A Kaleidoscopic Vision of São Paulo in the Seventies:
Analysis of a Dialogue Between Informants

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INTRODUCTION

The University of São Paulo houses one of the centers of the Project on the Study of the Urban Cultured Norm of São Paulo city. This project is known as PROJECT NURC/SP [1] - USP center. This paper is involved with this project. The purpose of the project is the study of the linguistic discursive experiences in the spoken language of São Paulo citizens. It includes the linguistic study of the characteristics of the cultured norm in various communicative situations and the analysis and description of the discursive strategies used by the citizens in communicative situations.

FOCUS OF THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

Influenced by populist ideas, many linguists react negatively to the study of the cultured norm because they believe it is a prejudice against the popular norm. These linguists seem to forget that one of the major tasks of scientific research is to circumscribe well the object of study in order to gather results that are consistent and precise. Thus, while some researchers have chosen to study other norms of the spoken language, those involved in this project are committed to research on the cultured norm of São Paulo citizens[2]. Consequently, the investigators of this project consider their foremost task to be the study of the Portuguese spoken language in Brazil as used by persons of culture in the city of São Paulo. That choice was a scientific one, made from an empirical observation, and it is not intended to devalue the study of the language of the other classes. When a choice is made, there is a necessary exclusion. If the choice was the study of the popular language, the cultured norm would be excluded and it would not devalue the language of the upper classes. Therefore, one should not misunderstand the focus of this project. It does not embody an attitude of superiority nor is it an attempt to devalue the speech of other classes within the city.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

Through the study of one of the dialogues of the NURC Project, it is possible to show how speakers reveal themselves and the cities in which they live. This analysis is supported by a dialogue, which occurred in the 70s, between two siblings, in the presence of

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[1] The other center is located at UNICAMP.

[2] Those who want to know the history of the NURC Project/Brazil, can consult Castilho (1990) or Cunha (s.d.) Information on the NURC/SP – USP center can be found at www.flch.usp.br/dlcv/nurc.

an observer who was responsible for documenting this interaction[3]. This work is based on theoretical principles of dialogical analysis of the discourse [4], as in the Interactionist Sociolinguistic and the Ethonomethodological Conversation Analysis. (Goffman, 1998a; 1998b and 1998c). The hypothesis addressed in this research is that when speakers enter into discourse, they use linguistic markers in their conversations that reflect the societies in which they live. In this case, it should be possible to observe aspects of São Paulo society that are evidenced in the discourse of two educated speakers in the age group range of 25-35.

THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEANINGS OF THE CITY BY THE INTERACTION

It is now time to deal with the concept of interaction that began with utterances that were selected as a corpus in order that we may understand why the choice of the dialogues are concomitant with this study. Interaction, as Bakhtin (1988: 112) noted, is determined by the real conditions of the utterance, by the more immediate social situation, and by the speakers who are subject to these conditions. They see the "city and the world" through a social prism that surrounds them. That is to say, everything that they say is filtered ideologically and socially and their discourse is elaborated in the societies that mark a stage of development in which the find themselves. For this reason, nothing should be interpreted without taking this interaction into consideration.

An examination of the corpus, the object of this study, was preceded by the observation and the consideration of what was said and was analyzed as a product of this interaction that related directly to the conditions that produced them and that were stated during the course of all of the factors that led to this interaction. Given this theoretical and methodological picture, we are able to analyze some of the signs of social transformation present in the dialogue carried on between interactants who are considered to be established inhabitants of the City of São Paulo.

Bakhtin dealt with the concept of interaction and described it as sentences that are organized socially from the outside and internally as the case may be within one's own language. Goffman (1998a) also dealt with the topic of interaction, but from a different point of view in that his observation was relevant to social situations. Goffman found it important to study the social variants inherent in each communicative context, especially in face to face interaction.

On the other hand, one may infer that the concept of the social situation of Goffman (1998a) is more restricted than Bakhtin's idea of interaction. The social situation, according to Bakhtin, ought to be understood as being similar to atmospheric conditions that the interactants accept in that it allows each person to act in accordance to his own expected standard.

One may examine the social situation as seen by speakers from two perspectives: one perspective is broader in scope and the other is much narrower because it is always seen as a subset of the other. This more restricted perspective is one that immediately represents an overflow supported by the interaction. This is observed by other speakers who have a larger

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[3] Dialogue reference: D2 – 343. The dialogue is between two informants (L1) is a man of 26, a bachelor, engineer, and a resident of São Paulo. (L2) is a woman of 25, also single, a psychologist and a citizen of São Paulo. Register on March 15, 1976.
[4] Brait, 2002: 126, footnote 1

perspective bound by the general norms of the society in which the interacting individuals live. However, within this much wider view, we recognize some facts that signal what took place in Paultista society. These will be commented upon and discussed in the exchange between interactants in dialogue 343.

The problem of constructing the meaning behind this situation can also be analyzed from another point of view of the relationship between language and society, one noted by Benveniste (1989:100). According to him, language and society support each other in a semiotic relationship involving an *interpretant* (language) and an *interpreted* (society). Language is a part of society and language explains what happens within society.

Finally, there is evidence that a parallel exists between the thoughts of these two aforementioned linguists, Bakhtin and Benveniste. One should note that between these two linguists, the former was much clearer in stating this connection.

> Language penetrates life through concrete statements that fulfill the experience of living and through these concrete statements life also penetrates language. (1992: 282).

Bakhtin recognizes explicitly that double-edged sword that cuts across both language and society.

There is a more explicit and evident relationship between language and society on a linguistic level, as noted by Benveniste (op cit). However, as the author emphasized, it is not possible to examine the lexicon out of context in statements since language has to be analyzed within the context of its social reality.[5]

In order to further accentuate the importance of this point, we can say that the text cannot be adequately interpreted when it is analyzed outside of the context in which it was stated, or even beyond its statement, from the viewpoint of a relationship of product (what was stated) and process (what is being stated). In this way, we know that the speakers, having had the experience of speaking about the city and its commerce, created meanings with respect to both of these themes. These meanings corresponded to that which they understood in modern terms and these concepts were stored in the discursive memory of each of them. Upon analyzing the concept of the city, one of the topics of the dialogue, that will be done apart from the stated texts, one may, for example, bring forth information about the meanings of the words that were acquired since the emergence of this concept, in various eras of human civilization, in the Neolithic period when the concept of the city was formed for humanity or after that period when it was during the Classical Age or during the Middle Age. We are able, however, to separate the data of the registry of this word (13th Century) in the Portuguese language and from this we are able to discuss and expand upon the various meanings that were attributed to them over time. It is not, above all, this focus that is of interest but the research that those speakers expressed in their dialogues in which they expressed how they conceived of their city. It deals with how they organized and understood their modern concept

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[5] Também disse Bakhtin: "Quando escolhemos uma palavra, durante o processo de elaboração de um enunciado, nem sempre a tiramos, pelo contrário, do sistema da língua, da neutralidade *lexicográfica*. Costumamos tirá-la de outros enunciados, e, acima de tudo, de enunciados que estão aparentados ao nosso pelo gênero, isto é, pelo tema, composição e estilo: selecionamos as palavras segundo a especificidade de um gênero." (Apud, Brait, 2002:155)

of the city. In other words, under this interactional point of view what matters are the meanings constructed in this interaction. How a language functions, according to Bakhtin (1988: 127) is through "a process of interrupted evolution" that manifests itself through the "verbal and social interaction of its speakers (author's words in italics). It is not possible to find meaning outside of this interaction.

It is necessary to verify the interaction that originated the dialogue selected as *corpus* in order to understand why it was chosen to study this theme. According to Bakhtin (1988:112), the interaction is determined by the real conditions of the discourses, by the most immediate social situation and the speakers, placed under these conditions. The interactants see the 'city and the world' through the prism of their social environment. It means that everything they say passes through an ideological-social filter and the discourses produced in the societies bring in the aspects of the development of these societies. Therefore, nothing can be interpreted outside the interaction.

Bakthin studied the interaction and described how the enunciations are organized from the exterior, from the social and not from the interior, the language itself. Goffman (1988a), from another perspective, observed the importance of the *social situation* and the social variations inherent to every situation of communication, especially the face-to-face interaction.

However, Goffman's conception of social situation (1988a: 13-4) is narrower than Bakhtin's conception of interaction. For Goffman, the social situation is understood as the environmental conditions to which the speakers are exposed, which then allows them to behave according to an expected pattern.

The social situation realized by the speakers can be examined under two perspectives, a larger one and a narrower one which is always included in the larger one. The narrower one is the immediate situation around the speakers.

THE MEGALOPOLIS OF SAO PAULO

In 1970, the city of São Paulo was well on its way towards becoming a megalopolis. It had already exceeded the population of Rio de Janeiro, becoming the most populated city in Brazil[6]. This new development was accompanied by numerous problems involving different sectors of the city, medical assistance, sanitation, transportation, and air pollution. The industrial development of the city had begun in the 1950s with the advent of the automobile industry in Greater São Paulo when about 100,000 new jobs were created and workers from other states, especially Minas Gerais and Bahia, started to immigrate to São Paulo. It has been calculated that every year the city gained about 500,000 new inhabitants. This situation had enormous repercussions for the social, political, and cultural development of the city. Due to the abundance of cars, the city developed its first subway line in 1974. The stretch of 7 km between Jabaquara and Vila Mariana was the first section of the North-South line. Only in 1975, the whole line (of 17.20 km) was completed.

Within this scenario, one finds that this well recognized social situation was imposed on its speakers. First of all, one should consider the fact that the dialogue taken from this time portrays defined themes related to the *city* and its *commerce*. These themes required the speakers of the dialogues to adhere to its context. If, by chance, one of the speakers deviated

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[6] According to the census of 1960, there were in São Paulo 3.825.351 inhabitants. In 1970, 5.924.614 and in 1980, 8.490.000.

from this context, the other one would immediately put it back into context. By analyzing the dialogue, one comes away with the idea of São Paulo being a "big modern city". One is able to reconstruct from these interactions the fact that one section of the city had a quality of life that was, for the most part, awful. The city was disorganized, unattractive and uncomfortable because of its air pollution, congestion of sounds and sights, overpopulation, laborers, and other factors.

AN IMAGE OF THE CITY

São Paulo is not a beautiful city. It is known for its gigantic size, for its industry force, and for its working people. The city of Rio de Janeiro, by way of contrast, is known by its beauty and its natural splendor. The image of São Paulo is a fact that is revealed in the dialogue that has been selected as a corpus for analysis between the two conversants, a situation that is revealed with great clarity. To talk about São Paulo, above all, is to address its own gray aspects, its mutilated architecture, its disorganization, its population, and its chaotic traffic.

The initial part of the dialogue presented below sets the conversational tone on São Paulo. It is the ugliness of the city that draws the attention of the two speakers of this dialogue:

Part One		
20		E: : está muito pior **a Cidade ... está ... o aspectos dos prédios assim é bem mais sujo ... tudo acinzentado** né?
		And… it is much worse… the City… is…parts of the buildings are rather dirty .. completely gray. Aren't they?
25	L2	Uhn:: **poluição**. né?
		Pollution. Isn't it?
	L1	**Ruas mais ou menos sujas** … ali perto da Praça da Sé da Praça da sé **tudo esburacado** por causa do metrô né? ... achei **horrivel ... feio ... feio .. feio**
		The streets are kind of dirty. There near "Se' Square" it is rather shoddy because of the subway isn't it? I found it horrible… ugly… ugly… ugly

A little later in the conversation, one encounters a situation in which they discuss the physical layout of the city: the economic and population growth hindered a housing project of urbanization and the neighborhoods seemed to organize themselves without any plan, chiseling the city into an enormous disfigured image. Not even Zoning Laws that foreshadowed the final commercial, residential, and industrial layout of the city were followed. What one found instead were a mélange of ghettos, residential districts, and commercial zones that included factories. This situation continued to worsen at the expense of the beauty of the city. Here is what these speakers had to say about this situation:

Part Two		
75	L1	**cidade que não da para ter planejamento ela está cresendo desordenadamente** The city that does not allow any planning and it is growing out of order
	L1	E:: sempre ... quem manda é:: ... os ... a:: -- como é que se diz – **especulação imobilliária né?** ...**certo local fica** bom para constuir todo mundo pá corre para lá né? Always ... who rules is ... the.... the - as one says – real estate speculation, isn't it? certain local sites appear optimal for building, so everybody runs there, right?

The architectural style of the city is another problem. From the 19th and up until the middle of the 20th Century many homes and buildings were constructed in the neoclassic style, as for example the neighborhoods of Campos Elíseos, Bom Retiro, Higienópolis, and Bela Vista. These neighborhoods encompassed the Avenida Paulista and the city Post Office, which was built to meet the needs of the businessmen of the time, as well as of the coffee barons and the industrial barons emerging at that time. Today, unfortunately, the city preserves few of these buildings, maybe because Brazilians esteem conventional progress over tradition. There is a constant search for the novel and frenzied style of architecture that reflects modern architectural identity of the city. In place of the very beautiful neoclassical residencies, one finds skyscrapers and each one differs from the other. Also, the new buildings do not follow the same kind of architectural design, as evidenced by those based on a European or an American style. It is interesting to note that the speakers of the dialogue (remember that one of them is an engineer, the other a psychologist) complain about the old buildings as if they were the reason for the declining beauty of the city. They present their opinions on this problem and, in doing so, they register their image of how the city really was:

Part Three		
	L1	… **os prédios sem :: estilo arquitetônico .. ou de estilo quitetônico tudo desencontrado não tem não tem integração** the buildings without ... architectural style … or a style of architecture that do not match. They are not… they are not integrated.
	L2	**Mas isso acho que não tem né? Em:: ...lugar nenhum da cidade** .. a não ser talvez ... assim .. ... But I think we don't find it, do we? Anywhere in the city… unless maybe…
	L1	me parece que está ahn:: envelhecida a cidade né? .. ahn:: **muita construção ... antiga não tem muita construção nova ...** It appears to me that the city has aged, hasn't it? Lots of older buildings and not many newer ones…

One of the problems of large Brazilian cities is the deterioration of its downtown areas, a pattern that is different from those of European cities where the downtown area remains as important tourist destinations with its concentration of historical monuments. Brazilian cities, in this case, share characteristics with other cities in the New World where one finds that the downtown areas are also deteriorated thereby losing its prestige and its residents. The people in the dialogue make reference to Washington DC and to New York and compare the downtown areas of these American cities with São Paulo downtown area, which was deteriorated, but in process of slow recuperation. About this situation, they say:

Part Four		
	L2	(…)..e o:: centro bom:: **em Wasington** por exemplo é gueto ... né? **Em Nova Iorque** também. Downtown well.. in Washington, for example, there are ghettos…right?. In New York too.

The disorganization of the city and the lack of beauty often are credited to the fact that São Paulo is a great industrial city that seems to have its own will and does not want to obey the laws of growth. This rebellious image of the city appears in the following frame of the conversation between the two siblings:

Part 5		
	L2	Se bem que em **São Paulo acho que tem um problema especifico de :: ...ter-se tornado um centro industri/ industrial ... grande.** It is true that in São Paulo .. I think that it has a specific problem of becoming a giant industrial center.

THE POPULATION

The following examples presented in this section reveal other aspects of the city, e.g. its enormous population that make the city unbearable. One notes that in the 70s (the dialogue was recorded in 1976), São Paulo grew immensely and it received thousands of immigrants due to the influence of industrial progress. This aspect of change can be found in lines 454 - 455 in the document as: **sabe chega immigrante chega immigrant::e e cresce e cresce e cresce e…e..: (…)** - as one knows the immigrants kept on coming and their population grew and grew and grew. One should note that the repeated expressions create the effect of something that is still in progress, i.e. uncontrolled growth (at any time the city may become paralyzed). First, these speakers comment on the cause of the problem – the city has become more industrialized and it does not have the necessary people to attend to its demands for industrial jobs. Therefore, it was very expensive to hire builders. Of course there was a natural interest in the beginning to attract workers who would help build the city. It was this concern that attracted the attention of people, from more impoverish states from the Federation, who lacked the income necessary to support themselves in their own states. Thus thousands of poor people came to São Paulo from the Northeast. If that fact on the one hand was very

important for the development of the city, on the other hand it was also troubling because with the passage of time the employment rate was decreasing. The immigration of the poor did not stop and this influx began to cause social problems for the city. That is what one is able to account for from the commentary between the two speakers.

Part Six		
115	L1	**(…) a nossa mão-de-obra .. vai ... progressivamente se tornando cara ... então teria como que importar dos outros estados para São Paulo mão-de-obra barata... então isso CHAma ... um fluxo de gente para São Paulo... que muita gente quer poDAR para não crescer mais... ((tossiu)) que a gente não importa ricaço essas coisas né? Ricaço vai para o Rio sei lá qualquer outro lugar certo? ...então ...** to hire our own builders … is progressively becoming expensive … so it would be necessary to import them from other states into São Paulo .. cheaper workers…. So, it attracts an influx of people into São Paulo … which many people are trying to stop … ((he coughs)) we don't import rich people, do we? The rich ones go to Rio, I don't know, any other place but here. .. right? So…
125	L2	**O que você acha disso?** What do you think about this?
	L1	**O que eu acho disso é que não tem controle** What do I think about this? It is out of control.

THE PASSAGE

In the next example, the situation caused by immigration is pictured with clarity in the words of the engineer who relates this problem to another still unresolved: the traffic circulation. This has been a huge problem for the people of São Paulo since the city started to grow. The population has increased rapidly and the urban planning did not follow this growth. This created a dreaded situation in which there is fear that the city could one day become paralyzed, impeding its inhabitants from moving freely in the city.

Part Seven		
450 455	L2	**Sabe chega imigrante chega imigrante chega imigrtan::te e....cresce e cresce e cresce e ... e :: ao mesmo tempo (houve) o crescimento das ...digamos das vias .. ou:: né? De circulação ... dentro da cidade não acompanha... esse crescimento ... de populção né?** You know ... the immigrants come and come and come and the population continues to grow and grow … at the same time there was a grow, let us say, of roads … you know … of traffic within the city that cannot keep up with the growth of the population of the city.
	L1	**(...).. caso análogo (na história).. você tem por exemplo (Toquio) para fazer você conforme... o azar teu você fica quatro horas paralisado**

		num trânsito ... (lá:: qualquer) There is a historical analogy … you have, for example, Tokyo according to which you can make a comparison…. It would be your bad luck to be stuck in traffic for four hours … there … or more.

There is no one who would not complain about the traffic conditions in São Paulo – stuck standing for hours in traffic during the day and also during the early hours of the evening. This is a reality experienced by the citizens, coming or going in São Paulo, by car or by public transportation. In the early 1970s, São Paulo created a metro system and the siblings in their dialogue discuss this system and how it functions. Today the Metro network is better (there are four working lines), but it is far from being ideal, as millions of people get compacted into busses that remain in traffic for hours. This topic is discussed in the following frame:

Part Eight		
	L1	**Numa linha só não cobre isso ... (porque) você veja ... metrô é um transporte em linha reta né? .... então :: você tem que ter coisas conectando o início e o fim da linha (...)..** One metro line does not cover that … because you see … the subway is a transportation that goes on the trail, in a straight line, right? So, you need to have things connecting the beginning and the end of the trail.
	L2	**Uhn uhn** Mmm mmm
	L1	**E nós temos uma linha só** And we have only one metro line …
	L2	**É :: e já começamos atrasados e tudo mais** And we had already begun (the metro system) later and ..

THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS OF LIFE

Another problem that most of the population has to face – and this is particularly at the present a difficult problem within big cities – is the problem of financial resources for the material conditions of life. São Paulo is a city of great economic contrasts, as are other cities in Brazil. In general, there are people in these cities who are extremely rich (a minority of the population) and others who also have sufficient resources in order to survive, but there also exist in the population those who have few material resources. This last group makes up the majority of the population. This disparity is the cause for the strong and contradictory feelings that motivate social problems and are expressed by the citizenry of São Paulo. This situation is found in the dialogue between the engineer and the psychologist when discussing the city. She wants, somehow, perhaps due to her education in Psychology, to reject the idea that the 'emotional' aspect of life is compensated by the 'material' one.

Part Nine		
510	L2	**Material né? ... concreto mateial ou melhores condições materiais de vida.** Material (wealth), huh? Concrete material wealth or better conditions of life
	L1	**É mas se não ... nã / ... não ...** But if it isn't....
	L2	**Se Isso ... sabe?** If that… you know?
	L1	**Seja mais ampla ... porque:: ....material envolve ... qualquer outro ... junto ... certo?** Be more general. Because material wealth involves ... some other things, right?
515	L2	**Nem sempre M. Você vai ... assim:: o povo americano não é o povo feliz... em termos de condições materias:: está otimo está está :: muito bem mas ... realmente eu não sei te dizer se ... se... se faz tanta diferença assim .. ((barulho de motocicleta))** Not always, M. You go ... like this… the American people are not a happy people… in terms of material conditions… they are at best …really doing very well … but I don't know if this… if… if.. if it makes a real a difference (noise of a motorcycle)…
520	L1	**Então você quer dizer o quê? (vai) cair naquele básico que ... dinheiro não traz felicdade? ... então desevolvimento está ruim.** Well, what do you mean? Do you want to get into that basic ... that money does not bring happiness? Well development is tough.
525	L2	**Mas que ajuda ... NÃO .. estou dizendo que não SEI:: se:: se sabe? Melhora a condição assim emocional das pessoas que estão quer dizer ( ) ou não ..** But it helps ... NO ... I am saying that I don't know. Do you understand? It improves the emotional conditions of the people who are… or better, who are not…

As one can observe, the psychologist (L2) tries to introduce the idea that money does not bring happiness while leaning on an argument that American people are rich but not happy. This idea could authorize the hypothesis that the majority of the Brazilian people who do not have the material means to survive could be happy. The engineer quickly disarms the argument laid down by the psychologist (**Você vai cair naquele básico** – you will get into that basic) and leaves her confused, making her confess her uncertainty about her assertion.

What is really sure is that the *per capita* income of the population of the city does not enable life to be more comfortable and less tiring.

THE CONDITIONS OF SURVIVAL: THE WORK

The problem of unemployment is very serious in modern society, especially in the larger cities. In São Paulo, the difficulty for the worker to have security in a job is one of the characteristics of life in the city. For one to lose work, depending on the situation, could mean being without a job for a whole year, since a large part of the population is not qualified to fill a job when advertised. In the frame below, it is revealed that this preoccupation with material concerns was the case (and still is) in the city. The social facts of the 1970s in São Paulo were either to be employed and not be satisfied with the job or to be unemployed. This neurotic condition was characteristic of the big city.

Part Ten		
	L1	**Você acha que um individuo … tendo trabalho ou não tendo trabalho é ... é a mesma coisa? Você não acha que um individuo que tem onde trabalhar:: ... e ganha melhor ele não está ... emocionalmente melhor que um (...)** Don't you think that a person who is employed or not employed is … it is the same thing? Don't you find that a person who is employed and earns more is emotionally more stable than…a
560	L2	**Mas você está pegando uma coisin::nha assim sabe? um cara que esteja desempregado também eu posso ... usar o mesmo exemplo num num sentido contrário ... o cara que está desempregado porque não conseque se empregar né? Na verdade não quer ... ou um outro que :: assim... muito bem empregado executivo chefe de empresa e tal mas cheio das neuroses de ... eu não sei qual está melhor ...** But are you being too picky, aren't you? A guy who is unemployed…. I can too use a counter example. A guy who is unemployed because he can't get a job, right? The truth is that he doesn't want that… or another one who has a very nice job, a businessman in a company, but full of neurosis … I don't not know who is better..

This topic, it appears, is a common theme about São Paulo. It is impossible to speak about the city without some reference to jobs, workers, and the unemployed because, as one knows, São Paulo is the national capital. When it comes to work, the people here live for a job rather than for entertainment, as seems to be the case in other Brazilian cities where the geography and the climate favor leisure. It is unbelievable that during the 80 minute dialogue regarding the city of São Paulo, these two upper class persons who are engaged in the social life of the city fail to mention the cultural life or the night life of São Paulo, a city that is known for its theaters, art shows, cinema, and even its fine dining. That is a sign that both of these individuals are engaged in a representational schema or sociological frame based on the city and its social problems.

POLLUTION

Another major problem of the city of São Paulo since the 1970s is its pollution. The pollution rate was so high that it also became a topic of conversation between these informants. They also addressed this theme for a reasonable amount of time and one can get a clear notion of the problem of that era from observing the following dialogue:

Part Eleven		
155	L2	**Quer dizer poluição visual auditiva ... visual ::** You mean pollution… visual ((too many billboards)) and sound (too much noise)…. visual.
	L1	**Um pouquinho mais de ::** A little bit more of ...
	L2	**Ahn** Hmm.
	L1	**uhn auditiva:: né?** Hmm... too much noise, right?
160	L2	**E::** Yes.
	L1	**E:: seria ... olfativa** And it could be odoriferous.
	L2	Pelo chei/ olfativa. For the bad smell/ odoriferous
	L1	**Sei lá (tudo) meio ambiente** I don't know, (everything) has to do with the environment
	L2	**Uhn uhn** Hmm
165	L1	**Então se joga esgoto em rios ... et cetera.... que isso ainda eu considero grandes poluições né? ... não tem controle aqui... então na hora que São Paulo ficar pior ainda porque (quando) eu vou para a ci/ para o centro... se eu vou de moto eu choro ... sai lágrimas ((tossiu))..** Well, the rivers are sewers ... and so on. I still consider that to be the worst pollution. No one is in control. Well, when Sao Paulo gets worse, especially because when I go downtown … when I go to the city, downtown. If I go on my motorbike, I cry. My eyes well up with tears (he coughed).

The attributes of pollution discussed are those of sight, hearing, and odor and they confirm the polluted environmental conditions that they are experiencing in the city. It is interesting to observe that this topic and the previous ones (traffic congestion, and so on) are projected into the future, when they say "**vai ficar pior ainda**" – it is going to get worst.

THE BEAUTY OF THE CITY'S LANDSCAPE

One should not think that these siblings only dwelled on the negative aspects of the city. The psychologist, for example, comments on aspects of the city's beauty, its irregular landscape intercalated with hills. On the topic of the beauty of the city, however, she asserts that the topography of the city is beautiful, but not very well used.

Part Twelve		
	L2	**Ele estava falando que a topografia da cidade é muito bonita ... e eu inclusive gosto né? Cheio de ... montes e:: né? Colinas tal mas que é muito mal aproveitado bom (aí você vai entrar na na) área verde ...** He was saying that the landscape of the city is very beautiful. And I like it, you know? Full of mountains, you know, hills and so on, that are very badly used … good (are you going to go there) talk about the green area?
	L1	**Isso é bem de cidade grande né?** That is specific about big cities, right?

This discursive recollection of the two interlocutors denounced the concept that people used to have (and may still have) about the city of São Paulo, even though it might shock its inhabitants. That is not an ideal way about which one discusses a city, but it is real. That state of disturbing contrast about the city is always a topic of discussion, debate, and journalistic commentary. The magazine **Veja São Paulo** (Year 36, number 28, 16th of July, 2003), for example, [7] carried a report on its cover on the champions of ugliness and beauty among the inhabitants of São Paulo. It includes some 30 personalities who have elected the most unattractive and the most beautiful symbols in the city.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

An observation from the real corpus that is effectively created by people who are interacting in a discussion will always reveal much about the life of a society. In the dialogue that was analyzed in this paper, the speakers, educated and in the first phase of their adult life, address definite themes as the topics of their discussion. These speakers were recorded and their conversation still carries relevant information regarding the stages of development of the city during that time. It reveals the social structures that sheltered them, the world they encountered and how they felt about their society.

It is a current thought that the words reveal the awareness one has about things and about the world, but it is necessary to complete this thought: only the discourse can reveal the world that people build little by little and modify every day, because the discourse reveals the meanings that the man builds in relation to the world.

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[7] This is available on the web at www.vejinha.com.br

By this means of discourse analysis, one is able to visualize the contexts of their communication and develop an image of the city of São Paulo. By weaving the text and following its threads of words, one is able to reconstruct an image of the city of São Paulo during the decade of the 1970s – an ugly, dirty, and polluted city with incoherent styles of architecture, a chaotic transportation system, and a metro system still in development. By pursuing the topics that the speakers, an engineer and a psychologist, talked about, it was possible to weave a vision, even if kaleidoscopic, of the city and its transformations during these discourses.

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