

TIPO **INNOVATION AND CHANGE IN BRAZILIAN PORTUGUESE**

TIPO **INOVAÇÃO E MUDANÇA NO PORTUGUÊS BRASILEIRO**

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This paper provides an empirical account of the synchronic variation in the use of the noun *tipo* ('type', 'kind') in the Brazilian Portuguese vernacular. Innovation in its use, first documented by Bittencourt (1999), suggests *tipo* may be performing functions beyond those of a noun. To investigate innovation in its use, this study focuses on the speech of teenagers born and raised in Rio de Janeiro. Although this group has been shown to be in the forefront of linguistic innovation (D'Arcy 2005; Tagliamonte 2016; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009), research on the speech of adolescents remains scant in Brazilian Portuguese. This paper aims to fill this gap by presenting the results of two analyses of empirical data collected between 2015 and 2018 (C. P. Thompson & Onosson 2016). Results indicate that *tipo* is not only salient in participants' speech but also that non-nominal forms of *tipo* are more frequently used by speakers (97.98%) when compared to its nominal form (2.02%). Findings suggest that uses of non-nominal *tipo* are systematic and linguistically defined: *tipo* is most often found in pre-clausal position or preceding a noun phrase. Findings also show that *tipo* is performing functions beyond those of a noun, such as a preposition and an adverb.

Keywords: Innovation and change. Brazilian Portuguese. Teenagers.

Este artigo apresenta um relato empírico de variação sincrônica no uso do substantivo *tipo* no português vernáculo do Brasil. A inovação em seu uso, documentada pela primeira vez por Bittencourt (1999), sugere que *tipo* pode estar executando funções além das de um substantivo. Para investigar a inovação em seu uso, este estudo se concentra na fala de adolescentes nascidos e criados no Rio de Janeiro. Embora este grupo tenha demonstrado estar na vanguarda da inovação linguística (D'Arcy 2005; Tagliamonte 2016; Tagliamonte & D'Arcy 2009), pesquisas sobre a fala de adolescentes ainda são escassas no Brasil. Este artigo tem como objetivo preencher essa lacuna apresentando os resultados de duas análises de dados empíricos coletados entre 2015 e 2018 (C. P. Thompson & Onosson 2016). Os resultados indicam que *tipo* não é apenas proeminente no discurso dos participantes, mas também que formas não nominais de *tipo* são mais frequentemente usadas pelos falantes (97,98%) quando comparadas a sua forma nominal (2,02%). As descobertas sugerem que o uso não nominal de *tipo* é sistemático e linguisticamente definido: *tipo* é mais frequentemente encontrado antes de orações ou precedendo um sintagma nominal. Os resultados também mostram que *tipo* está executando funções além das de substantivo, tais como preposição e advérbio.

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Palavras-chave: Inovação e mudança linguística. Português brasileiro. Adolescentes.

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1. Introduction

Languages are not static. As speakers create structures that reflect their thoughts and feelings, they recruit linguistic elements that can make communication possible (Brinton & Traugott 2005). The creation of new forms (Bauer 1994) and innovative use of linguistic elements may be, at first, idiosyncratic in nature, that is, they do not necessarily promote language change and do not spread beyond the use by the individual (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog 1968). However, at times, they get accepted into a community's speech repertoire and spread, becoming part of the speakers' linguistic inventory.

The use of innovative forms, often noticeable in the speech of teenagers, is usually frowned upon by prescriptivists who see these seemingly random elements as a sign of language degradation and inarticulateness (Bittencourt 1999; D'Arcy 2005; Tagliamonte 2016). Examples of this view of change as being potentially detrimental to language – or even a 'a crime against it' (Bittencourt 1999) – are still quite common. Take, for instance, the definition of the masculine noun *tipo* ('type', 'kind'), which has been shown to be performing functions other than those of its nominal form (Laurentino 2016; Lima-Hernandes 2005), by *Dicionário Informal* ('Informal Dictionary'):

- “Expressão idiomática, indicando miséria vernacular absoluta.” (‘Idiomatic expression indicating absolute vernacular poverty’).¹

Despite prescriptivists' disapproval of innovative forms, language is in a constant flux of change, adapting to the needs of speakers. Research has shown that teenagers, in special female teenage speakers, play a key role in linguistic innovation (D'Arcy 2005; Eckert 1988, 2014; Tagliamonte 2005). Spreading their social participation to groups beyond those formed by family and caregivers provides adolescents with the opportunity to develop their social identity and, at the same time, be exposed to linguistic innovation. This social change may also promote the spread of language innovation and variation among speakers (Eckert 1988; Tagliamonte 2016). Although the language of teenagers may provide an insight into real time linguistic change, research focusing on the speech of this age group remains scant in Brazilian Portuguese.

2. The project and corpus

The importance of the *Carioca* dialect (the dialect of the city of Rio de Janeiro), considered to be one of status and the official dialect of the Brazil (de Brito 2016), and

¹ (<https://www.dicionarioinformal.com.br/tipo/>)

the dearth of studies that focus on the conversational speech of teenagers in Brazilian Portuguese led to the development of a project aiming to register the vernacular and gain access to possible linguistic innovations in the oral discourse of adolescents in Rio. In 2015, Sky Onosson and the author developed the *Projeto Sociolinguístico Contemporâneo Brasileiro* ('Contemporary Brazilian Sociolinguistic Project', henceforth PSCB) (C. P. Thompson 2019; C. P. Thompson & Onosson 2016).² The project involved fieldwork conducted in municipal public schools in the city of Rio de Janeiro, which are mostly attended by low and low-middle class students. The study was the first of its kind to receive full support from the Secretary of Education of Rio de Janeiro.

To glean information on linguistic innovation and language variation, adapted³ Labovian sociolinguistic interviews (Labov 1984) were conducted. In total, 178 students (120 female and 58 male) between the ages of 11 and 16 were interviewed between 2015 and 2018. Data collection sessions took place in two schools on the island of Ilha do Governador (*vd.* Figure 1). Interviews, conducted in pairs or triads, ranged in length between thirty minutes to one hour and ten minutes and were scheduled based on students' availability during school hours. To increase the likelihood of spontaneous conversational speech being generated, participants were asked to choose their interview partners. Interviews took place in rooms assigned by the schools and were audio and video recorded to give the researchers full access to both verbal and nonverbal data.

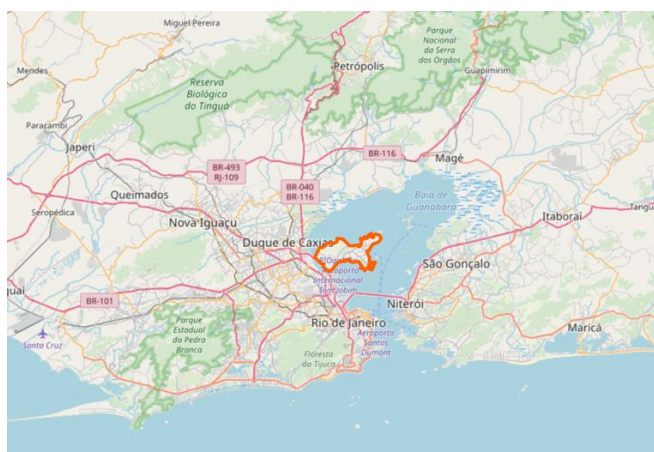


Figure 1. Map of Rio de Janeiro showing Ilha do Governador. This map is freely licensed under the Open Data Commons Open Database License (ODbL) by the OpenStreetMap Foundation (OSMF).

Audio recordings of all interviews were imported into PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2019) to be transcribed and annotated. Transcriptions, audio, and video files were later imported into ELAN (Brugman & Russel 2004). The corpus consists of the transcriptions as well as the audio and video recordings.

² This project received ethics approval from the University of Victoria, the University of Saskatchewan, and the Secretaria Municipal de Educação da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (SME).

³ Questions were adapted to contain social and cultural references relevant to students' lives.

3. Initial analysis

An initial cursory analysis of the data identified salient elements in the speech of participants and indicated *tipo*'s prominence in the conversational data. Some features, such as *ai* (adverb of place 'there') and *então*, 'therefore', have been the focus of several studies in Brazilian Portuguese (vd. Braga 2003; Martelotta & da Silva 1996; Pezatti 2001; Tavares 1999). Of the features initially identified, *tipo* is unarguably one of the most salient and least investigated.

Innovation in the use of *tipo* in the Brazilian Portuguese vernacular was first documented by Bittencourt (1999). Further analyses conducted by Brazilian researchers examined its apparent multifunctionality (Laurentino 2016; Lima-Hernandes 2005), leading some to postulate that *tipo* is reflecting some of the semantic and functional meanings of the English word *like* (Laurentino 2016).

Tipo is a masculine noun of Greek origin (*typos*, 'mold'). It is a taxonomic noun commonly found in binominal constructions⁴ (N1 of N2 – *tipo* + *de* ('of') + noun⁵) in which *tipo* is the head of N1 (Mihatsch 2016). *Tipo* can be inflected for number and can be preceded by a determiner, a numeral, or a quantifier (e.g., *alguns tipos*, 'some types').

(1)

Eu	gosto	de todos	os tipos	de comida.
I	like	of all	the types	of food

'I like all types of food.'

(2)

Jogos?	Eu	jogo	vários	tipo-s.
games	I	play	several	types

'Games? I play several types.'

(3) (PEUL corpus)

Todo	mundo	tem	esse tipo de problema	e	de violência.
every	world	has	<u>this type of problem</u>	and	<u>of violence</u>

'Everyone has this type/kind of problem and of violence.'

Previous research has suggested that innovation in the use of *tipo* has resulted in a process of semantic bleaching and semantic change, leading to the acquisition of meaning and functions beyond those of its referential meaning (Bittencourt 1999). Nevertheless, research on *tipo*'s (multi)functionality in oral discourse still remains scant in BP (Lima-Hernandes 2005). According to Lima-Hernandes (2005), this dearth might be the result of the limited number of tokens of *tipo* found in both oral discourse and written texts (p. 60).

⁴ In this paper, I will not provide a detailed account of binominal taxonomic nouns. Mihatsch (2016) provides a comprehensive discussion about these constructions.

⁵ Although this is the most common structure found in examples using *tipo* as a noun, this is a flexible syntactic constraint.

Although not numerous, some studies have examined *tipo*'s functions in discourse in Brazilian Portuguese. For instance, de Castilho (1991) mentions possible functional changes of *tipo* in her analysis of data from the Projeto da Norma Urbana Oral Culta do Rio de Janeiro corpus (NURC-RJ – 1970s) and discusses two main structures in which it is found in the data: preceding a prepositional phrase (PP) and preceding a noun phrase (NP). Lima-Hernandez (2005), on the other hand, conducted both synchronic and diachronic analyses of three features, including *tipo*, using oral and written data. For her synchronic analysis, the data were retrieved from the Programa de Estudos sobre o Uso da Língua (PEUL – 1970s and 1990s) and NURC (1970s) corpora. Lima-Hernandes (2005) argues that *tipo* is performing five different functions: reference noun, classification noun, preposition, comparative element, and discourse marker as well as an indicator of approximation. Bertozzo (2014) also investigates the functions of *tipo* in conversational speech. Results from the analysis of tokens retrieved from the speech of 12 individuals between the ages of 7 and 49 from the city of Chapecó (south of Brazil) show that *tipo* is performing the functions of conjunction, adverb, pronoun, noun, and comparative element. Finally, H. V. G. Thompson (2013) argues that in her analysis of written and audio data, *tipo* is shown to be performing nine functions, including those of a noun and a discourse marker.

Unlike the aforementioned research on *tipo*, this study examines its current state in oral discourse in Rio de Janeiro using data from recently conducted sociolinguistic interviews. This fresh look at its present-day state in the speech of *Cariocas* (individuals born and/or raised in Rio) provides a valuable contribution to the field of sociolinguistics in Brazil. The analysis also gives an insight into how teenagers, who have been shown to be in the forefront of linguistic innovation (Tagliamonte 2005, 2016), are using this form in conversational speech.

4. Methods – Linguistic predictions

To examine whether innovative, non-nominal uses of *tipo* are present in the speech of participants, an analysis of linguistic predictions consisting of grammatical elements found in pre- and post-*tipo* positions was conducted (Tagliamonte 2005). The goal of investigating linguistic constraints is:

- (i) to identify syntactic structures in which *tipo* is found;
- (ii) to examine whether nominal and non-nominal forms are found in the data;
- (iii) to identify possible systematicity in the use of its non-nominal forms.

4.1. Data

The data for this analysis were retrieved from the PSCB corpus (C. P. Thompson 2019; C. P. Thompson & Onosson 2016) and consist of 1,496 excerpts which contained the word *tipo* spontaneously produced by participants.

4.2. Participants

Participants were male ($N = 31$) and female ($N = 76$) between the ages of 11 and 16. For more information on participants, see section 2.

4.3. Analysis

An analysis of linguistic predictions, consisting of grammatical elements found in pre- and post-*tipo* position, was conducted. The analysis followed Tagliamonte's (2005) investigation of patterns of use of *like*, *just*, and intensifiers.

Of the 1,496 excerpts, 63 were excluded from the analysis as they were found in isolation (*i.e.*, no pre- nor post-*tipo* linguistic element).

(4) (RDJ_204_F_15)⁶

tipo...

'Like...'

In total, 1,433 tokens were analyzed. Tokens were classified according to whether *tipo* was performing nominal or non-nominal functions. Non-nominal functions were identified based on the following features:

- (i) loss of nominal properties (e.g., impossibility to be inflected for number);
- (ii) difficulty in classifying *tipo* according to lexical categories; and, in addition,
- (iii) use in constraints other than those of the nominal form.

4.4. Results

Results from the analysis show that the most frequent form of *tipo* used by speakers is non-nominal.

4.4.1. Non-Nominal

(5) (RDJ_101_F_14)

Aí tem dinheiro no final de semana pra sair **tipo** esse final de semana.

then have money on end of week to go out **like** this end of week

'Then you have money on the weekend to go out like this weekend.'

(6) (RDJ_201_F_14)

tipo, ela tem vários amigos.

like she has several friends

'Like, she has several friends.'

⁶ To ascertain anonymity, codes were created to replace students' names. RDJ refers to data collected in Rio de Janeiro; the three following numbers refer to participant number in individual interviews and the interview number (*e.g.*, 204 refers to participant number 2 in interview number 04); F stands for female participants and M male participants; the last two numbers refer to the participant's age at the time of data collection.

4.4.2. Nominal

(7) (RDJ_126_F_13)

A gente gosta praticamente do mesmo **tipo** de música.

we Like practically the same **type** de music

‘We basically like the same type of music.’

Table 1. Frequency of nominal and non-nominal forms of *tipo*

Form	Occurrences	%
Nominal	29	2.02%
Non-nominal	1.404	97.98%
Total	1.433	

Results from the analysis of pre-*tipo* grammatical categories show considerable dispersion (unlike those of post-*tipo* categories) and, therefore, are not included in this paper. Results from the analysis of the grammatical categories that follow *tipo* show that the non-nominal form is most often found in pre-clausal position (___ Clause) (64.5% of the tokens) and preceding noun phrases (11.74%) (vd. Figure 2).⁷

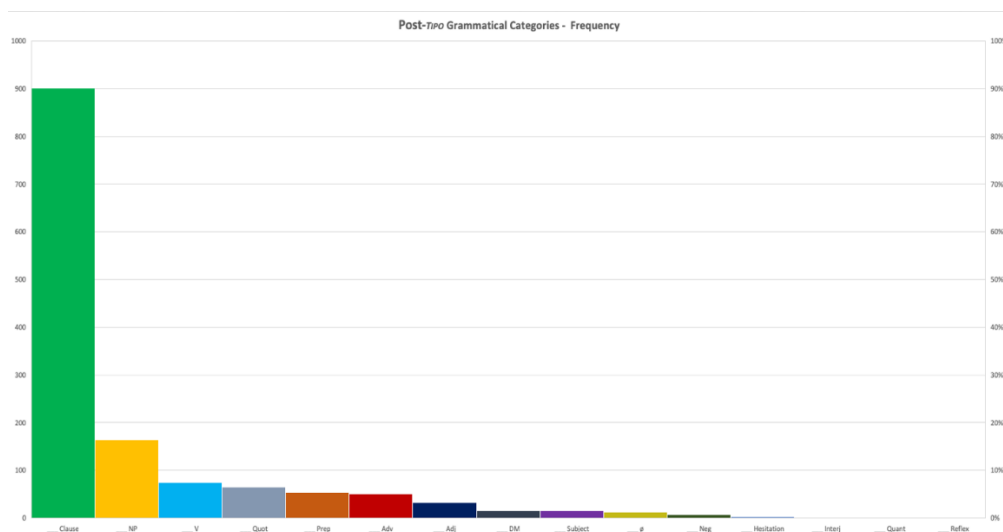


Figure 2. Frequency of grammatical categories following *tipo*.

Results suggest that the non-nominal forms are rule-governed and used in systematic ways by Carioca teenagers. The analysis also yielded some interesting findings, including

⁷ The grammatical categories that follow the non-nominal forms of *tipo* were classified as follows: ___ Clause, pre-clausal; ___ NP, preceding a noun phrase; ___ v, pre-verbal; ___ Quot, preceding a direct quote; ___ Prep, preceding a preposition; ___ Adv, pre-adverbial; ___ Adj, preceding an adjective; ___ Subject, preceding the subject; ___ ø, sentence-final; ___ Neg, preceding a negative word; ___ Hesitation, preceding a hesitation marker; ___ Interj, preceding an interjection; ___ Quant, preceding a quantifier; ___ Reflex, preceding a reflexive pronoun.

clear examples that suggest systematicity in the use of *tipo* in utterances. A synopsis of these findings is presented below.

4.4.3. Co-variants

Results indicate that three *tipo* constructions are regularly used by the participants (two of those being periphrastic):

- *tipo*

(8) (RDJ_101_F_14)

Aí, **tipo**, a pessoa tá assim do seu lado e tá você escrevendo lá.
then **like** the person is this way on your side and are you writing there
'Then, like, the person is right by your side, and you are there, writing.'

- *tipo assim* (*tipo* + adv of manner *assim* 'this way, like this') (see also Bittencourt 1999)

(9) (RDJ_305_F_15)

Não, entre a gente não, mas, **tipo assim**, uma pessoa vim de fora e
no between we not but **like** one person comes from out and
vai ouvir um funk e aí vai começar com aquelas letra...
will hear one funk and then will start with those words
'No, not among us, but, like, an outsider comes and listens to funk music, and then those lyrics start...'

- *tipo que* (*tipo* + particle *que* 'that', 'what')

(10) (RDJ_281_M_13)

tipo que eu tenho um quintal aqui, aí **tipo que** tem um vizinho aqui morando
like I have a backyard here then **like** have one neighbour here living
no meio do meu quintal!
in middle of my backyard
'Like, I have a backyard here, then, like, there is a neighbour living in the middle of my backyard!'

Results from the analysis suggest that the co-variants are interchangeable and are found in similar syntactic constraints in the tokens analyzed. It is important to mention that, of the three co-variants, *tipo que* has not been previously mentioned in the literature, making this the first account of its use in vernacular Brazilian Portuguese.

- Coordinate Clauses and *tipo*⁸

⁸ Hereafter, *tipo* will be used to refer to *tipo*, *tipo assim*, and *tipo que*.

In regard to the position of *tipo* in coordinate clauses, results show that in 98.35% of the occurrences *tipo* follows the coordinate conjunction (coordinate conjunction + *tipo*).

(11) (RDJ_201_F_14)

E, **tipo**, quem era a diretora era a Ana*, agora é a Márcia*.
and, like, who was the principal was the Ana now is the Márcia
 ‘And, like, the principal was Ana, now it is Márcia.’

(12) (RDJ_115_F_12)

Eu estou triste porque meu celular quebrou. **Então, tipo**, nem celular
 I am sad because my cell phone broke **so like** not even cell phone
 mais eu tenho.

anymore I have

‘I’m sad because my cell phone is broken. So, like, I don’t even have a cell phone anymore.’

- Subordinate Clauses and *tipo*

An initial analysis of linguistic predictions in the use of *tipo* in subordinate clauses indicated different patterns in causal and temporal clauses. A separate investigation was conducted. First, 94 excerpts of causal clauses containing the subordinate conjunction *porque*, ‘because’, were analyzed.

(13) (RDJ_221_F_15)

Eu gosto da Culpa é das Estrelas **porque tipo** fala um pouco da realidade de
 I like the Culpa é das Estrelas **because like** speaks a little of reality of
 muita gente que passa por aquilo
 many people that go through that

‘I like *A Culpa é das Estrelas* because like it tells a bit of the reality of many people who go through that.’

Results show that *tipo* precedes that subordinate conjunction in over 95% of the excerpts.

Table 2. Position of *tipo* in relation to the subordinate conjunction *porque* (‘because’)

	Occurrences	%
<i>Porque tipo</i>	90	95.74%
<i>tipo porque</i>	4	4.26%
Total	94	

Next, an analysis of 48 temporal clauses containing the subordinate conjunction *quando* ‘when’ was conducted. Results show that *tipo* usually precedes that conjunction.

(14) (RDJ_105_M_15)

Às vezes, sim, às vezes, não porque **tipo quando** eu fui pra Bahia eu
 sometimes yes sometimes no because **like when** I went to Bahia I
 comecei a falar umas gírias de lá
 started to speak some slang of There

‘Sometimes I do, sometimes I don’t because like when I went to Bahia, I started using some of their slang.’

(15) (RDJ_105_M_15)

tipo, quando ele desceu aqui na praça eu falei muito.
like when he got off here at square I talked a lot

‘Like, when he got off (the bus) here at the square, I complained a lot.’

As Table 3 shows, in over 93% of the occurrences, *tipo* preceded the subordinate conjunction in temporal clauses.

Table 3. Position of *tipo* in relation to the subordinate conjunction *quando* (‘when’)

	Occurrences	%
<i>Quando tipo</i>	3	6.25%
<i>tipo quando</i>	45	93.75%
Total	48	

A comparison between causal and temporal clauses suggest that the position of *tipo* in relation to subordinate conjunctions is systematic.

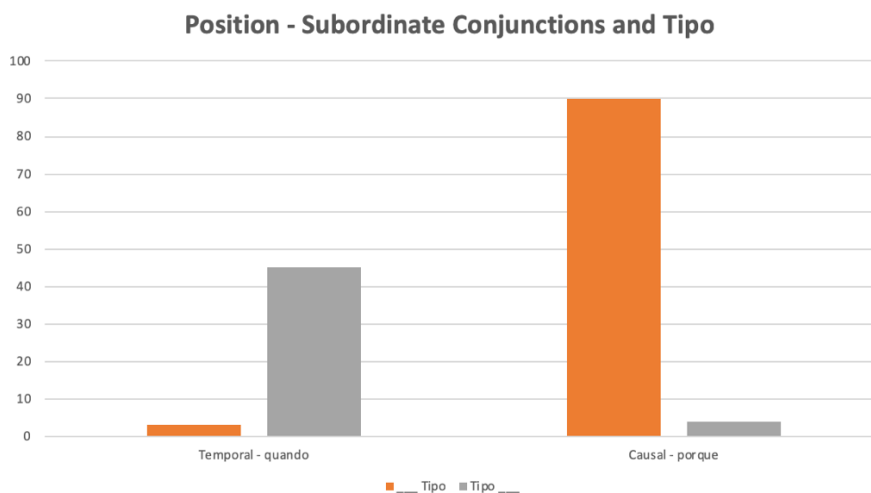


Figure 3. Comparison of *quando* and *porque* in pre- (___*tipo*) and post-*tipo* (*tipo*___) position.

These results corroborate previous findings from Laurentino’s (2016) analysis of *tipo* and are similar to those of the English word *like* (D’Arcy 2005).

- *tipo* and Left Dislocation

Results from the analysis of tokens in which left dislocation is found suggests that *tipo* may be licensing the use of two pronouns rather than a pre-clausal NP + a pronoun that stands in for it. Although questions could be raised as to whether these are simply reformulations, the absence of hesitation markers, pauses, or signs of reformulation suggests that *tipo* may be making the use of two pronouns possible. Interestingly, most of the examples contain the first-person subjective pronoun *eu* ‘I’.

(16) (RDJ_164_F_15)

Eu, tipo, eu nem posso namorar.

I like I not even can date

‘I, like, I can’t even date.’

(17) (RDJ_154_F_14)

Eu, tipo, eu tenho muito peso por causa do meu tamanho.

I like I have much weight for reason of my size

‘I, like, I weigh a lot because of my size.’

(18) (RDJ_115_F_12)

mas como meu pai é superprotetor, **ele, tipo, ele** sempre vai me buscar, me

but as my dad is superprotective **he like he** always go me pick up me

levar.

take

‘but as my dad is superprotective [of me], he, like, he always picks me up, takes me.’

5. *Tipo* in Rio de Janeiro – 1970s to 2018

Although the results here presented do provide information on the widespread use of non-nominal forms of *tipo* in the Carioca dialect, questions remained as to whether the expansion of these forms is a recent phenomenon. In an attempt to address those questions, a comparative analysis of the PSCB corpus and two other corpora of oral discourse in Rio de Janeiro – Projeto Norma Linguística Urbana Culta (NURC, Rio de Janeiro) and Programa de Estudos sobre o Uso da Língua (PEUL, Rio de Janeiro)⁹ was conducted.¹⁰ The goal was to examine the progression of the use of both nominal and non-nominal forms of *tipo* in the past 50 years. The results of the analysis can be found in Table 4.

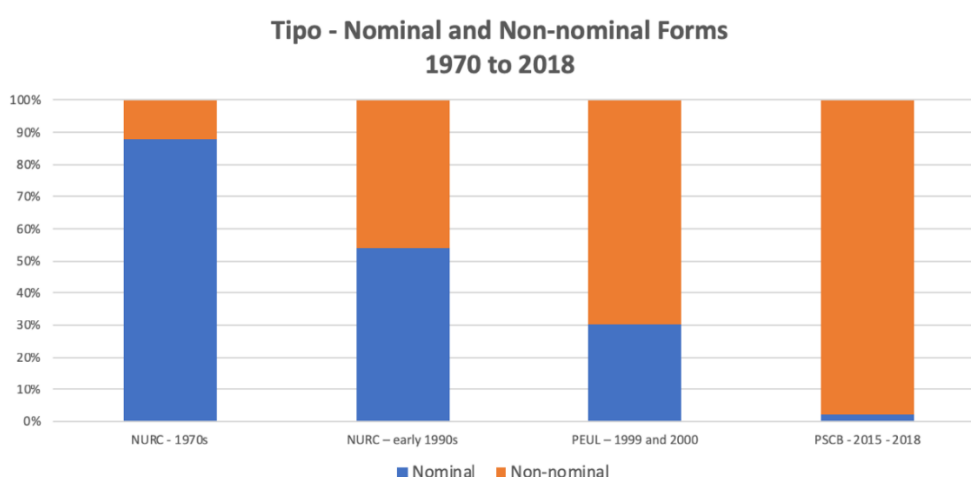
⁹ This is currently the most recent corpus of adult Carioca speakers available to researchers in Brazil.

¹⁰ Both were the result of research projects conducted through the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro.

Table 4. Number of tokens of nominal and non-nominal forms of *tipo* - 1970s to 2018.

Corpus	Canonical	%	Non-canonical	%	Total
NURC – 1970s	58	89.23%	7	10.77%	65
NURC – early 1990s	40	54.79%	33	45.21%	73
PEUL – 1999 and 2000	30	30.30%	69	69.70%	99
PSCB – 2015 to 2018	29	2.02%	1,404	97.98%	1,433
Total	157		1,513		

Figure 4 provides a clearer picture of the progression of the changes in the use of *tipo* in Rio de Janeiro over time.

**Figure 4. Comparison of frequency of nominal and non-nominal tokens of *tipo* over time.**

Results show a progressive increase in the number of non-nominal forms of *tipo* in oral discourse in Rio de Janeiro. These findings, albeit important, should be seen with some caution as both the PEUL and the NURC corpora include participants from different age groups (unlike the PSCB corpus). To get a clearer picture of the progression of non-nominal forms of *tipo* in the speech of Carioca teenagers, the frequencies of both nominal and non-nominal forms found in the PSCB corpus were analyzed vis-à-vis teenage speech data retrieved from the PEUL corpus (as it was the only one that included teenage participants). Figure 5 provides the results of the comparative analysis.

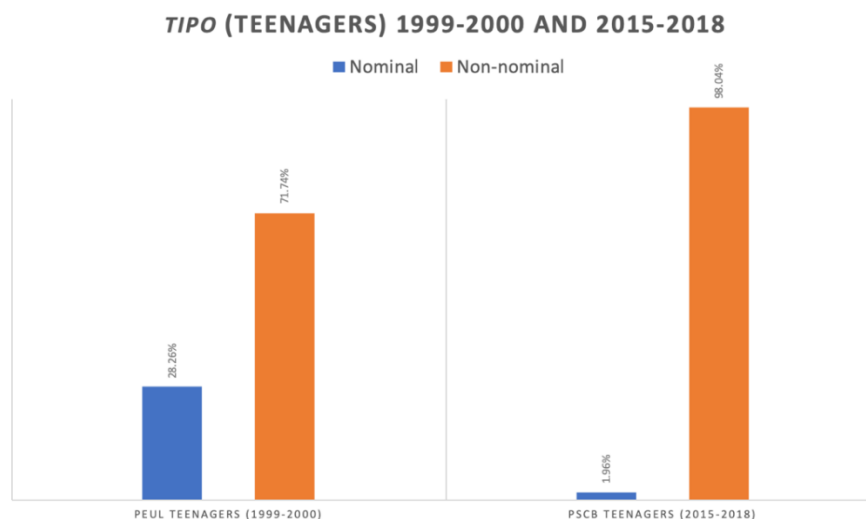


Figure 5. Comparative analysis of nominal and non-nominal uses of *tipo* by teenagers identified in the PEUL and PSCB corpora.

Results corroborate initial findings that suggest that the non-nominal use of *tipo* is increasing over time compared to the frequency of its nominal form.

Next, an investigation of the possible multifunctionality of *tipo* was conducted.

6. Methods – Grammatical Functions

To examine the grammatical functions that *tipo* is performing in oral discourse in Rio, an investigation based on the functional analyses conducted by Voghera's (2013) (Italian noun *tipo*), Bittencourt (1999) (Brazilian noun *tipo*) and Lima-Hernandes (2005) (Brazilian noun *tipo*) was conducted.

6.1. Data

The data for this analysis were retrieved from the PSCB corpus (C. P. Thompson 2019; C. P. Thompson & Onosson 2016). 1,496 excerpts that contained either nominal or non-nominal forms of *tipo* were selected.

6.2. Participants

Participants were male ($N = 31$) and female ($N = 76$) between the ages of 11 and 16. For more information on participants.

6.3. Analysis

To explore the possible functional polysemy of *tipo*, a qualitative analysis (Bittencourt 1999; Voghera 2013) was conducted. Of the initial 1,496 excerpts that contained non-nominal forms of *tipo*, 45 were excluded from the analysis due to uncertainty over the function it was performing.

(19) (RDJ_117_F_13)

Eu gritei, **tipo**, uma, eu esqueci até o que que eu tinha gritado.
 I screamed **like** one I forgot even the what that I had screamed
 ‘I screamed like, one, I even forgot what I had screamed about’

In total 1,451 excerpts were analyzed.

6.4. Results

Results from the analysis show that *tipo* is performing several functions in oral discourse:

- Noun – meaning: kind, type, model

(20) (RDJ_115_F_12)

Ah, vários **tipos**.
 oh, several **types**
 ‘Oh, several **types**.’

(21) (RDJ_126_F_13)

A gente gosta praticamente do mesmo **tipo** de música.
 we like practically of same **type** of music
 ‘We basically like the same type of music.’

(22) (RDJ_279_M_12)

Eu escuto todo **tipo** de música, mas tem aquelas músicas que eu não gosto.
 I hear every **type** of music but have those songs that I do not like
 ‘I listen to all types of music, but there are those songs that I do not like.’

- Preposition – following a general/indefinite NP and followed by an exemplification (Lima-Hernandes 2005)

(23) (RDJ_304_M_1)

Mas eu gosto, assim, música mais dos anos 50 **tipo** Chuck Berry, Lionel Ritchie
 but I like this way music more of years 50 **like** Chuck Berry Lionel Ritchie
 mas eu gosto muito de coisa atual também, tipo Metallica.
 but I like very of thing current too like Metallica
 ‘But I kind of like music from the 50s more such as Chuck Berry, Lionel Ritchie, but I like current music, too, like Metallica.’

- Similitative marker – indicating an approximation or similarity to a class member

(24) (RDJ_207_F_12)

É **tipo** um interrogatório
 it's **like** an interrogatory
 'It's like an interrogatory.'

(25) (RDJ_209_M_15)

Eu acho que é **tipo** uma explicação.
 I think that is **like** an explanation
 'I think that it is like an explanation.'

- Conjunction – connecting two clauses, a main clause and a comparative clause that is explanatory, illustrative in nature

(26) (RDJ_115_F_12)

A gente ia fazer uma assembleia pra gente sempre ver os alunos que
 we were going to make an assembly for us always see the students that
 tão dando problema entre aspas, **tipo**, aquela que fala mais,
 are giving problem between quotations **like** that one that speaks more
 aquela pessoa que fica atrapalhando a aula do professor.
 that person that stays disturbing the class of teacher
 'We were going to hold an assembly to always check on the students that are "causing trouble",
 like the one that talks the most, that person who keeps interrupting the teacher's class.'

(27) (RDJ_154_F_14)

Mas, tipo, é uma coisa **tipo** briga e volta a se falar.
 but like is one thing **like** argue and return to each other speak
 'But, like, it is something, like [you] argue and go back to talking to each other.'

- Adverb – approximative meaning; precedes a quantifying phrase (D'Arcy 2005; Voghera 2013)

(28) (RDJ_264_F_14)

No ensino médio a gente vai treinar, **tipo**, duas vezes na semana, uma vez
 in high school we will train **like** two times in a week one time
 na semana.
 in a week
 'In high school we will train like twice a week, once a week.'

(29) (RDJ_115_F_12)

É, aí eu ficava, **tipo**, uma hora sentada com ele
 is then I stayed **like** an hour sitting with him
 'Yes, then I would spend, like, an hour sitting with him.'

- Sentence-final adverb – one unexpected finding, which has not yet been mentioned in the literature, was the sentence-final adverb, which could be translated as ‘so to speak’

(30) (RDJ_239_F_14)

Não, tipo... eu moro não escondida, dá pra saber, **tipo**.
 no like I live not hidden give to know **like**
 ‘No, like... I live not in hiding, it is easy to know [where I live], like.’

(31) (RDJ_276_F_13)

É, ela é muito competitiva **tipo**.
 yes she is much competitive **like**
 ‘She is very competitive, like.’

- Quotative complementizer – introducing a direct quote that reflects an approximation of what was uttered.

(32) (RDJ_215_F_13)

No meu aniversário foi engraçado porque eu fiquei muito inquieta, e ela **ficou**,
 on my birthday was funny because I was very uneasy and she stayed
tipo, “O que você tá fazendo?”
like the what you are doing
 ‘On my birthday it was funny because I was very restless, and she was like, “what are you doing?”’

(33) (RDJ_340_F_13)

Ela entrou e começou a gritar, eu **fiquei**, **tipo**, “Mãe, pára, mãe, mãe, pára!”
 she entered and started to yell I stayed **like** mom stop mom mom stop
 e começou a falar tudo que eu faço em casa, **tipo**, ela não lava a louça!” Eu
 and started to speak all that I do in house **like** ela not wash a dish I
 ficava vermelha. Eu lavo, tá?
 stayed red I wash OK
 ‘She came in and she started yelling, I was like, “Mom, stop, mom, mom, stop!” and she started talking about everything I do at home, like, “She does not do the dishes!” I blushed. I do them, OK?’

The identification of several constructions in which *tipo* introduces direct speech led to a separate analysis which aimed to register these constructions as well as their overall frequencies in the data. The results are presented in Figure 6.

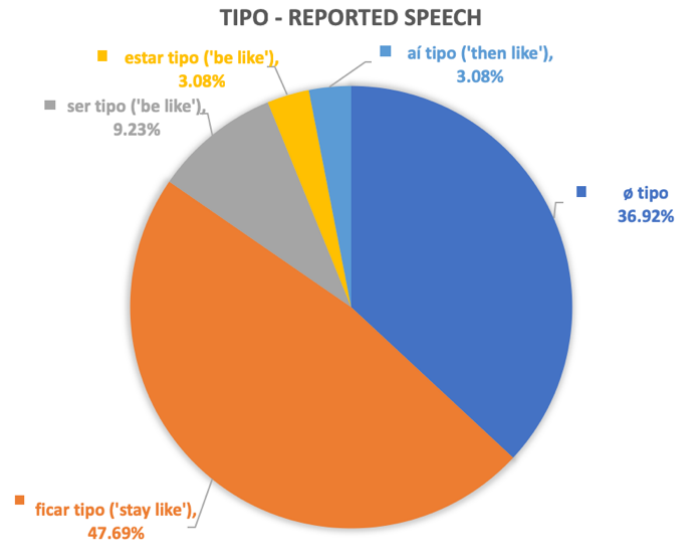


Figure 6. Distribution of *tipo* in reported speech constructions.

Results show that *ficar + tipo* ('stay like') and $\emptyset + tipo$ are the most frequent structures.

- Discourse marker¹¹ – optional element with little or no propositional meaning and which does not affect the truth condition of the utterance

(34) (RDJ_164_F_15)

tipo, eles brigam, aí uma semana depois esqueceram.

like they fight then one week after forgot

'Like, they fight, then a week later they have forgotten about it.'

(35) (RDJ_264_F_14)

tipo, por exemplo, a Paula* e a garota. Elas voltaram a se falar.

like for example the Paula and the girl they returned to each other talk

'Like, for example, Paula and the girl. They got back to speaking to each other.'

(36) (RDJ_262_F_14)

E meu pai, **tipo**, já chega do trabalho tarde, aí quando eu acordo.

and my dad **like** already arrives from work late then when I wake up

meu pai já saiu, então eu quase não vejo ele.

my dad already left so I almost not see him

'And my dad, like, already gets home from work late, then when I wake up, my dad has already left, so I barely see him.'

¹¹ Here, discourse markers refer to both markers and particles (D'Arcy 2005; Brinton 1996) as elements that guide the interpretation of the utterances without affecting their propositional meaning (vd. Voghera 2013).

(37) (RDJ_307_F_13)

Falando assim, **tipo**, como se a gente não tivesse feito nada do trabalho e
 speaking this way **like** as if we not have done anything of work and
 eles dois tivessem feito tivessem colocado nosso nome
 they two had done had put our name

‘Speaking like, as if we had not done any of the work and they had added our name.’

7. Conclusion

This paper aimed to provide a brief account of the innovation in the use of the masculine noun *tipo*, which has been previously identified as undergoing functional changes in the vernacular (Bittencourt 1999), in the Carioca dialect of Brazil. Results from comparative analyses provide evidence that not only that *tipo* is being used innovatively by teenage speakers in Rio de Janeiro, but also that the frequency in the use of these innovative forms has been increasing significantly in the past 50 years. Binominal type nouns such as *tipo* have been of interest to researchers in several languages such as Italian (Voghera 2013), English (Traugott 2008), Russian (Kolyaseva & Davidse 2018), Portuguese (Bittencourt 1999; Lima-Hernandes 2005), and Spanish (Fernández 2017; Mihatsch 2016). This study contributes to the field of sociolinguistics - more specifically Brazilian sociolinguistics - by providing an empirical account of the current functions and frequency of *tipo* in the speech of teenagers in Rio de Janeiro.

Findings suggest that rather than seemingly surfacing in “any position” in an utterance, non-nominal forms of *tipo* are syntactically constrained. The results show similarities to previous investigations of the syntactic constraints of LIKE in English (D’Arcy 2005). In addition, the presence of both nominal and non-nominal forms in the data in addition to the acquisition of grammatical functions beyond those of its nominal form suggest that *tipo* may be undergoing a process of grammaticalization, “the steps whereby particular items become more grammatical through time” (Hopper & Traugott 2003, p. 2). This unidirectional process consists of a gradual path (a cline) in which content words such as nouns and adjectives (*i.e.*, lexical items) acquire grammatical functions and some function words such as prepositions and connectives (*i.e.*, grammatical items) acquire new, more grammatical functions (Hopper & Traugott 2003). The hypothesis that *tipo* is grammaticalizing has also been postulated by Bittencourt (1999), Laurentino (2016), and Lima-Hernandes (2005).

Review of the literature shows that, to date, some of the findings from the current analyses have not been investigated. Some of the results worth mentioning are presence of the co-variant *tipo que* (*tipo* + particle *que*), the possible licensing of two pronouns (rather than a NP and a pronoun) in constructions in which left dislocation was identified, the use of *tipo* to introduce direct quotes, and its use as a sentence-final adverb. In regard to *tipo que*, additional analyses may provide a clearer understanding of the patterns of usage of this co-variant, while the use of *tipo* in left dislocation constructions (commonly found in the Carioca dialect) may indicate that it is acquiring yet other functions in the

vernacular. In the case of the use of *tipo* to introduce direct quotes, patterns found in the data raise questions regarding the various quotations it precedes. Further investigation is needed to establish if different constructions precede different types of direct quotes (such as direct reproduction of what was said or representation of inner thoughts).

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