

Through the hands of the Lords of Campo Seco: source for studying  
the history of penetration and propagation of the written language in  
the highlands of Bahia<sup>1</sup> /

*Pelas mãos dos Senhores do Campo Seco: fonte para estudo da  
história de penetração e propagação da língua escrita no alto sertão  
da Bahia*

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**ABSTRACT**

This article aims to present the linguistic study of a private manuscript, the *Livro do Gado do Brejo do Campo Seco*, written by a Lusitanian and his Brazilian descendants, in the Sertão da Bahia, between the ends of the colonial period in the middle of the times post-colonial. It is a relevant linguistic testimony for the studies of the social and linguistic reconstruction of Brazilian Portuguese, especially for the history of the penetration and diffusion of writing in the interior of Bahia. Thus, we sought to investigate the graphic aspects of the writers of this manuscript, investigating, from a qualitative perspective, the issue of disability / skill and the description of possible graph-phonetic indexes. For this study, Marquilhas (2000); Barbosa (1999, 2017). Regarding the results, it was found that the three authors of the *Livro do Gado* are not very skilled with written practice. In relation to the survey of graphical-phonetic indices, some occurrences, derived from the notes of Brazilians, appear to be aspects of lowering vowels; diphthong reduction; nasalization; vowel elevation. As for the graphic features, they identified aspects such as: graphics; latinization; grapheme replacement; grapheme elimination; inversion of grapheme order, spelling for nasal diphthong and vowel variation. This investigation collaborates with the third research agenda of PHPB, carrying out the linguistic study of the referred material, thus contributing with a significant corpus so that it is possible to reconstruct the past of Brazilian Portuguese (PB).

**KEYWORDS:** Brazilian portuguese; Farm book; Graph-phonetic indexes; 18th and 19th centuries.

**RESUMO**

*Este artigo tem por finalidade apresentar o estudo linguístico de um manuscrito de foro privado, o Livro do Gado do Brejo do Campo Seco, escrito por um lusitano e seus descendentes brasileiros, no Sertão da Bahia, entre os fins do período colonial e meados dos tempos pós-coloniais. Trata-se de um testemunho linguístico relevante para os estudos da reconstrução social e linguística do português brasileiro e, em especial, para a história da penetração e difusão da escrita no interior da Bahia. Assim, buscou-se investigar os aspectos gráficos dos escreventes desse manuscrito, averiguando, numa perspectiva qualitativa, a questão da inabilidade/habilidade e a descrição de possíveis índices grafo-fonéticos. Para tal estudo, foram utilizados como aporte teórico Marquilhas (2000); Barbosa (1999, 2017). Sobre os resultados, constatou-se que os três autores do Livro do Gado são pouco hábeis com a prática escrita. Em relação ao levantamento de índices grafo-fonéticos, algumas ocorrências, depreendidas dos apontamentos dos brasileiros, aparentam ser aspectos de abaixamento de vogais; redução de ditongo; nasalização; elevação de vogal. Já no que concerne aos traços gráficos, identificaram-se aspectos como: grafismo; latinização; substituição de grafema; eliminação de grafema; inversão de ordem de grafema, grafia para ditongo nasal e variação de vogal. Esta investigação colabora com a terceira pauta de pesquisas do PHPB, realizando o estudo linguístico do referido material e contribuindo, dessa forma, com um corpus significativo, para que seja possível a reconstituição do passado do português brasileiro (PB).*

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Português brasileiro; Livro de fazenda; Índices grafo-fonéticos; Séculos XVIII e XIX.

## 1 Introduction

Mattos e Silva (2008) points out that, for the reconstruction and understanding of the diglossic character of Brazilian Portuguese (BP), it is necessary to study diachronic corpora, as diverse as possible, and the author alerts the need to contemplate, in such a study, historical-social aspects, among them the lack of/presence of schooling.

In doing so, in an analysis based on the social history of Brazil, as highlighted by Mattos e Silva (2004; 2008), it will be possible to find subsidies for a better understanding of the BP configuration, such

as issues related to the situation of linguistic contact, to the propitious factors the spread of writing in a certain location, the social influence on the structural change of language, among other elements.

In order to contribute to this approach, this text presents a descriptive and qualitative investigation of the graphic aspects of the writers of a private manuscript – *Livro do Gado* Campo Seco farm –, produced by a Familiar do Santo Ofício and their descendants, in the Backlands of Bahia. Such document is of great significance for the studies of the penetration and diffusion of the written language history, considering the possibility of clarifying both linguistic and socio-historical issues of the interior of Bahia. Thus, the aim was to ascertain the existence of disability/skill levels, in addition to checking for possible occurrences of graphical-phonetic indexes in the records from that book. Thereby, the investigation carried out took place from the sample of the semi diplomatic<sup>2</sup> edition of that corpus.

Through this study, we also seek to collaborate with Projeto Nacional para a História do Português Brasileiro (PHPB), by attending the third topic of this program, which refers, according to Lobo (2009), to this corpus linguistic study.

This material is part of DOHS database, *Projeto Vozes do Sertão em dados: história, povos e formação do português brasileiro*, and the CE-DOHS Project - *Corpus Eletrônico de Documentos Históricos do Sertão*, which makes up the Núcleo de Estudos em Língua Portuguesa (NELP) of the Department of Letters and Arts of the State University of Feira de Santana (DLA / UEFS), which work in partnership with PHPB.

This article, in addition to this initial section, is structured as follows: in the second section, the corpus is presented, as well as, briefly, the writers; in the third section, the methodology used in this investigation is exposed; the fourth section is dedicated to the study of graphic aspects; and, finally, conclusion.

## 2 Corpus

*Livro do Gado* is a private document, produced in the 18th and 19th centuries, which was kept in a Sobrado do Brejo archive, located on the breeding Brejo do Campo Seco farm, in the Bom Jesus dos Meiras village, named Brumado, in the backlands of Bahia. It is a written practice from the period mentioned, which addresses more than 150 years of daily life in a rural Bahia.

This book was written by three family members: the Portuguese Miguel Lourenço de Almeida, in 1755, with records until 1785; the Brazilians Antônio Pinheiro Pinto, Miguel Lourenço de Almeida's son-

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<sup>2</sup>The semi diplomatic edition of *Livro do Gado* was carried out by Santos (2019), in dissertation entitled *O Livro do Gado do Brejo do Campo Seco (Bahia): Semi diplomatic Edition and Description of Graphical-Phonetic Indexes*.

in-law, from 1794 to 1822; and Inocêncio Pinheiro Canguçu, Antônio Pinheiro Pinto's son and Miguel Lourenço's grandson, with notes from 1822 to 1832.

This document has 57 pages, which 22 are written, totaling 34 folios. The rest of the pages are blank due to time. As for the dimensions, it presents 305 mm x 210 mm. It was written on a thick paper, according to Santos Filho (2012, p. 110), "of European origin". The instrument used by writers to register on the support was the fountain pen. Several types of ink were used, such as iron gall ink and organic, in black and red color, respectively.

About the content posted on its pages, there is information about the daily life on the farm and its writers, such as marking foals, calves and mules, partitions and deliveries, distribution of animals across different farms, and inventory receipts.

## 2.1 Writers

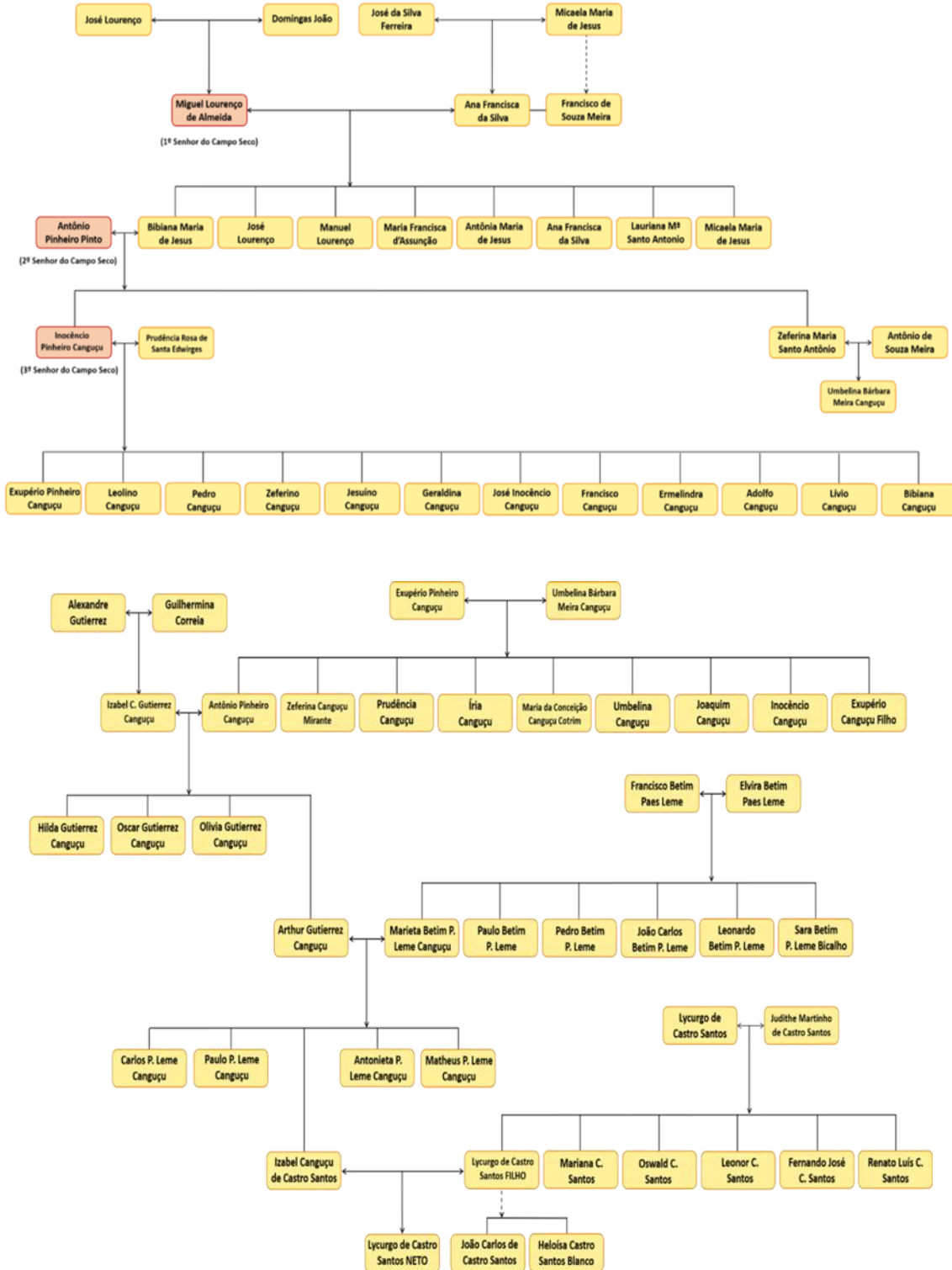
The first Lord of Campo Seco, Miguel Lourenço de Almeida, was born in Camarões, parish of São Pedro do Almargem do Bispo, council of Sintra, district of Lisbon, Portugal, in 1708, José Lourenço and Domingas João's son. In Brazil, he served as Familiar do Santo Ofício; he was captain-general of Pernambuco, accountant for Tribunal dos Ausentes and a farmer. He married the Brazilian Ana Francisca da Silva, and they had eight children, starting the Canguçu lineage. It is presumed that he died in 1785, at the age of 77.

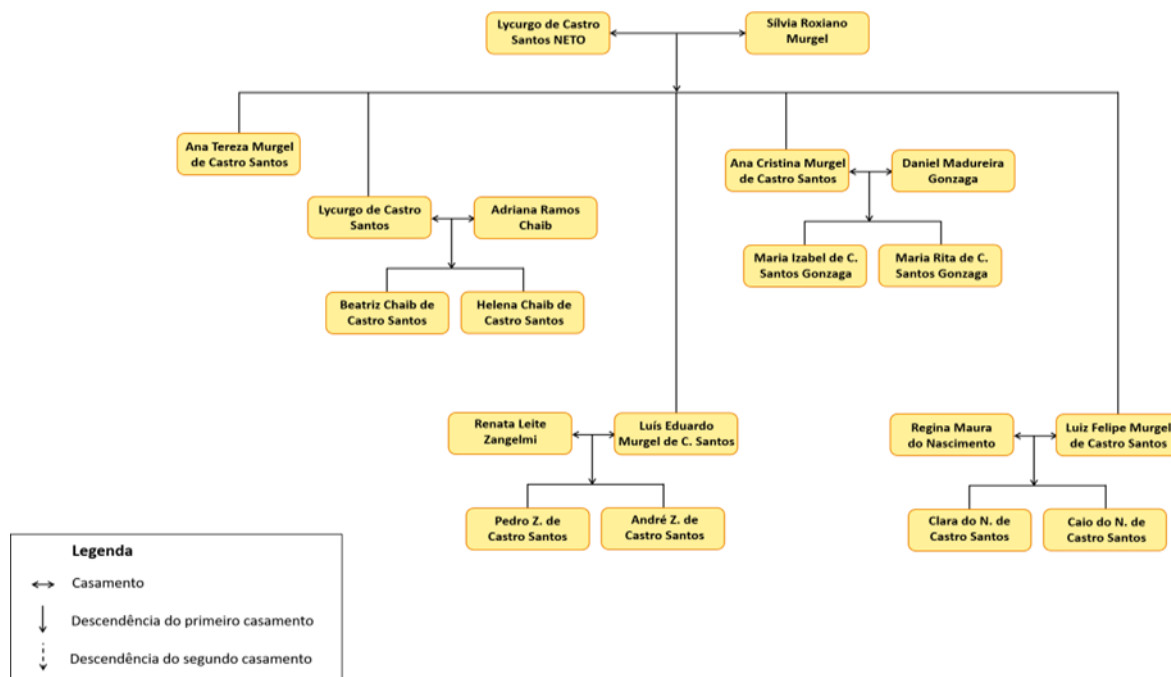
Antônio Pinheiro Pinto, the second Lord of Campo Seco, was born in Caetité - Bahia. About their parents, it is only known that they were Portuguese descents. He married Bibiana Maria de Jesus, Miguel Lourenço's daughter. They had two children: Inocêncio José Pinheiro Pinto and Zeferina Maria de Santo Antônio. He held the position of Tenente de Milícias; he was a farmer and merchant. Antônio Pinheiro Pinto died in 1822, because of an injury after being struck with knife by a slave.

The third Lord of Campo Seco, Inocêncio José Pinheiro Canguçu, was born in Bom Jesus dos Meiras, in 1795. He married Prudência Rosa de Santa, with whom he had eleven legitimate children, according to Souza (2014). He was a farmer and councilman in the region. He died in September 1861, at the age of 66, in Minas Gerais. Next, as shown in fig.1, the Canguçu family tree, from the direct descendant of the family, Miguel Lourenço de Almeida, to the times of 2018:

Fig.1: The Canguçu Family tree.

Árvore Genealógica da Família Pinheiro Canguçu (1708-2018)





Source: Author.

### 3 Methodology

To reach this study, the criteria highlighted by Marquilhas (2000) and Barbosa (1999; 2017) were used as theoretical and methodological assumptions - the first one, in the identification of unskilled writers from the 17th century; the second one, in a 1999 paper, about the writing skill level in Portuguese merchants' letters based in Brazil, in the seventeenth century.

According to Marquilhas (2000), it is possible to detect the unskilled writer<sup>3</sup>'s graphic productions "due to his physical appearance, constituted by the handwriting and the support particularities" (MARQUILHAS, 2000, p. 237). Thus, the author, based on the foundations of Italian paleography, lists physical calligraphic criteria<sup>4</sup> for the identification of a disability situation, as well as other important aspects for such analysis.

<sup>3</sup>Rita Marquilhas (2000) adopts such a concept from the French expression *Scripteurmaladroits*, used by Claire Blanche-Beneviste to refer to the person standing in an incipient phase of writing acquisition.

<sup>4</sup>A. *Lack of course*: the autonomous design of each character, or even traits of each character, due to the lack of agility in the muscles of the hand. B *use of a large format*: the difficulty in integrating the letters in a small format. C. *lack of ideal regulation*: the inability to respect a mental ruled paper manifests itself mainly in the downward trend in alignment, as the right margin of the sheet approaches. D *shaky design, poor dexterity at lettering*; stiffness; lack of lightness of the whole: the detection of these characteristics is naturally very subjective. E. *uneven layout*: lack of proportion between the margins, which may not even be defined. F. *kering*: there is an unawareness of the combinatorial allography of the signs in an initial, medial or final context. This characteristic is related to the lack of cursivity and the autonomous character design [...] (MARQUILHAS, 2000, p. 239-240).

Barbosa (1999; 2017), in his 1999 study, warns of the need to also contemplate the orthographic level, because, according to him, it is one of the ways of identifying, with greater certainty, the writer's skill degree. In 2017, the aforementioned researcher, based on the criteria outlined by Marquilhas (2000) and on others acquired from experiences with diachronic corpora, within the scope of the PHPB project, and still on some criteria used by Oliveira (2006) and Santiago (2012), in their similar works, lists nine aspects, which interfere in the gradual levels variation of disability, essential to delimit such aspect, namely: (1) In the dimension of escriptuality, *graphics*; (2) In the phonological level of writing acquisition, the graph-phonetic indexes; (3) In the epiphenomenon, the punctuation; (4) In the lexical dimension, the repetition of words; (5) low variation and accuracy of lexicon; (6) syntactic aspects; (7) replication of trends and discursive models; (8) motor skills; (9) graphic segmentation (BARBOSA, 2017, p. 24-26). The author also presents a direction for the investigation of graph-phonetic indexes<sup>5</sup>, in sources of different synchrony.

Oliveira's works (2006), which present the study of registers written by blacks and unskilled Afro-descendants from 19th century, were also compared in this analysis as an example of similar theme; and Santiago (2012), who brings an analysis of unskilled Bahian sertanejos' missives, written during the nineteenth century.

Therefore, the following parameters guided the study of *Livro do Gado* writers: *the graphics; graph-phonetic indexes; motor skill; graphical segmentation; punctuation; the repetition of words and low variation and accuracy of lexicon.*

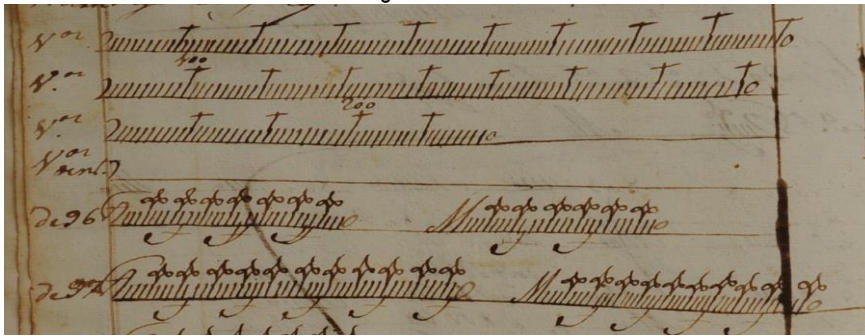
It is worth mentioning that 14 folios written by the Portuguese Miguel Lourenço de Almeida, 11 folios written by Antônio Pinheiro Pinto and only 9 folios written by Inocência Pinheiro Canguçu were analyzed. However, most of these folios had records in symbols and few texts. As already mentioned, the book *the Lords of Campo Seco* is a farm accounting handwritten notebook (fieldnotes), in which its writers took notes on the routine of rural property. So, they used symbols<sup>6</sup>, such as vertical and horizontal lines, a cross sign, as well as others that resembled a finial and even the J consonant, to refer to birth control and animal partition, payment to slaves and control of sacks of agricultural products produced per year. See the illustration of the symbol annotations, which predominate in the corpus:

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<sup>5</sup>Graph-phonetic indexes occur when the "graphic representation of vowel and consonant sounds seeks ways to imitate pronunciation and tends to depart from graphic conventions" (BARBOSA, 2017, p.24-25).

<sup>6</sup>About the specificity of each symbol, see: part 3 Santos' master's dissertation (2019).

Fig. 2: Fol. 29v.



Source: CE-DOHS/ Photo- Jorge Viana.

#### 4 The investigation of the writers of the Lords of Campo Seco

Santos Filho (2012), in the book *Uma comunidade Rural do Brasil antigo: aspectos da vida patriarcal no Sertão da Bahia, nos séculos XVIII e XIX*, tells that the Brazilian writers of the *Livro do Gado* – Antônio Pinheiro Pinto and Inocêncio Pinheiro Canguçu – had poor linguistic knowledge, implying that they had little contact with the written language. It is observed:

Pinheiro Pinto has drawn a long line under his father-in-law's settlements and started his own [...]. His handwriting is wide and ugly and the spelling of many words denotes the lack of certain and elementary linguistic knowledge [...] In 1822 his son wrote on the back of the thirtieth sheet [...] The horrible handwriting and the bad spelling of Inocêncio Pinheiro Canguçu reveal that his studies were even more deficient than those received by his father (SANTOS FILHO, 2012, p. 113-114).

Considering the disastrous historical trajectory of Brazilian schooling, it is clear that the formal teaching of reading and writing did not include all social classes and locations in the country. In the backlands of Bahia, the official school took place in a very precarious way, as outlined by Carneiro and Almeida (2006). In these inland regions from the coast, in colonial and post-colonial times, the first letters were taught on the farms, funded by the farmers themselves, who had many resources.

In that context Inocêncio Pinheiro Canguçu had contact with the first letters. According to Santos Filho (2012), Antonio Pinheiro Pinto hired a private teacher, called Tomás José da Costa, to teach classes to his son, Inocêncio Pinheiro Canguçu, and to another family member:

Pinheiro Pinto noted the date of his son's entry into the teacher's school: - "Entrarão na escola de Tomas José da Costa Inocêncio e Alexe. em 23 de Janro. De 1802". Inocêncio was seven years old and accompanied by a cousin, named Alexandre. [...]



There is a new note, of later learning, this time only from the son, and with a new teacher [...] – “Entrou meu filho Inocencio no estudo do Me. Ignco. Ferra. da Sa. em 18 de Mayo de 1810” SANTOS FILHO, 2012, p. 38).

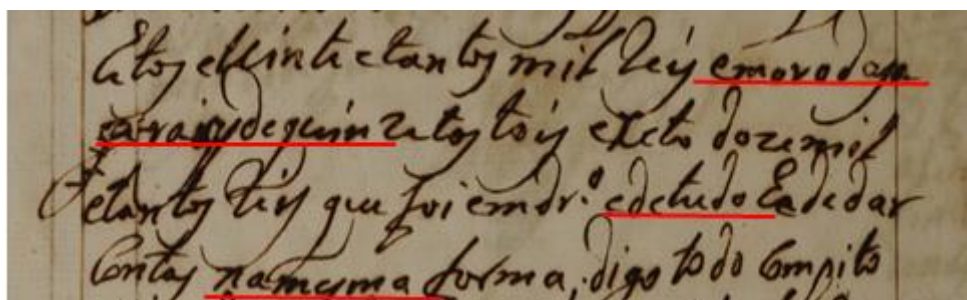
For the author, these two teachers were responsible for teaching reading, writing and numbers to Inocência Canguçu. Probably this gentleman did not continue his studies, applying himself constantly to the farm work. Regarding reports from the Antônio Pinheiro Pinto school process, no evidence was found. The hypothesis is that Antônio Pinheiro, being a descendant of Portuguese bourgeois, according to Santos Filho (2012), received an instruction similar to the one he gave his son.

It is worth remembering that there are writers of two different nationalities: Portuguese and Brazilian. As a result, it is necessary to clarify that the observation of physical calligraphic aspects was applied to everyone, because, as Barbosa (2017, p. 20) recalls, these criteria “listed by Marquilhas (2000) to systematize graphic products can be used in anytime and anywhere”. The observation of graph-phonetic indexes was directed only to Brazilians. Next, the analysis of the referred graphic samples.

#### 4.1 Lusitanian writing aspects

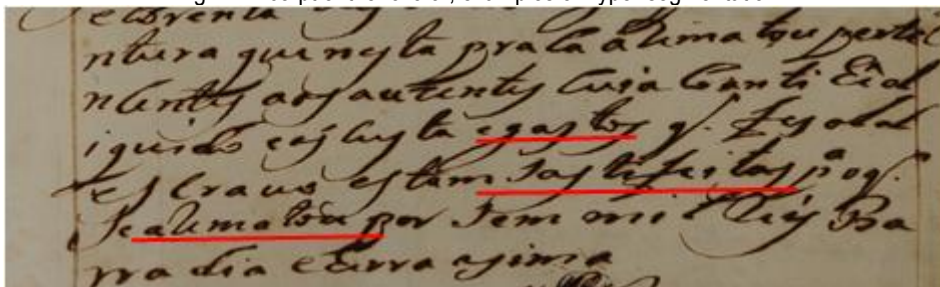
When looking at the facsimiles referring to the records of the Portuguese Miguel Lourenço de Almeida, the lack of poorly executed calligraphic elements is readily noted. It is possible to verify well done design, steady handwriting, as well as lack of large format. However, the presence of hypo segmentation phenomena – the union of lexical forms in the sentence, which should be separated by blank spaces – and hyper segmentation – when there is insertion of blanks between small groups of letters in a sentence of a particular word –, as shown in the following excerpts:

Fig. 3: Excerpt of the folio 2r; examples of hypo segmentation.



Source: CE-DOHS/ Photo - Jorge Viana.

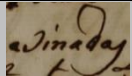
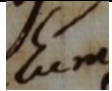
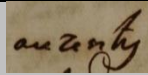
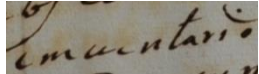
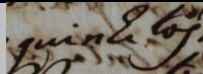
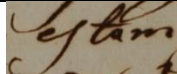
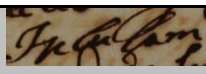
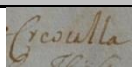
Fig. 4: Excerpt of the folio 3r; examples of hyper segmentation.



Source: CE-DOHS/ Photo - Jorge Viana.

With regard to the graphic level, occurrences of words spelled with the consonant /s/ were found, when it was customary to use the digraph /ss/; latinization in articles written with /h/; the interchange of /z/ and /s/, situations highlighted by Barbosa (2017) as usual in the period when pluriortography reigned. There are also cases of interchange of /r/ and the digraph /rr/; interchange of the consonant /x/ and /ch/; interchange of the consonant /c/ and /ss/; interchange of the consonant /s/ and /z/; and /s/ and /x/; the use of /r/ at the end of the word instead of the consonant /l/; use of /m/ instead of /n/; the consonant /n/ deletion in some words, the use of the consonant / m / replacing the diphthong /ão/; presence of etymologization /nn/ e /ll/, as well as the addition of the consonant /m/ at the end of words, as shown in some examples in the following table:

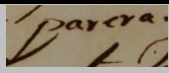
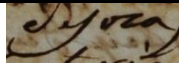
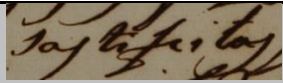
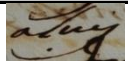
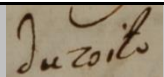
Table 1: Spelling cases in MLA's writing.

Examples of facsimile	Cases	Aspects	Folio	Occurrences
	Asinada <i>instead of</i> assinada	Graphics	2r	1
	Hum <i>instead of</i> um	Latinization	3r, 4r, 4v, 5r, 6r, 7r	9
	Auzentes <i>instead of</i> ausentes	Grapheme Replacement	2r, 3r, 6v, 7v	4
	Emventario <i>instead of</i> inventário	Grapheme Replacement	2r, 4r, 4v, 5r, 5v, 6r, 6v, 7r, 7v	18
	quinheøtos <i>instead of</i> quinhentos	Grapheme Elimination	2r, 4v, 6v, 7r	6
	Estam <i>instead of</i> estão	Spelling for nasal diphthong	3r	1
	Freciscam <i>instead of</i> Francisca	Grapheme Addition	3r	1
	creolla	Etymologization	8v	4

Source: Adapted from Santiago (2012) by the author.

Other interesting phenomena were identified in Miguel Lourenço de Almeida's writing, such as: the deletion of the semivowel /i/; the elimination of the vowel / u /; the inversion of the consonant /s/; the use of the vowel /i/ instead of vowel /e/; the use of the vowel /u/ instead of the vowel /e/. See it:

Table 2: Spelling cases in MLA's writing.

Examples of facsimile	Cases	Aspects	Folio	Occurrences
	pareØra <i>instead of</i> Pereira	Grapheme Elimination	3r, 7r	3
	soØza <i>instead of</i> Souza	Grapheme Elimination	6r	2
	Sastifeitas <i>instead of</i> satisfeitas	Inversion of grapheme order	3r, 5r	2
	Alvis <i>instead of</i> Alves	Vowel variation /i/ for /e/	6r	1
	Duzoito <i>instead of</i> dezoito	Vowel variation /u/ for /e/	2r, 6v, 7r	3

Source: Adapted from Santiago (2012) by the author.

Regarding the lexical dimension, there is no repetition of words or lack of lexicon, factors exemplified by Santiago (2012) as criteria that help to recognize clues from an unable hand. What we see in the first folios of this writer is a textual structure shaped by the receipt genre, when he worked as an accountant.

The records reveal the very rare use of punctuation, which shows low familiarity with cultured writing, however there are many occurrences of abbreviations, which are elements used by a person considered skilled. According to the Italian paleography criteria, the lack of abbreviations indicates basic elementary writing.

In view of what was presented about the graphic criteria, and considering the social context of Miguel Lourenço de Almeida, a Portuguese who arrives in Brazil around 1742 and holds important positions, such as captain-general, accountant at Tribunal dos Ausentes, it is assumed that this is a person who had the opportunity to be educated, even partially. Thus, regarding the category of disability/skill, it can be concluded that this writer is semi-skilled, quoting Barbosa (1999), since:

– It's not presented an unskillful aspect to a high degree, because there is no poor calligraphic execution and, mainly, there is no graphic deviation of complex syllables /r/, /l/, a common characteristic in the unskilled writers' writings; there is use of abbreviations, but the presence of hyper segmentation and hypo segmentation phenomena was attested.

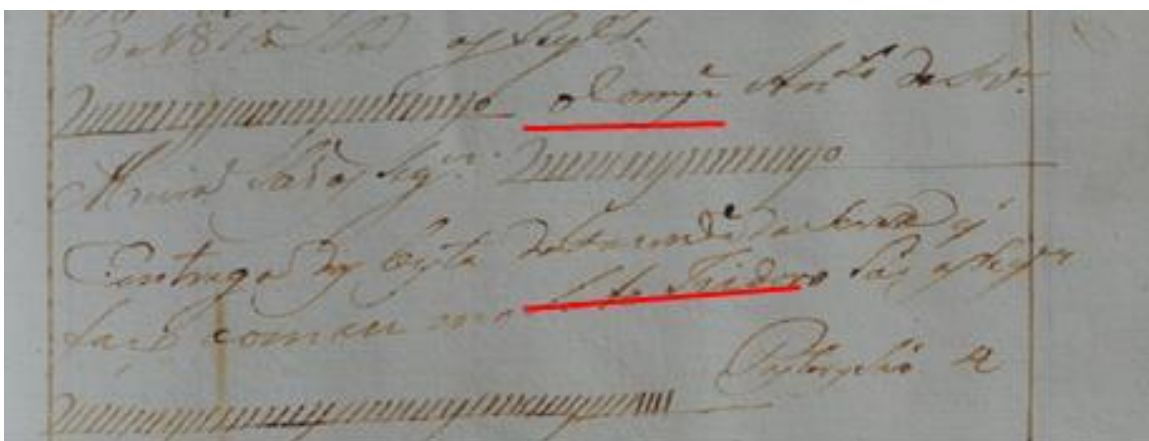
– He is not completely skilled, because there is spelling variation; he uses, although rarely, the punctuation mark.

It is worth mentioning that, in this analysis, we did not aim to delimit what could be graphical-phonetic indexes in the Portuguese handwritten folios, because, as already mentioned, the focus on the phenomenon discussed here contemplates only the texts handwritten by Brazilians. However, facing this scenario, and based on studies similar to Barbosa's (1999), it was found, as possible data from phonetic marks, for example, the grapheme elimination in: pareØrainstead of Pereira, which represents the aspect of monophthong – semivowel deletion –, as this same case was presented in the documentation edited by the referred author as a possible mark of speech in Portuguese semi-skilled writers from the 18th century.

#### 4.2 Brazilians' writings aspects

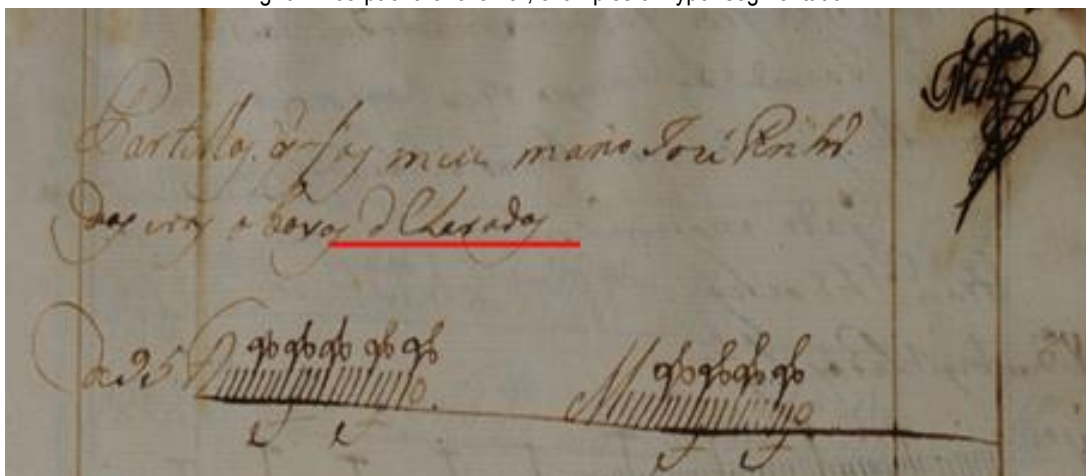
Examining Brazilians' graphic products, it is noticed that the facsimiles belonging to Antônio Pinheiro Pinto do not indicate an incipient motor situation. Thus, stiff design, small and proportional letters are observed, avoiding large format. There is regulation in the alignment. Phonological segmentation aspects, such as hyper segmentation and hypo segmentation, were presented; there is no repetition of words; the use of abbreviations is constant. About the characteristics described, see:

Fig.5: Excerpt of the folio 13r; examples de hypo segmentation.



Source: CE-DOHS/ Photo - Jorge Viana

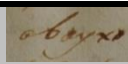
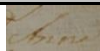
Fig. 6: Excerpt of the folio 29r; examples of hyper segmentation.



Source: CE-DOHS/ Photo - Jorge Viana.

Graphical aspects are noted that could indicate difficulty with writing, such as the occurrence of the verb in the future tense<sup>7</sup> *acabarão*, apparently used inappropriately, since, in nowadays context, the perfect past tense should be *acabaram*. However, such an occurrence<sup>8</sup> was a common phenomenon in 19th century writing. In addition, the use of latinizations was identified: /y/ replacing the vowel /i/; /h/ before the vowel /e/; and etymologization /nn/. Following are examples:

Table 3: Spelling cases in APP's writing.

Examples of facsimile	Cases	Aspects	Folio	Occurrences
	Abayxo	Latinization	29v	1
	Anna	Etymologization	29v	1

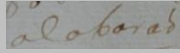
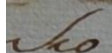
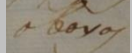
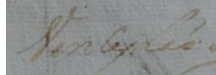
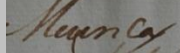
Source: Adapted from Santiago (2012) by the author.

<sup>7</sup>Futuro do presente.

<sup>8</sup>The use of *rão* was common in 19th century writings. Several occurrences can be found in dictionaries and grammars that span the period. For more information, see *Dicionário de Língua Portuguesa*, by Moraes Silva (1890). Available: [www2.senado.leg.br/bdsf/item/id/242523].

In the investigation of grapho-phonetic indexes, very few data were found, which probably confirms this aspect. Follow:

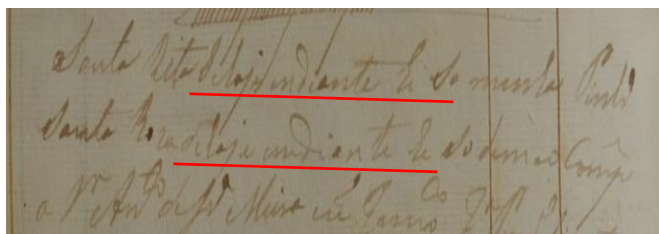
Table 4: alleged grapho-phonetics indexes cases in APP's writing.

Examples of facsimile	Cases	Aspects	Folio	Occurrences
	acabarão <i>instead of</i> acabaram	Nasalization	11r	1
	Seo <i>instead of</i> seu	Vowel reduction /u/ ~ /o/	13r	1
	abaços <i>instead of</i> a baixos	Diphthong Reduction /ay/	29r	1
	Venceslão <i>instead of</i> Venceslau	Nasalization	11v, 12r	2
	Meunças <i>instead of</i> Miunças	Vowel reduction /i/ ~ /e/	50r	1

Source: Adapted from Santiago (2012) by the author.

Regarding the few facsimiles that represent the records of Inocêncio Pinheiro Canguçu, it appears that the calligraphic marks do not denote disability. Like the other writers, the design is stiff, there is no lack of *cursus*, nor large format. The writer does not use punctuation, but there was presence of hyper segmentation and hypo segmentation. There are some abbreviating signs. As for the lexical dimension, the repetition of words in subsequent sentences was identified. This aspect is noted in the following illustration:

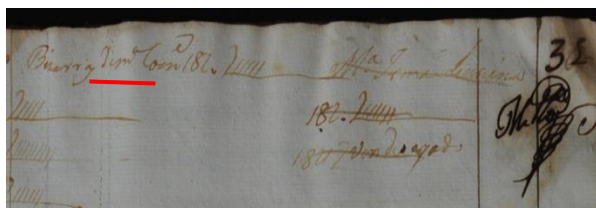
Fig. 7: Trecho do fólio 31v; exemplos de repetição de vocábulos e hipersegmentação.



Santa Rita d ehojindiante he so minha  
Pinheiro  
Santa Rozadehoj i ndiante he sodmi o  
Campô  
A para Antonio d Souza Meira ã Janeiro  
Inocêncio Pinheiro

Source: CE-DOHS/ Photo - Jorge Viana.

Fig.8: Excerpt of Folio 31r; examples of hypo segmentation.



Bizerros **deminha** comadre 1820) uuuu Minha Irmã [Zeferina]  
uuuu 1820) uuuuuu  
uuuuuuuu 1821-ven-da-ogado  
uuuuuuuu

Source: CE-DOHS/ Photo - Jorge Viana.

About the graphic aspects, the use of the consonant /z/ instead of /s/ and the consonant /s/ instead of /ç/ is observed; the use of the vowel /o/ instead of the vowel /u/, as well as the latinizing use of /h/ before the vowel /e/ and the presence of etymologization /tt/. It was identified the use of the numeral spelled as /ũ/ in his writings. Here are examples of the data described:

Table5: Spelling cases in IPC's writings.

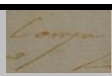

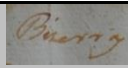
Examples of facsimile	Cases	Aspects	Folio	Occurrences
	Roza <i>instead of</i> Rosa	Grapheme Replacement	30r, 31v	4
	Criassão <i>instead of</i> Criação	Grapheme Replacement	34r	1
	He <i>instead of</i> é	Latinization	30,r 31v	3
	ũ <i>instead of</i> um	Grapheme Elimination	31v	1
	Morreo <i>instead of</i> morreu	Grapheme Replacement	30v	1
	Ritta	Etymologization	31V	1

Source: Adapted from Santiago (2012) by the author.

About the graph-phonetic indexes in Inocência Pinheiro Canguçu's writings, there were almost no occurrences, which is due to the minimum number of folios belonging to this writer:



Table 6: alleged grapho-phonetics indexes cases in IPC's writings.

Examples of facsimile	Cases	Aspects	Folio	Occurrences
	Campu <i>instead of</i> Campo	Postponic final raising /o/ > /u/	30v	1
	Hoji <i>instead of</i> hoje	Postponic mid vowel raising /e/~/i/	31v	2
	Bizerros <i>instead of</i> Bezerros	Postponic mid vowel raising /e/~/i/	31r	2

Source: Adapted from Santiago (2012) by the author.

It bears stressing that, in the analysis performed, no irregularities were found involving the use of complex syllables with /r/, // and /s/, an important aspect to define an unable hand. Regarding the conclusion of Brazilian writers' disability/skill level, it is possible to infer that both are *semi-skilled*, since:

– They are not totally unskillful, because, in the characteristics of the *escriptuality*, difficulties were not revealed; there were no occurrences of complex syllables /r/, //, nor sibilant /s/ deviations, however, the presence of hyper segmentation and hypo segmentation was found.

– They are not completely skilled, because there are spelling variations; there is virtually no use of punctuation; in addition, there is repetition of a textual sentence in the second Brazilian's; both provide aspects that represent possible marks of speech.

As a result of this study on the Lords of Campo Seco level of disability/skill and the descriptive investigation of graphical-phonetic indexes the aspects versus graphic aspects, the data revealed: regarding the disability/skill level, writers, both Portuguese and Brazilians, are considered *semi-skilled* at writing practice. In relation to the survey of graphical-phonetic indexes, some occurrences, deduced from Brazilians' notes, appear to be aspects of *lowering vowels*; *diphthong reduction*; *nasalization*; *vowel raising*. Regarding the graphics, we identified aspects such as: *graphics*; *latinization*; *grapheme replacement*; *grapheme elimination*; *inversion of grapheme order*, *spelling for nasal diphthong* and *vowel variation*.

## Conclusion

This study, based on Historical Linguistics and on social linguistic field, provides researchers of Brazilian Portuguese a sample of the writing practice produced by Bahian sertanejos in the 18th and 19th centuries. Their graphic products provide clues about the schooling process in the backlands of Bahia, as well as offering relevant aspects of the colonial and imperial past social and historical context in that region.

Therefore, the linguistic overview presented here brings its contribution so that, soon, the reconstruction of the intriguing Brazilian Portuguese linguistic history is achieved.

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