

# TOWARDS A SOCIALLY CONSTITUTED EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS: THE CASE OF INCLUSIVE GENDER MARKING

**POR UMA SOCIOLINGUÍSTICA EDUCACIONAL SOCIALMENTE CONSTITUÍDA: O CASO  
DA MARCAÇÃO INCLUSIVA DE GÊNERO**

**POR UNA SOCIOLINGÜÍSTICA EDUCATIVA SOCIALMENTE CONSTITUIDA: EL CASO DE LA  
MARCA INCLUSIVA DE GÉNERO**

**Carla Regina Martins Paza<sup>1\*</sup>**

**Edair Maria Görski<sup>2\*\*</sup>**

Federal University of Santa Catarina

**ABSTRACT:** Based on Bell's (2016) proposal that 21st century Sociolinguistics needs to be socially constituted and taking into account the formation of the subject-citizen as well as the conception of language as a means of expressing (inter)subjectivities and constructing and projecting identities, the goals of this paper are: i) to sketch a brief profile of youth in current contemporary society; ii) contribute to expanding the teacher's theoretical-conceptual background with current reflections on the socio-stylistic and identity meaning of linguistic forms in variation and their implications; and iii) to illustrate the discussion with a didactic proposal involving inclusive gender marking. It is expected to show how Sociolinguistics can collaborate with the construction of spaces for social change through language teaching and learning, especially through the recognition that socio-stylistic meanings and identities are dynamic and multilayered, ideologically crossed and dialogically constructed.

**KEYWORDS:** Sociolinguistic justice. Socio-stylistic meanings. Identities. Teaching.

**RESUMO:** Com base na proposta de Bell (2016) de que a Sociolinguística do século XXI precisa ser socialmente constituída e tendo em vista a formação do sujeito-cidadão, bem como a concepção de língua como meio de expressão de (inter)subjectividades e de

---

<sup>1\*</sup> PhD in Linguistics (UFSC), professor at the Department of Vernacular Language and Literature, in the Professional Master's Program in Languages, and in the Postgraduate Program in Linguistics at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. E-mail: carla.paza10@gmail.com.

<sup>2\*\*</sup> PhD in Linguistics (UFRJ), professor of the Graduate Program in Linguistics at the Federal University of Santa Catarina. E-mail: edagorski@hotmail.com.

construção e projeção de identidades, os objetivos deste artigo são: i) esboçar um breve perfil da juventude na sociedade contemporânea atual; ii) contribuir para ampliar a bagagem teórico-conceitual do professor com reflexões atuais sobre o significado socioestilístico e identitário de formas linguísticas em variação e suas implicações; e iii) ilustrar a discussão com uma proposta didática envolvendo a marcação inclusiva de gênero. Espera-se mostrar como a Sociolinguística pode colaborar com a construção de espaços de mudança social a partir do ensino e aprendizagem da língua, especialmente pelo reconhecimento de que os significados socioestilísticos e as identidades são dinâmicos e multicamadas, ideologicamente atravessados e dialogicamente construídos.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Justiça sociolinguística. Significados socioestilísticos. Identidades. Ensino.

**RESUMEN:** Partiendo de la propuesta de Bell (2016) de que la Sociolingüística del siglo XXI necesita constituirse socialmente y con vistas a la formación del sujeto-ciudadano, así como la concepción del lenguaje como medio de expresión de (inter)subjetividades y de construcción y proyección. de identidades, los objetivos de este trabajo son: i) esbozar un breve perfil de la juventud en la sociedad contemporánea actual; ii) contribuir a ampliar la formación teórico-conceptual del docente con reflexiones actuales sobre el significado socioestilístico e identitario de las diversas formas lingüísticas y sus implicaciones; y iii) ilustrar la discusión con una propuesta didáctica que involucre una expresión inclusiva de género. Se espera mostrar cómo la sociolingüística puede colaborar con la construcción de espacios para el cambio social a través de la enseñanza y el aprendizaje de lenguas, especialmente a través del reconocimiento de que los significados e identidades socioestilísticos son dinámicos y multicapa, ideológicamente cruzados y contruidos dialógicamente.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Justicia sociolingüística. Significados socioestilísticos. Identidades. Enseñanza.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

Sociolinguistics arises connected to social demands, and besides seeking to describe patterns of variation and change, considering language in its social context (micro-sociolinguistics), and to understand what societies do with their languages, considering the social interpretation of language (macro-sociolinguistics) (Severo; Görski, 2023), it is concerned with promoting social justice through language teaching. Researchers such as Ralph Fasold, Walter Wolfram, Joan Baratz, Roger Shuy, and William Labov directed attention, at the end of the 1960s, to English learning difficulties, believing that dialect differences would be the cause of school failure (Bortoni-Ricardo, 2005). In the work *Language In The Inner City*, Labov (1972) explores the systematicity of Ebonics—at the time called BEV (Black English Vernacular)—challenging, in the chapter “the logic of nonstandard English”, educators and psychologists who attributed cultural and linguistic deficits to children in the ghetto schools context. The study shows that there was considerable distance between the English taught in schools and the vernacular that African-American children brought from their families and communities and that their learning problems were related to the lack of knowledge i) from the children, of the norms of English taught in school; and ii) from the educators, of the systematicity and norms of the linguistically legitimate variety used by the children.<sup>3</sup>

Since then, the connections between sociolinguistics and education have been strengthened, despite the Brazilian normative crusade that insists on disregarding heterogeneity as part of the linguistic system and erasing our multicultural and multilingual reality. More than half a century after the seminal works, the following question arises: *What is the relevance of sociolinguistics in the classroom and how can it contribute to the teaching and learning of languages, and to the building of spaces for social change?*

<sup>3</sup> Labov (2020) revisits this topic in a live session of the Brazilian Linguistics Association (Abralín), discussing “justice as a linguistic issue”, arguing that quantitative analysis of linguistic structures of non-standard dialects can not only correct “unfair views of linguistic limitations” but also help understand issues related to linguistic identity.

The central idea of sociolinguistics, especially of the variationist strand, can be summarized in the following premise: language is a heterogeneous system whose structure is correlated with the social structure. Implicated in this idea, directly or indirectly, are the notions of historicity and culture (language is historically and culturally situated), of subjects (speaker/writer and listener/reader give dynamism to language in interaction), and of variation/change—diastratic, diatopic, diaphasic, diagenational/diachronic, and diamesic—which occurs at different linguistic levels). Each of these notions houses a conceptual bundle of elements that overlap and intersect in different dimensions. Linguistic variants, for example, are conditioned by factors of different natures, linguistic and extralinguistic; they carry socio-stylistic meaning, being subject to speaker evaluation; they are part of the identity construction of individuals and social groups/communities; they are involved in different conceptions of norms; and they are embedded in a cultural and ideological matrix. By extension, thinking about educational sociolinguistics implies considering a broad spectrum of situations, and seeking to narrow this spectrum, we consider that:

- i) Epistemological and methodological advances in variationist sociolinguistics, especially regarding socio-stylistic and identity aspects—which go beyond regional variation and the polarized view of standard and non-standard, formal and informal, prestige and stigma—have had a modest impact in terms of a pedagogy of variation, which remains strongly focused on respecting diversity and combating linguistic prejudice, with a focus on teaching standard norms and registering adequacy;
- ii) it is possible and desirable to extend the most recent discussions about linguistic variation to teacher training [as well], giving prominence to the individual's agentic character and their social practices in more localized groups, immediate communities, and broader contexts, addressing identity issues and their correlation with language in use (Görski; Valle, 2019, p. 114).

ii)

With this in mind, the following theoretical-conceptual and applied topics were chosen as the guiding thread of our reflections in the present study: i) language as a means of expressing (inter)subjectivities and "constructing identities of its users and the community to which they belong" (Brasil, 2017, p. 85); ii) linguistic variation as indexing multilayered social meanings (Kiesling, 2013; Eckert, 2016, 2018); iii) the idea of "sociolinguistic justice" present in the valorization and legitimization of linguistic varieties and in access to politically empowered varieties, as well as the recognition of the linguistic experience of all speakers (Bucholtz; Casillas; Lee, 2016).

Having as its horizon the formation of the subject-citizen, the central objective of the present study is to focus on the social component of educational sociolinguistics, emphasizing the need for daily pedagogical work from this perspective. This objective has the following developments: i) outline a brief profile of youth in contemporary society (especially students of literature and in elementary school)—topic of Section 2; ii) contribute to expanding the teacher's theoretical-conceptual background with current reflections on the socio-stylistic and identity meanings of linguistically variable forms and their implications—topic of Sections 3 and 4; and iii) illustrate the discussion with a didactic proposal involving inclusive gender marking—topic of Section 5.

## 2 WHAT YOUTH IS THIS?

Despite the vast accumulated knowledge about the Brazilian linguistic reality (cf. Martins; Abraçado, 2015; Savedra; Martins; Hora, 2015; among others) and the strengthening of a pedagogy of variation (cf. Martins; Tavares, 2013; Zilles; Faraco, 2015; Martins; Vieira; Tavares, 2016; Vieira, 2018; among others), little has been discussed about the social scenario of Brazilian youth in current times and how this can—and really should—affect the field of sociolinguistics and its commitment to the school environment. A question that arises is to what extent is this field interested in the social component, and a dialogue with sociology and the social sciences? In this sense, Coupland (2016), suggesting that we work with a conception of a sociolinguistics change, alerts us to the fact that we cannot act as if linguistic changes occur in fixed and enduring social structures over time, if social and cultural factors (driving forces of change) do not change as well. The researcher proposes that sociolinguists should behave like social theorists, constantly questioning: "[...] 'how things are now' [...] How does the social world of language and language use stand now, here as opposed to there, and how is it changing? Is language taking on new, more, or less significance in particular respects? Is social life changing by virtue of new orientations to, and new uses of, language?" (Coupland, 2016, p. 435).

If, in the society of the 1960s and 1970s, social categories were more stable and individuals had less mobility (physical, virtual, or social), from post-modernity onwards, there is a kind of fragmentation of the “cultural landscapes of class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, and nationality, which, in the past, had provided us with solid locations as social individuals” (Hall, 2005, p.9). Furthermore, there is an understanding that social groupings are based on changeable options, with more space for the agentive behavior of subjects in the face of styles and cultural products with which they engage (Bauman, 2003; Hall, 2005; Rampton, 2006). New forms of work can imply social changes—in which, for example, new relationships between employer and employee are established, promoting greater inequalities;<sup>4</sup> and linguistic changes—in the sense that new forms and styles can be valued. Likewise, new dynamics of mobility, not only demographic and spatial, but also the global mobility of economic practices, cultural norms, lifestyles, and values, imply the need to shift the focus from diversity to *superdiversity*. Furthermore, media, mediatization, and electronically mediated exchanges and consumption assume a central role in our times, leading to important sociolinguistic changes, which still require investigation and which have altered the passive behavior of viewing and consuming media products to the agentive way of producing content, giving voice to those previously silenced (Coupland, 2016). Given the significant changes mentioned, the question that arises at the moment is: How, in this new scenario, do the youth in both elementary school and undergraduate courses (in this specific case, languages) behave?

Vandenberghe (2014), from the point of view of late modernity, considers youth in terms of a social category, covering a transition period (now quite extended) from childhood to adulthood, when the individual is inserted into the job market, and as a rule, leaves the parental home, becoming more independent from the family. For the author, until the 1970s there were more stable gender and class markers among youth populations, however, in recent decades, we have experienced cultural and labor market changes that have impacted the lives of young people and known structures. In criticism of the post modern view that, in theory, individuals would be freer from cultural structures such as religion, tradition, and morality, being able to reflexively make choices about their lifestyles, Vandenberghe (2014, p.301) points out that “in practice, however, reflexivity ostensibly remains an exclusive prerogative of young people, men, whites, and members of the middle class”.

Bell (2016), in the text *Succeeding waves: seeking sociolinguistics theory for the twenty-first century*, points out that the dialectic between structure and agency, although the focus of intense debates in social theories, deserves centrality in sociolinguistics, since “[e]ven in the most regimented milieu, there is room for human agency to create something new. [...] Humans and Society, then, are simultaneously both free and fettered.” (Bell, 2016, p. 399).

In Brazilian society, where social inequalities are immense, limiting the space of agency, collective movements such as the occupation of public schools in São Paulo in 2015, extended to the entire country, can be configured as spaces of engagement and agency. In this sense, unlike the labor movements of the past, Vandenberghe (2014) points out that among the new social movements, those led by the youth population place political positioning as a background, being primarily cultural and social. In their agendas, according to the author, issues related to personal life (sexuality, ethnicity, and ecology); the democratization of the structures of everyday life; interest in expressive forms of communication; and the defense of the integrity of the world and life are contemplated. From this, “they aim to produce social change through the change of values, therefore developing new lifestyles and changing the identities of social roles” (Vandenberghe, 2014, p. 306).

Intending here to do no more than point out some relevant aspects regarding the notion of youth—a complex topic that deserves a more careful look and engagement by sociolinguists in future research—what is important to highlight is that elementary school and undergraduate languages students, and future teachers, live in a time where they are a little freer in relation to the traditional norms of the past. Family, religion, status, class, and nationality are currently slippery and contested notions and many of these young people in school and university—obviously not all—are more critical and engaged in relation to the generations that preceded them, positioning themselves on ethnic issues, gender relations, environmental responsibility, other possibilities of family organization, and affective relationships. The following is therefore worth questioning: *How can sociolinguistics and, even more specifically, how can educational sociolinguistics reorient itself and contribute to the current scenario?*

<sup>4</sup> For a discussion of labor and capital, see Vandenberghe (2014, p.281).

### 3 SOCIALLY CONSTITUTED EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLINGUISTICS AND THE TEACHER'S BAGGAGE

The present section was organized attentive to the guidelines and standards of official documents that parameterize the teaching of Portuguese Language (PL) in the Brazilian context and teacher training, taking into account social demands that involve the teaching and learning of PL. Looking at the curricula, it is possible to notice that not all undergraduate courses in languages offer the sociolinguistics discipline. Often, sociolinguistic content is addressed as part of other disciplines, or as an optional subject, occupying a space less than desirable in the curricula. Continuing education and updating courses can, in part, complement these contents with a focus on pedagogical practices, but with limited reach. Access to scientific productions (theses, dissertations, and articles) is not facilitated due to the academic nature of these materials, with restricted circulation, and dissemination and visibility of these studies is limited in terms of popularizing science.

In view of this, the topics that tend to be most present in schools when evoking sociolinguistics are related to a polarized view in terms of standard and non-standard (or popular) norms, regional varieties notably at the lexical level, register (associated with levels of formality), and prejudice—despite the official documents National Curriculum Parameters (PCN) and National Common Curriculum Base (BNCC) having already advanced in relation to this relatively restricted view of linguistic diversity. In general terms, the issue of social meaning is usually associated only with evaluations of prestige or stigma, and it is not uncommon to find, both in schools and in the wider social environment, stereotypical evaluations such as “right” and “wrong”, “beautiful” and “ugly” attributed to variable linguistic uses, dichotomously linked to standard or non-standard norms, which results in prejudiced attitudes towards certain linguistic forms and their users. In addition to the issue of prejudice, however, it is important to consider that, more recently, the idea of *linguistic respect* has been defended, understood by Scherre as “[...] harmonious coexistence between different ways of speaking, whether in terms of differences between languages, or in terms of differences between varieties within the same language. Linguistic differences, on any level, including the social, characterize groups of speakers and are *identity mechanisms*” (Respeito, 2020; emphasis added by authors of the present document).

It should be noted that the distinction between prejudice and linguistic respect may seem insignificant at first. The second notion, however, goes beyond the prestige-stigma valuation, highlighting the identity mechanisms that characterize groups of speakers.

Furthermore, studies have shown that textbooks in general approach linguistic variation as content of a specific unit or module (cf. Baronas, 2014; among others). Classroom work, however, cannot be restricted to a conceptual chapter of the textbook on variation, since the sociolinguistic perspective must permeate all teaching practice and there is no teaching material available that can handle this. The hope for changing behavior regarding the topic addressed here, therefore, seems to lie in teacher training.

Given the stated needs, it is worth considering that a sociolinguistic perspective should be on the agenda. Returning to what Hymes already indicated as relevant in 1974 —“language is inherently social and society is inherently linguistic”—, Bell (2016, p. 391) considers that sociolinguistics in the 21st century needs to be socially constituted. Under this perspective, it is understood that the social dimension must gain its due space integrated with linguistics, proposing explicit and conscious engagement with social theories already based in sociology, as proposed by Coupland (2016).<sup>5</sup>

More specifically, a socially constituted sociolinguistics i) is engaged, critical, interventionist, and defends linguistic equality; ii) deals with data from the entire world, also considering digital media and content produced in peripheral contexts; iii) in the same way as it deals with theoretical and linguistic issues, it also deals with issues of social interest; iv) understands language as socially constituted and has interaction as its basic material; v) understands that society is linguistically constituted to a considerable degree, which is evident via linguistic ideologies; and vi) is essentially dialogical (in Bakhtin's terms), considering the listeners, the public, and the speakers (Bell, 2016).

<sup>5</sup> It should be noted that the constitution of sociolinguistics in the 1960s, in the United States, took place in an interdisciplinary way, in a series of academic events that brought together three areas: dialectology, anthropology, and sociology, with the initial idea that these areas should be merged (Shuy, 2003). As is known, such a merger did not happen and each area took its own course. What Bell (2016) and Coupland (2016) are proposing contemplates, in a way, Fishman's (1991) criticism that the partner of the sociolinguistic enterprise has been set aside over time. In more recent studies, interdisciplinary paths are sought, especially to bring sociolinguistics closer to anthropology and sociology.

Taking a step further, it is proposed that following the update of the work agenda of sociolinguistics for this century, the dialogue between this field of study and the practice in the classroom also should be updated. We suggest, therefore, to consider that the work in the school should be guided by a socially constituted educational sociolinguistics. This means that, beyond the relevance of sociolinguistics to deal on a daily basis with the diversity present in the classroom and with the variable and changing linguistic reality that presents itself in various grammatical phenomena of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), we also need, permanently, to prepare our teachers for work connected to the demands of today's society, especially of the youth in elementary school.

If we consider, as proposed by Vandenberghe (2014), that the spaces for agency are not as democratic as is preached in theory, the view of socially constituted educational sociolinguistics is essential, especially in public schools, since it contributes to the integral formation of individuals who not only perceive the relations between language and society, but who can also, through language, act reflexively to promote effective social changes. It is time to turn our attention more intensely to the social meanings of linguistic forms and what they can reveal about the society in which we live, and the social movements of our times. If being agentive is for those who can, not for those who want, the role of a PL teacher trained under this perspective should be to contribute to correcting inequalities, opening spaces for students to have a voice and a place. In this sense, the notion of sociolinguistic justice (Bucholtz; Casillas; Lee, 2016) is relevant: the student's experiences and vernacular are respected and accessing linguistic varieties that circulate in the spheres of power is made possible, enabling reflective and critical reading of language and the world.

Ultimately, what is expected from the work that comes from a socially constituted educational sociolinguistics is the formation of student citizens, who are perceptive in the use of linguistic forms in variation, who perceive and know how to play with the diversity of social meanings in a conscious and engaged way, and that can deal with the stylistic diversity constitutive of different textual genres. In addition to providing access to politically empowered varieties, from this perspective it is important to promote spaces of agency so that subjects can also assert their vernacular and the speeches of the social groups with which they interact, aiming to envision changes, not only linguistically, but also in the rules of the social game.

This being said, Chart 1 summarizes a set of sociolinguistic knowledge and postures considered indispensable to PL teachers (trained and in training) and that must, to some extent, be present in the day to day of pedagogical practices in Brazilian schools. It is "new baggage" in the sense that it adds new items to an already proposed set.

- i) assume a conception of language as a heterogeneous and historically situated system;
- ii) recognize that linguistic variants carry social meaning and that the evaluation of speakers about the linguistic forms interferes in the direction of a change;
- iii) recognize the role of language in the sociocultural identity of a group/community;
- iv) be aware of linguistic norm(s) and the political motivation behind choosing a standard norm;
- v) recognize phenomena in variation and change in BP at different linguistic levels in speech and writing, in different regions, and at different times;
- vi) seek to understand the linguistic and/or social motivations for the variation/change that involve these phenomena;
- vii) perceive variable linguistic uses as stylistic marks, produced not only as a result of self-monitoring (attention to speech) and accommodation to the audience, but also as an expression of personal and/or group identity;*
- viii) recognize the social meaning associated with the forms in variation not only linked to social macro-categories, but also to locally constructed values in terms of affiliation to groups, and to the construction of personas;*
- ix) understand the historical and social motivations of the variation and be aware of the effects of using linguistic variables, especially regarding stigmatized forms;*
- x) recognize that social meanings and identities are dynamic and multilayered, ideologically crossed, and dialogically constructed;*
- xi) consider a socially constituted sociolinguistics approach, focused on the real world, including issues of social interest, and content produced in peripheral contexts and conveyed through different media; and engaging in defending sociolinguistic justice and promoting changes in the social scenario.*

**Chart 1:** sociolinguistic knowledge and attitudes expected of agents involved in teaching and learning Portuguese Language in the Brazilian context

**Source:** adapted and expanded based on Görski and Freitag (2013) and Görski and Valle (2019)<sup>6</sup>

All the aspects listed in the chart are relevant and shed light on the issue of linguistic diversity and its historical motivations, on linguistic norms and varieties, on the social and stylistic meaning projected by variant forms, and on social evaluation—which involves stigma and prestige, attitudes of prejudice or of respect, and which reveal power relations. The reflections in the present study are the items from *vii* to *xi*, which do not exclude the previous ones but are, in fact, permeated by them.

Before approaching the highlighted points in practical terms, and with a view to conceptually supporting the application outlined below, we consider it pertinent to briefly contextualize the way in which social and stylistic meaning has been treated in variationist sociolinguistic studies. For didactic purposes, we took into account the different waves or phases that have characterized academic studies in the area. We emphasize, however, that in analytical practice in schools, what matters is exploring the different layers of social meaning, regardless of the underlying theoretical-conceptual alignment.

#### 4 THE TREATMENT OF SOCIAL AND STYLISTIC MEANING IN STUDIES OF LINGUISTIC VARIATION

Taking social meaning and analytical practices as the axis, Eckert (2012, 2016, and 2018) systematizes variationist studies into three waves or phases, in which the dimensions of the sociolinguistic variable—linguistic, social, and stylistic—(Hernández-Compoy, 2016) re-signify themselves based on different conceptions of the language/individual/society relationship.

The so-called first wave studies seek to identify, through probabilistic quantitative analyses, sociolinguistic patterns of regular use in the community speech, establishing correlations between linguistic variables and social macro-categories (class/education, sex, age group, and ethnicity of speakers). The linguistic behavior of the speaker is seen as conditioned by macro-social categories and social meaning—as well as identity—is inferred from the social stratification of speakers, being seen as relatively fixed and subject to social

<sup>6</sup> Items i to vi are taken from Görski and Freitag (2013, p. 19-20); the items highlighted in italics are prepared by the authors of the present study, with items vii to ix being added by Görski and Valle (2019, p. 108); and items x and xi are added in this text.

evaluation by community members, who attribute prestige values and stigma towards linguistic forms depending on the social characteristics of the speakers. As example, cases of nominal and verbal agreement, such as “*os pescadô*” (the fisherman), “*nós compra*” (we buy), are often stigmatized. These forms of speaking are usually associated with speakers with low education and low socioeconomic status, thus receiving an assessment that is crossed by the social profile of those who produce them. Studies that align with this view consider that linguistic structure/variation reflects social structure. Stylistic meaning, in turn, is linked to levels of formality resulting from degrees of attention paid to speech.

Second wave studies, in general terms, seek to identify the local dynamics of variation in social practices of groups (social networks, communities of practices)<sup>7</sup>, considering linguistic behavior as conditioned by the interaction of local categories, which involve a certain agentivity of speakers, with broader social categories. In this sense, linguistic variation reflects the interaction between local categories and social structure, with an emphasis on locally identified categories. The stylistic meaning is associated with identity, being considered as an act of affiliation to a certain regional or social group (local identity).

A study that is often referred to as an example of second wave studies is the ethnographic research by Eckert (2000) carried out with American teenagers from a public school in the suburbs of Detroit, USA. In this study, the students, divided into two groups based on their sociocultural values (*The Jocks* and *The Burnouts*), were accompanied by the researcher in extracurricular activities, with their conversations recorded, which focused on school problems, issues with friends, friendships and rivalries, pastimes, smoking, and drinking, among other topics. The author investigated the variable production of the diphthong /ay/, verifying that the different linguistic forms expressed distinct social meanings according to the symbolic values of each of the communities of practice that constituted the two groups (involving class cultures and relationship with institutional norms, among other aspects). The macro-social categories related, for example, to parents' socioeconomic level, proved to be less significant in this case, with adolescents' affiliation to locally constituted communities of practice being the main driving force behind variable linguistic usage.

With a strong interdisciplinary character, third wave studies operate with the notions of semiotic systems, stylistic practice, agentive subject, identity/persona, posture, indexicality, distinctiveness, and ideology, among others, which are more or less activated depending on the phenomena analyzed. Since these notions are the ones that are most in harmony with the pedagogical work proposal defended in the present study, they are dedicated a greater space in the present section. Studies aligned with this perspective focus on language as “a dynamic semiotic system” (Eckert, 2016, p. 13), and should not be seen separately from society as it involves social structure and practice. The concept of a semiotic system encompasses a broader notion of style that concerns not only the use of language, but also other constituent elements of the subject such as postures, gestures, clothing, and certain tastes and interests, which function as manifestations of co-occurring styles that express social meanings (Lacerda; Görski; Lima, 2023).

In this perspective, *linguistic variation does not reflect local categories or social structure, but (re)constructs social meaning*. Such meanings are (re)constructed in stylistic practices of the speakers, who are conceived as agent subjects<sup>8</sup>. Stylistic practices are the intersubjective *locus* where speakers (re)construct, (re)interpret and project personas (social types), and identities, either as individuals or as members of social groups (Coupland, 2007; Kiesling, 2013). In these semiotic dynamics, the subject appropriates resources from the social scene and recombines them to create a new style, a distinctive style (Irvine, 2013; Eckert, 2018).<sup>9</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> *Social networks* are networks of relationships of individuals established in everyday life, and may involve degrees of kinship, friendship, occupation, etc. A sociolinguistic analysis based on social networks enables the study of small groups, such as ethnic minority groups, migrants, rural populations, etc., facilitating the identification of social dynamics that motivate linguistic change (Milroy; Llamas, 2013). *Communities of practice* are constituted by groups whose members engage in shared practices: ways of doing things, views, values, power relations, and ways of speaking. The community of practice is the main *locus* in the process of linguistic and identity construction. (Eckert, 2006).

<sup>8</sup> It is worth mentioning that Vandenberghe (2014) problematizes the notion of agency, considering that this capacity is not universal and is not disconnected from the social structures to which subjects are subjected.

<sup>9</sup> This appropriation and recombination of elements by the subject to (re)construct new meanings, styles, and identities configures a process known as bricolage (Hebdige, 1984).



Both identities and social meanings are multilayered. Identities involve different levels that are interconnected i) of macro-social (sex/gender, age group, social class, and ethnicity) and regional categories; ii) of institutional and professional roles (mother, teacher, etc.); and iii) of postures (being friendly, authoritarian, weak, etc.) (Kiesling, 2013). According to Drummond and Schlee (2016, p.60-61), identity is not fixed, but “something that can be performed and negotiated in all its fluidity and multiplicity, moment by moment”. The layers of social meaning are created by the joint action of stylistic elements (linguistic uses, postures, clothing, etc.) that index different social meanings. *Indexicality*, according to Drummond and Schlee (2016), corresponds to the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings. How does this indexical dynamism work?

The classic research conducted by Labov in 1963 on Martha's Vineyard island, Massachusetts, USA, regarding the centralization of the /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs (Labov, 2008[1972]) is an illustration of indexical dynamism. Based on field notes from observations of speakers in spontaneous situations (in cafeterias, restaurants, bars, etc.), documentary surveys about the social history of the island, and systematic interviews, Labov verified that classic social factors typically controlled in first wave studies (sex/gender, age group, socioeconomic level, and ethnicity) and the alternation of contextual styles in the interviews (related to possible degrees of formality) proved to be less significant in explaining the variable phonetic-phonological phenomenon investigated by him than local identity. The study showed that the centralization of the vowel, especially by the group of local fishermen, indexed i) native island status, that is, “being from vineyard”—regional identity associated with place of residence and social group (characteristic of the second wave perspective)—; and ii) a given positioning of residents in a local ideological conflict that opposed the island to the mainland, to “outsiders”, seen in a certain way as invaders, i.e., “being a particular type of vineyard person”— ideological stance (characteristic of the third wave perspective).

In terms of indexicality, it is possible to say that a given group of speakers stands out, as a trait of their speech (in this case, the centralized variant of the diphthong) distinguishes itself and attracts attention, coming to indexicalize belonging to that group. In a second instance, this trait can also be evoked to signal ideological stances, stereotypes associated with the group, etc. Repeating this process can lead to the conventionalization of the new sign, which becomes available for other indexical movements, and so on. In the case of vowel centralization, once this variant becomes associated with an ideological stance against the continental incursion on the island, it becomes available to indicate another opposition stance, i.e., young people could take it to indexicalize an oppositional stance in another situation of controversy or conflict (Eckert, 2016). In this way, the indexicalization of meanings occurs at various levels and directions, establishing a set of correlated meanings that constitute an indexical field, defined as a “constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable” (Eckert, 2008, p. 454).

This movement that involves stylistic practice, linguistic variation, social meaning, identities/personas (social types), and social scenario is articulately integrated: it is in intersubjective stylistic practices that variation acts in the indexicalization of social meanings and in the modification and emergence of social types; and, dialectically, the continuous (re)construction of types that come to compose and modify the social scenario also has an impact on variation (Eckert, 2016).

Based on this conceptual background, in the following section we seek to observe in practice movements not only of (re)construction of social meanings and multilayered identities, but also of the creation of new forms of expression of these meanings, taking a specific phenomenon as illustrative.

## 5 THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIAL MEANING: THE CASE OF INCLUSIVE GENDER MARKING

To illustrate the issue of social meaning indexed by linguistic forms in variation and multiple identities, the case of the *generic masculine*, i.e., the use of the masculine grammatical form (with *-o* being analyzed as a thematic vowel) to refer to men and women taken together, and *inclusive gender marking*<sup>10</sup>, i.e., the use of an alternative form that expands the male/female binary and seeks inclusive treatment, was chosen. It is a very controversial topic, which involves gender and sexuality and reflects a sociocultural change. This change is strongly related to movements by the LGBTQIA+ community, among others, and concerns issues such as biological sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, and social inclusion.<sup>11</sup> These movements, which are of an identity character, defend important agendas aimed at combating prejudice and deconstructing stereotypes, respecting diversity, and social justice in the sense of reducing inequalities. Language, as a social practice, is the arena where these conflicts and debates are established. In the case of linguistic variation, it is what Eckert (2000) calls the “social use of variation”, which is different from the variation that reflects the influence of macro-social categories such as ethnicity or social class. The linguistic phenomenon in question involves uses such as:

- (1) Caros alunos.
- (2) Cares alunes.
- (3) Carxs alunxs.
- (4) Car@ s alun@s.

While in (1) *-o* is considered as an expression of generic masculine in the sense of designating a set of students both female and male, in (2) to (4), *-e*, *x*, and *@* are forms of gender-inclusive marking, and can refer, without distinction, to all subjects. Defenders of these forms generally argue that generic masculine is a sexist mark of the language; critics of these uses, in turn, argue that the generic masculine is a morphologically unmarked form in terms of sex, being well established in the Portuguese grammatical system. Other alternative expressions of inclusive language are *caros alunos e caras alunas*/*caras alunas e caros alunos*; *caro(a)s aluno(a)s/cara(o)s aluna(o)s*<sup>12</sup>— forms of use that are quite frequent and that are not usually stigmatized. Possenti (2022, p.30) points out that in addition to the forms expressed from (2) to (4), another option to make the discourse more inclusive is “to avoid words considered ‘masculine’ in universal use, such as “*funcionário*” (replaced by ‘people who work...’).”

Mäder and Severo (2016) consider that in Portuguese, the variable “morphosyntactic gender marking” would possibly involve three forms, in addition to the standard variant (generic masculine), whose use would be associated with specific discursive contexts: i) coordinated construction of the type “feminine and masculine”, such as “*senhoras e senhores*” (ladies and gentlemen), common in political and ceremonial speeches; ii) morphologically marked construction as a new grammatical gender, such as “*lindes e menines*” (beautiful and boys/girls/others), commonly used by specific groups, academics, and gender activists; and iii) a variant like “*amixs*” or “*amig@s*” (friends), used informally in written form, common in the digital context.<sup>13</sup>

It should be noted that this is a discussion that involves divergence of positions even among linguists. Freitag (2022) highlights that the widespread use of forms like “*todes*” (everyone) for gender neutralization opposes the right of those who want to be identified by their gender and, in this sense, replacing the generic masculine with the neutral generic would merely exchange hegemonies and would maintain the historical marginalization of women, who have long fought for the marking of the feminine.

<sup>10</sup> Terms such as *gender neutral language*, *gender-neutral morphology*, and *gender neutral* have been used in reference to this linguistic usage. In the present study, we have chosen to use the term *gender inclusive marking* since it is considered that there is no neutral language (cf. Freitag, 2014). However, sometimes the term *gender neutral* will be maintained because it is more widespread.

<sup>11</sup> The acronym LGBTQIA+ designates lesbians, gays, bisexuals, transgender, *queers*, intersex, and asexuals, with a “+” sign, recognizing other possible sexual orientations and gender identities.

<sup>12</sup> Coordinated constructions in italics express masculine and feminine gender marking.

<sup>13</sup> It is worth noting that the issue of sexism in language is not exclusive to Portuguese Language, being quite present and guiding linguistic policies in other languages, such as English, French, and Swedish (cf. Mäder; Severo, 2016).

Seeking to put into practice what is being discussed theoretically, it is considered that discussions about inclusive gender marking—which flooded social media from the year 2020 and are of interest to contemporary youth, being brought as a demand by many students in the classroom—constitute a relevant theme to be addressed by teachers attentive to the perspective of *socially constituted educational sociolinguistics*. This topic, which arouses the natural curiosity of many young students, involves a linguistic fact that should not be ignored, despite the controversies and attempts to silence teachers who in recent years have dared to address the issue. Furthermore, the phenomenon can be quite productive in raising reflections on stylistic practice, identity/persona, posture, social meanings, ideology, not only restricted to the field of language, but which involve different semiosis. It is worth highlighting the ephemeral and dynamic nature of the discussions that are now taking place around this issue, which implies constant updating by teachers, and often, their own personal engagement on social networks that have served as a stage for this type of debate<sup>14</sup>.

In this sense, among the social fields of action proposed in the BNCC to contextualize language practices, there is the journalistic-media field, mobilized so that the young person entering high school can basically

[...] understand the main facts and circumstances reported; realize the impossibility of absolute neutrality in reporting facts; adopt basic procedures for checking the veracity of information; identify different points of view on controversial issues of social relevance; evaluate arguments used and position oneself in relation to them in an ethical manner; identify and report hate speech that involves disrespect for human rights; and produce varied journalistic texts, taking into account their production contexts and genre characteristics. (Brasil, 2017, p. 502).

It is important to highlight that the aforementioned teaching document reinforces the space of social networks in the journalistic-media field, considering the need to privilege complex genres related to the investigation and reporting of facts, situations, and opinion involving different semiosis.

To illustrate how this topic could be discussed in the classroom, it is understood that, among the various materials produced in inclusive language, the work developed from the discursive interview genre, which is part of the journalistic-media field, can be quite useful. In this sense, the interview published in *Época* magazine (2020) entitled "Linguists diverge on the need for changes in Portuguese Language to neutralize grammatical gender", with the professors Aldo Bizzocchi (USP) and Cristine Gorski Severo (UFSC), constitutes a potential starting point for pedagogical discussions. The interview is particularly interesting for presenting opposing points of view on several issues on the topic, such as: the implementation of the use of inclusive gender marking in school institutions, the varied possibilities of inclusive marking, the use in speech, the relationship between gender marking and sexism, and the possibility of social change based on more inclusive linguistic uses. In the following excerpt, extracted from the interview, the divergence of opinions between the two researchers is evident.

From a linguistic point of view, does this discussion [about "gender neutral"] make sense? Is the Portuguese Language loaded with sexism?

[Aldo Bizzocchi]—there is this myth, which circulates a lot on the internet, that the Portuguese Language is sexist. Well, first of all, if we are to consider that a language that has masculine and feminine gender and neutralizes the two in the masculine is sexist, then all Roman languages are sexist. But this is false for several reasons. [...]

[Cristine Gorski Severo]—deconstructing the generic masculine is a movement that has happened not only in the Portuguese Language, but in many other indo-European languages that have in their structure this gender bending, which has come to be understood as sexist. This change is a response to social, cultural, and identity movements related to gender and sexuality. [...] (Bizzocchi; Severo, 2020, p. 35).

<sup>14</sup> Is it not being suggested here that it is necessary for teachers to have social networks, but it is a fact that knowing what is debated in these communication platforms—in which a large proportion of young people are engaged—can significantly contribute to identifying fruitful topics to be discussed in the classroom.

From reading the interview, the class could be divided between those who adhere more to one position or the other, and the teacher could promote a debate to broaden the discussion, bringing to the conversation the experiences and accumulated knowledge of the students. It is worth noting that the linguistic controversy at hand emerges from beliefs and social attitudes regarding gender/sexuality, a topic that mobilizes heated discussions about identity and that occupies the agenda of the new social movements in which contemporary youth engage.

After this space for dialogue, it would be opportune to propose an activity to mine, in social networks, the possible social meanings linked to the use of *gender inclusive marking*. As a way of illustration, in a quick search, using the hashtags #gêneroneutro (#genderneutral) and #linguageminclusiva (#inclusivelanguage), on Facebook and Instagram platforms, several posts on the topic, such as the one illustrated in Figure 1 were found.



Figure 1: Post about "gender neutral"<sup>15</sup>

Source: Anonymous collection on Facebook

Based on the reading of selected posts and the comments of users about them, a visual representation with the different social meanings indexed on the two platforms, without the concern of accounting for occurrences was organized.

<sup>15</sup> Figure's translation: "There must be something wrong with these people's weed! Now this gender-neutral thing"; "Brazilians fighting for recognition of gender-neutral: 'I don't consider myself a man, nor a woman.'"



Figure 2: meanings indexed to gender neutral

Source: the authors

It is worth noting that the selected meanings are diverse and are linked to the ideologies of those who express them. Conservative groups regarding behaviors and customs tend to invoke negative meanings such as "*mimimi*" (an informal expression related to self-pity), "feminist ideas", "a pothead's thing", or "a gay people thing"; conservatives regarding the standard norm mention expressions like "attack on language", "grammatical error", and "unnecessary" arguing that the generic masculine covers neutrality; those who advocate the use of "gender neutral" use expressions such as "diversity", "friendly initiative", "gender equality", or "inclusion"; and there are those who evoke meanings that cross into the political field, such as "communist" and "leftist language". This would be a very opportune type of activity to be developed in high school classes, which would stimulate debate and lead students to build their own positions on a linguistic fact that gains great social repercussion.

It is understood that discussions around this topic are a privileged field in which to put into practice the sociolinguistic knowledge already pointed out in Section 3, due to the following: the use of forms such as "*alunes*", consists of a stylistic choice based not on self-monitoring regarding the degree of formality, but on identity aspects involving the legitimation of a social group (item vii); the social meaning attached to linguistic forms used to express gender-inclusive marking, beyond social macro-categories, is linked to the construction of personas by trans, non-binary, intersex, and gender non-conforming individuals, and also to individuals' affiliation with these groups (item viii); the proposal to use forms of gender-inclusive marking is based on social struggles fought over the years and implies the legitimization not only of the linguistic forms in question but also of the individuals who claim the right to use these forms (item ix); it is recognized that the social meanings related to these uses are multiple (respect for non-binary and trans individuals, "*mimimi*", "*pothead*", "communist" "sympathy for diversity", "stance against sexism", among others), and dynamic, crossed by the ideologies of those who, from their perspective on the world, index certain meanings to the forms (item x); and, it is considered that the discussion on gender-inclusive marking is related to current interests of marginalized social groups that fight for social and linguistic justice, goals of a socially constituted sociolinguistics (item xi).

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the present study, the focus of attention is on what we are calling “socially constituted educational sociolinguistics”, an approach committed to defending sociolinguistic justice, linguistic respect, and promoting changes in the social scenario—notably those that involve some type of discrimination and stigma. Such questions demand an in-depth look at the social meanings indexed by varying linguistic forms, which are dialogically constructed and are crossed by ideological, identity, and stylistic aspects, characterizing themselves as multilayered.

Regarding the school environment, we defend the need for daily pedagogical work from this perspective, considering not only the current sociocultural context and the impact of social media, but also the profile of today's youth in society who occupy school spaces. In this sense, the training of PL teachers plays a crucial role, which includes, alongside a robust conceptual background, an open and creative stance to perceive and deal with topics of current interest and conduct important debates in the classroom.

## REFERENCES

- BARONAS, J. E. de A. Variação linguística na escola: resultados de um projeto. *Revista da ABRALIN*, [S.l.], v. 13, n. 1, 2014. Disponível em: <https://revista.abralin.org/index.php/abralin/article/view/1200>. Acesso em: 16 ago. 2023.
- BAUMAN, Z. *Intimations of postmodernity*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- BELL, A. Succeeding waves: Seeking sociolinguistics theory for the twenty-first century. In: COUPLAND, N. *Sociolinguistics: theoretical debates*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- BORTONI-RICARDO, S. M. *Nós chegamos na escola, e agora?: sociolinguística e educação*. São Paulo: Parábola Editorial, 2005.
- BRASIL. Ministério da Educação. Secretaria da Educação Básica. *Base nacional comum curricular – Educação é a base*. Brasília, DF, 2017. Disponível em: <http://basenacionalcomum.mec.gov.br>. Acesso em: 15 ago. 2023.
- BIZZOCCHI, A.; SEVERO, C. G. Os linguistas divergem sobre a necessidade de mudanças na língua portuguesa que possibilitem neutralizar o gênero gramatical. Entrevistadora: G. de Toledo. *Época*, 23/11/2020, p. 34-36. Disponível em: <https://oglobo.globo.com/epoca/sociedade/linguistas-discutem-neutralizacao-do-genero-gramatical-1-24757293>. Acesso em: 15 ago. 2023.
- BUCHOLTZ, M.; CASILLAS, D. I.; LEE, J. S. Beyond empowerment: Accompaniment and sociolinguistic justice in a youth research program. In: LAWSON, R.; SAYERS, D. (ed.) *Sociolinguistic research: application and impact*. New York: Routledge, 2016. p. 25-44.
- COUPLAND, N. Five Ms for sociolinguistic change. In: COUPLAND, N. *Sociolinguistics: theoretical debates*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016.
- COUPLAND, N. *Style: language variation and identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- DRUMMOND, R.; SCHLEEF, E. Identity in variationist sociolinguistics. In: PREECE, S. (ed.) *The Routledge handbook of language and identity*. New York: Routledge. 2016. p. 50-65.
- ECKERT, P. *Meaning and Linguistic Variation: The Third Wave in Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018. Disponível em: [https://librarylinguistics.files.wordpress.com/2019/04/meaning\\_and\\_linguistic\\_variation.pdf](https://librarylinguistics.files.wordpress.com/2019/04/meaning_and_linguistic_variation.pdf) Acesso em: 10 mar. 2020.

ECKERT, P. Third Wave Variationism. *Oxford Handbook Topics in Linguistics* (online edn, Oxford Academic, Feb. 2016. Disponível em: <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935345.013.27>. Acesso em: 15 ago. 2023.

ECKERT, P. Three waves of variation study: The emergence of meaning in the study of sociolinguistic variation. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, n. 41, p. 87-100, jun. 2012. Disponível em: <https://web.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/ThreeWaves.pdf>. Acesso em: 15 ago. 2023.

ECKERT, P. Variation and the indexical Field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* v. 12, n. 4, p. 453-476, 2008.

ECKERT, P. Communities of practice. In: BROWN, K. (ed.). *Encyclopedia of language and linguistics*. 2 ed. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006. p. 683-685. Disponível em: <https://web.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/eckert2006.pdf>. Acesso em: 15 ago. 2023.

ECKERT, P. *Linguistic variation as social practice: the linguistic construction of social meaning in Belten High*. Oxford: Blackwell, 2000.

FISHMAN, J. Putting the 'socio' back into the sociolinguistic enterprise. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, v. 92, p. 127-138, 1991.

FREITAG, R. M. *Não existe linguagem neutra!:* gênero na sociedade e na gramática do português brasileiro. São Paulo: Contexto, 2024.

FREITAG, R. M. Conflito de regras e dominância de gênero. In: BARBOSA FILHO, F.; OTHERO, G. (org.). *Linguagem "neutra": língua e gênero em debate*. São Paulo: Parábola, 2022. p. 53-72.

GÖRSKI, E. M.; FREITAG, R. M. Ko. O papel da sociolinguística na formação dos professores de língua portuguesa com língua materna. In: MARTINS, M. A.; TAVARES, M. A. (org.). *Contribuições da sociolinguística e da linguística histórica para o ensino de língua portuguesa*. Natal, RN: EDUFRRN, 2013. p. 11-52.

GÖRSKI, E. M.; VALLE, C. R. M. Reconfiguração da sociolinguística variacionista e repercussões para o ensino: questões estilísticas e identitárias. *Estudos linguísticos e literários*, Salvador, n. 63, 2019, p. 97-117. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.ufba.br/index.php/estudos/article/view/33766>. Acesso em: 16 ago. 2023.

HALL, S. *A identidade cultural na pós-modernidade*. 11. ed. Rio de Janeiro: DP&A, 2005.

HEBDIGE, D. *Subculture: The meaning of style*. New York: Methuen, 1984.

HERNÁNDEZ-CAMPOY, J. M. *Sociolinguistic styles*. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2016.

HYMES, D. *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1974.

IRVINE, J. "Style" as distinctiveness: the culture and ideology of linguistic differentiation. In: ECKERT, P.; RICKFORD, J. R. (ed.). *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001. p. 21-43.

JUSTICE as a Linguistic Matter. 2020. [S. l.: s. n.], 1 vídeo (66 min.) Publicado no canal da Abralin. Disponível em: <https://aovivo.abralin.org/lives/william-labov/>. Acesso em: 30 set. 2023.

KIESLING, S. F. Constructing identity. In: CHAMBERS, J. K.; TRUDGILL, P.; SCHILLING, N. (ed.). *The handbook of language variation and change*. 2. ed. Cambridge: Blackwell, 2013. p. 448-467.

- LABOV, W. *Padrões sociolinguísticos*. Trad. de Marcos Bagno; Maria Marta P. Scherre; Caroline R. Cardoso. São Paulo: Parábola, 2008 [1972].
- LABOV, W. *Language in the inner city: Studies in the Black English Vernacular*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.
- LACERDA, M. L.; GÖRSKI, E. M.; LIMA, S. M. M. Potencial analítico dos gêneros do discurso para os estudos variacionistas. *Bakhtiniana*, São Paulo, v. 18, n.3, p. 1-27, julho/set. 2023. DOI. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1590/2176-4573e60113> Acesso em: 10 nov. 2023.
- MÄDER, G. R. C.; SEVERO, C. G. Sexismo e políticas linguísticas de gênero. In: FREITAG, R. M. K.; SEVERO, C. G.; GÖRSKI, E. M. (org.). *Sociolinguística e política linguística: olhares contemporâneos*. São Paulo: Blucher. 2016, p. 245-260. Disponível em: <https://www.blucher.com.br/livro/detalhes/sociolinguistica-e-politica-linguistica-1202>. Acesso em: 23 maio 2023.
- MARTINS, M. A.; TAVARES, M. A. (org.) *Contribuições da Sociolinguística e da Linguística Histórica para o ensino de língua portuguesa*. Natal, RN: EDUFRRN, 2013.
- MARTINS, M. A.; VIEIRA, S. R.; TAVARES, M. A. (org.). *Ensino de Português e Sociolinguística*. 1 ed. São Paulo: Contexto, 2016. p. 7-35.
- MARTINS, M. A.; ABRAÇADO, J. (org.). *Mapeamento sociolinguístico do português brasileiro*. São Paulo: Contexto, 2015.
- MILROY, L.; LLAMAS, C. Social networks. In: CHAMBERS, J.K.; SCHILLING, N. (ed.) *The handbook of language variation and change*. 2 ed. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013. p. 409-427
- POSSENTI, S. O gênero e o gênero. In: BARBOSA FILHO, F.; OTHERO, G. (org.) *Linguagem “neutra”: língua e gênero em debate*. São Paulo: Parábola, 2022. p. 17-36.
- RAMPTON, B. Continuidade e mudança nas visões de sociedade em linguística aplicada. In: MOITA LOPES, L. P. da. (org.). *Por uma linguística aplicada indisciplinar*. São Paulo: Parábola, 2006, p. 109-128.
- RESPEITO linguístico: contribuições da sociolinguística variacionista. 2020. [S. l.: s. n.], 1 vídeo (124 min.) Publicado no canal da Abralin. Disponível em: <https://aovivo.abralin.org/lives/maria-marta-pereira-scherre/>. Acesso em: 30 set. 2023.
- SAVEDRA, M. M. G.; MARTINS, M. A.; HORA, D. da. (org.). *Identidade social e contato linguístico no português brasileiro*. Rio de Janeiro: FAPERJ; EDUERJ, 2015.
- SEVERO, C.; GÖRSKI, E. M. Sociologia da linguagem e sua relação com a macro e a microsociolinguística. *Fórum Linguístico*, v. 20, p. 9755-9767, 2023. Disponível em: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5007/1984-8412.2023.e92717>. Acesso em: 11 abr. 2024.
- SILVERSTEIN, M. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language & Communication*, v. 23, p. 193-229, 2003. Disponível em: <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0271530903000132>. Acesso em: 16 ago. 2023.
- SHUY, R. W. A brief history of American Sociolinguistics 1949-1989. In: PAULSTON, C. B.; TUCKER, G. R. (ed.). *Sociolinguistics: the essential readings*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2003. p. 4-16.



VANDENBERGHE, F. Globalização e individualização na modernidade tardia. Uma introdução teórica à sociologia da juventude. *Mediações-Revista de Ciências Sociais*, v. 19, n. 1, p. 265-316, 2014. Disponível em: <https://doi.org/10.5433/2176-6665.2014v19n1p265> Acesso em: 23 maio 2023.

VIEIRA, S. R. (org.). *Gramática, variação e ensino: diagnose e propostas pedagógicas*. Ed. rev. e ampl. São Paulo: Blucher, 2018. Disponível em: [https://www.blucher.com.br/gramatica-variacao-e-ensino-diagnose-e-propostas-pedagogicas\\_9788580393354](https://www.blucher.com.br/gramatica-variacao-e-ensino-diagnose-e-propostas-pedagogicas_9788580393354). Acesso em: 16 ago. 2023.

ZILLES, A. M. S.; FARACO, C. A. (org.). *Pedagogia da variação linguística: língua, diversidade e ensino*. São Paulo: Parábola, 2015.



Received on 18 November, 2023. Accepted on April 13, 2024.