

Between the Semiotic and the Ideological / *Entre o semiótico e o ideológico*

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to present and discuss the importance of the articulation between semiotics and ideology as an original and founding feature of the thinking of the Brazilian linguist, José Luiz Fiorin. Among his many published works, which show and analyze this constitutive relation, for this paper we have chosen his first two works – *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology] and *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology]. At the end of the 1980s, those books initiated, as their titles show, this author's coherent understanding of *language* in consonance with life and, especially, with values in tension that rule the social and cultural life of a community. This pioneering position within the different fields of knowledge of which it is part, particularly the Greimasian Semiotics, offers and inspires, from those two publications on, theoretical and practical paths for the development of research in semeiotics and ideology researches that enables relevant interpretation of a Brazil that was under a truculent dictatorship.

KEYWORDS: Language; Ideology; Political Discourse; Semiotics

RESUMO

O objetivo deste artigo é apresentar e discutir a importância da articulação existente entre semiótica e ideologia como marca original e fundante do pensamento do linguista brasileiro José Luiz Fiorin. Dentre tantos trabalhos por ele publicados, explicitando e explorando essa constitutiva relação, a escolha aqui recai sobre suas duas primeiras obras - Linguagem e ideologia e O regime de 1964: discurso e ideologia. Esses livros inauguram, no final dos anos 1980, conforme os títulos explicitam, a coerência da maneira como o autor compreende linguagem em consonância com a vida e, especialmente, com os valores em tensão que regem a vida social e cultural de uma comunidade. Essa postura pioneira dentro das áreas do conhecimento em que se insere, com destaque para a Semiótica greimasiana, oferece e inspira, já nesses dois estudos, caminhos teóricos e práticos para a constituição das pesquisas semiótico-ideológicas e, a partir daí, para a pertinente leitura de um Brasil submetido a uma truculenta ditadura.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Linguagem; Ideologia; Discurso político; Semiótica

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1 A Bit of History

The appearance of argumentation, its intensive usage, and its codification are part of the march of human civilization, of people's extraordinary adventure on Earth. People become more human by forgoing force in favor of persuasion.
*José Luiz Fiorin*¹

This article stems from a research conducted for a colloquium that paid tribute to José Luiz Fiorin.² For both the scientific event and the gathering of articles, the proposal is to revisit José Luiz Fiorin's works, a set of chapters published in books, aiming to outline the specificities, consistency and comprehensiveness of a Brazilian linguistic thinking and of its importance and its well-known positive influence in the field of Linguistics. Following this path, once more, I had before me two works, which, in my opinion, are exemplary for understanding this author and the directions assumed by the Brazilian Linguistics in the 20th century. Among many books that have been (and still are) written by this author, I consider these first two to be essential to demonstrate both how his epistemological, theoretical and methodological path started and how they indicate aspects that would be developed in his research, which have been replicated by many other researchers from the field. Recently, the works chosen here may be the least known or read, probably, because of both the power of his other works and the unavoidable fact that they are a little distant from the new generations: twenty seven years have passed since their first editions.

These reasons impose and reinforce the necessity to recover these two great pieces of writing. It should be added to this reasoning that those works clearly help us understand, among other factors, the reason why Fiorin stands out as one of the greatest Brazilian linguists once they reveal a consistent semioticist and an exquisite discourse

¹ Text in the original in Portuguese: "O aparecimento da argumentação, seu uso intensivo, sua codificação fazem parte da marcha civilizatória do ser humano, da extraordinária aventura do homem sobre a Terra. Ao abdicar do uso da força para empregar a persuasão o homem se torna mais humano."

² This article stems from a research conducted for a presentation in the *III Colóquio Cearense de Semiótica: uma homenagem a José Luiz Fiorin* [3rd Colloquium on Semiotics in Ceará: A Tribute to José Luiz Fiorin], which took place at Universidade Federal do Ceará/UFC, on the 11th and 12th of September of 2014. The honoured researcher, who was the reason for the presentation and for this text, has been, above all, a very dear friend, one of my best and closest friend for more than a quarter century. For this reason, I attempted to write a text, showing that he is an active scholar, a well-known researcher, and a professor of different generations. This way, this text favors the scientific dimension, but it does not hide the affective dimension.

analyst. In accordance to the title of the tribute article, the author has the rare ability to congregate linguistic knowledge (by it, I mean grammatical, enunciative and discursive), literary knowledge and, besides that, as if they were not enough, he also has the indispensable knowledge of how, with actual basis, to discuss what is social, cultural and specially ideological in the way language presents itself, constitutes itself, constitutes subjects, societies, cultures. To this set of knowledges, which is constantly put into practice by Fiorin, is added the reflection upon the ways that language studies are conducted, involving their several dimensions, in a special field constituted by different trends of text and discourse analysis, from which the Greimasian Semiotics and Enunciation Theory are foregrounded.

Following this reasoning, in order to outline the author's intellectual, scientific and scholar profile, I selected the books *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology], São Paulo: Ática, [Série Princípios] and *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology], São Paulo: Atual, [Série Lendo]. Both books were first published in 1988 and are key for understanding the complex relationship between language and ideology, which is precisely the issue addressed by them. They also approach another complex matter, i.e., the features of the discourses uttered by a Brazilian military president between the years of 1964 and 1978. As a collaborative set, those books work as the foundations that support and anticipate the path taken by the consistent linguistic thinking of Fiorin. Furthermore, there is nothing more relevant than to revisit these books' lessons after 50 years of the 1964 Brazilian military coup, which has encouraged the development of several studies.

It is also necessary to stress out that up to a certain extent it is impossible to really know the researcher Fiorin (it would be more proper to say here the thinker, the professor and the scholar that he is) without carefully observing the similarities between those two works, which enables us to recognize their innovative, relevant and, at the same time, *didactic* aspects at the time of their publication, the end of the 1980s, as well as at the present time, with the permanence and contemporaneity of the concepts of *ideological sign* and of language as an articulation between the *semiotic* and the *ideological* dimensions. This text's epigraph, for instance, is an excerpt of Fiorin's last

work (2015),³ and it was chosen to precisely show that by writing on argumentation, a very specific topic, he highlights the human *trait* in opposition to the use of force, which is also an aspect of the enunciator's discourses in the work *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology] that is underlined here.

In order to conclude this *bit of history*, there is one more aspect – perhaps it is only a *curiosity* – that cannot be disregarded. The importance of these works of Fiorin are not only recognized by me because my research is also characterized very oftenly by the attempt to relate *langue*, linguistics, literature and, in this interrelation, to observe the conception of language as semiotic and ideological.⁴ Actually, I have also been an *editor* since the 1980s and as such I have had the honor to edit José Luiz Fiorin's first book, one of the treasures I keep from my career.⁵ As an editor of the publishing house Atual, I suggested and edited one of the works that most driven me to write the paper. Even before Fiorin and I became friends, when I heard of him, I invited him, as a linguist and semiotician, to publish *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology], which is a text that stems from his doctoral dissertation *A religião da imanência: uma leitura de discursos presidenciais (1964-1978)* [The Religion of Immanence: A Reading of Presidential Discourses (1964-1978)]. The thesis defense was in 1983.

In that period, in addition to being a professor and a militant critic in newspapers from São Paulo state, I also coordinated and edited the book collection *Lendo e Documentos* [Reading and Documents], which was published by Atual Editora [Atual Publishing House]. Among the books published in this collection, it is worthy mentioning some titles from important Brazilian language scholars: *Teoria do Discurso* [Discourse Theory] by Diana Luz Pessoa de Barros; *Metáfora: da Retórica à Semiótica* [Metaphor: From Rhetoric to Semiotic] by Edward Lopes; *Alegoria: Construção e*

³ The work mentioned here was published after the *III Colóquio Cearense de Semiótica: uma homenagem a José Luiz Fiorin* [3rd Colloquium on Semiotics in Ceará: A Tribute to José Luiz Fiorin] and it has been reviewed in this very issue of *Bakhtiniana*: pp.284-292.

⁴ This semiotic and ideological perspective is one trait of The Bakhtin Circle's conception of language, especially of V. Voloshinov and P. Medvedev. I have adopted this perspective since the early 1920s.

⁵ In that period, in addition to my scientific and academic activities, I also edited the book collections: *Lendo e Documentos* [Reading and Documents], published by Atual Editora in the 1980s; textbooks on *Linguagens e Códigos* [Languages and Codes], published by Escolas Associadas Pueri Domus from 2001 on. It comprised 24 works. Nowadays, I am editor in chief of *Bakhtiniana*. *Revista de Estudos do Discurso/LAEL/PUC-SP/SCIELO* [Bakhtiniana. Journal of Discourse Studies/Applied Linguistics and Language Studies Graduate Program of Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo/ indexed by SciELO (a major electronic library covering a selected collection of Brazilian scientific journals)].

interpretação da metáfora [Allegory: Methaphor Construction and Interpretation] by João Adolfo Hansen; *A Canção: Eficácia e Encanto* [Song: Effectiveness and Enchantment] by Luiz Tatit; *Surrealismo: Rupturas Expressivas* [Surrealism: Expressive Ruptures] by the late semiotician and expert in arts Eduardo Peñuela Canizal.

O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology], which appears as one of the most important works by Fiorin in his Lattes [the Brazilian national curriculum vitae database], was launched at Spazio Pirandello, a bar and restaurant that was located on Rua Augusta [Augusta Street] in the city of São Paulo. It was a beautiful colonial mansion that was a meeting place for journalists, artists, writers and intellectuals during the 1980s. I refer to this place because it was very special to authors and special books, so much so, that even a collection of short stories, which was written by the best writers of the period and published by Editora Brasiliense, was entitled *Contos Pirandellianos: Sete Autores à Procura de um Bar* [Pirandellian Short Stories: Seven Authors Looking For a Bar].

But after all, what makes these works so important and meaningful in that period that now they deserve the attention of current scholars, making them revisit linguistic studies from the 1980s? Among many factors that will be taken into account here, one must consider that they are like *sisters*, i.e., they stem from the same consistent, theoretical and practical research (FIORIN, 1983), which in a singular manner, at that time, intertwines language and ideology from a Greimasian semiotic perspective. For this reason, they should be read at the same time or at least in complementary sequence. The way I see it, as one will be able to observe, these important linguistic works are ruled (*enlightened?*) by literature, which is another source of *inspiration*, knowledge, and work of this author. If literature is one of the main sources for the examples found especially in *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology], the highlights are João Cabral de Melo Neto's verses and Riobaldo's speech (a character from João Guimarães Rosa's novel). These excerpts used in the text are deeply enlightening for the readers and for understanding the objectives and the content that traverse both works. I refer to the the author's sensitivity to find what he thought about language and its power in both writers:

Joan Brossa ended up seeing
That the Catalan verbs
Had things hidden
They were not only words. [our translation]⁶
João Cabral de Melo Neto

Is everybody crazy in this world? Because our mind is only one, but
the things there are and there will be in the world are too many, much
bigger and different and, in order to accomplish this sum, we have the
necessity to grow our minds. [our translation]⁷
João Guimarães Rosa

Both of Fiorin's works selected for this paper are from 1988; however, as *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology] (FIORIN, 1988a), is more theoretical, it will be discussed first. Then, *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology] (FIORIN, 1988b) will give us the dimension of how the theory presented in the first work anticipates the reading, analysis and interpretation of the typical discourses uttered by the Brazilian military power between the 1960s and 1970s.

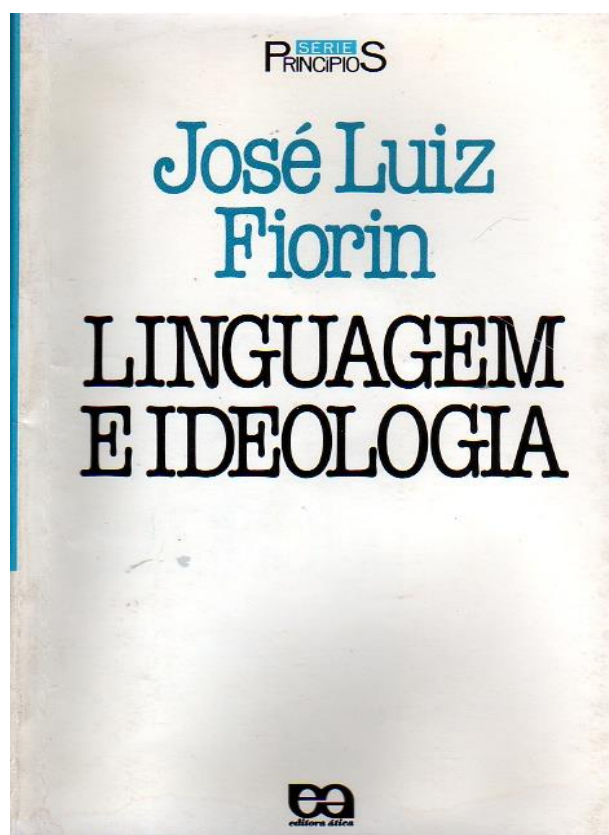
⁶ Text in the original in Portuguese:

“Acabou vendo Joan Brossa
Que os verbos do catalão
Tinham coisas por detrás
Eram só palavras, não”

⁷ TN. There is a translation into English of *Grande Sertão: Veredas*, entitled *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands*. It was translated by James L. Taylor and Harriet de Onís and published by Alfred A. Knoff in 1963. However, somehow the excerpt Fiorin used is not found in the English translation of the work. In fact, this passage should have been translated at the end of the page 258. For this reason, the translation of the excerpt had to be ours.

Text in the original in Portuguese: “Todos estão loucos, neste mundo? Porque a cabeça da gente é uma só, e as coisas que há e que estão para haver são demais de muitas, muito maiores diferentes, e a gente tem que necessitar de aumentar a cabeça para o total”.

2 Language and Ideology



In order to begin his work and to contextualize the reader, in the two-and-a-half-page Introduction, Fiorin summarizes what the traditional tasks of Linguistics are in a clear and objective manner. Its key concern is the “analysis of the internal relationship between linguistic elements” (FIORIN, 1988a, p.5, our translation).⁸ This has enabled the establishment of structural linguistics, also called borghese linguistics. At that period, it reached its *apex* and *decline*, and it was during an epistemological crisis that linguists were required to carefully assess it. For the author, it was a special moment and, consequently, a difficult task. According to his words,

[...] This task is difficult, because it implies a broad reflection on language that should consider the fact that it is a social institution, the vehicle of ideologies, the instrument of mediation between human beings and nature and between human beings themselves. However, it

⁸ Text in the original in Portuguese: “análise das relações internas entre elementos linguísticos” (FIORIN, 1988a, p.5).

is necessary to bear in mind that language is not an institution like the others, because it has its own specificities (1988a, p.6, our translation).⁹

Or, in order to reinforce this initial perspective that suggests and establishes the difference between *two* possible linguistics, in the last cover of its first edition the work is defined as follows:

There are two opposite ways to approach the linguistic phenomenon: One is solely concerned to internally analyze language, studying linguistic facts in isolation; the other disregards the peculiarities of language and seeks to relate linguistic facts to social structure phenomena.

In this book, the author aims to show that language has a certain degree of autonomy in relation to the social formations and, at the same time, it is under ideological determinations. By the means of an overall assessment, he shows which levels and dimensions are self-determined and which are not.¹⁰

And, in fact, in this very concise 87-page book, which is 18cm [7.1 in] high by 11cm [4.3 in] long, the author is able to present what he tells us he will in the fourth cover. In this context of language studies and of the decline of structural linguistics, Fiorin defines the goals of his work: to essentially present a reflection on the relationship between language and ideology. From the very beginning, he excludes some theoretical paths that could be the most obvious ones or, at least, the ones that were part of the tradition of linguistic studies, explicitly moving away from them and differentiating his studies from them:

We are not only interested in showing that: the prestige accent is imposed in order to discriminate people; the achievement of certain privileged social positions is also related to the acquisition of proper, polished etc. linguistic varieties; the linguistic rules followed by those who hold power are turned into the model “language”; the linguistic

⁹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “A tarefa é difícil, porque implica uma reflexão ampla sobre a linguagem, que leve em conta o fato de que ela é uma instituição social, o veículo das ideologias, o instrumento de mediação entre os homens e a natureza entre os homens e os outros homens. No entanto, é preciso ter em conta que a linguagem não é uma instituição igual às outras. Não, ela tem suas especificidades” (1988a, p.6).

¹⁰ Text in the original in Portuguese: “Há duas maneiras opostas de abordar o fenômeno linguístico: uma se preocupa somente em analisar internamente a linguagem, estudando os fatos linguísticos em si mesmos; outra despreza as especificidades da linguagem e busca correlacionar fatos linguísticos com fenômenos da estrutura social. Neste livro, o autor procura mostrar que a linguagem, ao mesmo tempo, goza de certa autonomia em relação às formações sociais e sofre determinações ideológicas. Por meio de uma análise global, mostra que níveis e dimensões são autônomos e determinados.”

varieties employed by less favored social sectors are considered mistakes, infringements and, due to this, their speakers are ridiculed (FIORIN, 1988a, pp.6-7, our translation).¹¹

Once these are not aspects addressed in his reflection, the author introduces his study object in a more refined manner:

Our purpose is to identify the role that ideological determinations play in the complex phenomenon that is language, i.e, to analyze how language carries out an ideology, to show what is ideologized in language. This is a hard task, and what we present here is more a sketch, a line of thought than a finalized set of ideas (FIORIN, 1988a, p.7, our translation).¹²

In order to accomplish this task, which he considers hard and challenging, he organizes his work in twenty sections/chapters. In addition, it contains an Introduction, a Critical Vocabulary and Commented References, which are constitutive parts of every book that is part of collection *Série Princípios*.

Following the introduction, in the second section, entitled *Marx e Engels dão as primeiras dicas* [Marx and Engels Give us the First Hints], Fiorin, as the title anticipates, brings to the discussion two experts on ideology studies by referring to the renowned book *The German Ideology*.¹³ With this great bibliographical references, particularly in the 1980s, he starts presenting the language conception that will guide his work. In this sense, he states that:

¹¹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “Não nos interessa apenas mostrar que uma pronúncia de prestígio é imposta com a finalidade de discriminar pessoas; que o acesso a determinadas posições de destaque está ligado também à aquisição das variedades linguísticas corretas, elegantes, etc.; que a norma linguística utilizada pelos que detêm o poder transforma-se na “língua” modelar; que as variedades linguísticas usadas pelos segmentos sociais subalternos são consideradas erros, transgressões e seus usuários são, por isso, ridicularizados” (FIORIN, 1988a, p.6-7).

¹² Text in the original in Portuguese: “A nossa intenção é verificar qual o lugar das determinações ideológicas neste complexo fenômeno que é a linguagem, analisar como a linguagem veicula a ideologia, mostrar o que é ideologizado na linguagem. O trabalho é difícil. O que aqui apresentamos é antes um esboço, uma linha de reflexões, que um conjunto acabado de ideias (FIORIN, 1988a, p.7).

¹³ Although the edition used by the author is not referenced in the Commented References (pp.84-85) or anywhere else, in that period, among other editions in Portuguese and Spanish, he probably read one of the following: Grijalbo, 1977 [Edition in Spanish; translated from German by Wenceslao Roces; 1st ed., 1970. Before Grijalbo owned the copyrights of this work, they belonged to: Ediciones Pueblos Unidos – 1st ed. 1968.]; Presença, 1980 [The first edition was published in 1974 by Editorial Presença/Livraria Martins Fontes; translated by Conceição Jardim and Eduardo Lúcio Nogueira.]; Ciências Humanas [HUCITEC], 1981, 1st ed. 1978; translated by José Carlos Bruni and Marco Aurélio Nogueira.

Language is an extremely complex phenomenon that can be studied from multiple points of view, for it belongs to different domains. At the same time, it is individual, social, physical, physiological, and psychological. For this reason, to state that it undergoes social determinations and enjoys certain autonomy in relation to social formation is not a contradiction. However, this implies distinguishing autonomous dimensions and levels from determined ones (pp.8-9, our translation).¹⁴

In order to examine set this characteristic duality of language in greater detail, in the following sections, the author presents the distinction between the virtual system (*langue*) and its realization (discourse). Contrary to what one could have expected at that time, he highlights that the realization of the system, means discourse rather than *parole*. He clearly explains the difference between *parole* and *discourse*, which may be used mistakenly even today. *Discourse*, which is in fact his object of research and interest, is defined and delimited by taking *social* and/or *social and economic determinations* as a parameter. And, in order to make everything clear from the very beginning, he states that the determinations that discourse undergoes are not the same that determine changes in the system. Grounded in structural linguistics perspective, the author explains that the system is governed by its own internal rules.

This line of thinking is reinforced with examples, which is a common characteristic of Fiorin's style. They refer to the changes that the phonological system and vocabulary have undergone. However, he stresses that they do not necessarily mean that "the appearance of a grammatical or semantic category is not due to reasons that can be found in the social and economic structure of a given society" (p.14, our translation).¹⁵ The issue for him is how to prove with theoretical and methodological rigor that the appearance of a category, such as gender (masculine, feminine, neuter), for instance, is a result of social factors. He considers that although this is an important hypothesis, it imposes a great challenge to language scholars, mainly during the time that his research was conducted. As one might observe, the relevance of the *linguistics*

¹⁴ Text in the original in Portuguese: "A linguagem é um fenômeno extremamente complexo que pode ser estudado de múltiplos pontos de vista, pois pertence a diferentes domínios. É, ao mesmo tempo, individual, social, física, fisiológica e psíquica. Por isso, dizer que sofre determinações sociais e também goza de uma determinada autonomia em relação às formações sociais não é uma contradição. Isso implica, entretanto, distinguir dimensões e níveis autônomos e dimensões e níveis autônomos determinados" (p.8-9).

¹⁵ Text in the original in Portuguese: "o surgimento de uma categoria gramatical ou semântica não se deva a razões encontráveis na estrutura socioeconômica de uma determinada sociedade" (p.14).

of the system is not disregarded throughout this work. The need for seeking new ways for comprehending the complex phenomenon that language is, mainly in what regards its relation to ideology, leads the author to look for other theories and methodologies in order to study this new object of linguistic, discursive, semiotic studies, which is *discourse*.

By articulating linguistic and literary knowledge, which is another constant aspect of the author's studies, he integrates literature in his reflection when this artistic expression takes language as its object. In order to illustrate this subject matter regarding language/system/discourse, he evokes the Brazilian writer João Guimarães Rosa and, more specifically, the short story *Uns índios (Sua fala)* [Some Indians (Their Speech)].¹⁶ He sums it up in section 4 *Quem determina o quê?* [Who determines what?]:

Guimarães Rosa, in *Ave, palavra* [Hail, word],¹⁷ tell us that one day, while visiting an Indian village in the state of Mato Grosso, he observed that the names of colors in the language spoken by the villagers ended in *i'ti*. He thought that *i'ti* meant "color" and, therefore, that it was a noun that worked as a suffix. An informer told him that *i'ti* meant "blood." So, he started to think that, for Indians, blood was related to a vital element, because for them death was related to bleeding and, maybe for this reason, a color was considered by them to be like blood (the vital element) for certain things. Following this line of thinking: green would be the blood of the leaf (a dead leaf is no longer green); blue would be the blood of the sky; yellow, the blood of the sun, and so on. Then, he sought to know the true meaning of the names of the colors. However, no speaker of that language was able to tell him (pp.15-16, our translation).¹⁸

The reference to this short story aims to show that even this great writer, who attempted to reflect upon linguistics, ended up concluding that "every language is a

¹⁶ TN. This short story *Uns índios (Sua fala)* [Some Indians (Their Speech)] until the present moment has not been published in English.

¹⁷ TN. This short story *Ave, palavra* [Hail, word] until the present moment has not been published in English.

¹⁸ Text in the original in Portuguese: "Guimarães Rosa, em *Ave, palavra*, narra que, um dia, visitando uma aldeia de índios no Mato Grosso, observou que, na língua falada pelos seus habitantes, os nomes de cores eram todos terminados em *i'ti*. Pensou que *i'ti* significasse "cor" e que fosse, portanto, substantivo que se tornara um sufixo. Um informante disse-lhe que *i'ti* significava "sangue". Aí, ele começou a imaginar que, como o indígena entendia que o sangue era o elemento vital, porque para ele a morte estava associada ao esvair-se em sangue, talvez visse a cor como o sangue (o elemento vital) de certas coisas. Assim, o verde seria o sangue da folha (folha morta perde a cor verde); o azul, o sangue do céu; o amarelo o sangue do sol e assim por diante. Procurou, então, saber o significado original do nome das cores. No entanto, nenhum dos falantes foi capaz de informá-lo (p.15-16).

track of old misteries.”¹⁹ Fiorin states that: “[t]he reasons for the appearance of linguistic categories in modern languages have been lost in time” (p.60, our translation).²⁰ Thus, he concludes that “[f]or this reason, it is at the discursive level that we should study the social coercion that determines language (p.16, our translation).²¹

Therefore, from section 5 on, which is entitled *Discurso: autonomia e determinação* [Discourse: Autonomy and Determination], after the necessary contextualization, the author addresses the very *object* that will enable him to relate language with ideology: *discourse*. This language dimension will be more precisely considered in its *autonomous/self-determined* and *determined* aspects. In order to do so, the author, without spelling it out, but referring to authors, concepts, categories, relies on theories, such as Greimasian Semiotics, French and Russian discourse theories/analysis, etc. that indicated some important paths for new conceptions of language at that time. Grounded in the Greimasian Semiotics, he will show how discourse is structured: it carries syntax and semantics in its interior and embodies the field of conscious manipulation (a discursive syntax) and of unconscious determination (that can be understood as the field of ideology manipulation itself). In order to deal with this complexity, he presents the theoretically proposed distinction between the deeper level and the superficial level, by stating that:

It is at the superficial level, i.e, in the materialization of the semantic elements of the deeper structure, that the ideological determinations are revealed in their totality. The discourses that consider freedom as “the right to be different” or as “no exploitation of the workforce” belong to different ideological universes (p.21, author’s emphasis and our translation).²²

By illustrating the distinct ideological universes to which discourses belong, such as the discourses that considered freedom to be “the right to be different” and the others that conceive of it as “no exploitation of the workforce,” he clarifies that two

¹⁹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “toda língua são rastros de velhos mistérios”.

²⁰ Text in the original in Portuguese: “As razões do aparecimento das categorias linguísticas existentes nas línguas modernas perderam-se no tempo” (p.16)

²¹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “É no nível do discurso que devemos, pois, estudar as coerções sociais que determinam a linguagem” (p.16).

²² Text in the original in Portuguese: “É no nível superficial, isto é, na concretização dos elementos semânticos da estrutura profunda, que se revelam, com plenitude, as determinações ideológicas. Os discursos que consideram a liberdade como “direito à diferença” ou como “não exploração da força de trabalho” pertencem a universos ideológicos distintos” (p.21, destaque do autor).

discourses can work with the same semantic elements and unveil two completely different ways of seeing the world (p.21). In order to reinforce his statements, he brings examples from the literary field, showing that two works can value the same elements in opposite manner. The literary text analysis clarifies this rigorous theoretical path to show different ways of *almost* saying the same and/or the opposite. He explores categories, such as themes and figures to present the characterization of figurative and not figurative texts, mainly, from a semiotic standpoint.

Following this clear, logic and proper theoretical point of view, the author reaches a key question that is uttered by everyone who attempts to reflect on the social, historical and ideological dimension of language: *What is ideology?* This is certainly a difficult question to answer, mainly when one relates it to language. Given this complexity, this question is used as the title of section 8. In order to answer it, the author will rely on the level of essence (deeper level) and appearance (superficial level) of social formation, revisiting Marx and his analysis of wages and, further, Engels and his letter sent to Bloch, dated on 09/21/1980. He presents a reflection that is at the same time deep and didactic. Besides, it is very clarifying and goes through several possibilities for comprehending ideology. By briefly showing this variation, he makes clear that the concept of ideology is not easy and depends on different epistemological standpoints that are not always (or almost never) in accordance. Right after this important discussion, he defines ideology as follows:

Ideology is constituted by reality and it constitutes reality. It is not a set of ideas that emerge out of nowhere in the privileged mind of some thinkers. [...] it is ultimately determined by the economic level, which does not mean that ideology is a mere reflex of this economic level (p.30, our translation).²³

Still revisiting Marx and Engels, he rethinks about this difficult question and states that “there is no direct and mechanic economical determination, but there is a complex determination” (p.31)²⁴ and concludes that:

²³ Text in the original in Portuguese: “A ideologia é constituída pela realidade e constituinte da realidade. Não é um conjunto de ideias que surge do nada ou da mente privilegiada de alguns pensadores. [...] ela é determinada, em última instância, pelo nível econômico [...] o que não significa que a ideologia seja mero reflexo do nível econômico” (p.30).

²⁴ Text in the original in Portuguese: “não existe determinação direta e mecânica da economia, mas uma determinação complexa” (p.31).

There is still a very important idea that we cannot forget. Although there are as many points of view of the world as social classes in a social formation, the prevailing ideology is the ideology of the ruling class. In the capitalist mode of production, the prevailing ideology is the bourgeois (p.31, our translation).²⁵

After reading Fiorin on the tricky matter of ideology, we get the impression that he really eases our understanding by dotting the i's and crossing the t's, without oversimplifying this reflection or being *biased*. The proof for this statement appears in section 9, in which he follows his line of thinking on this matter and discusses two more important concepts that are highly complex: *ideological formations* and *discursive formations*. In this section, the author attempts to establish the relationship between worldview of a social class and language by stating that:

The worldviews are not detached from language, because ideology conceived as immanent of reality is inseparable from language. The ideas and, consequently, the discourses are real life manifestations. Reality is expressed by discourses (p.33, our translation).²⁶

In this regard, he discusses the relationship between thought and language. At this point, he refers to Vygostky and shows that thought and language are different, but are inseparable. He restates the idea that discourse materializes ideological representations and, by doing so, he presents another question to be considered: What is the place occupied by individual consciousness?

By considering *consciousness as a social fact*, which in Portuguese [*a consciência como um fato social*] is the title of section 10, Fiorin states that discourse is determined by ideological coercions. To make this statement clear, he approaches another aspect, “Individuality in Language” (in Portuguese, “Individualidade na linguagem,” which is also the title of section 11), and organizes this discussion in order to present the definition of text and discourse. The latter belongs to the plane of content and the first to the plane of expression. Once again, the author is supported by literary

²⁵ Text in the original in Portuguese: “Há ainda uma coisa muito importante que não devemos esquecer. Embora haja, numa formação social, tantas visões de mundo quantas forem as classes sociais, a ideologia dominante é a ideologia da classe dominante. No modo de produção capitalista, a ideologia dominante é a burguesa” (p.31).

²⁶ Text in the original in Portuguese: “As visões de mundo não se desvinculam da linguagem, porque a ideologia vista como algo imante à realidade é indissociável da linguagem. As ideias e, por conseguinte, os discursos são expressões da vida real. A realidade exprime-se por discursos” (p.33).

and cinematic art to clarify this distinction, as well as the coercions that those planes undergo.

The next section is entitled *A trapaça discursiva* [Discursive Trickery], in which he continues to explain the difference between *text* and *discourse*. This is an issue that influences the work of language scholars even today, including the recurring distinction between *text genre* and *speech genre*. Fiorin has addressed the distinction between text/discourse in different moments throughout his career, which includes a work entitled *Da necessidade da distinção entre texto e discurso* [The Necessity of Distinguishing Text from Discourse].²⁷ In this text, which is more than two decades apart from the publication of the first work approached here, the author revisits this distinction in a rigorous and deeper way, examining it in greater detail:

[...] there is a difference between text and discourse. The latter belongs to the domain of immanence and the first belongs to the domain of expression. First, it is worth recalling that the terms immanence and expression belong to metalanguage. Therefore, they do not carry any value that is related to them in the language-object: immanence is not the deepest level, the most important; expression is not the most superficial level, the least important, etc. The expression is the expression of the form of a given substance. It means that discourse belongs to the plane of content and that text belongs to the plane of expression. [...] A text is an expression of a discourse. So, a text logically presupposes a discourse. By implication, the latter precedes it (FIORIN, 2012, p.148, our translation).²⁸

And this reflection leads to other important questions that will be answered chapter by chapter: *Falar ou ser falado?* (To Speak or to be Spoken?, the title of section 13); How to understand text and discourse as an *Arena de conflitos e palco de acordos* (Arena of Conflicts and as a Stage of Agreements, the title of section 14). These chapters include important thoughts on the forms that discourse takes in order to

²⁷ Once more, It is important to highlight the coherence in Fiorin's path. In a chapter entitled *Da necessidade da distinção entre texto e discurso* [The necessity of distinguishing text and discourse] (FIORIN, 2012, p.145-165), the author deeply develops and updates this matter that was already discussed in 1998, i.e, more than two decades after.

²⁸ Text in the original in Portuguese: “[...] há diferença entre texto e discurso. Este é da ordem da imanência e aquele, do domínio da manifestação. Cabe lembrar, inicialmente, que os termos imanência e manifestação pertencem à metalinguagem e, por conseguinte, não portam nenhum índice de valor a eles associados na linguagem-objeto: imanente não é o mais profundo, o mais importante, etc.; manifesto não é o mais superficial, o menos importante, etc. A manifestação é a manifestação da forma numa dada substância, o que significa que o discurso é do plano do conteúdo, enquanto o texto é do plano da expressão. [...] O texto é a manifestação de um discurso. Assim, o texto pressupõe logicamente o discurso, que é por implicação, anterior a ele” (FIORIN, 2012, p.148).

establish relations with other discourses. The issue of *analysis* is also an object of reflection of the author, who carefully demonstrates that the object of analysis is discourse and the enunciator, who is the one that is inscribed into this discourse and not the person who is the actual enunciator. In section 15, which is entitled *Análise não é investigação policial* [Analysis is not a Police Investigation], he states that: “discourse is what reveals who the subject is and what his/her worldview is” (p.49, our translation).²⁹ From this perspective, the author presents different philosophical standpoints that among others are concerned with whether or not discourse is a reflection of reality. In order to do so, he always reinforces his argumentation with very well explored examples.

After these sections, Fiorin approaches another important aspect of what we could call a *marxist* perspective: Is language part or not of superstructure? To answer this *tricky* question, several items are mobilized, which includes a key question: Is discourse a reflection of reality? In several topics, Fiorin foregrounds, among others, the Russian linguist Nicholas Marr, as well as Stalin. By doing so, he reaches the following coherent and relevant conclusion:

If we understand that language permeates the whole superstructure and at the same time that it constitutes discursive formations that belong to the superstructural domain, we will not make the mistake of answering the question regarding the relation between language and social formation only affirmatively, as Marr did, or only negatively, as Stalin did. The first function of language is not to be the representation of thought or to be a tool of communication, but to be the expression of real life (p.73, our translation).³⁰

The next dimension of language to be approached is the idea that To communicate is to Act (which in Portuguese – *Comunicar é agir* – entitles section 20). In this section, Fiorin revisits, albeit briefly, the main points discussed before, that is, discursive formations as the materialization of ideological formations, as phenomena of

²⁹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “é o discurso que vai revelar quem é o sujeito, qual é sua visão de mundo” (p.49).

³⁰ Text in the original in Portuguese: “Se entendermos que a linguagem, ao mesmo tempo que permeia toda a superestrutura, constitui formações discursivas que pertencem à ordem superestrutural, não incidiremos no equívoco de dar uma resposta exclusivamente afirmativa, como Marr, ou unicamente negativa, como Stálin, à questão das relações entre linguagem e formações sociais. A primeira função da linguagem não é ser representação do pensamento ou instrumento de comunicação, mas expressão da vida real” (p.73).

suprastructures, as well as, the use of certain discourses as action about the world. And again, Marx is evoked, this time with an excerpt of *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, which, according to the author, inspired several ideas brought to light in *Linguagem e Ideologia* [*Language and Ideology*].

As a conclusion for this brief and very coherent journey on the relationship between language and ideology, the author suggests that:

As discourse analysis studies discursive elements, by inference, it creates the worldview of subjects who are inscribed into discourse. Afterwards, it demonstrates what caused the unveiled view.

[...]

Discourse analysis must undo the idealistic illusion that one is an absolute owner of his/her discourse. In the first place, one is a servant of words since themes, figures, values, assessments, etc. stem from worldviews found in social formation.

Perhaps, discourse is determined not only by ideological coercion. After all, language is an extremely complex and multifaceted phenomenon (pp.77-78, our translation).³¹

Without a doubt, this work offers essential theoretical and methodological ground for a first approach to the constitutive relationship between language and ideology. At the same time, it works as a benchmark for understanding *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [*The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology*]. This does not mean that the theoretical and methodological foundations are not revisited. They are discussed precisely in accordance to the need to understand what was addressed in the first work and this is done from one of the discourses that affected Brazil's history the most, i.e.: the Brazilian military power discourse during the dictatorship that started in 1964.

³¹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “A análise do discurso vai, à medida que estuda os elementos discursivos, montando por inferência a visão de mundo dos sujeitos inscritos no discurso. Depois, mostra que é que determinou aquela visão revelada. [...] A análise do discurso deve desfazer a ilusão idealista de que o homem é senhor absoluto de seu discurso. Ele é antes servo da palavra, uma vez que temas, figuras, valores, juízos, etc. provêm das visões de mundo existentes na formação social. Talvez não sejam apenas as coerções ideológicas que determinam o discurso. Afinal, a linguagem é um fenômeno extremamente complexo e multifacetado” (p.77-78).

3 The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology



Reaffirming what has been previously observed, *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology] (FIORIN, 1988b) is a work that to a certain extent presupposes *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology]. The latter works as a kind of epistemological support. This reading requirement (or only a suggestion...) is due to the fact that the author clearly revisits theoretical aspects that are needed for the reading of the coherent *corpus* selected. The first work presents in greater detail the procedures that support the political discourse analysis from the reading of a specific *corpus*. This way it enables the reader to comprehend the discourse-object and, at the same time, the possibility of finding coherent theoretical and methodological paths, mainly in the Greimasian Semiotics, and objectives to venture a chosen discourse. Thus, he follows what he has proposed in *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology], ie.: “As discourse analysis studies discursive elements, by inference, it creates the worldview of subjects who are inscribed into discourse.

Afterwards, it demonstrates what caused the unveiled view.” (FIORIN, 1988a, p.77, our translation).³²

In the Introduction, the author refers to the fateful year of 1964, to the military’s seizure of power in Brazil and to the inconsequential repression, which was established, on the one hand, by torture and censorship and, on the other hand, by highly exposing society to the official, military, prevailing discourse that intended to be the true reading of reality. After this important historical contextualization, the author announces the objective of his work, that is, “to study the discursive variants of the 1964’s *coup d’état*, the way it builds an internal coherence and the worldview that it presents”³³ and to show “its internal contradictions and the mismatch between this discourse and other discourses that unveil different perspectives of reality” (p.1, our translation).³⁴

According to the author, the work “also shows the social place in which the discourse of the *coup d’état* was produced” (p.1, our translation).³⁵ In this book, which contains more pages than the previous one, Fiorin defines the theoretical foundations that support the analysis – Linguistics and (Greimasian) Semiotics –, in order to work the narrative and discursive levels of the military discourse, its syntax and its semantics. According to Fiorin, this is necessary

to unveil the mismatch between its internal referent and the order of necessity to which this semantic construction is related [...] to systematize what many already know and to confer more rigor to the analysis of the discourse of power. Thus, if our work is not original, at least, it intends to be a more systematic study (p.2, our translation).³⁶

In order to achieve these objectives, besides the Introduction, Conclusion and References, the work is composed of three more parts.

³² Text in the original in Portuguese: “A análise do discurso vai, à medida que estuda os elementos discursivos, montando por inferência a visão de mundo dos sujeitos inscritos no discurso. Depois, mostra que é que determinou aquela visão revelada” (FIORIN, 1988b, p.77).

³³ Text in the original in Portuguese: “estudar as variantes do golpe de 1964, a maneira como ele constrói sua coerência interna e a visão de mundo que ele apresenta” (p.1).

³⁴ Text in the original in Portuguese: “suas contradições internas e a não correspondência entre esse discurso e os outros discursos que desvelam diferentes ângulos da realidade” (p.1).

³⁵ Text in the original in Portuguese: “revela ainda o lugar social em que o discurso do golpe foi produzido” (p.1).

³⁶ Text in the original in Portuguese: “para revelar a inconsistência do seu referente interno e a ordem de necessidade a que se vincula essa construção semântica [...] sistematizar o que muitos já sabem e imprimir um rigor maior à análise do discurso do poder. Se nosso trabalho não for, então, original, pretende, pelo menos, ser um estudo sistemático” (p.2)

The first part, entitled *Linguagem e ideologia: a busca da história perdida* [Language and Ideology: In Search of a Lost Story], is divided in seven sections and a conclusion. In this part, the reader finds panoramic and, at same time, precise theoretical material that offers a very relevant reflection for that time period and for today. Once more, he addresses the object of linguistics and its expansion, which resulted from its integration with other aspects, such as the conditions of discursive production, enunciation, intertextuality, and still the difficult debate on the historical determination of language. The author then situates two great trends in linguistic studies – formalism and ideologism - and explains how he will observe these two poles and, consequently, what analysis will be used in his work, highlighting the fact that the term discourse presupposes the notion of subject.

Following this line of thinking, he revisits more broadly the discussion on some concepts that were presented in *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology], such as autonomy or determination of discourse; ideological formations and discursive formations; social and individual dimensions, discourse and text. He arrives at the issue of the subject of discourse, which is his main goal, and ends this first part with a very important conception about language theory:

A language theory must observe both the social determination of language and language's relative autonomy in relation to social formations. In order to do so, a theory should start by distinguishing determined or autonomous, individual or social levels and dimensions (p.17, our translation).³⁷

The second part, which is the longest of the work, is ironically and, taking into consideration the study object, suggestively entitled *O delito semântico* [The Semantic Crime]. In it, the reader starts with a little scare or at least with an unfamiliarity. Instead of using an excerpt of João Cabral de Melo Neto, João Guimarães Rosa or any other writer as an epigraph that could work as a metonymy of what the author was going to develop in the chapter, section or item, he shows the following part of Ernesto Geisel's speech³⁸: "The tortuous semantics of demagogues transmuted evil into good and good

³⁷ Text in the original in Portuguese: "Uma teoria da linguagem deve estar atenta para as determinações sociais que incidem sobre a linguagem e para a relativa autonomia da linguagem em relação às formações sociais. Para isso, uma teoria deve começar por distinguir níveis e dimensões determinados ou autônomos, individuais ou sociais" (p.17).

³⁸ TN.: Ernesto Geisel (1908-1996) was an army general who was president of Brazil from 1974 to 1979. He began a gradual liberalization and demilitarization of the government, allowed open legislative

into evil, foreshadowing the tragic night of the shipwreck of our purest cultural traditions” (p.18).³⁹

How should one understand this unexpected epigraph whose author is a military, before the analysis start?

In fact, from the very beginning of this part, entitled: *O discurso lacunar: algumas opções metodológicas* [An Incomplete Discourse: Some Methodological Options], the reader starts to understand the function of epigraph, in which the subject of discourse is established, showed, exposed. And the analysis focuses (its weapons?) to this discourse and to this subject. By clarifying the objective of his work – i.e., “to find the incompleteness of the discourse of power” (p.19, our translation)⁴⁰; “to show that the 1964’s military *coup d’état*’s discourse attempts to make one believe that apparent forms of reality constituted the reality in its totality” (p.20, our translation)⁴¹ –, the author reinstates the idea of the relationship between discourse, subject, ways of reflecting and refracting reality.

In order to accomplish this set objectives, he explains the selection of the *corpus*, i.e., due to the great amount of discourses produced by the so-called 1964 *revolution*, he opted to analyze the discourses of Marshal Castelo Branco, who was the first president of Brazil under the National Security dictatorship (1964-1967). They were selected because of the themes and invariant figures of the Military Regime found in his discourses and because he was a kind of a deputy and a representative of this system, whose speech was “word of the core of power,” as the speeches of the others who followed him. He also clarifies the selection of the *corpus* so it can be read from the perspective of invariants:

The text to be analyzed is a text composed in accordance to different occurrence-texts. By saying that, we inform that the composed text does not present all the narrative programs, themes, figures and enunciative processes found in occurrence texts, but only those elements that are relevant to each analysis level that constitute the

elections in 1974, met with opposition leaders, and relaxed censorship. For more information on Ernesto Geisel, see, for example, <<http://www.britannica.com/biography/Ernesto-Geisel>>, or, <<http://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/politics/1977/03/31/opposition-challenges-brazilian-military/f4bbec54-cd3f-4f23-95d1-4aabd0fd24b3/>>.

³⁹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “A semântica tortuosa dos demagogos transmutava o mal em bem e o bem em mal, prenunciando a trágica noite do naufrágio de nossas mais puras tradições culturais” (p.18).

⁴⁰ Text in the original in Portuguese: “desvendar as lacunas do discurso do poder” (p.19).

⁴¹ Text in the original in Portuguese: “mostrar que o discurso do golpe militar de 64 tenta fazer crer que formas aparentes do real constituíam a realidade total” (p.20).

invariants of the “revolutionary” discourse (p.19, stress in the original, our translation).⁴²

This way, besides understanding the epigraph, the reader is also presented with the criteria of *corpus* selection through this dialectic dialogue between theory and practice established by the author. In this part, we find the invariant propositions, the narrative component and the semantics of the discursive component, the resumption of the election of Jango,⁴³ his inauguration and his overthrow. By doing so, Fiorin brings light to important aspects regarding democracy, political discourse, and forms of persuasion. The so-called revolutionary discourse and its way of operating are explored and shown mainly by giving details of and by using the apparatus of Greimasian semiotics. This theoretical and methodological procedure demonstrates how the depreciation of Goulart and the consequent appreciation of the military forces discursively occur through an operation which is nearly *mathematical*. By a detailed procedure, the analysis unveils the 1964 discourse of power, including the ideology of domination, order and chaos, subversion, “revolutionary” legality, the conservative narrative that defines the military regime discourse, the description of the political opponents as traitors of their country, the accomplishments of this regime, such as the containment of social movements and the war against communism.

All of these aspects are inferred and demonstrated under the aegis of a refined analysis of the selected discourse and its narrative and discursive components. The ability that the author has to deal with Greimasian semiotics apparatus, its concepts and methodology must be highlighted here. In fact, it is possible for one to learn how this powerful apparatus of discourse analysis, the Greimasian semiotics, works, taking advantage of being able to see through it the discursive network of military power, which is as powerful as its weapons (if not more).

In order to end this part, in which the analysis takes the reader to the meanders of the discourse of power, the author states that:

⁴² Text in the original in Portuguese: “O texto a ser analisado é um texto construído com base nos diferentes textos-ocorrência. Com isso, estamos alertando para o fato de que o texto construído não apresenta todos os programas narrativos, os temas, as figuras e os processos de enunciação que aparecem nos textos ocorrência, mas somente aqueles elementos pertinentes a cada nível de análise que constituem invariantes do discurso ‘revolucionário’” (p.19, destaque do autor).

⁴³ TN.: João Goulart (1918-1976), also referred to as Jango, was a Brazilian president who was deposed by a military *coup d'état*. For more information on Goulart, see, for instance, <http://library.brown.edu/fivecenturiesofchange/chapters/chapter-6/presidents/joao-goulart/>.

So far, we have studied the narrative component and the discursive component. The first organizes the discursive elements that language offers it. Themes gain meaning as they are situated into the relations that the narrative component imposes to them. Given its meaning in the text, we have been able to relate them to the narrator's and narratee's ideological formation, which shed light on its meaning as a whole and has enabled us to understand the order of necessities that they answer to. From this point on, we need to start with another series of operations: to deconstruct the themes in order to comprehend the system that organizes its relations (p.133, our translation).⁴⁴

Fiorin finishes his analysis with this last procedure, which is not that simple and depends on the complete mastery of the theoretical apparatus. Having done it, Fiorin reaches a stunning conclusion in relation to the worldview found in the military discourse that prevailed in the 1964 regime and that entitled itself as *revolutionary*:

“Revolutionary” history is anti-history, because it denies change and intends to retrieve the initial value, which should be endlessly repeated. *History is death*, because it implies social changes that must be avoided (p.134, stress in the original, our translation).⁴⁵

Even though the work could easily end at this point, once it offered the reader a clear comprehension of the theoretical and methodological procedures of semiotics, as well as of the focal point of the work, i.e., of the singularities of the analyzed discourse, there is still a third part. This third part characterizes the political discourse and it is entitled *Sacralização do discurso político* [The Sacralization of the Political Discourse]. Although it is a very short part (11 pages long), it enables a deeper comprehension of the *corpus* selected for analysis and, at the same time, it has a greater reach, for it addresses any authoritarian political discourse. After discussing the characteristics of political discourse and religious discourse, Fiorin establishes a relationship between them, analysing each one of them in detail and showing, mainly in the item *O problema da sacralização* [The Problem of Sacralization], that within the “revolutionary”

⁴⁴ Text in the original in Portuguese: “Até agora, estudamos o componente narrativo e o componente discursivo. O primeiro ordena os elementos discursivos que a língua lhe oferece. Os temas ganham sentido à medida que estão encaixados nas relações que o componente narrativo lhes impõe. Dado o seu sentido no texto, pudemos relacioná-los com a formação ideológica do narrador e do narratário, que iluminou o seu sentido integral e permitiu que entendêssemos a ordem de necessidades a que eles respondem. A partir desse ponto precisamos encetar uma outra série de operações: a desmontagem dos temas para compreender o sistema que ordena as suas relações” (p.133).

⁴⁵ Text in the original in Portuguese: “A história ‘revolucionária’ é uma anti-história porque nega qualquer transformação e pretende voltar ao valor inicial, que deve ser infinitamente repetido. A *história é a morte*, porque implica mudanças na sociedade, o que deve ser evitado” (p.134, com destaque em itálico do autor).

discourse, the object of this work, sacralization implies “the process of inserting traces of religious discourse into political discourse”⁴⁶ :

[...] a “revolutionary” discourse is, without a doubt, a political discourse, because it presents all the aforementioned characteristics that define this kind of discourse. However, in some aspects, it presents characteristics of the religious discourse [...] The State begins to acquire characteristics that are attributed to God: omnipotent, omniscient, holder of a wish previously inscribed in reality, eternal, and the most perfect. As government and State identify themselves, the enunciator is the destinator, as in the religious discourses, and not the destinee, as in the political discourses. The people lose their role of destinator and take over the role of destinee (p.145, emphasis in the original, our translation).⁴⁷

4 The Making of Science by a History-Oriented Linguist

Besides learning about the relationship between language and ideology, there are many reasons for the reader to be captivated by these two works. Beyond the ones that were already highlighted, there is still another one that deserves to be addressed. From the very beginning of his first work, José Luiz Fiorin takes a scientific and ideological stand that is coherent to the possibilities of analysis. He thus expresses responsibility in relation to the theories, the object of analysis, and especially the analysis conducted by him:

If this work turns out to be so full of mistakes that the hypothesis should be completely denied, we will only be able to exclaim, as Jakobson did: “It is wonderful.” The most important thing to always say is: “I was wrong” (1988a, p.7, our translation).⁴⁸

However, twenty years have passed since the publication of these two works and what one may observe is that the first great research conducted by Fiorin, which

⁴⁶ Text in the original in Portuguese: “o processo de inserção de marcas do discurso religioso no discurso político”.

⁴⁷ Text in the original in Portuguese: “[...] o discurso “revolucionário” é, sem dúvida alguma um discurso político, pois ele apresenta as características elencadas para classificar esse tipo de discurso. Entretanto, em alguns pontos, apresenta características do discurso religioso [...] O estado começa por adquirir características atribuídas a Deus: onipotente, onisciente, dotado de um querer anteriormente inscrito na realidade, eterno e perfeitíssimo. Como se identificam governo e Estado, o enunciador é o destinador, como nos discursos religiosos, e não destinatário, como nos discursos políticos. O povo perde o papel de destinador e assume o de destinatário” (p.145, com destaque em itálico do autor).

⁴⁸ Text in the original in Portuguese: “Se esse trabalho se revelar tão prenhe de equívocos que as hipóteses devam ser totalmente rejeitadas, só nos resta exclamar como Jakobson: É maravilhoso. A coisa mais importante de dizer sempre é: eu me enganei” (1988a, p.7).

resulted in his PhD and in these two books, already related and constitutively intertwined the semiotic and ideological dimensions of language. With his solid linguistic grounding, his historical acumen and keen eye for the possibilities for broadening the object of language studies, he scientifically looked closely to the elements related to *materiality*, which being observed, described and analyzed by *bifocal lenses*, has followed the path of enunciation. In this area, the author stands out and reveals himself as a great discourse analyst. The way he deals with theories and addresses the object of study not only confers rigor to the analyses, but allows reaching the discursive dimension and its social, cultural and ideological specificities.

Sign is considered by Fiorin as an *ideological sign*. With the apparatus provided by the theories that he adopts, unveils and supports, and with many thinkers that he evokes in those works, he is able to confer consistence and coherence to his interpretations and to his ways of building knowledge. Since these two first works were published, his thinking has constantly addressed the specificities of discourses that enable us to understand our history, our society and our culture, a feature of his work that we can still observe nowadays. When necessary, he goes beyond that.

Taking into consideration the other works produced by Fiorin along the years, which were not few, we may say that since *Linguagem e Ideologia* [Language and Ideology] and *O Regime de 1964: Discurso e Ideologia* [The 1964 Regime: Discourse and Ideology] the themes and figures that are found in his existential and epistemological dive into the study of discourse have maintained some invariants that allows us to see, for example, the political discourse assuming a religious dimension even under the cloak of contemporary democracies. In his many lectures and texts, Fiorin revisits this political-religious contamination, as it occurs, for instance, in *A sacralização da política* [The Sacralization of Politics] (FIORIN, 2013). Therefore, works that could be taken as old and that specifically address a certain ideology and a military discourse from 1964 are revealed to be relevant and the founders of a very particular way of producing knowledge grounded in linguistics, semiotics, theories of enunciation, and different trends of discourse analysis.

In order to end paper, it is worthy saying one last word, extracted from the plots of Diadorim's⁴⁹ creator. It evokes the mysteries of friendship through intellectual admiration:

A friend, to me, is this: a person with whom you like to talk, as one equal to another, unarmed; someone it gives pleasure to be near. That - plus any sacrifice. Or, a friend is simply what you are, without needing to define the how or the why of it.

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⁴⁹ TN.: Diadorim is a character from *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands* by João Guimarães Rosa.

⁵⁰ Full reference: ROSA, João Guimarães. *The Devil to Pay in the Backlands*. Translated from Portuguese into English by James L. Taylor and Harriet de Onís. New York: Alfred A. Knoff, 1963, p.151