associated with consumerist notions of modernity in telenovelas, I refer to its counterpoint, the caipira, as the anti-modern.

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1. Introduction

Brazil, 1989. The first democratic election for Brazilian president since 1960 was about to take place. Workers' Party (*Partido dos Trabalhadores*, PT) candidate Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (Lula), at the time a congressman, was running against Fernando Collor de Mello, former governor of the northeastern state of Alagoas. That same year, the Brazilian television network Globo was broadcasting a telenovela entitled *O Salvador da Pátria* ('the Savior of the Country'), starring the good-natured yet ignorant Sassá Mutema, played by Lima Duarte. The telenovela series begins with Sassá as a poor orange picker from a rural area in the state of Minas Gerais. His socioeconomic status is made salient through language: he speaks rapidly, he has a habit of repeating phrases and words, his grammar is non-standard, and he frequently uses phonological features typical of a Brazilian Portuguese dialect known as *caipira*. The non-standardness of Sassá's speech is emphasized by the fact that he is also illiterate. At a social level, Sassá's manner of speaking is associated with a lack of education and therefore opportunity. In an attempt to improve himself, Sassá begins attending Portuguese language classes, where he falls in love with the beautiful Professor Clotilde. Through a series of fortuitous events instigated by local politicians who hope to influence the naive Sassá, he becomes mayor of the town of Tangará.

As Sassá changes from his farm worker clothing into suits and ties, trading in his old dirty hat for a neatly trimmed hairstyle, he too exchanges his caipira dialect for a language much closer to the standard. In this way, Sassá's language directly reflects his newfound power. Once a poor illiterate farmhand who did not even know how to read and was subject to the will of the powerful, Sassá's language was the non-dominant, that of the rural caipira. Now in a position of power, Sassá speaks in a manner more ideologically linked to that role. The writer of this

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telenovela, Lauro César Muniz, has claimed that while it was airing, the Brazilian government asked him to downplay the storyline's political aspects (Mattos, 2002). It was feared that high audience approval for Sassá Mutema, the underdog who becomes a local hero, would influence popular approval for Lula, who as a child had migrated with his family from an impoverished life in the northeastern state of Pernambuco to the city of São Paulo, some 1500 miles south, in the back of a cargo truck. In fact, Lula lost that election to Collor, but he came back to win the presidency in 2002 and again in 2006.

The Brazilian government's concern over the influence of a fictitious television character on the first national election in almost thirty years is highly indicative of the connection between telenovelas and "real life" in modern day Brazil. While it would be overgeneralizing to state that telenovelas directly influence political or social life, this situation provides evidence of a dialectical relationship (Porto, 2011) between the real and the fictitious as portrayed on telenovelas, one of the most popular, and typically Brazilian, television genres in the country.

While the place of telenovelas in Brazilian culture will be discussed in more detail below, what concerns us here is the transformation of Sassá's language throughout the telenovela, and what that reveals about language ideologies in Brazil. This study is situated in the area of sociocultural linguistics, that is, "the broad interdisciplinary field concerned with the intersection of language, culture, and society" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 586). Research on language ideologies can be understood as a key concern of a sociocultural linguistic approach, insofar as language ideologies are "representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world" (Woolard, 1998, p. 3). Working within this framework, the change in Sassá's language as a reflection of his new societal status leads us to consider the indexicalities of the caipira dialect, in this and other telenovelas, and that

dialect's ideological positioning with respect to the standard. Furthermore, by analyzing current telenovela representations and indexicalities of caipira in light of historical portrayals, it will be possible to identify continuities and disruptions in key linguistic features which characterize the dialect, informing the analysis of caipira performance.

Performance has been subject to a good deal of research in the social sciences, and the "dialectic between performance and its wider sociocultural and political-economic context" (Bauman & Briggs, 1990, p. 61) has been identified as an area ripe for analysis. This paper's analysis will focus on three key linguistic features used most often in caipira performance in the data considered, and demonstrate how they are linked to a hegemonic push toward a specific vision of modernity and progress, represented by middle-class values, in Brazilian society (Hamburger, 1999, p. 275). The linguistic features identified and analyzed in this paper are: prosody, the caipira *r*, and non-concord in noun phrase and subject-verb constructions. The discussion of the first feature highlights how the stereotypical slow prosody which characterizes the caipira dialect (Amaral, 1955, p. 45) is largely suppressed as a result of vowel reduction and other phonological phenomena consisting of elision and deletion. I suggest that this style, which results in prosody not typically associated with the caipira dialect, is employed for the purpose of achieving distinction (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005) from middle-class characters, and therefore from dominant middle-class values. The next section focuses on the "caipira *r*", /ɻ/, a sound which is not found in other dialects of Brazilian Portuguese (BP) and is therefore emblematic of the caipira dialect. The utilization of this phonological feature in caipira performance is analyzed in terms of its contribution toward dialect stylization (Coupland, 2001a, 2001b, 2007). The third linguistic feature, non-concord, is not restricted to the caipira dialect in real-life language use,

but rather is a feature of Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese[1] (BVP) more generally. The indexicalities of non-concord are analyzed from a sociocultural perspective in order to gain a better understanding of the reason for the use of this particular feature as a defining characteristic of a speech community more restricted than the one that actually uses it.

While those involved in telenovela production have claimed that the popularity of telenovelas stems from their ability to reflect reality, the caipira character appears as a caricature. This caricatured performance hinges on stylization, whereby the caipira dialect is reduced to a few stereotypical features that are consistently used in order to index particular social types. In this manner, the caipira identity is de-authenticated, in that the performance "betrays its own artificiality" (Coupland, 2001b, p. 247). As the dialect is linguistically regimented to some of its most salient features, its indexicalities are similarly regimented (Bucholtz and Lopez, 2011; Bucholtz, 2011b), creating a sharp ideological distinction between caipira and other characters.

In the analysis, I show how specific features of caipira and BVP are used in performance to provide a counterpoint to the middle-class values that telenovelas espouse. Hamburger (2011) notes that telenovelas have traditionally been promoters of modernization in Brazil: "the country, which was modernized in accordance with a notion of modernization hinging on consumption and not on the affirmation of citizenship, recognized itself on the TV screen in a white and glamorous universe" (my translation, p. 84). In this view, the upward mobility and consumerist mentality typical of the middle class is portrayed in telenovelas as modern and desirable. In the telenovelas considered here, this middle-class identity is closely associated with prestigious language varieties such as those spoken in the large southeastern cities of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, or a non-dialectical, "standardized" version of BP, of the type commonly used on the

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[1] This is the term used by Holm (2009), although Popular Brazilian Portuguese (Lucchesi 2008; Holm 1987; Guy 1989) and non-standard Brazilian Portuguese (Scherre 2005) are also used.

Globo television network's national news program (*Jornal Nacional*). Within such a context, the caipira character is discursively and visually portrayed as uneducated, rural, a proponent of family values, and rooted in tradition. These indexicalities reference both historical realities and stylized representations of caipiras found in early-twentieth-century literature and are represented as out of line with middle-class values. Because the middle class is strongly associated with consumerist notions of modernity in telenovelas, I refer to its counterpoint, the caipira, as the anti-modern. By using this term, I wish to highlight that it is partially through the figure of the caipira that Brazilian middle-classness is constituted in telenovelas, reminiscent of Cameron's (1998) study which found that heterosexual men reinforced their own heterosexuality through negative discourse about homosexuality.

2. Television and Sociolinguistics

Past sociolinguistic studies involving television have examined both how language usage is affected by television (e.g., Naro, 1981; Naro & Scherre, 1996; Saladino, 1990; Carvalho, 2004) and how well the language used on television represents real-life language usage (Jesus, 2006). Saladino (1990), who studied the level of use of "italianizing" forms (dialect words/pronunciations influenced by standard Italian) by speakers of a dialect spoken in Falerno, in the southern Italian province of Catanzaro, found that hours of television watching per day had no effect on the use of italianizing forms by town residents. She comes to the conclusion that "the mere existence of a model does not guarantee that it will be adopted" (p. 67) and notes that solidarity based on dialect usage may prevent speakers from adopting standard Italian forms. Naro's (1981) study on the use of the grammatical agreement rules of standard Brazilian Portuguese among telenovela viewers reached the conclusion that there is a correlation between more frequent use of standard forms and increased contact with television. The author postulates

that this is due to the viewers' higher "degree of penetration into the culture of the surrounding higher socio-economic levels, as reflected in his or her habits of television viewing" (p. 86). This conclusion suggests that television has an ideological effect, so that viewing television is directly related to viewers' perceptions of (and desire for) socioeconomic prestige, and therefore linguistic prestige. Naro & Scherre (1996) also find that television viewers use standard Brazilian Portuguese forms with higher frequency than those who do not watch television as often, but note, "we do not feel that it can be concluded from our research that involvement with the mass media causes changes in linguistic behavior. Rather we feel that a third factor, such as a general orientation or attitude toward the surrounding society, might be responsible" (p. 228) for the correlations between standard language use and television viewing. Carvalho (2004) comes to a similar conclusion as regards the effects of Brazilian telenovela viewing on Uruguayan Portuguese speakers in northern Uruguay.

What these studies seem to have in common is that they draw on two sources to account for a change, or lack thereof, in viewers' linguistic behavior: television, which provides access to a linguistic model, and language ideologies, which Naro & Scherre (1996) term a "general orientation or attitude" toward specific language varieties. However, since the hypotheses of the studies discussed above are based on the assumption that viewers will want to emulate the standard forms they hear on television, presumably because these forms carry prestige, it can be fruitful to address how language ideologies, such as prestige, are produced and reproduced through televised media content. This study follows the example provided by sociolinguists such as Bucholtz & Lopez (2011) and Coupland (2001a, 2001b, 2007) in focusing on the linguistic and discursive content of mediatized entertainment in order to identify the language ideologies produced and reproduced there. From this perspective, television is considered to be capable of

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providing not only linguistic models but also ideological models, which, as prior sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated, inform individual values about language varieties (e.g., Milroy, 2001; Coupland, 2007; Eckert, 2010). Therefore, by focusing on the object being viewed rather than on the viewer, this paper analyzes a possible source of the language ideologies that Saladino, Naro, Naro & Scherre, and Carvalho have suggested influence the extent to which television viewers adopt standard language varieties.

The next section provides a brief introduction to the Brazilian telenovela genre and its place in Brazilian society, the Globo television network (which broadcast the telenovelas considered here), and audience demographics. It will refer to research on telenovela content and reception conducted in the areas of anthropology, with ethnographic methods (Hamburger, 1999, 2001, 2011) and communications, through content analysis (Porto, 2011). In the sociocultural linguistic tradition, this paper draws on these and other historical and cultural elements to inform the analysis of content and language use in order to achieve a more textured view of how ideologies associated with the caipira dialect are produced and reproduced in telenovelas.

3. Globo and the Brazilian *telenovela*

The Brazilian *telenovela* television program genre is a unique national product that reaches a vast range of segments of the Brazilian population. Telenovelas became a mainstay of Brazilian prime time television in the 1960s, and continue to be today. While they share their roots with US soap operas and Latin American telenovelas from countries such as Cuba and Mexico, Brazilian telenovelas are classified as a separate genre as a result of some characteristics that set them apart from the other two types of television program (Hamburger, 1999, p. 98). Brazilian telenovelas began in the 1950s as live shows broadcast twice per week, and were similar to the fantasy telenovelas of other Latin American countries, with their melodramatic

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performances and settings in faraway places. In 1963, the São Paulo based television network TV Excelsior benefitted from new videotaping technology and was able to broadcast the first daily telenovela, *2-5499 ocupado*. Its storyline was an adaptation from the original Argentinean script (Hamburger, 2011, p. 67).

In 1964, democratically elected President João Goulart was overthrown in a coup d'état, ushering in an authoritarian military regime that would govern Brazil for over twenty years. One year later, the now hugely successful Brazilian television network, Globo, was founded by Roberto Marinho in Rio de Janeiro[2]. Globo broadened its reach to São Paulo when Marinho purchased the television station TV Paulista in 1966. Even today, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo continue to play a significant role in national television production, since many telenovelas are produced in those cities and they are the primary targets of audience research. While Globo gradually expanded to become the first profitable television network in Brazil (Hamburger, 1999, p. 86), the military dictatorship kept tight control over the media. The government created a special commission that evaluated television content, and increased its powers of censorship with laws passed in the late sixties and early seventies. One such law banned television programs that were deemed "offensive to morals or good manners" (Hamburger, 1999, p. 90). In these years, the government played a dual role within the Brazilian media landscape, as both censor and large-scale investor, the latter, of course, facilitating the former. Although Globo is a private company, it was heavily invested in by the government and while the military government was in power, its telenovelas portrayed nationalizing themes in line with government policies (Hamburger, 1999, p. 84). During this time, Globo also developed its own form of self-censorship, perhaps to avoid losing money by producing programs that would later be banned

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[2] Globo is the world's second largest television network based on annual revenue. 90% of its programming is produced by Globo itself.

from broadcast by government censors (as occurred with *Roque Santeiro*, Hamburger, 1999, p. 91).

Although in Globo's infancy few Brazilians could afford to own a television set, this changed in 1968 when consumers were given the option of paying for them in installments. That year, television sales increased by 48% compared to the previous year (Hamburger, 1999, p. 84). Due to governmental incentivization of television purchases and the increasing popularity of television in the 1960s, low-income families placed a television set higher on their list of priorities than refrigerators or washing machines (Hamburger, 2011, p. 64). The first nationally broadcast telenovela, *Irmãos Coragem*, was aired by Globo in 1970. Throughout the seventies, satellite communications made it possible for television to begin being broadcast to even remote regions such as Manaus and the Western Amazon. With viewers on the rise in the 1970s, television's ability to work as a nationalizing and modernizing force in Brazil also increased. Hamburger, an anthropologist whose main area of study is Brazilian telenovelas, has argued that telenovelas represent a national "shared repertoire" by providing audiences with "the rules and conventions" (Hamburger, 2001, p. 26) of particular character types, causing viewers to begin valuing certain identities on the basis of how those types are portrayed in telenovelas. Telenovelas, then, provide the nation with a shared repertoire which can be seen as a force that helps to establish the national imagined community[3].

Despite self-censorship on political issues, telenovelas did portray liberal personal trajectories in their stories, and represented new ways of looking at the role of women, family and divorce (Hamburger, 1999, p. 91). Unlike Latin American fantasy-based telenovelas, the Brazilian version aimed to realistically portray daily life, focused on currently relevant social

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[3] After arriving at this term independently, I found that Inoue (2011) also uses it in her discussion of the formation of modern day Japan.

themes, and featured characters Brazilians could relate to, trends which continue today. Relatively recently, viewers have talked about telenovelas "as if the characters were real known people, friends, neighbors, relatives" (Hamburger, 2001, p. 20). Due to the Brazilian telenovela's goal of depicting contemporary life "as it really is" (Hamburger, 1999, p. 104), telenovela plots and characters became part of the national consciousness throughout the 1970s and 1980s, resulting in the "intense blurring of the borders between fiction and reality" (Porto, 2011, p. 63). For example, former Brazilian President (from 1995 to 2002) Fernando Henrique Cardoso has commented that the telenovela *O Rei do Gado*, which portrayed the plight of the Landless Movement (*Movimento dos trabalhadores sem terra*), "reinforced the notion, predominant at the time (1996-7), that there was an urgent need for agrarian reform in Brazil" (Porto, 2011, p. 65).

It should be highlighted that this national discussion spurred by telenovelas, as commented on by Fernando Henrique, is possible partially because of extremely high audience numbers. When *Roque Santeiro*, a telenovela banned from broadcast by censors in 1975, was finally aired in 1985 when the dictatorship had officially ended, nearly one hundred percent of Brazilian television sets tuned in to its final episodes (Porto, 2011, p. 60). More recently, in 2012, when the hugely popular Brazilian soccer club Corinthians won the Libertadores championship (South American club championship), that match still barely reached the audience levels from the same week of Globo's telenovela *Avenida Brasil* (Capelo, 2012). Furthermore, unlike US soap operas, which reach a daytime, 90% female audience, the prime time Brazilian telenovela audience is more diverse and only around 60% female (Hamburger, 1999, p. 98). Also unlike US soap operas, which can be broadcast over a period of several years or even decades, Brazilian telenovelas run for only a few months, making it possible for them to have a clear trajectory, a beginning, middle, and end.

Despite the fact that telenovelas are watched by people in nearly all socioeconomic classes, their storylines portray a predominantly middle-class perspective (Porto, 2011, p. 57). Audience opinions play a significant role in telenovela production, since the entire telenovela, which generally airs for six to eight months and includes around 180 episodes (Porto, 2011, p. 66), is not filmed in advance. Normally, around twenty episodes are ready for broadcast when the telenovela first goes on air, so shooting continues on a daily basis while the story unfolds (Hamburger, 1999, p. 182). This makes it possible for scriptwriters to make changes in the storyline based on audience ratings (Hamburger, 1999, p. 217). Audience surveys are both quantitative and qualitative, the latter involving focus groups, generally in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, whose members discuss the telenovela's plot and their and their friends' reactions to it and the characters. The changes made in storylines based on this research reduce the risk that a show will be unpopular and therefore earn less advertising revenue.

Focus groups tend to favor the participation of female, working-class viewers (Hamburger, 1999, p. 215), in line with the target telenovela audience. Homero Sanchez, who became Globo's Director for Research and Analysis in 1972 (Hamburger, 1999, p. 232), set up the original segmentation of the audience into groups A, B, C, D and E, based on socioeconomic class. According to Sanchez, group C, consisting of the inhabitants of working-class neighborhoods, is the most important group (Hamburger, 1999, p. 255). This assumption is based on his claim that group C represents the largest portion of Brazilian society (Hamburger, 1999, p. 254), tends to watch telenovelas regularly, and aspires to the middle-class lives that telenovelas portray. Although audience research emphasizes group C, scriptwriters have noted that their imagined audience is group E, a group that is greatly underrepresented in such research (Hamburger, 1999, p. 259). This discrepancy is due to the fact that audience research carried out

with a view to advertising revenue. The higher the show's ratings, the more the network can charge for advertising space during commercial breaks. Group E, the lowest group on the socioeconomic ladder, is not considered to have high enough income to represent the types of consumers that advertisers want to reach, so these viewers are not often considered in surveys or focus groups.

Telenovelas have a dynamic relationship with Brazilian society. Their production involves audience research carried out in order to ensure positive reception. Their storylines affect public opinion on current events of national and regional interest. Their prime-time slots ensure a broad audience which represents the wide range of socioeconomic classes, genders and ethnicities present in Brazilian society. According to Porto (2011), telenovelas and Brazilian society have a dialectical relationship, "in which broader processes of political, economic and social change have been reflected in television fiction's localized representations of the nation, even as telenovelas shape these same processes and endow them with new meanings" (p. 56).

4. Data analysis

Having established the significance of the relationship between telenovelas and Brazilian society, it is now time to turn to the data analysis which constitutes the main part of this paper. The analysis will focus on the Brazilian Portuguese (BP) dialect called *caipira*.[4] Caipira refers to dialects spoken in rural areas of Brazilian states including São Paulo, Paraná, and parts of Minas Gerais and Goiás.[5] This area basically coincides with the "expansion of the coffee economy" (Ribeiro, 2000, p. 285) inland from its original location in Rio de Janeiro beginning in the mid-

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[4] For clarity's sake, please note that *caipira* can refer to the dialect and to the person who speaks that dialect. It can be used as a noun or an adjective.

[5] See map in Appendix A.

1800s, and is referred to as Paulistânia (Mariano, 2009, p. 2). This analysis focuses on the caipira dialect spoken in the state of São Paulo, with only one telenovela, *Cabocla*, portraying caipira spoken in another area, the rural region of the southeastern state of Espírito Santo (near Minas Gerais). Caipira has been subject to much linguistic investigation in Brazil, partially due to its long history in Brazilian culture and partially because it has become significantly influenced by standard BP forms, encouraging sociolinguists to record and analyze the language of caipira speakers before it ceases to exist, with the traditional agricultural lifestyle that once thrived alongside it (Candido, 1979).

While the boundary separating standard from non-standard language (BVP) in Brazil is often subject to strict policing by Brazilian institutions (Bagno, 1999; Scherre, 2005; Basso & Ilari, 2006), the separation between BVP and caipira is not quite as clear. There is some overlap between caipira and BVP, which for our purposes here is not associated with a particular region, but instead consists of variation with respect to standard BP that can be found in many parts of the country. Therefore, some of the linguistic features of caipira performance described hereafter can also be described as non-standard BP in general. I will make a note whenever this is the case, and this will be the primary focus of section 4.3 of the data analysis, on variable concord.

The analysis is based on five Brazilian telenovelas which aired on Globo between 1989 and 2011. Each telenovela has at least one caipira character, and each of the three telenovela time slots is represented. Telenovelas have different plots and target audiences based on time slot. The 6:00 p.m. slot is generally reserved for younger audiences, 7:00 p.m. was called the "pink slot" by Homero Sanchez, referring to the focus of novelas which air at that time on "the woman viewer's catharsis" (Hamburger, 1999, p. 199), and the 8:30 p.m. time slot (called *novela das oito* 'eight o'clock telenovela') tends to involve more controversial themes than the other two

slots and has a larger audience (Porto, 2011, p. 66). The telenovelas selected for analysis are all

from after there was no longer censorship imposed by the military regime (Hamburger, 1999, p.

92). They are listed in the table below, in chronological order.

Name	Broadcast dates	Time slot	Time period of plot
O Salvador da Pátria	Jan. 9 - Aug. 12, 1989	8:30 p.m.	current
O Rei do Gado	Jun. 17, 1996 - Feb. 14, 1997	8:30 p.m.	1943 and 1996
Cabocla (2ª versão)	May 10 - Nov. 20, 2004	6:00 p.m.	1918
Alma Gêmea	Jun. 20, 2005 - Mar. 10, 2006	6:00 p.m.	1928 and 1948
Morde & Assopra	Mar. 21 - Oct. 14, 2011	7:00 p.m.	current

Table 1: Telenovelas analyzed in this study

As can be seen in the table, the telenovelas were filmed and took place over a range of

time periods. However, the caipira characters share many similarities, and seem to confirm

Porto's (2011) assertion that the lower classes in general are portrayed as a "caricature" in

telenovelas (p. 57). In the programs analyzed, caipira men either own a farm or work on

someone else's farm. Even while many scenes of the telenovela may take place in middle-class

homes or similar settings, caipiras are often portrayed in rural areas, or as low-income workers

(e.g., women as domestic workers or cooks, men as farmhands) in middle-class settings. Caipira

family life involves themes firmly rooted in tradition, including taking care of one's family, hard

work, and marriage. Female caipiras are often shown cooking or taking care of the home. Young

caipira women are commonly focused on searching for a suitable husband. For example, the

main events that occur in the storyline of Mirna in *Alma Gêmea* involve her search for a husband

and the attempts by her brother, Crispim, to "protect" her from men, demonstrating his

traditionalist view of male-female relationships.

As discussed earlier, the Brazilian telenovela production industry has long prided itself on its realistic portrayal of daily life, and its ability to address pertinent social issues, thereby engaging viewers in topics which affect Brazilian society. However, how realistic this portrayal is must be read in light of the intended audience of telenovelas, that is, group C, the working class. In attempting to reach and keep the attention of this specific segment of viewers, telenovelas generally focus on the financially successful middle-class lifestyles that producers suppose the target audience demographic aspires to. In contrast, the caipira lifestyle is not assumed to be one that most viewers will admire, and hence the portrayal of this identity often ends up being a caricature, highlighted by the "cartooning representation" (Coupland, 2007, p. 152) of stereotypical caipira dialectical features. In this way, the caricatured caipira contrasts with the purportedly more realistically represented middle class. This representation is achieved on screen through both language, as discussed in the next three sections, and costume, which is briefly discussed in section 4.4, after the linguistic analysis.

The next three sections on caipira linguistic features are not intended to provide an exhaustive description of all phonological, lexical, and grammatical features used in caipira performance. One reason for this arrangement is space constraints, as such a description would greatly exceed the current length of this paper. Another reason is that focusing on three linguistic features that are consistently used in caipira performance can provide a solid basis for an analysis of the main indexicalities of caipira dialect performance.

4.1 Prosody, distinction, and adequation

This section will focus on how the process of differentiation between middle-class and caipira characters takes place through prosodic differences and how this distinction contributes toward the indexicalization of caipira as anti-modern. Here, "prosody" is considered in a broad

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sense, to mean the rhythm and musicality of the language (Amaral, 1955, p. 45). At first glance, the rhythm of caipira performance often has the semblance of rapid speed. Linguistic analysis brings to light that this speed is closely associated with the phonological features employed in performance, as can be seen in the first example below from *Cabocla* (2004). In this telenovela, one prominent storyline involves the return of Belinha (identified as "B" in the example below), the daughter of Colonel Boanerges (C) and his wife Emerenciana (E), to the rural town of Vila da Mata, located in the southeastern state of Espírito Santo. She has recently obtained her teaching degree in Rio de Janeiro and has now moved back to live with her parents. In example 1, below, Belinha is having dinner with her parents at home on the day she returns to Vila da Mata. In this scene, the characters discursively set up a divide between Belinha and the rest of the residents of the town. The transcriptions in this paper are arranged as follows: the Portuguese transcription is in roman type, phonetic transcriptions of caipira or vernacular features are provided in brackets immediately after the relevant word, and my English translation is provided in italics just below each line.

Example 1: *Cabocla*

1	E:	Parece mentira que você [oˈse] está [ta] de volta [ˈvoɻta].
2		*I can't believe you're back.*
3		E formada [ˌfoɻˈmada] professora.
4		*And with a teaching degree.*
5		Ah, não estava [ˈtava] mais [mai] aguentando [ˌaguenˈtãɲ] tanta saudade.
6		*Ah, I wasn't able to bear missing you so much anymore.*
7	B:	Até parece que eu passei um século fora de casa.
8		*It even seems like I spent a century away from home.*
9	E:	Para uma [ˈpɾuma] mãe, um dia longe parece um eternidade [eˈteɲiˌdadʒ].
10		*For a mother, one day far away seems like an eternity.*
11		Você vai saber [saˈbe] quando tiver [tiˈve] seus filhos [ˈfijo].
12		*You'll know when you have your own children.*
13		Não é não Boanerges [ˌboaˈneɻʒ]?
14		*Isn't that right Boanerges?*

15	C:	Agora [aˈgoɹa] que os estudos [ˌesˈtudo] dela acabaram [ˌakaˈbaɹə̃],
16		*Now that her studies are finished,*
17		ela vai ficar [fiˈka] aqui com [ko] a gente.
18		*she is going to stay here with us.*
19		E vai ensinar [ˌensiˈna] esse povo todo aí a falar [faˈla], escrever [ˌeskreˈve], a ler [le].
20		*And she'll teach all of those people out there to speak, write, to read.*
21		Tenho certeza [ˌseɹˈteza] que ela é melhor [meˈʎoɹ] professora [ˌprofeˈsoɹə]
22		*I'm sure that she is a better teacher*
23		que a espevitada [ˌspiviˈtada] da Mariquinha [ˌmaɹiˈkiɲa].
24		*than that pretentious Mariquinha*

In this excerpt, Colonel Boanerges praises his daughter's achievements in school by saying that she will now be able to teach "*esse povo todo*" ('all those people') in the town how to speak, write and read, implying that they do not currently know how to do so. As he says this, Colonel Boanerges nods his head presumably toward the door of his house, demonstrating that he considers all of the town's inhabitants equally lacking in linguistic competence. This characterization of these "absent others" (Cameron, 1998) as rural and ignorant acts to constitute Belinha as cosmopolitan and intellectual, a symbol of the modernity which has not yet reached Vila da Mata. Although Belinha, too, is from the rural Vila da Mata, she has gone to school and has lived in a large city, which is closely correlated with her detachment from the caipira dialect. The urban/rural dichotomy expressed through phonological and grammatical elements is a theme which occurs in other storylines of *Cabocla* as well. While most residents of Vila da Mata speak with caipira dialectical, notably phonological, features, the characters who are from or have lived in Rio de Janeiro speak much closer to the standard. This distinction is borne out in Belinha's love interest, a young man from Vila da Mata named Neco who has also lived in Rio de Janeiro and exhibits a similarly close alignment with standard BP. While example 1 above discursively separates Belinha from the rest of the town because of her education and therefore her knowledge of standard Portuguese, the phonological features within this passage in the language

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of Colonel Boanerges and Emerenciana resulting in an impression of rapid cadence are also of interest.

The phonological elements analyzed below all involve elision, word-initial and word-final segment(s) deletion, or vowel reduction, giving the impression of speed. In Brazilian folk terms, this is referred to as *atropelando as palavras*, tripping over one's words. The claim that phonological features create the impression of speed, rather than that speed causes elision and deletion, is justified by the fact that some of these phonological rules apply in BVP regardless of speed. However, the frequent application of these rules in connected discourse, and the contrast with speakers for whom these rules do not apply, make caipira linguistic performance less clearly pronounced and perhaps more difficult for viewers to understand than the language of other characters. The table below provides examples, along with their line numbers, from the passage transcribed above.

Phonological rule	Examples
Word-final vowel weakening	*aguentando* [ˌaguenˈtanə̃] l. 5; *acabaram* [ˌakaˈbaɾə̃] l. 15
Word-initial segment deletion	*você* [oˈse] l. 1; *está* [ta] l. 1; *estava* [ˈtava] l. 5; *espevitada* [ˌspiviˈtada] l. 23
Elision	*para uma* [ˈpɾuma] l. 9
Word-final segment deletion	*mais* [mai] l. 5; *saber* [saˈbe], *tiver* [tiˈve], *seus filhos* [ˈfijo] l. 11; *os estudos* [ˌesˈtudo] l. 15; *ficar* [fiˈka], *com* [ko] l. 17; *ensinar* [ˌensiˈna], *falar* [faˈla], *escrever* [ˌeskreˈve], *ler* [le] l. 19

Table 2: Word-initial and word-final segment deletion and elision in *Cabocla*

Some of the examples involving word-initial and word-final segment deletion result in forms typically used in caipira or BVP regardless of speed such as [oˈse] and [ˈtava]. The form [oˈse] 'you' is caipira (generally [se] in BVP), while [ˈtava] 'was/were' is used extensively in

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BVP[6]. The examples of word-final segment deletion are the result of either *r*-dropping at the end of infinitives, extremely common in BVP (Leite, 2011), or elimination of /s/ from the end of nouns which in standard BP require this plural suffix. The latter can be more accurately categorized as a morphophonological rule, since /s/ is not categorically eliminated from word-final position in BVP, but rather from the non-initial element of plural noun phrases (for more discussion of non-concord, see section 4.3 below).

Some of the phonological features shown do not appear to be typical of either caipira or BVP. The word-final /s/ deletion in *mais* '(any) more' is common in caipira performance, although this phenomenon is traditionally found in caipira only in words in which the stress falls on the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable, or in words in which stress falls on the last syllable and /s/ is a marker of plurality (Amaral, 1955, p. 53). Clearly, none of these cases apply to *mais*, and it may be considered to be simply a non-standard form used in caipira performance, perhaps derived from the deletion of word-final /s/ in other frequent lexical items, such as *vamos* [ˈvamo] 'let's go'. Word-final vowel weakening is also not traditionally attributed to the caipira dialect. According to Amaral (1955), in fact, in the caipira dialect unstressed vowels are clearly pronounced, regardless of their position in the word (p. 46). Finally, the elision of *para uma* to [ˈpɾuma] makes speech seem more rapid and could decrease intelligibility.

Rapid prosody is a common feature of caipira performance in the telenovelas analyzed. However, Amaral (1955 [1920]), writer of the first comprehensive study on the caipira dialect and the first linguist to scientifically describe a Brazilian regional dialect, describes caipira prosody quite differently. In contrast, he attributes many phonological characteristics of caipira to the fact that caipiras speak very slowly and insert long pauses between words mid-utterance

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[6] In fact, all forms of *estar* 'to be' generally involve deletion of the first two segments in BVP, resulting in *tou* for *estou* 'I am', *tá* for *está* 'he/she is', etc.

and syllables. For example, he notes that this generally "slow, flat and equal" (p. 45) cadence makes a diphthong (such as /ou/) be articulated for four times as long as a monophthong is in Brazilian or European Portuguese. In European Portuguese (EP), vowels tend to be clipped or elided, resulting in a fast cadence, while the slow caipira prosody makes the vowels more drawn out and clearly pronounced. Pires (1987 [1921]), too, notes that the manner in which caipiras speak is "*sossegado*" (p. 14), calm or tranquil, also indicative of slow, drawn out pace. Yet, in the performances analyzed here, the clipping and elision of vowels that Amaral attributes to EP is one of the features used by actors to perform the caipira dialect. At times, this speech style also makes caipira less intelligible than the other varieties used, which seems to be a significant effect in terms of creating distinction between caipira and non-caipira characters, and perhaps between caipira characters and telenovela viewers.

According to Bucholtz and Hall's (2005) relationality principle, "identities are intersubjectively constructed through several, often overlapping, complementary relations, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice, and authority/delegitimacy" (p. 598). The similarity/difference relation is linguistically constructed through adequation and distinction. Distinction, the "identity relation of differentiation" (p. 600), makes some types of social difference more salient. The rhythm of performed caipira language makes it immediately recognizable as different from the language of the other telenovela characters. This difference in language styles serves to index the difference in social roles. Middle-class characters tend to speak a standardized version of Brazilian Portuguese that many Brazilian viewers recognize and understand, since this non-region specific language style is regularly seen on other Globo programs such as the daily national news show *Jornal Nacional*. Therefore, this style is associated with professionalism and, due to its adherence to standard grammar, education. There

is little chance for the caipira dialect to be attributed these types of qualities, since it is considered taboo to speak the caipira dialect on news programs, so it is extremely underrepresented on Brazilian television (Priolli, 2007, p. 85).

It is notable that some vocalic features traditionally associated with caipira which, according to Amaral, are caused by its slow prosody, are suppressed as a result of elision and deletion. This suggests that only particular aspects of the dialect are chosen for representation in performance in order to achieve distinction. Viewers who may have little to no contact with native caipira speakers could find caipira as it is performed on television less comprehensible, and therefore recognize it as a distinct dialect that is different their own. This linguistic differentiation, according to Bucholtz and Hall (2005), is the bedrock of social distinction. Indeed, even caipira speakers may not ideologically align themselves with the caipira characters on screen since the stylized quality typical of dialect performance makes clear that the performance is inauthentic (Coupland, 2001b) and is not meant to be a faithful reproduction of their "authentic" dialect or identity. In this way, stylization invites interpretation as performance and calls into question authenticity (see section 4.2 below for a more detailed discussion of stylization).

Now let's take a look at how distinction is achieved by comparing the speech of the Boanerges with that of their daughter. This excerpt is from later on during the same dinner as in example 1. The caipira character Colonel Boanerges has just told his daughter Belinha that he is unhappy that she traveled on the train to Vila da Mata with Neco, the son of his enemy Colonel Justino.

Example 2: *Cabocla*

1	B:	Papai, viajamos no vagão cheio de gente em plena luz [luʃ]
2		*Dad, we travelled in a car full of people in the full light*
3		do dia. E ele parece ser uma [seɾuma] ótima pessoa.
4		*of day. And he seems to be a great person.*
5	C:	Pode até ser [se] más [mais] o pai dele não presta!
6		*He even might be, but his father is no good!*
7	B:	Eu não viajei com o pai, viajei com o filho.
8		*I didn't travel with the father, I travelled with the son.*
9	[...]	
10	B:	Va:mos colocar uma pedra em cima desse assunto papai!
11		*Let's stop talking about this topic dad!*
12		Por [pox] favor, não aconteceu nada de mais.
13		*Please, nothing more happened.*
14		Eu apenas vi o moço uma vez no trem.
15		*I only saw the boy once on the train.*
16		E nem conversamos muito, porque a viagem toda me
17		*And we didn't even talk that much, because the whole trip made me*
18		deu um sono, passei quase todo o tempo dormindo. Está bem?
19		*so tired that I spent almost the whole time sleeping. OK?*

In response to her father's criticism, Belinha defends herself in language which, based on the speech of the other characters in this telenovela, is quite atypical for Vila da Mata. Elision and deletion are not found in her discourse in this example. Furthermore, while in example 1 Emerenciana, Belinha's mother, exhibits many cases of /ɻ/ in syllable coda position, such as in the words *volta* (due to the syllable coda /l/ > /ɻ/ rule which applies in caipira), *formada*, *eternidade* and Boanerges, Belinha's language exhibits no cases of /ɻ/. Furthermore, she pronounces the *s* in luz /lus/'light' (line 1) as /ʃ/, a typical carioca pronunciation not found in caipira. She also clearly pronounces all phonemes, even word-finally, where some phonemes such as /s/ in /mais/ (line 12) tend to not be pronounced in caipira performance, as discussed above. She pronounces *filho* 'son' in the standard manner /ˈfiʎo/ (line 7) in contrast with her mother's dialectical [ˈfijo] (example 1, line 11). She uses the velar /x/ pronunciation of R once in

this section (line 12), in *por favor*, which is completely extraneous to the caipira dialect, and in other cases her Rs tend to be articulated as taps due to following vowels. She also pronounces /d/ in the present progressive ending *-indo* (*dormindo* 'sleeping', line 18), exactly adhering to the standard, while in example 1 Emerenciana uses the caipira/BVP ending *-ano* (line 5) for the present progressive tense.

These brief examples begin to shed light on the key linguistic variables used in caipira dialect performance. The use of these variables within a specific context, namely in contrast with the language of a character identified as educated and with urban experience, constructs identifiable indexical relationships. Belinha, who grew up with her parents in Vila da Mata, presumably speaking caipira, no longer speaks that dialect as a result of her experience outside of a rural environment and her attendance at a university. Caipira's status as a regional dialect, the symbol of an actual historical and cultural identity, is called into question by its more general association with a lack of education. Belinha, apparently a native speaker of caipira, has adopted standard BP not due to her lack of association with a regional identity, but rather due to her education, reproducing the ideology that variants of standard BP are "incorrect Portuguese" (Scherre, 2005; Bagno, 1999). This indexicality is significant in that education and linguistic competence are generally associated with better job prospects and therefore more ease of access to the middle-class lifestyle emphasized in telenovelas.

A last social variable worth noting here is age. The language of Belinha, a young woman of the world, is contrasted with that of her middle-aged parents, who are firmly rooted in their traditional rural lifestyle. The parents are made to seem even more antiquated due to the name of the father, Colonel Boanerges. In 1831, Dom Pedro I, at the time Emperor of Brazil, placed the power to police and defend portions of Brazil in the hands of powerful bourgeois landowners

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who were given the military title *coronel*, although the position was really political in nature. This system was abolished in the 1920s, but since *Cabocla* takes place in 1918, the system still would have been in place. The title *coronel*, then, associated with an old political hierarchy based on money, power, and influence, links up the caipira dialect with a distant historical reality, unrelated to the democracy of modernity.

The elision and deletion commonly found in caipira performance, along with the other linguistic features discussed in the next two sections of this paper, also contribute toward adequation, the counterpart to distinction. The concept of adequation refers to the fact that "in order for groups or individuals to be positioned as alike, they need not - and in any case cannot - be identical, but must merely be understood as sufficiently similar" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 599). The type of phonological rules described in this section also apply in the other telenovelas analyzed, especially in the language of Sassá Mutema in *O Salvador da Pátria* (before he becomes town mayor), Crispim in *Alma Gêmea*, Bruno in *O Rei do Gado*, and Abner in *Morde & Assopra*. Therefore, not only is distinction necessary to differentiate caipiras from middle-class characters in telenovelas, but adequation too plays a role in tying together caipira performances across various telenovelas, in order to consistently index a similarly regimented caipira identity. Adequation is achieved by consistently using a limited range of salient features of the dialect, which also reinforces the caricature-like performance. The next two sections of this paper will focus on the "caipira *r*" and non-concord, and the examples provided will make apparent that the adoption of salient caipira linguistic features in performance does not produce a faithful representation of the caipira dialect, but rather stylizes the caipira identity. This identity acts to constitute the glamorous conception of the middle class found in telenovelas, by representing its antithesis.

4.2 Stylization and the caipira r

As we can begin to see from the discussion in the previous section, the prosodic features used in caipira dialect performance differentiate caipiras from middle-class characters. In this section, I demonstrate how telenovelas place particular emphasis on one of the most classically indexical features of the dialect: the caipira *r*, /ɻ/ (Amaral, 1955, p. 47; Cagliari, 1981, p. 33; Leite, 2004; Levado, 2006; Leite, 2009). As will be discussed in more detail below, this sound is not found in other dialects of BP and so is highly salient. This adds to distinction from middle-class characters, and plays a key role in the stylization of the caipira dialect. BP has a wide variety of pronunciations for orthographic <r>, according to Cagliari (1981) up to fifteen (p. 33). In caipira, the /ɻ/ tends to occur in syllable coda position (Cristófaro-Silva, 2005, p. 39) as, for example, in the word mar /maɻ/ 'sea'. In other variants of BP, this <r> may be pronounced /x/ (Cagliari, 1981, p. 111), for example, as pronounced by Belinha in example 2 (line 12) in the previous section. However, /ɻ/ can also occur in consonant clusters.

The caipira dialect also showcases the caipira *r* in the alternation between L[7] and /ɻ/ in syllable-coda position (Amaral, 1955, p. 52). This can be seen in example 1 (line 1) in the previous section, when Emerenciana pronounces /ˈvolta/ as [ˈvoɻta]. This change also takes place when L is part of a consonant cluster, as found by Levado (2006) in field work in the town of Tietê, SP. She recorded forms such as *claro* [ˈkɻaɻo] 'clear' and *blusa* [ˈbɻuza] 'blouse' (p. 15). The alternation between L and /ɻ/ is also consistently used in telenovela caipira performance, perhaps because this feature provides the opportunity to once again highlight the highly indexical caipira *r*.

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[7] Here 'L' stands for the alveolar lateral approximant /l/ and the labial-velar approximant /w/, used variably for orthographic <l> in syllable-coda position (Cristófaro-Silva & de Oliveira, 2001).

Indeed, the retroflex *r* is used consistently by actors playing caipira characters, which seems to indicate that this allophone is iconic (Gal & Irvine, 2009) of the caipira dialect and, by extension, the caipira identity. In a language attitudes investigation carried out among caipira and *campineiro* (from the city of Campinas, SP) speakers, Leite (2004) found that all informants associated the caipira dialect primarily with its pronunciation of R. She notes that even when she did not ask about R, but instead questioned informants about the caipira dialect in general, they all mentioned /ɻ/ as one of the principal differences between the caipira dialect and the campineiro dialect (p. 111). Her study convincingly demonstrates that these speakers place a great deal of importance on this pronunciation as a marker of the dialect. Therefore, it is not surprising that it is consistently used by actors in dialect performance. Also worthy of mention from Leite's study is the fact that all informants had a negative view of the caipira R, and all judged the campineiro R to be more desirable, and in some cases, "ideal" (p. 110). In fact, she found that native caipira speakers who had lived in Campinas for a few years did not produce the caipira R regularly, and attributes this observation to speakers' agentive transition to the campineiro R, described by the informants as more "neutral".

In the next example, /ɻ/ is the subject of sarcastic mimicry by a non-caipira character, reflecting a linguistic contrast between the characters, indexical of a clear divide in social class. The scene is from *Alma Gêmea* (2005), and takes place between Cristina, the "villain" of this telenovela who is running her ill-gotten husband's rose shop in the town of Roseiral in the interior of São Paulo, and Mirna, a caipira girl who works in the rose shop cleaning. After an altercation involving Mirna's family and Cristina, Cristina (C) appears in the rose shop to fire Mirna (M).

Example 3: *Alma Gêmea*

1   C: Mir:na [ˈmix:na], é esse o seu nome, não é?
2   *Mir:na, that is your name, right?*

3   M: É. (.) É esse. Mirna [ˈmiɻna], qu- que a mãe deu para [pra] eu, bonito bonito.
4   *Yes. That's it. Mirna, th- that my mom gave to me, pretty, pretty.*

5   C: Pois muito bem, Mir:na [ˈmiɻ:na].
6   *Very well then, Mir:na.*

In this scene, Cristina mocks Mirna's retroflex R. Both times Cristina says Mirna's name, she emphasizes the R: the first time she says it, when she produces an extended voiceless velar fricative, a typical pronunciation of syllable-coda R in standard BP, and the second time, when she produces an exaggerated caipira *r*, reproducing that produced by Mirna in line 3. The /ɻ/ is not only exaggerated in pronunciation, but Cristina also juts out her jaw and gives Mirna a look of contempt as she says it, the contempt it seems being expressed for both the pronunciation as well as the original producer of it. Mirna's speech is further differentiated from that of Cristina in this scene because she has difficulty speaking, exhibiting a pause and a few false starts, and generally appearing to be uncomfortable, most likely because she knows why Cristina is there to see her. In addition to the /ɻ/ in her name, Mirna's talk also exhibits the caipira grammatical feature of using a nominative case pronoun in the accusative sense, when she says *deu pra eu* 'gave to me'[8]. Her language, then, is clearly differentiated from that of Cristina, reinforcing the separation already existing between the two on the basis of the storyline.

The fact that Cristina's mimicry of a single allophone can be used to express disgust for Mirna is indicative of the ideological weight of the caipira *r*. The constant presence of this allophone and a limited number of other salient features in caipira performance in telenovelas

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[8] The standard form would be *me deu* or *deu para mim*. *Mim* is the accusative first person singular pronoun.

makes it possible to conceive of caipira performance as dialect stylization. Some prior sociolinguistic studies have focused on stylization as a speaker's temporary switch into a different dialect during discourse, which therefore heightens the audience's awareness that stylization is taking place. These include Bucholtz and Lopez's paper on neo-minstrelsy in Hollywood film (2011) and Coupland's analysis of Welsh dialect stylization on the radio (2001b). In these studies, stylization is highlighted because of the speaker's alternating use of two different language varieties, which makes salient the act of performance. However, the situation in telenovelas is different, because, regardless of the scope of dialectical features employed by telenovela actors, they are used consistently throughout the performance and switching does not come into play.

Following Coupland's (2001a) more general definition, stylization in the context of telenovelas can be defined as the "knowing and self-aware performance of a style or genre drawn from a pre-established repertoire" (p. 422). In this case, the repertoire includes the most salient features of the caipira dialect discussed here, namely the caipira *r*, non-concord, and prosody. This linguistic repertoire is accessed by actors to index a stereotypical caipira identity, which is reinforced by extralinguistic factors such as lifestyle and costume. Dialect stylization, then, is conceived of within this paper as recourse to a restricted set of dialectical features in order to reinforce a particular regimentation of indexicalities. In this case, caipira is regimented as indexical of the anti-modern through contrast with middle-class telenovela characters who, as discussed in the introduction, are closely associated with a positive conception of modernity and consistently speak prestigious language varieties. This contrast is achieved through the use of particularly iconic dialectical features such as the caipira *r* and acts to constitute middle-classness, by drawing attention to what it is not.

The characterization of the caipira as an identity apart from modern Brazilian society is shown in the next example, where the caipira *r* is employed in a foreign language for comedic effect. In this scene from *Morde & Assopra* (2011), Tiago (T), a resident of the fictitious town of Preciosa in the interior of São Paulo, is speaking with Cristiano (C) and Virgínia (V), the research assistants of Júlia, a paleontologist who hopes to excavate the coffee farm owned by a caipira farmer named Abner, to unearth the dinosaur bones she believes are buried below the surface. In this scene, two caipira brothers, Josué (J) and Daniel (D), arrive. Júlia has gone into the house to speak with Abner and his family about the dinosaur bones, while the others have remained outside in the field waiting for her.

Example 4: *Morde & Assopra*

1	T:	É estranho.
2		*It's strange.*
3	C:	Eh?
4		*Eh?*
5	T:	A Júlia entrou na casa.
6		*Júlia went into the house.*
7	C:	E daí. Ela deve ter tendo uma conversa ci:vilizada com o fazendeiro.
8		*So? She's probably having a civilized conversation with the farmer.*
9	T:	Quem disse, que esse fazendeiro é civilizado?
10		*Who said that this farmer is civilized?*
11	C:	Virgínia o seu casaco, prendeu. Para [pra] soltar só assim ra:sgar.
12		*Virgínia, your coat, it's caught. To get it out, you have to rip it like this.*
13	V:	Paguei uma fortuna por esse casaco!
14		*I paid a fortune for this coat!*
15		Vou ficar presa aqui por o resto da vida.
16		*I'm going to stay stuck here for the rest of my life.*
17	((Daniel and Josué arrive))	
18	J:	[tʃu wantʃu] help aí?
19		*Do you want help over there?*
20	V:	Você [se] fala inglês?
21		*You speak English?*

22	D:	O mano aquí só sabe essa palavra mesmo [ˈmemu], help [heɹːp].
23		*My buddy here only knows this word, 'her:p'.*
24		Ele [i] gosta [gos] de falar [faˈla] que acha [aʃ] que é chi:que.
25		*He likes to say it because he thinks it's chi:c.*
26		Más hoje eu estou muito mais chique porque vou
27		*But today I am much more chic because I'm going*
28		no casamento do primo rico!
29		*to my rich cousin's wedding!*

30	C:	Sará então que vocês po:dem me ajudar a tirar Virgínia
31		*So do you think you can help pull Virginia*
32		aquí da cerca porque eu não tenho experiência com arame farpa::do.
33		*out from the fence, because I don't have experience with barbed wire.*

| 34 | J: | Deixa comigo que eu helpo ela. |
| 35 | | *Let me handle it, I'll 'help' her.* |

| 36 | ((helps Virgínia to get her coat untangled from the fence)) |

37	J:	Pro:nto. Está [ta] livre.
38		*All set. You're free.*
39		Precisando [ˌpresiˈsano] da minha pessoa só dispor [disˈpoɹ].
40		*If you need me, you can count on me.*

Tiago initially expresses concern that Júlia has gone into Abner's house, and Cristiano tries to reassure him by saying that she is probably having a civilized conversation with the farmer (i.e., Abner). Tiago, who already knows Abner since they are from the same town, replies by sarcastically asking who said that Abner was civilized. Since Cristiano has not yet met Abner, Tiago justifies his concern with Júlia's well-being by questioning Cristiano's assumption that she is having a civilized conversation, implying that Abner is anything but civilized. In doing so, Tiago makes a connection between this specific caipira character and the ideology of the caipira as the inhabitant of a rural area who has little contact with, understanding of, or respect for modern culture and in this case, the furthering of scientific discovery. This comment emphasizes the difference between the caipira and other characters in this telenovela by "othering" the caipira identity.

This view of the caipira identity is reinforced by the introduction of the brothers Josué and Daniel. They arrive as Virgínia is complaining because her expensive coat is caught in a barbed wire fence. Josué seems to make a statement mostly in English, although it is largely unintelligible, illustrating his lack of linguistic competence, which is further highlighted when his brother, Daniel, claims that this is the only English word that Josué knows (line 22). Josué's code-mixing between English and BP in his utterance (i.e., help and *aí* 'over there') serves to emphasize for viewers his lack of control over language. When Virgínia asks if he is speaking English, Daniel makes fun of his brother in a stylized caipira performance, showcasing the caipira *r* in the English word *help*, which he produces as [heɹp] (line 22). Although Josué pronounced /l/ when he said this word earlier (line 18), Daniel's caipira-accented reproduction acts to delegitimize Josué's linguistic abilities by indexing Josué's caipira identity. Moreover, as Daniel claims that Josué thinks that this English word is *chique* 'chic', he simultaneously constructs an ideological linguistic hierarchy and undermines the sophisticated purpose of Josué's English usage by using a caipira phonological rule in pronouncing it himself. The comedic factor in this excerpt seems to be that it is not possible for a caipira, who lacks a grasp of even the Brazilian Portuguese language, to speak a foreign language which is ideologically positioned through discourse as sophisticated (*chique*). The caipira performance by Daniel also includes truncated words such as [i] for *ele* 'he', [gos] for *gosta* 'likes' and [aʃ] for *acha* 'thinks' (all line 24), as a result of the phonological features typically used in caipira performance and discussed in the previous section.

The content of Daniel's statement further exaggerates this character's ideological caipira identity. Daniel connects his brother's chic-ness with his own on that particular day because he is about to go to the wedding of his *primo rico*, 'rich cousin'. The use of this quantifier to describe

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the cousin demonstrates that Daniel is impressed by wealth and is by inference not wealthy himself, reproducing the ideology of the caipira as financially unsuccessful, not at home in the milieu of a large middle-class wedding. The use of truncated words and an extremely obvious and well-placed use of the caipira phonological rule of switching /l/ with /ɹ/ in a foreign word for the purpose of constructing specific indexicalities can be usefully seen as stylization. In this way, the stylized use of the caipira *r* can be viewed as "strategic inauthenticity" (Coupland, 2007, p. 154).

Observing linguistic phenomena in this manner allows us to avoid conceiving of the stylization described here simply as the devaluing of the caipira dialect, and instead focus our attention on the "projected personas and genres" deriving from "well-known identity repertoires" (ibid) in order to understand the role of the stylized caipira dialect within the context of telenovelas and in Brazilian society more generally. After all, it must also be kept in mind that strategically inauthentic representations of this type often involve humor, also embodied through exaggerated gesture and costume, which makes more apparent their inauthenticity. This aspect is important in terms of television production, since it could offend viewers if they perceive that their dialect is being devalued or insulted. Stylization acts as a cue for viewers that what is being shown is not meant to be authentic.

Stylized representations of the caipira identity can also be found in written accounts of the caipira dating back to the beginning of the twentieth century. For example, Cornélio Pires, a journalist, writer, and caipira folklorist from Tietê, SP, exaggerates the qualities of his caipira subject matter in a manner typical of the *causos* - real or invented stories told for entertainment purposes - told by caipiras which he recorded, some of which are collected in his work *Conversas ao pé do fogo* (1921). Of the *caboclo* caipira, one "type" of caipira that Pires

describes, he exaggerates[9], "Poor caboclo, I believe he has never taken a bath!" (p. 25). Pires attributes both positive and negative qualities to the caboclo: "intelligent and lazy, crafty… bargainers like gypsies, neglected, dirty and mocked…they are courageous, fighters and horse thieves…" (pp. 20-21). This stylized representation of the caipira was also popularized by Monteiro Lobato, an extremely influential Brazilian writer from Taubaté, SP, who raised chickens on a farm inherited from his grandfather at the beginning of the twentieth century (Moraes de Mello, 2006, p. 126). There, Lobato became upset at the practice of burning forests to make way for farming, considering it excessively predatory. In 1914, he sent a complaint about this to the newspaper *O Estado de São Paulo* (OESP), which was published under the title *A Velha Praga* ('the old curse'). He blamed the government and large landowners for being unable to develop modern agriculture in Brazil, which was so fit for that purpose, and for ignoring the plight of the poor caipiras (Moraes de Mello, 2006, p. 127). In 1915, Lobato created the character Jeca Tatu in an article entitled *Urupês*, which also appeared in OESP. Jeca Tatu was a negative depiction of the ignorant caipira *caboclo*, mentioned above. This character was expanded on in Lobato's 1918 short story, *Urupês*, featured in the short story collection of the same name.

Prior to Lobato's publication, Brazilian writer José de Alencar had depicted the Brazilian mixture of indigenous people and Europeans as something which generated "a strong nation" (Torrecillas, 2008, p. 2). However, Lobato's depiction shows a different side to the caipira. He says that this mixture of races has generated a "weak, lazy, passive" (Torrecillas, 2008, p. 2) person. Lobato (1918) introduces his story, *Urupês*, as the reality of the caipira, in opposition to the "Indianist" Romanticism of Alencar, noting, "Poor Jeca Tatu! How beautiful he is in fiction,

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[9] The quotes from Pires and Lobato are my translation from the original Portuguese.

and how ugly in reality!" (p. 245). The caipira home is described as the decrepit result of its inhabitant's inertia to repair, or really do, anything. He owns just one chair, for guests, but with only three legs, since four would require him to make the floor level (p. 245). The caipira is also portrayed as ignorant: "He votes. He doesn't know for whom, but he votes" (p. 250). He grows his own food, but puts no effort into it, growing only yucca, corn and sugar cane (p. 248) and harvesting as he needs it. Jeca Tatu, then, became the stereotype of the caipira, and a representation of "everything that is backward in [Brazil]" (Torrecillas, 2008, p. 3).

While this portrayal of the caipira is anything but positive, it is important to note that Lobato's strategy in creating Jeca Tatu was also political in nature. He believed that for Brazil to become a prosperous and developed country, those in power needed to address its social problems (Moraes de Mello, 2006, p. 124). Lobato was a firm proponent of modernization, and so exaggerated certain characteristics of the caipira in his story in order to affect public opinion about the caipira's living conditions (Moraes de Mello, 2006, p. 127). Ribeiro (2000), as well, describes Lobato's portrayal as a "caricature" (p. 275). These historical accounts show that the caipira character has long been portrayed as the representative of the anti-modern in Brazil. In addition, although both Lobato and the telenovelas considered here claim to portray reality, the caipira is nevertheless stylized.

The fact that stylized representations of caipiras have been a part of popular culture for at least a century demonstrates that the dialect is recognized as authentically "Brazilian" and an entrenched part of Brazilian culture and history. At the same time, this identity is rejected precisely as a result of the traditional caipira culture which is not aligned with the "shared repertoire" of the modern Brazilian identity as it is portrayed in telenovelas. It seems that this conflicting dynamic has opened up the caipira identity to new interpretations and led to

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exaggerated, often humorous, representations. It is natural for these to involve dialect stylization

in a country in which a strong myth of national linguistic homogeneity has been claimed to exist

(Bagno, 1999; Leite & Callou, 2002). Caipira-specific features such as the L>/ɹ/ phonological

rule and the emblematic syllable-coda /ɹ/ are therefore highly phonologically salient, as

deviations from the national standard, making them particularly appropriate for stylization.

In the next section, I will show how the caipira dialect is ideologically linked in

telenovelas to non-standard language more generally, and discuss the implications for caipira

performance overlapping with the widespread Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese feature of noun

phrase and subject-verb non-concord.

4.3 Non-concord and standard language ideologies

The most consistently used grammatical features in caipira performance involve a lack of

agreement in noun phrase and subject-verb constructions. As will be shown below, in Brazil

these features are indexical of low socioeconomic prestige, and this indexicality is reproduced in

caipira performance in the telenovelas analyzed. While non-concord has been described as a

feature of the caipira dialect (Amaral, 1955, p.70), it is also typical of Brazilian Vernacular

Portuguese (BVP) in general, throughout Brazil (Guy, 1989; Lucchesi, 2008; Holm, 2009; Naro

& Scherre, 2010). There are two types of concord considered here: subject-verb agreement

(SVA) and noun phrase agreement (NPA). In terms of SVA, while caipira does use the standard

Brazilian Portuguese (SBP) ending *-o* for the first person singular verb conjugation, the rest of

the pronouns variably take the third person singular ending. Therefore, we may have a case such

as the following:

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Person	Singular		Plural	
1	eu	falo	nós	fala
2	tu	fala	vós	fala
3	ele/ela/você	fala	eles/elas/vocês	fala

Table 3: Conjugation of *falar* 'to speak' in BVP and the caipira dialect

In terms of NPA, in SBP all elements of a noun phrase must match in number and gender. In

caipira, and BVP, only the first element of the NP, generally the article, is marked for plurality:

SBP	BVP/caipira	Gloss
a) *a casa branca* def. art.F-S house.F-S white.F-S	a) *a casa branca* def. art.F-S house.F-S white.F-S	'the white house'
b) *as casas brancas* def.art.F-P house.F-P white.F-P	b) *as casa branca* def. art.F-P house.F-S white.F-S	'the white houses'

Table 4: Comparison of noun phrase agreement in SBP and BVP

Although non-caipira telenovela characters do sometimes employ these grammatical

features, caipira characters consistently do so. The next example is from *Morde & Assopra*

(2011). In this scene, the caipira farmer Abner has told Júlia, the paleontologist, that he will not

allow her to excavate on his coffee farm because he needs to have a good harvest in order to pay

the bank, which is threatening to take his land because he does not have enough money to repay

his loan. In this scene, Júlia (J) is making one last attempt to appeal to Abner (A) to allow her to

begin her work.

Example 5: *Morde & Assopra*

1 J: Olha, eu sei que você não me conhece,
2   *Look, I know that you don't know me,*
3   más é um apelo para [pra] sua generosidade.
4   *but this is an appeal to your generosity.*
5   Eu preciso mui:to do meu emprego na Inglaterra.

6		*I really need my job in England.*
7		Com a pesquisa terminada, eu já tenho a garantia
8		*When the research is finished, I already have a guarantee*
9		de conseguir um bom emprego nessa universidade inglesa.
10		*that I'll get a good job at this English university.*
11		A minha vida depende dessa pesquisa.
12		*My life depends on this research.*
13		Tenho um sonho. Me ajuda, vai. Por favor.
14		*I have a dream. Help me, come on. Please.*
15	A:	Moça, você [se] tem um sonho, eu tenho uma realidade.
16		*Girl, you have a dream, I have a reality.*
17		Eu vou perder [peˌˈde] minha fazenda, se eu não
18		*I'm going to lose my farm if I don't*
19		fizer [fiˈze] uma colheita no tempo certo [ˈseˌto].
20		*harvest at the right time.*
21		E se essa colheita não for boa demais, eu perco [ˈpeˌko] do mesmo [ˈmemo] jeito,
22		*And if this harvest is not extremely good, I'll lose it anyway,*
23		eu perco[ˈpeˌko] as terra [ˈteha] que meu pai deixou para [pra] nós [nois].
24		*I'll lose the land that my dad left us.*
25		Eu perco [ˈpeˌko] esse teto aqui que é da minha mãe, da minha irmã,
26		*I'll lost this roof here that belongs to my mom, to my sister,*
27		da minha filha, que nem tem mais mãe para [pra] cuidar [kuiˈda] dela.
28		*to my daughter, who doesn't even have a mom anymore to look after her.*
29		Moça eu sinto muito pelo seu sonho.
30		*Girl, I am really sorry about your dream.*
31		Más [mais] eu tenho que pensar [penˈsa] nos que dependem [dʒiˈpendʒ] de mim.
32		*But I have to think about those who depend on me.*

This excerpt is from just before Júlia and Abner get into an argument about whether she should be permitted to dig up part of Abner's coffee farm. Here, she tries to convince Abner that her research is necessary for her success in life, because she will get an important job at a foreign university when she finishes her dissertation. Abner, on the other hand, is concerned with keeping his farm and protecting his family. It is partially through this difference in values that a difference in social position is established. Abner, whose family consists of three females (his mother, sister, and daughter), is the "man of the house", and he expresses his obligation to take care of his family, as well as preserve his father's farm. This last aspect indexes a lifestyle rooted

in tradition which is produced and reproduced in caipira performance, here represented by the passing down of land throughout the generations. While Júlia's interests are tied in with the modern pursuits of scientific progress and professional success, Abner's concerns are more focused on traditional values, especially revolving around the family. His concern for his land and home firmly root his identity to a specific place, while the character of Júlia is established as modern through her international experience. When the telenovela begins, she is living in Japan; now, she is looking to move to England. Her supra-national stance establishes her as a modern Brazilian, detached from any domestic regional identity. Abner, on the other hand, is strongly associated with a regional and not national identity, limiting the caipira culture from contributing to the "shared repertoire" of the imagined national community.

Abner's monologue opens with him informing Júlia that while she may have a dream, he has a reality. Abner's distinction between the expectations of the two characters shows that he is aware of his marginalization within Brazilian society, which Ribeiro (2000) claims is the result of the fact that caipiras now live "within sight of superior conditions of life" (p. 277), which they recognize that they cannot attain. In this scene, Abner seems to understand that Júlia's dream is important to her, but the harsh reality that he and his family must face, confronted with the dominant and sometimes corrupt power of the bank, threatens his livelihood in a way which precludes him from participating in the modern pursuit of scientific exploration. That Abner clings to his traditional lifestyle of farming his own land is indicative of his separation from modern Brazilian society, which works against him due to his defiance of social norms and inhibition of progress.

Abner's insistence on farming his own land is indexical of the historical reality of the caipira. In the 1850s, caipiras were denied the right to live and farm on the small plots of land

they occupied when a new law was passed requiring the purchase of land and documentation

proving ownership, which caipiras could not afford. This reform was meant to pave the way for

large agricultural enterprises, which economically revived the interior of São Paulo with

commercial cotton, tobacco and coffee plantations. Unable to own land themselves, and forced to

confront the state which was establishing a new presence in the region, many caipiras were

obliged to work for large land owners, who could protect them. This made caipiras reliant on

land owners and their options were limited to working as sharecroppers or as paid help on large

farms (as the caipira character Saracura from *O Rei do Gado*, discussed in example 7 below).

However, since caipiras were used to their own rhythm of work and leisure, developed with the

lifestyle of their ancestors, the *bandeirantes*, and later as subsistence farmers, many resisted the

new economic model, seeing this type of employed work as "a denial of [the caipira's] personal

freedom, which would make him the same as the slave" (Ribeiro, 2000, p. 274). Abner's acting

in accordance with this historical caipira value establishes the current caipira identity as largely

indistinguishable from the historical identity, distancing the caipira from modernity.

While Júlia's and Abner's discourse shows that they are clearly from distinct sections of

Brazilian society, the difference in their language also indexes this social divide. In addition to

some of the linguistic features used in caipira performance discussed in the previous sections,

such as the caipira *r* and word-initial and word-final segment deletion, Abner's language exhibits

non-concord in both SV constructions and in noun phrases. In line 23, Abner refers to *as terras*

[ˈteha] 'the land', a case of non-concord in a noun phrase. This contrasts with Júlia's

pronunciation of *as terras* [ˈteɣas] later on during this scene (not shown above). In line 31,

Abner notes that he has to think about *os que depende* [dʒiˈpendʒ] *de mim* 'those who depend on

me' with lack of concord between the plural *os* 'those' and the third-person singular verb form *depende* 'depend'.

Scherre (2005) has pointed out that non-concord is not only very common in informal spoken Brazilian Portuguese, but it can even be found in writing in some of the country's most prominent newspapers, as well as in government publications. Despite this, she claims that the ideology persists that non-concord is a sign of a lack of education, an education which would have, of course, instructed the speaker how to use the "proper" grammatical structure. The prevalence of this ideology can be seen clearly in the Brazilian media scandal which erupted in early 2011 concerning the introduction of academic textbooks which granted legitimacy to non-standard BP concord rules, for example by noting that in informal spoken language, it is common to say *os livro* 'the books'. The fact that this form was not marked as an error and was presented as acceptable Portuguese led to popular outcries against the new books, which had been developed by a team of linguists (Possenti, 2011). This case is reminiscent of the negative response in the US to the 1996 attempt by the Oakland, CA School Board to legitimize African American English in classrooms in order to help students learn standard English. The fact that non-concord is much more consistently used in caipira than non-caipira performance, despite the fact that it is a common feature in spoken BP, may lend additional credence to Scherre's claim that there is linguistic prejudice against non-concord in Brazil. By pigeonholing non-concord as the language of the underprivileged, its non-prestigious status is both established and emphasized.

In Naro & Scherre's (1996) study on the relation between application of the SBP concord rule and telenovela viewing, introduced in section 2 above, the authors find that SBP concord rules are used more consistently by people who regularly view telenovelas, partially as a result of

their increased exposure to that linguistic model. Such a conclusion suggests that the standard concord rule may be indexed as prestigious on telenovelas, leading viewers to interpret that speech style as socially advantageous. Since prestige is a property of the speakers, and not of the language itself (Milroy, 2001, p. 532), it can be inferred from their research that socioeconomically prestigious characters are more likely to use standard concord, a finding which was largely borne out in my own analysis. Caipiras, on the other hand, are often portrayed as simple, uneducated, and financially unsuccessful, and the use of non-concord could heighten these indexicalities. Indeed, Scherre (2005), Bagno (1999), and Ilari & Basso (2006) all suggest that non-concord is strongly associated with these characteristics regardless of whether it occurs in the context of caipira performance.

The next example is from *O Salvador da Pátria* (1989). At this point, Sassá Mutema, the main character discussed in the introduction to this paper, has agreed to marry Marlene, the lover of the powerful landowner and congressman Severo Toledo Blanco, in order to quell suspicion in the town of the extramarital affair. Sassá, an uneducated farmhand whose ignorance is indexed through his use of caipira and non-standard language, has agreed to the marriage due to his desire to please his boss, Severo. In this scene, Sassá is waiting in Severo's house, where Severo's assistant (A) has set up a room for Sassá to stay in. During the conversation, Sassá (S) is watching a soccer game on television, and paying little attention to the assistant's talk. Here, there is a notable contrast in application of the SBP agreement rule between the two characters.

Example 6: *O Salvador da Pátria*

1 A: Sassá, acabei de vir do seu quarto.
2   *Sassá, I just got back from your room.*
3   Já mandei arrumar todas as suas coisas lá.
4   *I already had all of your things arranged there.*

5		Olhe, as suas camisas estão penduradas,
6		*Look, your shirts are hung up,*
7		as cuecas e as meias estão nas gavetas, os sapatos
8		*your underwear and socks are in the drawers, your shoes*
9		na parte de baixo, as gravatas-
10		*down below, your ties-*
11		Sassá está me ouvindo? Você [se] está [ta] me ouvindo Sassá?
12		*Sassá, are you listening to me? Are you listening to me Sassá?*
13	S:	Estou [tou], as gravatas [ˌgraˈvata], os sapato [ˌsaˈpato], a gravata...
14		*Yeah, the ties, the shoes, the tie..*

The assistant's talk here is a good example of the talk of the middle-class characters on *O Salvador da Pátria*. As he lists Sassá's possessions and their locations, each noun phrase exhibits number and gender agreement between the constituent elements. A contrast becomes immediately apparent in Sassá's response (line 13). Although it is essentially a repetition by Sassá, who is more engrossed in the soccer game playing on television than the assistant's presence, he makes some changes, "translating" the SBP spoken previously into his own dialect, thereby eliminating concord. This repetition-but-transformation serves the purpose of distinction, by highlighting the difference between two distinct performed identities. Sassá is portrayed as someone who must be taken care of when introduced into a modern, upper-middle-class household, and who appears to be fascinated with something as simple as seeing a soccer game on television, fascinated with modernity. In this way, non-concord indexes both a lack of education, due to its non-standardness, and the anti-modern, stemming from its inclusion within the grammatical features of the caipira dialect.

Notably, non-concord is typical of BVP and today is not limited to the caipira dialect. Yet, the actor produces it within the context of a specifically caipira performance. This example, as well as example 5 above, shows that in telenovelas, non-concord is not symbolically linked to the range of speakers who actually use this form in informal spoken language. Instead, the

linguistic non-standardness and the resulting lack of prestige are ascribed to the specific regional

identity of the caipira through performance. Also on the basis of studies such as Scherre's (2005)

described earlier in this section, it seems to be apparent that non-standard language is portrayed

as a counterpoint to a standard form indexed as prestigious, thereby indexing the speaker of that

non-standard language as lacking prestige. The examples and discussion in this section

demonstrate that through performance, the caipira dialect is closely tied in with non-standard

language, which in turn indexes multiple undesirable social types. Similar to data example 1 in

section 4.1 (*Cabocla*), caipira, a regional dialect, becomes a sign of non-standardness and a lack

of education in general.

Non-concord, as a salient non-standard feature subject to metalinguistic commentary, is

therefore a natural candidate for stylization. The caipira style, however, is not only realized

through linguistic elements. Since this analysis regards television, a visual medium, it would be

incomplete without mention of the contribution of costume to identity stylization. And it is this

area which will be briefly explored in the next section of this analysis.

4.4 Costume

Regardless of the time period considered, caipira characters have remarkably similar

costumes, which reflect their farm-based lifestyles. If the caipira dialectical features used in

caipira performance are considered to be caipira dialect stylization, it can be asserted that

costume also plays an integral role in the stylization of caipira identity. Stylization is employed

in the process of indexicalization, defined as the "political process in which both social identity

and language ideology are simultaneously constructed" (Nakamura, 2006, p. 282). According to

Nakamura (2006), who discusses the close relationship between the language and appearance of

the Japanese schoolgirl, costume plays an important part in indexicalization. Just as linguistic style can be deployed to index particular facets of identity, so too can clothing style.

In the telenovelas analyzed, female caipira characters generally wear simple flowered dresses and older women are often shown wearing aprons. The men always wear a hat, presumably to keep the sun out of their eyes, indicating the basis of their lifestyle on manual farm labor[10]. In *Alma Gêmea* and *O Salvador da Pátria*, the men wear floppy tattered hats, in *O Rei do Gado* and *Cabocla* they tend to wear cowboy-style hats with a wide brim, and in *Morde & Assopra*, set in 2011, the main male caipira character, Abner, wears a baseball cap. The rest of the male costume consists of simple clothes associated with ruralness and by extension lower social status, including overalls, plaid button-down shirts, simple vests, boots or no shoes at all, and worn pants or jeans.

When a caipira is shown out of costume, for example in middle-class clothing, he may be portrayed as uncomfortable, such as when the main caipira character in *O Salvador da Pátria*, Sassá Mutema, has been "dressed up" by Severo just after the scene shown in example 5 in section 4.3 above. When Severo's assistant alerts Sassá that he must go to the church to plan his wedding, Sassá expresses discomfort at going to his Portuguese language class immediately afterwards in "church clothes", showing his uneasiness at wearing clothing that is not suited to his character. Later on, when Sassá becomes mayor of his town with the support of local politicians who hope to manipulate him, and begins wearing suits and no hat regularly, his speech becomes consistently closer to the standard. In *Alma Gêmea*, when the caipira character Mirna is about to get married, she shows up in a tight fluorescent orange dress with lace trim, stumbling in her gold-colored high heeled shoes (indicatively shown in a close-up standing on

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[10] See Appendix 3 for photographs of some caipira characters from the telenovelas analyzed in this paper.

the dirt ground outside her home) and nervously attempting to fix her scarf which keeps falling off her shoulders. As the other guests stare at her outfit with disdain, she faces her husband-to-be, nervously tossing her hair over her shoulders, and says, "Jorge [ˈʒɔɹʒə], estou [tou] bonita? Elegante?" 'Jorge, do I look pretty? Elegant?' In this scene, although Mirna is not in the caipira costume, her tacky attempt at an "elegant" outfit is presented as ridiculous through the contemptuous and pitiful facial expressions of the other characters.

In her ethnographic work on Detroit adolescents, Eckert (2010) has shown that clothing style plays a significant role along with linguistic style in the construction of identity (pp. 139-140). Telenovela costumes, although produced by the media industry and not by communities of practice as Eckert found in her study, seem to have this correlation in mind. In other words, the identity that the caipira dialect has been shown in this paper to produce and reproduce has a close indexical relationship with appearance. The distinctive caipira costume also provides a sharp visual contrast with other, non-caipira characters in telenovelas. In keeping with the telenovela's focus on middle-class values, those characters tend to wear formal clothing, the men in suit jackets appropriate to the time period and with neat short hair, and the women often wearing extravagant dresses and shiny jewelry. Costume, then, reproduces the idea that the caipira is a poor, simple and unchanging person, who continues to do the type of manual labor associated with the social-historical development of caipira people as subsistence farmers, in contrast to the upper middle-class characters and their modern service industry or government jobs and lavish lifestyles. Despite his hard work, the caipira remains poor, both a reference to the historical reality of caipiras discussed in this paper, as well as an indication that the caipira's lifestyle is anachronistic: his way of life is not suited to contemporary Brazilian society, and therefore will not allow him to succeed in that environment.

In this way, the caipira costume also places this character firmly within a historical context; the traditional caipira lifestyle of subsistence farming, or doing agricultural work for others, is indexed by a traditional, unchanging costume which is out of place in the contemporary middle-class context of the telenovela. For example, in the historical telenovela, *Cabocla*, which takes place in 1918, the costumes of caipira characters are shown in contrast with those of characters who are from or have lived in Rio de Janeiro, and who therefore act as the symbol of modernity and progress. Caipira characters are recognized by the Brazilian public partially through the visual convention of costume; this convention "can be mobilized in certain situations in order to signify certain things" (Hamburger, 1999, p. 276), and in so doing, contributes toward stylization. In this case, costume is the visual convention mobilized to index the caipira identity, which in turn indexes a constellation of ideological meanings (Eckert, 2008), with the overarching theme of the anti-modern.

5. Caipira as the anti-modern

Throughout the analysis, I have suggested that in telenovelas, the caipira identity, indexed through linguistic variables, costume, and discourse content, is held up as a representation of the anti-modern. Here, I will discuss in a bit more detail the selection of this particular term. In describing caipira performance as anti-modern, I hope to draw attention to the use of the caipira identity as a backdrop against which middle-class identity is formulated. As has been suggested in this paper, some of the indexicalities of the caipira dialect are ruralness, a lack of education, discomfort with modernity, strong family values, and tradition. Through contrast with other, middle-class characters, these indexicalities are firmly established, making the caipira dialect indexical not so much of an actual regional identity, but of the absence of the modern consumption-oriented identity which is ascribed in telenovelas to the middle class. The presence

of caipira characters in telenovelas serves to reinforce the socially positive values associated with what the caipira is not: modern, wealthy, and successful, a speaker of standard language.

The concept of standard language being indexical of a desirable identity finds compelling support in Hamburger's concept of the "shared repertoire", or "rules and conventions" (2001, p. 26) concerning character types, which she claims influence viewers' values concerning particular types of people in real life. In this case, the shared repertoire of the modern Brazilian promoted in telenovelas is represented by a shared national (standard) language. As has been argued concerning language standardization in European countries, the sharing of a common language within domestic borders is an important aspect in creating the sense of an imagined national community. And indeed, Bagno (1999) has asserted that an ideological myth that Brazil is a country of "linguistic homogeneity" (p. 15) is propagated through Brazilian institutions such as the school system and the media. Official support for a homogenous, standard language is one of the elements that can cause it to be considered prestigious (Milroy, 2001). As has been shown in this paper, telenovelas are also involved in the process of prestige attribution by portraying specific character types in close correlation with specific linguistic features. These findings provide evidence that in the studies conducted by Naro (1981) and Naro & Scherre (2006), speakers may have aligned their speech with the standard language they saw on telenovelas because that standard language is imbued with socioeconomic prestige, in turn correlated with modernity and progress. An imagined homogeneity of modern and desirable character types is reinforced through opposition to characters which break with standard language norms.

The reduction of the indexical field of the caipira dialect to a set of meanings connoting the anti-modern is enacted through stylization. Stylization supports the construction of "ideological representations of linguistic differences" (Gal & Irvine, 2009, p. 403) through three

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processes: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure. According to Gal & Irvine, in the process of iconization, "linguistic features that index social groups or activities appear to be iconic representations of them" (p. 403). This process has been described in the data analysis of this paper; linguistic regimentation of the caipira dialect makes the features used in caipira performance more highly iconic of the ideological caipira identity. Through fractal recursivity, a difference between groups at one level, in this case the level of regional origin, is projected as a difference at other levels, which here include education, socioeconomic status, and cultural values. In the process of erasure, "because a linguistic ideology is a totalizing vision, elements that do not fit its interpretive structure - that cannot be seen to fit - must be either ignored or transformed" (p. 404). In this case, the caipira dialect is transformed through stylization, which reduces the language to a few salient features. However, the caipira identity is not completely erased, and instead is regimented to project linguistic difference into a variety of social spheres, both reflecting and constructing a clear linguistic and social hierarchy.

My final example, from *O Rei do Gado* (1997), exemplifies the linguistic and social hierarchy indexed and created through caipira performance. Prior to this scene, Saracura, one half of a caipira music duo (*dupla*), has been given a temporary position on the cattle ranch of the successful Bruno, who is nicknamed *o rei do gado* 'the cattle king'. Marcos, Bruno's son, has invited Saracura to go fishing with him. In this scene, Marcos (M) and Saracura (S) are fishing in a river. Saracura has just been asking Marcos why he is fishing instead of helping his father on the ranch, since it is assumed that Marcos will eventually inherit it.

Example 7: *O Rei do Gado*

1 S: Olha [oj], você [se] fica attento aí. Se o bicho correr [koˈhe]
2   *Hey, pay attention over there. If the animal tries to get away*

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3		você [se] dá o tranco.
4		*you give it a jerk.*
5	M:	Você [se] pode deixar porque eu entendo disso
6		*You don't have to worry because I know*
7		muito mais do que você. Só que eu estou [tou]
8		*much more about this than you do. It's just that I am*
9		acostumado com a pesca no mar, sabia?
10		*used to fishing in the sea, you know?*
11		A última pescaria que eu fiz nas costas
12		*On the last fishing trip I took near the coast*
13		da Ilhabela, eu peguei um bicudo
14		*of Ilhabela, I caught a fish*
15		com mais de cem quilos.
16		*that weighed over one hundred kilos.*
17	S:	O, é, agora você [se] me vem com [ko] essa prosa?
18		*Oh, and now you come with this talk?*
19		Você [se] que não [nũ] sabe [sabə] nem pôr [po] uma isca
20		*You, who don't even know how to put bait*
21		no seu anzol [anˈzoɹ] é isso [issu]?
22		*on your hook, is that it?*
23	M:	Conseguir [ˌkonseˈgi] eu consigo. Só, porque eu vou me dar a esse trabalho
24		*Be able to, I'm able. But, why do this work myself*
25		quando sempre tem alguém que faça por mim?
26		*when there is always someone to do it for me?*
27	S:	Más [mai] você [oˈse] é um sujeitinho muito folgado [ˌfoɹˈgado], sabia?
28		*Well, you really are a spoiled brat, did you know that?*
29	M:	Tem um peixe beliscando aqui, olha [o].
30		*There's a fish nibbling here, hey.*
31		Você [se] puxa ele! Puxa direitinho.
32		*You reel him in! Do it right.*

In this scene, Marcos defends his fishing abilities while noting that his last fishing trip was to the exclusive island of Ilhabela, off the coast of the state of São Paulo, a place where Saracura would have most likely never had the opportunity to visit. While Saracura, as a caipira character, could be considered to have more mastery of an outdoor activity like fishing, Marcos asserts his social superiority by noting that he always has someone do these tasks for him. This distinction between the two characters is also achieved through the linguistic differentiation

shown in the passage above, largely reflective of the linguistic features of caipira performance discussed throughout this paper. Although Saracura is older than Marcos, he is required to do as Marcos says (line 31) and reel in Marcos' fish, perhaps for fear of losing his job. This caipira character is shown to be in an inferior social position by the fact that he reels in the fish, despite Marcos' rude behavior. Marcos' statements are also perhaps indicative of why he invited Saracura to go fishing in the first place: to do the work for him. In this process, the social group of caipira speakers is largely erased, and replaced with a transformed and rather undesirable representation out of line with the modern middle-class values that telenovelas promote (Hamburger, 1999, 2001, 2011; Porto, 2011).

6. Conclusion

This paper contributes to research on language ideologies by analyzing some ideologies which circulate within Brazilian society through the telenovela genre. While one objective of this analysis has been to provide a detailed description of the portrayal of the caipira dialect and the caipira character within telenovelas, this description has made it possible to draw a number of conclusions concerning the process of indexicalization that takes place in telenovelas. I have suggested that in this case, a reduction and regimentation of the linguistic variety of caipira has enabled a parallel regimentation of the indexical field of that dialect. In emphasizing linguistic regimentation, I have discussed three linguistic features consistently employed in caipira dialect performance: word-initial, -medial, and -final segment deletion, the iconic caipira *r*, and non-concord in noun phrases and subject-verb constructions. Contrasting with the language of other non-caipira characters, these elements serve to create linguistic distinction, indicative of social distinction. Linguistically, I have claimed that the performance discussed here can be usefully described as dialect stylization, whereby a restricted repertoire of dialectical features serves to

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index a particular identity. Stylization, understood as a self-aware performance, makes it possible to see caipira performance as "strategic inauthenticity" (Coupland, 2007, p. 154), which is often employed for humorous purposes.

Socially, in telenovelas these variables index traditional values and lifestyles, at times associated with historical realities, ruralness, and often a lack of education. The emphasis on the indexicality of tradition and history does not fully negate the existence of the caipira social identity. Rather, it places that identity within a space presented as undesirable and anachronistic, out of sync with and resistant to the upper middle-class, consumerist repertoire that telenovelas promote. Caipira dialect stylization, then, plays a strategic role in the promotion of the dominant repertoire by representing alternatives to it as old-fashioned and anti-modern.

I have also observed that one feature in particular, non-concord, in addition to other features such as the reduced forms of *estava* [tava] and *estou* [tou], are not only features of the caipira dialect, but are widely used in Brazilian Vernacular Portuguese (BVP) as well. This suggests that indexicalities associated with the use of that feature within BVP, such as a lack of education, are reinforced and reassociated with the caipira identity when non-concord is used in caipira performance. In addition, I have shown how one characteristic of the caipira dialect, its slow prosody, is abandoned in performance in favor of clipped and elided segments, demonstrating that in the process of stylization, some seemingly salient features of the dialect can be ignored in favor of features which increase distinction. These findings show that performance does not only draw on a set repertoire of linguistic features to achieve its indexical purpose, but can also transform that repertoire.

Finally, I have shown, along with some of the other sociocultural linguists mentioned in this paper, that high performance is a fruitful area for the study of language ideologies. Research

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on ideologies propagated through institutional means such as the school system and the print media has provided an excellent perspective on the sources and reproduction of language ideologies. Studies of televised or other mediatized performances with a focus on stylization can inform this research in interesting ways, by analyzing how linguistic variables come to index meaning within a medium present in the homes and lives of millions of people. As sociolinguists analyze style and its indexical meanings, performance should continue to be regarded as an area for serious inquiry, for what it can reveal about the ideologies at the interface of linguistic varieties and the sociocultural landscape.

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Appendix A: Map of caipira dialect area

Applicable states outlined in red.

Appendix B: Transcription symbols

: Prolonging or stretching of the immediately preceding sound.

- Cut-off or self-interruption.

(( )) Transcriber's representation of events

[...] Part of dialogue skipped

Appendix C: Caipira costumes in the telenovelas analyzed

1) *Cabocla*: Zuca and Tobias

2) *O Rei do Gado*: Pirilampo and Saracura

3) *Alma Gêmea*: Mirna and Crispim

4) *Morde & Assopra*: Abner

5) *O Salvador da Pátria*: Sassá Mutema