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Benedetto Flores, Giovanna

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The textuality of *O Macaco Brasileiro* in the foundation of the Brazilian journalistic discourse (1821-1822)

Giovanna Benedetto Flores

Programa de Pós-graduação em Ciências da Linguagem, Universidade do Sul de Santa Catarina, Av. Pedra Branca, 25, 88000-000, Palhoça, Santa Catarina, Brazil. E-mail: gbflores@gmail.com

ABSTRACT. This article is a part of my doctorate research¹, which aimed at understanding the foundation and the operation of the journalistic discourse in Brazil and the meaning of nation, freedom and independence during the years 1821 and 1822. This research is theoretically based on the Discourse Analysis (Pêcheux, 1969, 1975; Orlandi, 1996, 1999) producing interpretation moves that will make it possible to understand part of the functioning of an epoch, as well as of a social practice that produces founding principles. We realize that it was not the arrival of the Portuguese Court to Brazil that produced a Brazilian journalistic discourse, but the presence of a Brazilian press. It was from 1821, with the bill that abolished the previous censorship, that there was a displacement from the journalism determined by the Court to another discursivity. This happens in the textuality of *O Macaco Brasileiro*. As it installs a new discursivity, it materializes a new Brazilian journalist subject position which corresponds to the foundation of the Brazilian journalistic discourse.

Keywords: journalistic discourse, press history, subject position, discursive event.

A textualidade do *Macaco Brasileiro* na fundação do discurso jornalístico brasileiro (1821-1822)

RESUMO. Este artigo é um recorte da minha pesquisa de doutorado, cujo objetivo foi compreender a fundação e o funcionamento do discurso jornalístico no Brasil e os sentidos de nação, liberdade e independência nos anos de 1821-1822. Nossa pesquisa tem como suporte teórico a Análise do Discurso, (Pêcheux, 1969, 1975; Orlandi, 1996, 1999) produzindo gestos de interpretação que vão possibilitar compreender parte do funcionamento de uma época, de uma prática social que produzem sentidos fundadores. Entendemos que a vinda da Corte para o Brasil não produziu um discurso brasileiro jornalístico, mas a presença de uma imprensa brasileira. Foi a partir de 1821, com o decreto abolindo a censura prévia, que houve um deslocamento do jornalismo determinado pela Corte para uma outra discursividade. Isso se dá na textualidade de *O Macaco Brasileiro* que ao inaugurar uma nova discursividade, materializa uma posição-sujeito jornalista brasileiro que corresponde à fundação do discurso jornalístico brasileiro.

Palavras-chave: discurso jornalístico, história da imprensa, posição-sujeito; acontecimento discursivo.

Introduction¹

The year 1808 opened with a series of changes in the colony. The first one was the arrival of the Portuguese royal court in Brazil and the installation of the royal press. With the royal family and the power transferred from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, the first Brazilian periodicals started to circulate in the new metropolis: *Correio Braziliense*, written and printed in London and *Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro*, written and printed in Rio de Janeiro. Hence, the Brazilian press was launched.

According to Sodré (1999), the installation of the typography in Brazil happened by chance when one of the members of the crown court, Antônio de Araújo, future Count of Barca, put the equipment in the hold of the ship he used to escape from Portugal, and, as he arrived in Brazil, had it installed in his own house. In this way, the coming of the royal family brought to the Portuguese colony many cultural advances, such as the printing of books and serial publications, usually with novels in chapters. As there were few literate people in the colony, the launching of the periodicals contributed to the institutionalization of the Portuguese language, which was imposed through the writing as a way of domination.

¹Thesis defended in October 2011 at the Institute of Linguistic Studies of Unicamp, São Paulo State, entitled *Os sentidos de nação, liberdade e independência na imprensa brasileira (1821-1822) e a fundação do discurso jornalístico brasileiro*, supervised by Prof. Dr. Cláudia C. Pfeiffer.

According to Orlandi (2001, p. 23):

The transference of the Portuguese royal family to Brazil dislocates around 15,000 Portuguese people to the new site of the Portuguese crown. This happening will change the relationship between the languages spoken in Rio de Janeiro. Besides that, king D. João VI of Portugal created the Brazilian press and founded the Biblioteca Nacional/National Library, institution which will be fundamental in the cultural and intellectual Brazilian lives so far. The result is an effect of oneness of the Portuguese language in Brazil. Portuguese is the language of the king, whose seat is in Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of the Portuguese Kingdom².

Different from the first years of the royal family in Brazil, the Brazilian press had a period of great proliferation of newspapers in Rio de Janeiro as from the 1815, during the pre-independence period (1821). According to Lustosa (2000), many of them had short life, circulating only with a few issues.

They appeared once or twice a week and there were few copies. The difficulties in communication impaired the disclosure around the provinces. Many would be read only by the public in the cities where they were published. They were distributed only to the subscribers, who never outnumbered two hundred. Only much later the Sunday sale, with newsboys shouting the name of the newspaper and the main headlines around the city, would be launched (LUSTOSA, 2000, p. 28).

According to the historiographical discourse, the manifestation of the opinions and political proposals of the editors, which generated many disagreements between them and their readers in those times of political transition, can be found in the daily newspapers of the first half of the nineteenth century.

Pêcheux (1988) states that the discourse is produced by socio-historical affiliations of meanings, in a space that urges the interpretation movement as an effect of such affiliation networks, and that it always causes a displacement. Thus,

[...] the discourse determines a possibility of a destructing-restructuring of those networks and trajectories: every discourse is the potential sign of a movement in the socio-historical affiliations of identification (PÊCHEUX, 1988, p. 56).

The Portuguese colony went through many transformations in the period between 1821 and 1822. The press played an important role in such changes by disclosing the political ideas of the time.

Lustosa (2000, p. 25-26) says:

Brazilian press was born compromised with a revolutionary process, in a moment when we, all of a sudden, let aside the thought that we were Portuguese and assumed our Brazilian nationality. [...] The same journalists who, before December 1821, were celebrating the Lusitanian nation, preaching for conciliation, were, a few days after, doing their best in the defense of the separation between the Brazilian and Portuguese interests.

According to Antônio Cândido (1981), the coming of the royal family to Brazil established the beginning of a period of lights, expanding the interests for arts and literature, shaping the new aristocracy of the colony. Such changes motivated the intellectuals to conceive associations such as the *Sociedades Literárias* (Literary Societies) and the *Academia dos Renascidos* (Academy of the Reborn), which became part of the social life.

In that decisive moment, an 'intellectual life' in its proper sense was configured for the first time in Brazil. [...] The unusualness and the difficulty of instruction, the scarceness of books, the sudden relevance given to the intellectuals, gave them an unexpected distinction. [...] We must add to those factors the associative trend that linked the intellectuals, closing them in a system of solidarity and mutual recognition of the cultural-political societies, honoring them as an exception. The participation in the social life, preconized or favored by the educated guidelines, impeded divorce and segregation, giving them the power of intervening in the public life. It gave them a certain aspect of service, and from the public's part, it contributed to give them an aura of sympathy and prestige. Such aspect, mainly concerning the public speaker, the journalist and the jurist, has also concerned the writer, rather accepted in Brazil even when his/her work was not read (CÂNDIDO, 1981, p. 235-236).

The subjects are always interpellated by ideology, and through it the subjects produce their speech by means of structures of operation that produce evidences of meanings, which are affected by language within history, what makes us always already subjects,

[...] it is the interpretation gesture that links the subject to the language, the history, the meanings. [...] there is no subject without ideology. Ideology and unconsciousness are materially connected (ORLANDI, 2005, p. 45).

In this way, the meaning of the Brazilian press could be displaced to the Brazilian journalism, observing that there was a newborn discursive process involving a new subject position in the 'press' that did not follow geographic criteria (produced in Brazil), but

²Translator's Note: to keep the reading fluency, all the citations in this article, originally taken from Portuguese language texts, will henceforth be translated into English.

symbolic criteria (produced by Brazil). This happened mainly due to the Decree of March, 2nd 1821, which offered the production conditions for the foundation of a discursivity in the newspapers, which corresponded to the foundation of the Brazilian journalistic discourse.

That decree was also a result of the insurrections of February, 26th of that year, when Pedro, D. João VI's son, promised the rebels, among other rights, freedom of press. That promise was actualized on March, 9th, with the promulgation of the bases for the Constituent, recognizing the freedom of thought as 'one of the most valuable rights of man'. Due to that decree, all citizens could manifest their opinions on any matter without previous censorship, as long as they responded for any ill-usage of that freedom. Before that declaration, all the writings have to go through the court's clearance and the censors in order to be examined and approved.

The decree abolishing the previous censorship and regulating the freedom of press, signed by D. João VI a day before the Portuguese court leaves Brazil, in April 1821, is a historical/political fact that may be understood as a discursive event in which a new discursivity is configured for the newborn press in the country. In Discourse Analysis, Pêcheux states that a discursive event is understood as "[...] a discontinuous and exterior historical element; it is as a meeting point of a present event and a memory" (PÊCHEUX, 1990b, p. 17).

We can follow one of the effects of that discursive event in the table at Figure 1³.

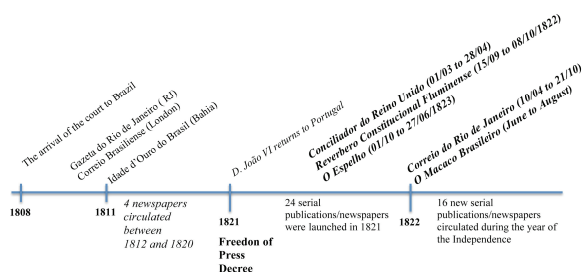


Figure 1. Newspapers' chronology in Brazil.

³The table has been done from the list of periodicals and leaflets found in Sodr , Nelson W. – *Hist ria da Imprensa no Brasil*, 1999. The periodicals are: 1812-1820: *O Patriota* (RJ), *As Variedades ou Ensaios de Literatura* (RJ), *O Despotismo Desmascarado ou A Verdade Denodada* (PA) and *Prospecto da Gazeta da Bahia* (BA). 1821: *Seman rio C vico* (BA), *Minerva Brasiliense* (BA), *Jornal dos An ncios* (RJ), *Amigo do Rei e da Na  o* (RJ), *O Bem da Ordem* (RJ), *Aurora Pernambucana* (PE), *Di rio do Rio de Janeiro* (RJ), *Di rio Constitucional* (BA), *O Sentinela Baiense* (BA), *O Analisador Constitucional* (BA), *O Baluarte Constitucional* (BA), *O Espreitador Constitucional* (BA), *O Despertador dos Verdadeiros Constitucionais* (BA), *A Abelha* (BA), *O Alfaiate Constitucional* (RJ), *O Conciliador do Maranh o* (MA), *Segarrega* (PE), *O Relator Verdadeiro* (PE), *Sabatina Familiar dos Amigos do Bem Comum* (RJ), *A Malagueta* (RJ), *O Despertador Brasiliense* (RJ). 1822: *Compilador Constitucional Pol tica e Liter rio Brasiliense* (RJ), *A Reclama  o do Brasil* (RJ), *Heroicidade Brasileira* (RJ), *Regulador Bras lico-Luso* (RJ), *Constitucional* (RJ), *Anais Fluminenses de Ci ncias, Artes e Literatura* (RJ), *O Papagaio* (RJ), *O Marimbondo* (PE), *Gazeta Pernambucana* (PE), *O Para ense* (PA), *Sentinelas* (PE), *O Luso-Brasileiro* (PA), *O Independente* (PA), *O Volantin* (RJ), *O Conciliador Nacional* (PE).

As a matter of fact, that decree just transferred the responsibility of the censorship, that is, the printers began to be held responsible for the articles published in their newspapers. In other words, although not previously, the censorship still occurred and began to exist not only to the authors, but to the typographers when the article was not signed. This event is understood as a discursive one, because it allowed a configuration of a 'be able to say' (*poder dizer*) (LAGAZZI, 1998): there is a legal responsibility for what is said *a posteriori*. This means that, although the articles could be censored afterwards, – the decree prohibited explicitly writings against religion, moral and good manners⁴, the Constitution, the emperor and the public tranquility – the newspapers 'could' say/publish anything. This dislocation of the censorship makes much difference and, from our point of view, it is one of the production conditions of a Brazilian discourse that starts to be materialized, also due to the proliferation of newspapers in that period.

Analysis

By using Persius's phrase⁵, '...Ah, si fas dicere! Sed fas' as epigraph, the newspaper *O Macaco Brasileiro* tried to demonstrate the political moment in Brazil through criticism. This phrase is taken from the dialogue between the Roman Persius and the Greek Romulus, in Persius's work *S tira*⁶. According to Donnini (1957), Persius's work approaches the moral decadence of the Roman Empire and the ethical questions in the lyrical, literary and dramatic works.

The satire, according to literature researchers, as a literary genre, has elements of *satura*, a Latin lyrical genre, characterized by a mixture of several themes, by dialogues and by improvisation, which disappeared in the II century B.C. *Satura* is one of the most ancient ways of dramatic representation in Rome. With the time, the satire became a composition of various leitmotifs, in form of prose and verse. In poetry, it criticizes sarcastically and acidly the social habits, aiming at causing or preventing a political, social or moral change. The satire becomes satiric humor because it presents similarities with the reality. Silva (2009) states that

⁴It is important to notice that this formulation 'against the moral and the good manners' is very frequent in legal texts without, however, being able to define what it is about, although all of them, apparently, share a common meaning.

⁵Roman stoic poet, born in Volterra, Etruria (34-62 A.D.). He studied stoicism with Cornutus since he was 16 and had connections with Seneca and Lucanus. Stoicism exhorted the cosmopolitanism, considering that the man should be a citizen of the world. The stoics considered that the moral questions were more important than the theoretical questions (OLIVIERI, 2011).

⁶Persius wrote six satires composed by 650 verses in form of dialogues and epistles. The work remained unfinished and was published after his death by Cornutus.

the literary genre constitutes itself as moralizing with the aim of reforming the world, and restoring the common sense as a way of improving the social being.

The satire is also conceived to make people laugh through mockery, irony or incited anger, unveiling what is hidden behind the mask of hypocrisy. The seriousness is observed from the complex symbolism of the mask: then the use of parody, caricature, grimaces and apishness, ingredients of the grotesque (SILVA, 2009).

Alves (2010) says that the poetical satire practiced in Rome by Persius and Horace was moralizing and semi-philosophical. It contained reforming intentions, because the concept of satire is linked to the feeling of indignation and to the will to moralize the customs.

Taking this into consideration, discursively we realize that the epigraph in *O Macaco Brasileiro* is related to the 'be able to say'. Brazilian people did not have voice at the time; they could not speak, because they did not have the same rights as the Portuguese. Therefore, as it uses the statement '... Ah, si fas dicere! Sed fas' – 'It is true! You have the right to speak!... So, use it!', the newspaper provokes the Brazilian reader. The awakening happens in several ways, all of them configured by affiliations to a memory of another time-space: ancient Rome. How is this time-space mobilized? For example, side by side, the title of the paper and its epigraph brings to the surface a connection between the satire and the irony: the first, due to the discursive memory instituted by Persius's citation; the second, due to the designation *O Macaco Brasileiro* (The Brazilian Monkey), which works at the same time with the common place of the look of the Other – the foreigner (including, discursively, the Portuguese) and the figure of speech of the metaphor, displacing it: it is not a matter of imitating, but of saying something in an apish-like manner.

Another example is the direct mobilization of Persius's criticism to what caused the decadence of the Roman Empire and to a so-called lack of political ethics. There is, therefore, an allusion to a denouncing of the political situation of the time. Yet another mobilization place is the recovering of the Latin language in the epigraph. It reminds us of the Latin as mother-tongue, surpassing, in a satirical way, the Portuguese language from Portugal.

The presence of the epigraph written in Latin is, discursively, the material possibility of the authorship in relation to the language spoken in Brazil, to be precise, it is a new discursivity to the extent it brings a new sense of Brazilianness in a

different formulation from the materiality of Portugal's language. This authorship constructs itself, then, when the relationship with Portugal is fading out, and also by referring to a culture which is universally considered civilized, withholder of an exemplary knowledge. And such authorship will take place through the satire and irony that consubstantiate in the already mentioned relationship between the title and the epigraph.

The name of the newspaper carries meanings that had already been formulated since Brazil was discovered. For the colonizers, the Brazilian people, mainly indigenous people's descendants, people who were born in the colony and the ones that did not attend the Portuguese schools, were regarded as animals. *O Macaco*, with its arts and apishness, represented the people, therefore the ones with no rights. *O Macaco* is the representation of the subjected Brazilian person, 'tied to the whipping post'. As Orlandi (2003b, p. 20) observes on the conversion discourse⁷,

[...] to subject the savages is to civilize them instead of exterminating them. To convert is to subject pagans in order to prevent, before all, the anthropophagy, but also to prevent the lack of political authority; the lack of religion, the mental roughness, the activism to the forest.

However, as the word 'Brazilian' comes side by side with the animal's name, the metaphor slips. Firstly, because it is a nation's name: the Brazilian nation, inside a Portuguese state: the Portuguese Empire. Secondly, because, as it is next to the epigraph, it throws out the whipping post, and talks unrestrainedly.

O Macaco Brasileiro is written in metaphors, using the first person in dialogue form between the monkey and the readers. It was through metaphor that it produced a difference in the written tradition of the newspapers of the time. Discursively, the metaphor is understood as an effect of a word by another word.

[It is] a word, a proposition that does not have a meaning of its own, connected to its literality. On the contrary, its meaning constitutes itself in each discursive formation, in the relationship that words, expressions or propositions maintain with the other words, expressions or propositions of the same discursive formation (PÊCHEUX, 2009, p. 161).

So, although we consider that the metaphor is constitutive of the language, that its function is metaphoric 'par excellence', we must observe the

⁷The discourse of conversion is a discourse about the necessity of governing (power, law, King, God) (ORLANDI, 2003).

explicit use of what has been called, in the tradition of the language studies, a figure of speech: the metaphor. In this sense, it is important to observe that, in the first edition of the newspaper, the editor/writer depicts himself as a monkey tied to the whipping post, which learns to speak. The monkey is, in all issues, criticizing and proposing to the new Brazilian citizen a new place for the speech, displacing him/her from the already existing politics of the court, that is, neither aligned to the Freemasonry nor to the Portuguese court. In this way, he/she is portrayed as a 'no Portuguese' Brazilian.

My friends, 'I'm a smart old monkey, expert by nature and by experience, tied to the whipping post' for so many years, and going from hand to hand, much was there to be learned on my expense, by imitation, or doing what I saw others doing, I handled little books and heard little things, nothing has escaped me, until now I have not gotten away for mischievous, 'but as I could not talk, I endured the scolding without a word, just shrieking'. I endured as long as I could, but one day, after I saw a nice lunch on the table, and we indolent are careless: I pretended to be a hungry cat and ate their business. [...] At that time I was already swallowing the portion: I wanted to speak, but I got vexed; I wanted to be a parrot; then, I would be contented to be a parakeet of the Organ Mountain Range...So Minerva felt sorry for me, as I had so nice desires: and the love I have, always had for the bookshops, and gave me the deed to speak, so I could defend myself. [...] 'I shall speak my mind, but there must be someone to hear me, because I am an expert in charming with my grimaces and apish-like manners' (O MACACO BRASILEIRO, n. 1, 1822, grifos nosso).

We can notice certain regularity between the name assigned to the newspaper and the metaphoric effect⁸ produced by the textualization.

According to Guimarães (2003, p. 54):

The designation is the signification of a name in the relation with other names and with the world historically delimited by the name. [...] The designation is not something abstract, but linguistic and historical. When a name designates, it works as element of the social relations it helps to build, and of which it becomes a part. [...] To name something is to give it historical existence.

It is important to emphasize that the title *O Macaco Brasileiro* is connected to the place of Brazilianness that is being inaugurated. From Guimarães's (2002) concept of designation and from

the standpoint of the semantics of enunciation, we already have that degree of historical density on a name. From the discursive perspective, what can be noted is that, besides being in that position of historical constitution, of historical density, it is also in a place of foundation, because that designation proposes, through the metaphor, a sense that does not exist newspapers yet, the sense/sensation of being a Brazilian person and, at the same time, to have a voice, to be able to speak. That sense is materialized in an inaugural form, which is what we can consider as originating from the journalistic chronicle. Therefore, the self-denomination 'macaco' has all the historical weight of not speaking in a first moment, and beginning to speak in a second moment, inaugurating there an identity of what it is to be a Brazilian individual. In other words, the Brazilian person was prevented from speaking before and, by behaving as an ape, appears as a speaking individual. Then, the important thing is to speak, to exist, independently of the position assumed in relation to the emancipation from Portugal or to the government regime.

We can think about this event of the language from the semantics of the enunciation, in which the event determines the time (past or future) of a statement, that is, it projects new meanings and another memory in a new discursivity.

The temporality of the event constitutes its present aspect which, later, will open room for other meanings, and a past that is not a remembrance or personal memories of former facts. The past is, in the event, the remembrance of statements, that is, it is as part of a new temporalization, such as the latency of future. It is to that extent that the event is the difference in its own order: the event is always a new temporalization, a new space of sociability of times, without which there are no meanings, there is no language event, there is no enunciation (GUIMARÃES, 2002, p. 12).

From the concept of the enunciative event, we propose the thinking on the discourse to understand that inaugural happening. If we agree that the discursive event is an encounter of a present happening with a memory (PÊCHEUX, 1990), we have, in that period before the Independence, the memory of a Brazilian individual who does not speak because he/she is an animal, and, therefore, has nothing to say, has no culture, is illiterate, did not study in Europe, does not attend the court, that is, one that can be considered an animal.

It is the connection between that memory and the speaking monkey, which speaks through metaphors, that produces the discursive event. We understand that such present constitutes a new discursive formation, that is, when the monkey gets

⁸According to Pêcheux (1969), a metaphoric effect is a semantic phenomenon produced by a contextual substitution, which causes a displacement of meaning. (PÊCHEUX, 1990)

to express itself, to voice something, it produces a new formulation due to the different way of speaking, in other words, due to the metaphors constituting the chronicle.

It is exactly in the relation with the memory of the Brazilian monkey that the newspaper appears as a discursive event, because it breaks with what the memory brings just because of its existence. We realize, then, the memory and the present connecting to each other through a work that is concomitantly political and linguistic. That is the proper place of the discourse.

O Macaco Brasileiro launches a place for the speech because it does not appear in the scene talking from a political position already established by the other newspapers in that beginning of the nineteenth century. If *O Macaco* assumed the already instituted discourses, it would be necessarily just repeating other papers instead of positioning itself. It would not be founding a discursivity: it would be, in that case, founding an argument, a subject position within an already existent discursivity. Therefore, by positioning itself out of that place already delimited for the paper writer, *O Macaco* establishes a place of authorship. This discursivity that today sounds as irony, at that time sounded strange: it was a place of foundation. In D.A., a new discursivity was instituted, the Brazilian journalistic discourse.

In the first edition of *O Macaco Brasileiro*, we can see the marks of the impossibility of enunciating in a way that it (the monkey) can only shriek:

I'm a smart old monkey, expert by nature and by experience, tied to the whipping post for so many years, and going from hand to hand, much was there to be learned on my expense, by imitation, or by doing what I saw others doing [...], but as I could not talk, I endured the scolding without a word, just shrieking [...] (*O MACACO BRASILEIRO*, n. 1, June 1822).

We realize, in that way, that there is a relationship between the barbarian and the civilized, that is, the monkey is from the human lineage, but it is not civilized, therefore not allowed to speak. The Brazilians could just imitate, in particular, the Portuguese. Those were then the production conditions of that subject position in that political moment, proposing a new form of constitution for the Brazilian identity. This is what calls the subject to resist, when he/she does not accept, does not submit him/herself passively to the power.

The resistance is the struggle of the subject for the right to position him/herself, to not accept coercion, it is the battle for a 'place where the subject may find

the power to say with or without the support of the hierarchy (LAGAZZI, 1988, p. 97).

O Macaco Brasileiro contests, makes fun of the subjected Brazilian, provokes through the satire. It is the predecessor of a provocative discursivity, making a political criticism through debauch, through laughter.

This very curious newspaper was written in an extremely particular Portuguese, which reminds us the modernist text of Macunaíma, by Mário de Andrade. Its symbolic character, a crook, smart, astute character, the classical representation of the monkey, appears in each side of the issues as the protagonist in adventures told by itself, with a good humored critical sense of the reality (LUSTOSA, 2000, p. 37).

O Macaco Brasileiro had only sixteen issues⁹ published between June and August 1822. Despite the short time it was published, it generated debates with other newspapers which circulated in the court in that period, particularly the periodical *O Papagaio*¹⁰, which criticizes its style, affirming that the language employed in *O Macaco* hurts the image of the Brazilian people, who were always compared to monkeys by the Portuguese.

It is true that they have good intentions, but it is a pity that they write in a way that nobody understands! What will the enemies of Brazil say?, who would repute our inhabitants as educated and as monkeys before such confused language they use?! (*O PAPAGAIO*, n. 7, June 1822).

The chronicle, which starts to be formulated in the beginning of the nineteenth century, settles later as a place of contradiction in journalism. There we can observe this place being explored by the paper's authors, to the extent in which there is an inversion of roles, that is, the monkey becomes invisible through the language of the intellectuals, and that fact is anxiously perceived by the *O Papagaio*.

In the issue number 6, the paper compares the political emancipation to the grown up son that leaves home. We can think this enunciate as an effect of a rhetoric metaphor. According to Joanilho (2005, p. 70),

[...] the effect of rhetoric metaphor produces historical singularity in the discursive event. The metaphoric aspect occurs in the event as a space of redistribution of the senses, in which the rhetoric memory operates and makes meaning.

⁹Only ten issues of *O Macaco Brasileiro* were found in the AEL/Unicamp.

¹⁰*O Papagaio* circulated from the 4th of May 1822 with 12 issues. Edited by Luis Moutinho Alves e Silva, it had Molière's epigraph: "Lès bêtes ne sont pa si bêtes que l'on pense". Its editor was a sophisticated intellectual, expert in logics, rhetoric and foreign languages. He belonged to the group of the Andradas and was Secretary of Foreign Affairs in the United States.

In that way, we can observe the slippery senses in the statement which, as it compares Brazil to a grown up child, reaffirms the need for emancipation, independent from the will of the court. We can also think about the meaning of the statements: 'We are now going to choose the foundation stones that will form the big political and civil building of our home' and '[...] but many more we will have to search for, to engrave, to perfect and to prepare: we have a great treasure, that is the almost empty and clean land; there is nothing better than that!'

On the phrase '[...] to choose the foundation stones, to search for, to engrave, perfect and prepare the almost empty and clean land', the newspaper brings meanings that allude to the construction of that nation that is still to be shaped.

Great and rich Brazilian family, the day is coming when you will be what Nature demonstrates: an Empire. 'Brazil is like a son who, reaching the age of becoming a State, departs from Father's home', marries and makes a couple: although that fact goes against your father's interest, 'the time will cure the question and he will congratulate you'. Old age is coming and the children will support their elderly and ill father. '[...] We are now going to choose the foundation stones that will form the great political and civil building of our home'; we already have some materials at our door, 'but many more we will have to search for, to engrave, to perfect and to prepare: we have a great treasure that is the almost empty and clean land; there is nothing better than that!' Courage, co-citizens, our brothers from Portugal will measure us from top to toe. We have no one to fear but ourselves; and we have only ourselves to expect from (O MACACO BRASILEIRO, n. 6, 1822, grifos nosso).

In the passage below, it is possible to observe the statements with deictic marks,

When Brazil still wanted to be represented 'there', it was with sacrifices, now it wants it 'here', then mutual relations will be made: not with molds engraved anywhere (O MACACO BRASILEIRO, n. 3, 1822).

From the point of view of the state, the 'there and here' is still formulated as a Portuguese state (there), because the nation was still Portuguese. The crown court of Lisbon did not accept that Brazil had its own Constitution, so it was necessary to make agreements to constitute an independent state, a Brazilian nation.

Mr. Missionaire comes in saying that 'it is convenient for his liberality the great interval of the Ocean, and the impossibility to unite what Nature has separated'; and, after saying that America, sooner

or later, will be, and has the right to be, independent, concludes that such an idea now, without knowing what freedom and Constitution mean, would be to throw itself in an abyss of incalculable disorders and problems. Well, then, Mr. Lisbon Preacher, I will let you know that, if the ones overseas were not so stupid, as they are, to think and say unrestrainedly and impudently that Brazil does not know what Constitution is, the subsequent arrangements would not have been accelerated, although we still want to contract from here, and in our favor, as it was a little unbalanced. '[...] When Brazil still wanted to be represented there, it was with sacrifices, now it wants it here, then mutual relations will be made: not with molds engraved anywhere'. There are doctors who, in order to show their aptitudes, aggravate the illnesses, exaggerating about the patient's condition to disguise the insults of the medicine, 'but we do not just want to get better, we want to become healthy', in perfect condition and not with defects and other problems. (O MACACO BRASILEIRO, n. 3, 1822, grifos nosso).

With this textuality, *O Macaco* inaugurates a new discursivity that is the journalistic chronicle. From our point of view, this foundation is based on the discursive event of the Decree from 1821: the paper materializes the discursive event. It inscribes itself in a Brazilian journalist subject position. It is the mark of that subject position that will disclose afterwards in several other forms the Brazilian journalistic discourse.

When it uses the chronicle genre, at first, it is not reasonable that the periodical makes politics, because it seems to be 'joking'. It is interesting that, to assume that place, it must be through apish-like attitudes, or it will not be recognized as Brazilian. The reason for it is that a Brazilian person is no other than the one 'between the tables, stealing food'. Then, the paper had to be in that place, in between, to make that memory work and be recognized in any way as Brazilian. That is why, at that moment, many people consider it just odd, not ironic. The newspaper uses the image of the Brazilian that is in the memory as a stereotype, and it is funny exactly because it unveils such stereotype, showing that the irony is on treating the Brazilian people this way. Hence, it brings the discovery; it publishes the way the Brazilian people are seen, adding that now the Brazilian ones speak. That is the reason why it seems ironic, because it speaks with the 'language' of the intellectuals. Therefore, the paper produces an insult, a confrontation, a provocation, that results on a new Brazilian subject position as it occupies that in-between place, as it assumes a form of an 'I', and as it produces a be-able-to-speak possibility to the monkey, as well.

Final considerations

As from the analysis, what calls our attention is that, until 1821, the newspapers circulating in the court produced a discursivity 'without mistakes', in the sense that the discursive formation was unique and connected to the court. It was a homogeneous writing, previously censored by the court, so the articles which were not inserted in that discursive formation were not even published. Pêcheux (2009, p. 147) defines discursive formation as "[...] something which, in a given ideological formation, that is, from a given position in a given conjuncture, determines what can and must be said". Until 1821, the articles that were published in those periodicals were the ones the court authorized, therefore, the ones which were aligned with the mainstream discursive formation, which was the crown court's discourse. The use of the expression 'without mistakes' refers to the fact that there was no contradiction, or there was little contradiction in those papers. As from the historical and discursive event brought by the Decree of March, the contradiction between the discursive formation of the court, in a tense and contradictory relationship with other discursive formations, begins to work. Therefore, this contradiction, which was previously obliterated, which did not appear in the papers, came now elucidated in the discursivity of the periodicals published later.

We propose that the Decree of March 1821, as a historical fact, is a discursive event, and constructed the production conditions to institute the journalism in and from Brazil.

For the Discourse Analysis, the discursive event is the rupture, the gap that leads us to other meanings, it is what 'escapes', what destabilizes the meanings. Hence, it is what allows the disclosing of the meaning and makes it possible a new reading gesture in a "[...] logically stabilized world" (PÊCHEUX, 1990, p. 31). We once more mention Orlandi (2003b, p. 15), when she affirms that "[...] giving meaning is to construct limits, it is to develop domains, to discover places of signification, to make moves of interpretation possible". It is in this sense that we understand the law of censorship as a possibility of rupture with the stabilized order, causing a displacement of the journalism determined by the court to another discursivity, which is to the Brazilian journalism since that, even due to be censored, other forms of saying made possible. And more: that freedom of speech incited the demand – thus the significant increase of newspapers which began to circulate in the country after the decree. That apparent 'lack of censorship'

allowed other meanings to circulate, even if censored or administrated. That freedom also allowed new moves on the authors' part, who claimed (legally) responsible for their statements. A Brazilian authorship was also being constituted during that event.

In this way, from our standpoint, the newspapers which were launched after de 1821 Decree founded a new discursivity, in which the meaning of the journalism in/from Brazil breaks out and is recognized, legitimating, thus, the Brazilian journalist subject position in function of its authorship.

As seen above, Orlandi (2005) states that the authorship is a specific function of the subject who, through the socio-historical movement, promotes an assumption of the authorship that becomes evident in the way he/she constitutes him/herself and shows him/herself an author.

As an author, the subject, at the same time he/she recognizes a exteriority to which he/she must refer to, he/she also refers to his/her interiority, constituting thus his/her identity as an author. Working the articulation interiority/exteriority, he/she 'learns' to assume the role of the author and everything it implies. I called that process an assumption of authorship. According to it, the author is the subject who, having dominated certain discursive mechanisms, represents, through language, that role in the order it is inscribed, in the position it is constituted, assuming the responsibility for what is said, how it is said, etc. (ORLANDI, 2005, p. 76).

We understand that the Decree of March was only possible because there was an emancipation process already going on even before king D. João VI returned to Portugal, that is, the relationship with the Independence was already being constituted and the decree was part of those production conditions that reaffirmed and sustained such process.

It was in the textualization of *O Macaco Brasileiro* that we could understand the foundation of the Brazilian journalistic discourse and, in the contradiction, we could understand the decree as a discursive event. This newspaper materializes the discursive event that was the decree of March, 2nd, as it mobilizes the memory of a Brazilian person who has no right to speak or does not speak because it is an animal, but which is speaking, in the metaphor of the animal itself, bringing the incongruence as the possibility of saying. It breaks with that memory, launching a position of saying different from the other newspapers. It is in this new discursivity, materialized in the journalistic chronicle, that we have the establishment of the Brazilian journalist

subject position operation. In other words, it is in *O Macaco Brasileiro* that the founding discursive process of a new subject position, which corresponds to the foundation of the Brazilian journalistic discourse, is evidenced.

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