STANCE, POSITIONING AND STEREOTYPE: A DIALOGUE BETWEEN SOCIOLINGUISTIC AND DISCURSIVE PERSPECTIVES

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POSICIÓN, POSICIONAMIENTO Y ESTEREOTIPO: UN DIÁLOGO ENTRE LAS PERSPECTIVAS SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA Y DISCURSIVA

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ABSTRACT: The concept of identity is a subject of common interest in linguistic studies for the fields of Sociolinguistics (mainly third wave research) and Discourse Analysis alike. The article´s main proposal is to investigate points of connection between the notions of the aforementioned fields that dialogue with the concept of identity. Therefore, I present the results of bibliographic research on studies that focus on the "northeastern identity" from the two mentioned perspectives. The theoretical basis of this research mainly considers works of Variationist Sociolinguistics and French Discourse Analysis. The results primarily point to the confluence, although not stable, of terms from the two areas, "stance" and "positioning," or even common uses of terms such as "stereotype".
KEYWORDS: Identity. Discourse Analysis. Sociolinguistics. Discursive Positioning. Stereotype.

RESUMO: O conceito de identidade é um ponto de interesse comum nos estudos linguísticos tanto para o campo da Sociolinguística (principalmente pesquisas da terceira onda) quanto para a Análise do Discurso. A proposta principal do artigo é averiguar pontos de conexão entre as noções dos campos citados que dialoguem com o conceito de identidade. Para isso, apresento o resultado de uma pesquisa bibliográfica sobre estudos que tematizam a "identidade nordestina" a partir das duas perspectivas

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citadas. A base teórica dessa pesquisa considera sobretudo trabalhos de Sociolinguística Variacionista e de Análise do Discurso francesa. Os resultados apontam principalmente para uma confluência, embora não estável, dos termos das duas áreas, "posição" (*stance)* e "posicionamento", bem como para usos comuns do termo "estereótipo".

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Identidade. Análise do Discurso. Sociolinguística. Posicionamento Discursivo. Estereótipo.

RESUMEN: El concepto de identidad es un punto de interés común en los estudios lingüísticos tanto para la Sociolingüística (principalmente la investigación de la tercera ola) como para el Análisis del Discurso. La principal propuesta del artículo es investigar puntos de conexión entre las nociones de los campos antes mencionados que dialogan con el concepto de identidad. Para ello, presento el resultado de una investigación bibliográfica sobre estudios que se centran en la "identidad del Nordeste brasileño" desde las dos perspectivas mencionadas. La base teórica de esta investigación tiene en cuenta, principalmente, los trabajos de Sociolingüística Variacionista y Análisis del Discurso francés. Los resultados apuntan principalmente a una confluencia, aunque no estable, de términos de las dos áreas, "posición" (stance) y "posicionamiento", así como a usos comunes de términos como "estereotipo".

PALABRAS CLAVE: Identidad. Análisis del Discurso. Sociolingüística. Posicionamiento Discursivo. Estereotipo.

1 INITIAL REMARKS

Identity is a scientific concept that is difficult to define for any research area that intends to work on it: Anthropology, History, Sociology, Linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Discourse Analysis... In an anthropological perspective, for example, for Laraia (2009, p. 68), identity is constituted "by a series of characteristics, such as the way of acting, dressing, walking, eating, not to mention the evidence of linguistic differences, the fact of more immediate empirical observation."[1].

It is both possible to consider "identity" from a *lato sensu* perspective, which concerns the group of characteristics of an individual or the grouping of similarities in a social group, as well as considering it as a scientific concept, quantitatively treatable and falsifiable. This second aspect is the one I am interested in ascertaining in this text.

The main objective of this paper is to consider how the mobilization of this "identity" concept occurs within the linguistic research in the areas of sociolinguistics and Discourse Analysis, noting examples of some studies related to what is called "northeastern identity" [2] or in some way related to the meaning of this expression, as by analyses of northeastern states in isolation.

To this end, the text is organized in four sections: in the first two, I show more general panoramas about identity in the sociolinguistic and discursive fields; in the last two, I visit more specific works in both areas, focusing on the notions of position, positioning, and stereotype.

Detailing better: in the first section, I sketch a brief outline of the presentation of the issues involving the topic "identity", focusing on notions of Sociolinguistics; in the second, I establish a relationship with the treatment of this concept in Discourse Analysis (hereafter called DA); in the third, I observe how these issues are involved in sociolinguistic research on Brazilian Northeastern identity and with which other sociolinguistic concepts the topic of identity mostly establishes relations; and, in the fourth, I observe some examples of research in DA that also work with the question of identity.

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[1] All translations in the paper are ours.

[2] Cf. the text "*A língua do Nordeste*" (the language of the Northeast), by philologist Mário Marroquim (2008 [1934]) for a basic notion on how this concept of northeastern linguistic identity works.

2 IDENTITY AS A SOCIAL LINGUISTIC QUESTION

Thus, as pointed out by Orlandi (1998), identity, in a discursive perspective, is based on a crucial relationship between unity and dispersion, in which the first functions as an effect of meaning and the second as the functioning of the real; for some sociolinguistic theorists, relationships of this kind – unstable, controversial, and opaque – are also presupposed when it comes to identity. For Kiesling (2013), for example, the most obvious way to conceive identity is in terms of *similarity* or *difference.*[3]

Nevertheless, the definition of the relational bases that underlie the notion of identity can be much more problematized than that. In Bucholtz and Hall (2004), these basic blocks of identity construction are *adequacy* and *distinction.* However, they can break up pointing to values that relate to and indicate an identity. These values are, according to Kiesling (2013): similarity and difference; solidarity; affinity, attraction, or desire; hierarchy, power, *status,* and stratification. For Mendoza-Denton (2002), on the other hand, identity works from a negotiation evidenced by linguistic uses.

Despite the importance of these remarks, an interesting factor addressed in Kiesling's text is the perspective of identity construction, considering not only the large census groups (age, sex, origin, social class...) but also a higher individual and contextualized level, with the observation of the multiple and distinct relationships in which speakers engage and which require different linguistic stances.

In this sense, the main question for variationist sociolinguistics regarding the topic of identity is "what types of identities attempt to correlate with linguistic variables, and how to encode those identities" (KIESLING, 2013, p. 454), since the existing relationship between identity and language is already a well-assumed issue in the scientific context. On this premise, the definition of **cultural identities** that Hall (2006) establishes is interesting. According to this sociologist, they are aspects of our identities that arise from our "belonging" to ethnic, racial, linguistic, religious, and national cultures.

In this debate, I propose to highlight the "linguistic" feature that Hall mentions when listing the criteria for assuming belonging to an identity[4] as well as the emphasis that Laraia (2009) promotes in "evidence of linguistic differences". Thus, assuming a direct relationship between identity and language in several areas, as can at least be seen in Anthropology and Sociology, it remains to be seen how this relationship is established.

Kiesling (2013) lists some points to be observed in a variationist study on identity, probably from the third wave[5], due to the focus on the individual: agentivity, *habitus...,* in an attempt to detach it from the essentialist view of linguistic behavior (for which identity is directly related to the physical composition of individuals – skin color, sex, age...). Most studies, however, have already proven that treatment of identity is not that simple.

Two examples follow: Eckert's study (2000 *apud* CHAMBERS; SCHILLING, 2013), with adolescent students in Detroit, showed that global categories were less important to define the identity of speakers in that context than the social groups created by the adolescents themselves – *jocks* and *burnouts;* the study by Podesva (2007 *apud* CHAMBERS; SCHILLING, 2013) on the different use of falsetto by a young homosexual doctor in various communicational situations that points to a kind of agentivity towards the awareness of the social use of the variants.

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[3] This relational logic between identity (synonymous with similarity) and difference works whenever identity is theorized upon. For example, Woodward (2014), about a dialogue between writer Ignatieff and a Serbian soldier at the time of the Yugoslav conflict, states that the story exemplifies the relational character of identity, which works by similarity and difference, by what one is and by what one is not. In this case, a Serbian is not a Croat because they do not smoke the same cigarettes, however, they are both "Balkan trash".

[4] On the "evidence" of this relationship between language and identity, in a questionnaire of Oushiro's research (2015) on how people recognized the identity of the speakers, the vast majority answered that it was by "the way they spoke".

[5] In Eckert (2012), variationist sociolinguistic studies are presented in the perspective of three major waves: the first wave concerns the works of the 1960s and the beginning of the next decade, when the correlation between linguistic variation and social macro categories (such as sex, economic class and age) was the basis of the research; the second wave refers to works from the 1970s until the end of the 20th century, when ethnographic methods were applied to understand the local categories that constituted the macro categories. The social categories led these first waves, as the author notes. The third wave, made up of works carried out mainly in this century, draws attention to the real importance of the meanings that linguistic variables gain in stylistic contexts.

Both agentivity and *habitus* (in the Bourdiesian sense: a cyclical process of introducing new habits until they become automatic and serve as a basis for other new habits) indicate a stylistic perspective of sociolinguistic analysis, since, from this point of view, it is assumed that the assessment of individual practices of linguistic use is more important than the assumption of direct relations between linguistic identities and large social categories such as age and sex.

On the other hand, the postmodern perspective, which outlines minimum stability of the relations of identity with the major social categories, is also not unanimous and is criticized in the sociolinguistic sphere. Oushiro (2015), for example, characterizes the overestimation of individual agentivity in the construction of identity as problematic as the essentialist view, given the impossibility of total awareness and continuous monitoring in the choices of linguistic characteristics.

This issue, however, does not cease to be delicate and complex and is not yet resolved (assuming that there is a possibility of resolution) in the studies conducted to date. Thus, the interest of sociolinguistic research should primarily be analyzing materials and describe them linguistically, to enable comparisons and hypotheses on identity constructions in social contexts based on linguistic characteristics. Oushiro (2019, p. 4) also recalls that to work with sociolinguistic identities, "it is necessary to apply varied, objective and replicable methods to understand their role in linguistic variation." [6].

3 IDENTITY IN DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The concept of identity is not, as I stated at the beginning of this text, an exclusive element of Sociolinguistics in the scope of linguistic studies. Thus, as I consider establishing relations between identity concepts of Sociolinguistics and DA the main aim of this paper, in this section I will make brief general remarks on identity in DA studies – principally of the French perspective.

In Brazil, DA is a field of studies located in the institutes or departments that study Languages and Linguistics. It points, in general, to a proposal of studies that works from the notions of Linguistics (linguistic system, as in Saussure and the post-structuralists), History (ideology and social relations, as in Marx and Althusser), and Psychoanalysis (unconscious, as in Freud and Lacan). One of the most current influential discourse analysts, Maingueneau (2015)[7], defines DA as a transdisciplinary endeavor as opposed to the division of knowledge into specializations. Thus, the work of the discourse analyst, according to Pêcheux[8] himself (2015 [1988]), is in the possible derivation points that every linguistic description (lexicon-syntactically determined) of an enunciation offers for its interpretation.

Identity is mostly linked to the notions of subject, positioning, and discursive formation (the latter concept can be disjointed in the discursive universe, discursive field, and discursive space into a reformulation found in Maingueneau (2008 [1984])) within DA. Thus, positioning is the specificity of the place of discursive production and goes back to an "enunciative identity" while the functioning of positioning is based on unity and difference. In other words, the relationship between the discursive field and the position that the subject occupies constitutes the enunciative identity, which can only be analyzed by focusing on the texts[9] (in the discursive materiality).

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[6] In this same text, the author presents an ethnographic approach, with specific questionnaires, analysis of stylistic variation according to the subjects treated and different postures of the speaker throughout the sociolinguistic interview.

[7] Reading this work is interesting to understand a little of the evolution of French Discourse Analysis from the 1960s until the dispersion of the Discourse Studies that are being carried out in the world today, inserted in a globalized and heterogeneous research space.

[8] Michel Pêcheux is considered the founder of this field of studies.

[9] On the use of the term "text" in DA, see the chapter "Discours, texte, *corpus*" in Discours et analyse du discours (MAINGUENEAU, 2015). In this chapter, the author comments on the difference between *corpora* (object of studies by discourse analysts) that group previously existing texts and those that result from a transcription besides commenting on Jhonstone's (2008) discussions on the issue.

Maingueneau (2012, p. 393) highlights, however, that, in a discursive field, "positioning does not only concern the "contents" but the different dimensions of the discourse: it also manifests itself in the choice of these or those genres of discourse, in the way of citing, etc."; that is, positioning is not restricted to the intralinguistic scope.

Identity in DA is analyzed differently than in Sociolinguistics since the methods and assumptions also differ. DA analyzes the enunciative identity from the positionings at stake in the enunciations that constitute its *corpus*[10] and presupposes that the discourse is assumed through an interdiscourse; that is, the texts are always related to other texts of the same genre or belonging to the same discursive formation through controversial positionings or discursive affiliation.

The works on identity in the scope of Sociolinguistics, in turn, take place through the analysis of linguistic variation through the relationship between linguistic uses and types of identity, on a scale of less (considering primordially agentivity) to more essentialist (giving priority to the social macro-categories) perspectives.

It should be noted, however, that works from the third sociolinguistic wave ((ECKERT, 2012) develop more and more concepts that somehow approximate those of DA, such as stance[OBJ]. In Kiesling (2019), a practical model is proposed to manipulate the notion of stance in sociolinguistic research, since it is directly indexed to linguistic forms and helps to constitute sexual identities. To proceed with this model, the researcher starts from two analyses: one refers to what he calls a "gay voice", and the other focuses on hyper-heterosexuality marked by the figure of the "bro."[11] In Kiesling (2019), a practical model is proposed to manipulate the notion of stance in sociolinguistic research, since it is directly indexed to linguistic forms and helps to constitute sexual identities. To proceed with this model, the researcher starts from two analyses: one refers to what he calls a "gay voice", and the other focuses on hyper-heterosexuality marked by the figure of the "bro"[12].

Another caveat on the peculiarity in sociolinguistic research must be made for variationist sociolinguistic studies, the analysis of variation and linguistic change is always the main focus, and their methodology never abandons the quantitative character to obtain its results, while discourses studies are situated in a place of greater denial of the positivist influence on scientific practice and, therefore, quantitative analyses are less prevalent in this type of research. However, both areas understand the importance of using language for linguistic studies, as well as the necessary and real relationship between language and society.

4 WHAT DO SOME REGIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDIES SHOW US?

In Brazil, there is a reasonable number of studies already carried out on identity in the light of the variationist sociolinguistic perspective. They are as much about evaluation and perception as about production and discuss several phonetic, phonological, and morphosyntactic issues that permeate this topic. In this section, as a demonstration of the mobilization of concepts involved with identity in Sociolinguistics, I will present studies that addressed the identity issue from analyses of what would be the "Brazilian Northeastern identity", sometimes presented separately, sometimes unified.

Nevertheless, the opinion on an identity that is only due to the political-geographical origin of the individuals that compose the group in question is not unanimous. Still, the variationist works on identity concerning the Brazilian Northeast are, in fact, about states in that region, sometimes compared to each other, sometimes compared to those from other regions. On the other hand, there are studies such as Fouquet's (2013) which do not point to a real differentiation between the northeastern states, except tangentially.

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[10] See Louzada and Louzada's (2012) **Identidade política, literatura de cordel e interdiscurso** (Political identity, *cordel* literature (literally string literature) and interdiscourse), with a proposal of analyzing political identity in *cordel* literature from the theoretical-methodological framework of DA, as an illustration of a discursive analysis of identity.

[12] Kiesling considers "bro" and "gay voice" as the two opposite ends of a heterosexuality-homosexuality *continuum*.

An example of a study on the identities of northeastern states from a variationist perspective is Cardoso's (2015)[13]. Therein, the author seeks to understand how linguistic attitudes and judgments interfere in the construction of identity. Therefore, she analyzes the attitudes of speakers of Aracaju about their dialect and in contrast to the dialects of Bahia and Rio. It is interesting to see how this work mobilizes the notion of attitude to talk about the construction of identity. The author sees the constitution of linguistic identity based on the valuation of linguistic variables according to the three levels of appreciation that Labov (1972) lists: stereotypes, markers, and indicators.

According to the author, the first is strongly sensitive to social evaluation (in Brazilian Portuguese, the first person verbal agreement of the plural, as in "nós vamos" / "Nós vai," is a good example), the second is reasonably sensitive to evaluation (/e/ diphthongization in the São Paulo speech, as in "peinsava" instead of "pensava") and the indicators have almost no evaluative force (the syntactic position of a wh- element, for example, as in "Quem é o Roberto?"/"O Roberto é quem?").

Cardoso (2015) focuses on stereotypes in her work, analyzing how they characterize local identities and make perceived linguistic prejudice work through the analysis of speech evaluations. For example, according to the author, the "melodic" characteristic is always stigmatized and has low rates in relation to the "beautiful" and "pleasant" evaluation, which partially differs from the constant evaluations in the work of Alves (1979), which I will present at the end of this section.

Another sociolinguistic concept that, logically, Cardoso (2015) mobilizes to analyze the identity construction through linguistic attitudes is "speech community". she follows Labov's (2006 [1966]) definition, for whom community is defined by the sharing, by individuals, of common subjective norms, which direct their evaluations. According to Labov, this sharing of evaluative norms is as important in the description of a speech community as an alignment in the variable speech patterns.

In addition to the sociolinguistic notions of speech community and attitudes and evaluations, the topic of sociolinguistic identity can also be directed to the issue of gender as a large social category (even though an attempt to deconstruct categorical binarism, which is socially pre-established but claimed as natural by the essentialist "biological" argument: man/woman[14]).

In recent years, principally, there has been an increase in research interest on the relationship between identity and gender in the areas of humanities and, in more specific terms, in third wave sociolinguistic works.[15]. Cardoso's (2009) work is an example of this association between identity and gender that indicates research on northeastern identity (since Fortaleza is the capital of one of the most representative northeastern states in demographic terms). The author was interested in investigating the role of linguistic and non-linguistic factors in the variable use of the imperative and, therefore, analyzed a group of men and women from Fortaleza who were migrants in the Federal District. It is, therefore, a predominantly dialectal accommodation work[16] such as Fouquet's (2013).

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[13] The author indicates this text as aligned with the project's proposal "*Da expressividade da língua ao mal na literatura: base de pesquisas interinstitucionais do PPGL/UFS*" (From the expressiveness of language to evil in the literature: database of interinstitutional research of the PPGL/UFS), which starts from the perspective of the third sociolinguistic wave. She also mentions the project "*Como o brasileiro acha que fala? estudos contrastivos de variação e identidade no português falado no Brasil*" (How does Brazilians think they talk? contrasting studies of variation and identity in Portuguese spoken in Brazil") that investigates the contrasting character between varieties of "Brazilian Portuguese" in samples of specific speech communities: Chapecó and Florianópolis, in Santa Catarina, in the Southern region, and Natal, in Rio Grande do Norte, and Aracaju, in Sergipe, in the northeastern region of Brazil. Work arising from this project approaches, although tangentially, the question of northeastern identity.

[14] Robin Queen's (2013) text, Gender, Sex, Sexuality, and Sexual Identities is an initial reading on the topic that aims to outline the evolution of sociolinguistic research and the possibilities of theorizing about the topic. The author concludes her introductory text indicating some more or less stabilized points of convergence between sociolinguistic gender researchers: "(i) gender, sex and sexuality are not static social categories; (ii) gender is implicated either directly or indirectly in language variation and language change; (iii) gender can be manipulated to achieve different perceptual results; (iv) gender is frequently used to explain variable phenomena even when it is not the cause of the variation; (v) gender, sex, sexual identities and sexuality are connected to one another in surprising as well as predictable ways" (p. 383). It is important to emphasize that there is not a good discussion in this text regarding the differences between the terms, which would, however, be fundamental for the works on the topic.

[15] Cf. *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality*, in which there is a lot of research on the subject, including Kiesling's (2019) already mentioned above.

[16] Term used by Trudgill (1986 *apud* KERSWILL, 2000) that points to both semi-permanent changes in a person's speech during a period of contact with speakers who use other linguistic varieties (long-term accommodation), as well as in a private speech interaction (short-term accommodation). The first is the result of the cumulative effect of numerous occurrences of the second.

According to Cardoso (2009), the most statistically significant social variables came from speakers grouped by gender and identity traits in the analysis of the variation of the imperative mode of Brazilian Portuguese. Cardoso (2009) chose to work comparatively on gender variety from the traditional man/woman view. In this sense, she observed that women adjust faster than men and this would be due to "the fact that women adapt more quickly to new situations in which they are inserted" (p. 139). The unmarked form – imperative associated with the subjunctive in Fortaleza and imperative associated with the indicative in the Federal District – predominated in female speech, confirming the previous indication of sociolinguistic research that women tend to use the form of higher prestige.[17]

An interesting factor of this work is that it corroborates Mendozza-Denton's (2002) statement that the speaker's sociolinguistic identity is not only linked to a social dimension (sex, age, social class...) but crosses and is crossed by several of them. It has, therefore, multiple characters, which considers not only macro-categories but also individual practices and interactive relationships. Furthermore, it suggests that the language choices that subjects make are never fully conscious or unconscious. There are structures working and changing in an orderly way as presupposes the variationist sociolinguistic theory with the axiom of the ordered heterogeneity of the language (WEINREICH; LABOV; HERZOG, 2006 [1968]).

Finally, I will briefly address the work of Alves (1979), who studied the attitudes of the Northeasterners in São Paulo concerning the linguistic varieties of themselves and those of speakers of São Paulo. This text also touches on the question of identity, since it assumes regional identities for the classification of the speech community that makes the valuations studied by the author. She says, for example, that the persons of Pernambuco who participated in the research classified the speech of the people of their land as "good" and "pleasant" and, according to the author (1979, p. 124, **my emphasis**), these valuations of their countrymen speech "become a sign of valorization of **identity**".

This thesis exemplifies yet again how the sociolinguistic notions of speech community and linguistic attitudes work together to delineate the notion of identity, which cannot seem to be manipulated in variationist research. Nevertheless, it can be the main objective of research and, in this sense, unfortunately, there are still few studies about the Northeastern identity. Alves' (1979) thesis also deals with dialectal accommodation as a way that northeastern migrants found to be socially accepted in a place that was hostile to them, as the author points out through excerpts from the articles in the newspaper "*O migrante*" (The migrant).

Alves (1979), in her treatment of data on the attitudes of migrant Northeasterners in São Paulo (mainly speakers from Bahia and Pernambuco, who were the largest northeastern migrant groups in São Paulo at the time), shows two ways in which the identities of the speakers are outlined by the *difference* (in terms of Kiesling, 2013): Northeast/Southeast and Capital/Interior. Thus, the interviewees who participated made several judgments both among themselves and the Paulistan speakers (Northeast/Southeast) and between the Paulistan inland speakers and those from the capital and, in the same way with the Pernambucans and Bahians from the interior and the capital (Capital/Interior)).

In this way, the interviews end up corroborating that multiple characteristics of identity pointed out by Mendoza-Denton (2002), in the sense that attitudes are given both by political-geographic criteria (regional division) and sociodemographic criteria (schooling) since the interviewees' argument to support the different linguistic varieties between residents of the capital and the interior was the easier access to studies when residing in the capital.

Regarding this last aspect, it is important to emphasize that it allows the former to be marginalized in the construction of identity, since, when it comes to social difference, both the Northeastern and Southeastern interiors are negatively marked in linguistic judgments. This can support the proposal that identity is always outlined in a fluid way depending on the criterion that is being analyzed at the moment: origin, source, social class, the public, age group, gender/sex...

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[17] See Cheshire (2002) for some very varied justifications by researchers about why women use more standard forms than men. The justifications mention questions about power, moral values and local identity.

The work of Alves (1979), although not directly addressing the topic of identity, presents important material for future studies that want to do it in relation to northeastern identity, in terms of sociolinguistic attitudes about themselves and others, the Paulistanos, in the case of her work. Not very specifically, the author is also a source of research on dialectal accommodation, although there are many works on accommodation of more up-to-date migrant Northeasterners, such as Bortoni-Ricardo's (2011 [1985]) on rural migrants who went to Brazilândia, or that of Santana (2018) on the dialectal accommodation of Sergipanos in São Paulo.

5 WHAT NOTIONS ARE INVOLVED IN THE STUDIES ON IDENTITY IN DA RESEARCH?

If the notion of "stance" has been a good way to work with identity in the most current variation sociolinguistic studies, in French DA it is possible to observe that studies on identity are rarely exempt from addressing discursive positioning, as already discussed in the sections 2 and 3 of this text. But, in addition to these notions, another that shows point of convergence between the two study approaches is that of stereotypes.

As already stated in Labov (1982), stereotypes indicate one of the levels of social evaluation. For DA, stereotypes – representations crystallized in social imaginary – are generally associated with an inherited discursive notion of classic rhetorical studies: *ethos*. This notion concerns the image that the speaker builds of themselves in their discourse.[18]. When moving to the discursive perspective, the focus shifts to the construction that the enunciator produces of their image. In Amossy (2005), the proposal extends to the concept of pre-discursive *ethos,* that image of the enunciator built even before his enunciation. This concept is still closer to the stereotype.

A good example of a discursive study with stereotypes is Velloso's (2011). Therein, the author works on the stereotypes of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo by analyzing the controversial "Daslu X Daspu". The author argues that identity processes always have a relational reflex characteristic (resembling a set of mirrors) that works to build stereotypes. In other words, the views of the *Correio Paulistano,* of Paulistas on Cariocas, and that of *Revista do Brasil,* of Cariocas on Paulistas, work to formulate stereotypes based on opposed pairs – organized/disorganized, hardworking/lightminded – based on a polarization necessary to characterize what, according to her, would be the first stereotypes: national identity.

In the special case of the humorous discourses, a subsect I have researched for some time already, stereotypes are fundamental to build the *ethe* of the characters of the jokes, for example: dumb blond-haired person, greedy Jew, talkative parrot, lazy Bahian... And these stereotypes mark *ethé* through, among other things, linguistic variation.

It is at this moment that the areas promote their most perceptive encounter when dealing with identity. That is, for the discourse analyst to promote a good analysis of discursive identity, it is most likely necessary that they resort to linguistic descriptions of dialectal variation. Some examples of discursive analysis of this type of discourse can be found in Souza (2013), who worked with stereotypes of Bahians in jokes, and Gatti (2013), who worked with stereotypes of children in comic strips.

A specific example of research in Discourse Analysis on identity that I would like to present by way of illustration is the following: analyzing some humorous posts from the social network *Instagram* of a profile called *Suricate Seboso*, produced by young boys from the state of Ceará, it is inevitable that – to undertake a discursive identity analysis of the profile and the characters – descriptions of linguistic variation (which, in the case of humorous speech, are obviously hyperbolized/stereotypical) do not occur.

It is interesting to note, however, that the analysis of the posts in this profile raises a question in focus: the oscillation between northeastern identity and identity of the Ceará. For example, when the son refers to his mother, he usually uses the vocative "*mãe*" (mother), and, in this case, some Bahians and Pernambucans, who use "*mainha*" mostly, probably would not identify with this linguistic representation that the profile presents. Cearenses, mainly residents of the metropolitan region of Fortaleza, however,

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[18] Cf. Amossy's book (2005), *Images de soi dans le discours*, in which the author presents a general overview of the notion of *ethos* from classical rhetorical studies to Discourse Analysis, through cultural, pragmatic, argumentative contemporary studies... and Maingueneau (2008 [1984]), when the notion of *ethos* is approached for the first time from a discursive perspective.

would see themselves much more represented by the profile. Let us see the following text, which is an example of the posts in this profile:
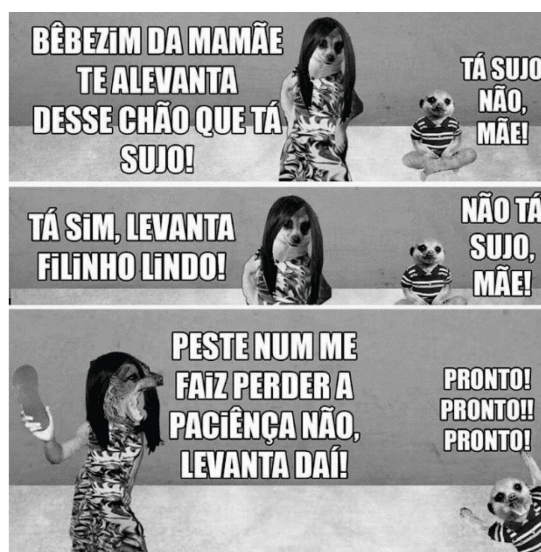

Image 1: Sebosim and his mother
Source: *Suricate Seboso* (2017)

In the previous image, published on *Suricate Seboso's* official Instagram profile on July 5, 2017, two of the main characters of this humorous profile appear: the mother and the son, Sebosinho. The purpose of the profile is, according to its self-description, to represent the Brazilian Northeast with humor. In the construction of its characters, the self-righteous/impatient/irritated *ethos* is common in the mother, which resembles the union of two characters already quite common in the humorous imaginary: in the Brazilian case, the Northeastern adult (example: Seu Lunga[19]); and, internationally, the Jewish mother.

In order to build this authoritarian and impatient *ethos* of the mother, in the text above, the profile uses linguistic marks of variation from the region. For example, the curse "*peste*" (plague), the realization of "*não*" (no/not) as "*num*", the double negation "*num - não*", the diphthong in "*faiz*", the monophthong in "*paciênça*"... all of them, into some extent, point to the linguistic stereotypes of the northeastern mother, probably of the lower class. Obviously, in a discursive analysis, it is necessary to describe and consider non-verbal elements as an integral part of the functioning of this text, but that is not the purpose of this article.

Concerning the notion of discursive positioning, in the profile producing the image above, one perceives the effort to draw an image within the humorous discourse of the positioning of claiming notoriety of the northeastern culture, which I dare call discursive positioning, mainly through the exploration of scenarios and characters that represent the daily lives of the peripheral population of this region of Brazil. It is necessary, however, to remember that there is a constant instability between the images that can be recognized in the profile: the Ceará and the Northeast.

The examples presented in this section aim to show a relationship between sociolinguistic and discursive knowledge whose establishment seems quite obvious to me when it comes to undertaking linguistic research on "identity" from one of these two perspectives. This is because, while sociolinguistic research, even the most quantitative ones, need contextual information, even discursive (historical and social), to carry out good research on identity, the opposite is also true: DA research on identity, when

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[19] *Seu Calunga*, a junk seller in Juazeiro do Norte, ended up inspiring a common character in string literature and northeastern folklore, the famous *Seu Lunga*, known for his image of grumpy and sulky old man who always responded literally to interactions. Some examples of jokes about Seu Lunga: "Seu Lunga gets on an interstate bus and after a few minutes traveling the guy next to him taps him on the shoulder and asks: - Is this the interstate road? And Seu Lunga replies: - No, this is my shoulder. The interstate road is over there!"; "Seu Lunga was ill and his wife set out to make soup. When she finished, she shouted from the kitchen: - Lunga do you want me to put the soup on a plate and take it to you? He replied: - No, throw it on the floor and push it with a mop!". Available at: https://www.osvigaristas.com.br/piadas/seu-lunga/. Access on: Nov 13, 2019.

involving linguistic material, must necessarily undertake descriptions of linguistic variation for the work to be considered linguistically refined.

6 FINAL REMARKS

This text was intended to bring up issues involving research on identity within the scope of the works of variationist sociolinguistics and French DA. The main objective was to find points of convergence between these theories based on the analysis of the similarity between the notions that are mobilized by the research in both areas. In this sense, after visiting more recent research, I suggested some similarity between the sociolinguistic notion of stance, demonstrated in Kiesling (2019) and discursive positioning, as well as the recurrence of the notion of stereotypes in both Sociolinguistic as well as DA research and, in the case of the latter, direct involvement with the concept of *ethos*.

In the brief notes made on the theorization of the concept of identity in the context of the sociolinguistic perspective, I attempted to show some flaws that are assumed by theorists when it comes to quantitatively analyze a notion as fluid and multiple as identity is. Even so, it was possible to realize that identity is a topic that Sociolinguistics will probably never be able to ignore since a range of other notions extremely important for this study area ends up pointing to the issue of identity, as is the case with studies on perceptions and sociolinguistic attitudes.

Also in this section, I verified, in a very embryonic way, given the simplicity of the sample of works, the preferential location of studies on identity in works that choose the perspective of the third sociolinguistic wave (ECKERT, 2012) as a theoretical-methodological framework. This, however, does not mean to say that work on the topic of identity cannot be done using macro-categories, as did Oushiro (2015) and Alves (1979). It is in this sense more interesting to centralize the reflection on the notion, as Kiesling (2013) does when proposing how the character of the analyses on identity construction (neither so structural nor so agentive) should be.

I conducted, then, a brief overview of the concept from another perspective of linguistic studies, DA, to compare the different assumptions and methods and likeness of concepts within the linguistic studies to analytically deal with the topic "identity". Therefore, I used a practical example of a brief analysis of the humorous discourse of *Suricate Seboso*. At the end of the section, I stressed the inevitable caution that the discourse analyst must have when carrying out an identity analysis, that is, he must take care to carefully describe the marks of linguistic variation.

I attempt to conclude the text by recalling that, while, according to Oushiro (2019), one of the main objectives of studying identity in the scope of sociolinguistics is to understand what is its role in linguistic variation, in DA research on identity, the main question is to understand the discursive functioning of these variations in their relationship with genre and enunciative scenes, for example, and, therefore, it is necessary that sociolinguistic descriptions of the material be carried out, even though they have a secondary role for the final result of the analyses.

The most important, however, is the need for dialogue between the areas becoming increasingly clear so that, by following their conceptual and methodological innovations, it should be possible to recognize points of convergence in these comparisons and their improvement potential for both theories.

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