THE DISCURSIVE BUILDING OF THE BRAZILIAN OBITUARY IN THE FOLHA DE S. PAULO NEWSPAPER

A CONSTRUÇÃO DISCURSIVA DO OBITUÁRIO BRASILEIRO NO JORNAL FOLHA DE S. PAULO

LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DISCURSIVA DEL OBITUARIO BRASILEÑO EN EL PERIÓDICO FOLHA DE S. PAULO

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ABSTRACT: This paper presents the analysis results of 2,284 obituaries published in the Folha de S. Paulo newspaper between 2007 and 2012. The goal is to recognize the stylistic, thematic, and compositional characteristics of the speech genre, considering such characteristics within the Journalistic Categories’ framework from Costa (2010) and Marques de Mello (2010), under the discursive perspective of Bakhtin (2011) and Maingueneau (2013). To accomplish that, results obtained from two methodological procedures were used in order to present, quantitatively and qualitatively, the stabilization of stylistic, thematic, and compositional elements of

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1 This paper is based in the research carried out during a Research Initiation Program called ‘Obituaries in Brazil, a genre to celebrate life’, developed by the student Jonathan Henrique Semmler and advised by Professor Dr. Sônia Cristina Pavanelli Daros in 2013/2014, within the undergraduate program of Portuguese Language in the Methodist University of Piracicaba, UNIMEP, SP - Brazil.

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this specific speech genre and its relation to New Journalism. The investigation pointed out the Brazilian obituary presents elements that confirm the hypothesis of this speech genre as an informative and utilitarian journalism genre that uses New Journalism as a stylistic resource in order to soften the mourning of someone’s death by celebrating the person’s life.


RESUMO: Este artigo apresenta os resultados da análise de 2.284 obitúarios publicados na Folha de S. Paulo, entre os anos de 2007 a 2012, com o objetivo de reconhecer as características de estilo, tema e composição do gênero, considerando o enquadramento deste enunciado nas categorias jornalísticas defendidas por Costa (2010) e Marques de Mello (2010), sob as perspectivas discursivas de Bakhtin (2011) e de Maingueneau (2013). Para tanto, demonstra os resultados obtidos em dois procedimentos metodológicos que visam a elencar, quantitativa e qualitativamente, a estabilização dos elementos da composição, da temática e do estilo deste gênero discursivo e a sua relação com o jornalismo literário. Na investigação, aponta-se que o obituario brasileiro apresenta elementos que permitem comprovar a hipótese de que este enunciado enquadra-se como um gênero jornalístico informativo e utilitário, utilizando-se do diversional como recurso estilístico para amenizar o peso da morte, buscando uma forma de celebração da vida.


RESUMEN: Este artículo presenta los resultados de análisis de 2.284 obituarios publicados en el periódico Folha de S. Paulo, entre los años de 2007 a 2012, con el objetivo de reconocer las características de estilo, tema y composición del género, considerando el encuadramiento de este enunciado en las categorías periodísticas defendidas por Costa (2010) y Marques de Mello (2010), según las perspectivas discursivas de Bakhtin (2011) y de Maingueneau (2013). Para eso, se presentan los resultados obtenidos en dos procedimientos metodológicos que objetivan enumerar, cuantitativa y cualitativamente, la estabilización de los elementos de la composición, de la temática y del estilo de este género discursivo y su relación con el periodismo literario. En la investigación, se observa que el obituario brasileño presenta elementos que permiten comprobar la hipótesis de que este enunciado se encaja como un género periodístico informativo y utilitario, a la vez que utiliza el periodismo”diversional” como recurso estilístico para amenizar el peso de la muerte, buscando una forma de celebración de la vida.


1 INTRODUCTION

The obituary in Brazil is written as a short and simple biographical text that narrates the life of an individual who usually is not famous, but is highly regarded by his own community. This genre is new to the country and was pioneered by the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo2 (hereinafter Folha). Although it originated in the daily English journalism of the 19th century, the obituary was further developed on The New York Times, where it was taken to during the 20th century.

While it is still a recent topic in Brazil, some journalists and researchers have started to discuss the obituary’s features. Suzuki Jr. (2008), former journalist for the Folha and editor in the publishing company Companhia das Letras, brought the first contribution to the theme in a collection of obituaries from The New York Times3. In the book’s conclusion, the journalist adds some considerations about the genre on the postscript, presenting defenses of North American and English obituarists.

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2 Besides Folha, newspapers Zero Hora, Jornal de Londrina and Diário Catarinense also publish obituaries with characteristics of a biographical portrayal of the subject. However, we have not considered this corpus in this article in order to focus on Folha de S. Paulo, because we consider it the pioneering newspaper regarding obituary production in Brazil.

According to Suzuki Jr. (2008), in agreement with Alden Withman – the father of modern obituaries – the obituary must not be regarded as a biographical essay or a tribute, but as an instant portrayal of the person in which the elements that represent what was most important in an individual's life are inserted. Withman has not only brought a new way of writing obituaries, but has also inserted the North American obituary into the New Journalism category by means of his interview and writing methods. It is worth remembering that the journalist was associated with Gay Talese, an icon of this journalistic trend of the 20th century, and this allows us to consider the hypothesis that the Brazilian obituary also belongs to this journalistic trend.

In addition to Suzuki Jr. (2008), Silva (2009) has also analyzed obituaries comparatively and diachronically. The author utilized a corpus that presented English, North American and Brazilian texts and discussed the relationship between these obituaries throughout the years. Silva (2009) seeks to answer whether obituaries are a celebration or a vulgarization of life. This is a valid hypothesis, since current obituaries – especially Brazilian and North American ones – are brief, with a prevalence of the parsimony of narrative, descriptive and biographical elements.

Camminiello and Tambelli (2012) conducted a more consistent study about the genre – without major conclusions, however – by observing the construction of the obituary in examples published in 2007. In that article, the authors break down the genre to understand its composition and stabilization, observing if the genre is still under construction. Marocco (2013) also contributes to the study of this genre and discusses the style and composition differences between obituaries published by the Folha de S. Paulo and the Zero Hora.

Furthermore, Martinez (2012; 2013; 2014) has outlined considerations about the obituary as related to literary journalism with texts published in 2007 (and some from 2009), emphasizing the obituary can be considered as a variation of the profile genre. The author highlights the obituary as a “biographical profile of the deceased”, which, in our opinion, is a risky form of comprehension. The obituary is, without exception, a funereal genre, while the profile can be biographical for the living and/or the deceased. The Estadão newspaper, for example, has published a biographical profile of José Wilker shortly after his death was announced, in April 8th, 2014.

Beside the work by Suzuki Jr. (2008), we may consider the small obituary collection compiled by Leão Serva in 2015 with 150 obituaries published by the Folha. This collection presented a proposal of listing and layout similar to Suzuki Jr., however, it included only Brazilian obituaries.

In all these studies, we observe analyses limited to, at most, 150 examples, with some initial conclusions about the genre studies. This article, on the other hand, considers the obituary genre, as published by the Folha de S. Paulo, as a model of biographical account, a discursive genre of funereal nature, distinct from other genres that narrated a life story or inform the death of famous or anonymous individuals.

For this, we collected data from obituaries published between 10/24/2007 and 12/31/2012 in the Folha's digital archive (a total of 2,284 examples), listing them into collections, and proposed a classification and an analysis of thirty (randomly selected) examples. The study also presents valuable information from an interview, conducted on July 21st, 2014, with one of the Folha's obituarists, Estêvão Bertoni. Data from the genre in other Brazilian newspapers allowed us to compare the genre's manifestation in other contexts.

Two analysis procedures were used: the first, quantitative, considered “general” information on the genre to observe the obituary audience, gender and other compositional characteristics (more/less literary, more/less biographical); the second, qualitative, observed compositional, thematic and stylistic construction of the genre, demonstrating, as a funereal and biographical genre, it requires different degrees of subjectivity to preserve the official story in contact with the family and the newspaper readers.

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*Withman would interview the soon to be deceased while the person was still alive, to add veracity and accuracy to the text. This methodology, while effective, was not the only one. According to the journalist in "The Obituary Book", a biographical survey was conducted to expand and enhance the text composition.*
This article is based on the theoretical notions presented by Marques de Melo (2010) about journalistic categories and seeks to relate the obituary to these categories. In order to do so, it takes into account the basic function of reading/describing the reality, through the discursive perspective of Bakhtin (2011) and Maingueneau (2013). Furthermore, we defend that although the genre analyzed in this study has already been object of some early discussion that have outlined a few proposals, it is not understood as an autonomous utterance (in the Brazilian case), with its own characteristics and determined social function.

The previous research on obituaries seldom consider how the genre has stabilized in Brazil and usually analyze an insignificant number of examples in comparison to the ones analyzed in this study. The conception of the obituary as a "funereal variant" of the profile stands out, proposing the genre should be considered – in Brazil – along the ranks of Literary Journalism – as it occurs in the USA – where "telling a story" has its features strengthened by a more palatable narrative, and its style seeks to break the standard of the lead, to provide a wider view of reality.

We believe, as Costa (2010), we should equate the relationship of the obituary with diversional journalism should be equated, preserving the obituary’s relation to interpretive and utilitarian journalism, and highlighting its characteristics as a proposal of construction of an instant snapshot of the deceased along with the information of death, burial and remaining relatives, but one that emphasizes the celebration of life.

2 SPEECH GENRES

Every society creates forms of communication that make communicative relationships easier among the different individuals living in it. As these are elements that organize all distinct types of human activities, the speech genres are relatively stable declarative social practices that arise from the discursive need – this determines the social function of these utterances (BAKHTIN, 2011).

Bakhtin (2011) argues all branches of human activity are related through multiple forms called discourse genres. These forms manifest as concrete and unique utterances (oral or written), from a highly responsive relationship between speakers, thus establishing the social function through the purpose of these utterances.

According to the author, all understanding of an utterance is imbrued within its response, since utterer and co-utterer alter their roles mutually within the communicative situation. Genres are complex and variable forms of cultural communication materialized inside a mutatis mutandis of written and read speech. To Bakhtin (2011, p.272),

The speaker himself is oriented precisely toward such an actively responsive understanding. He does not expect passive understanding that, so to speak, only duplicates his or her own idea in someone else’s mind. Rather, the speaker talks with an expectation of a response, agreement, sympathy, objection, execution, and so forth (with various speech genres presupposing various integral orientations and speech plans on the part of speakers or writers).

Despite the variation in composition and comprehension, speech genres can be cognitively recognized by the interlocutors through the triad categorization of style (lexical and phrasal features), composition (compositional construction) and theme (thematic content); which, according to Bakhtin (2011), are the relatively stable and plastic elements that are molded in the genre through the communicative function of these utterances, reflecting the conditions and specific purposes of each language activity branch.

Translator’s Note: The term “speech genres” was used throughout this paper to translate “gêneros do discurso/gêneros discursivos” due to the fact that, in English, all officially published translations of Bakhtin’s writings present this terminology instead of “discourse genres”, including “Speech Genres and Other Late Essays”, translated by Vern W. McGee and edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist, published by University of Texas Press in 1986 (ISBN: 978-0-292-77560-2). This collection includes the essay “The Problems of Speech Genres” that was used by the authors of this paper. This very same essay translated into Portuguese was published in “Estética da Criação Verbal”, a different collection of Bakhtin’s texts organized by Paulo Bezerra, translated from the French version by Maria Emanuella Galvão G. Pereira and first published by Martins Fontes in 1992 (the 6th edition published in 2011 was used by the authors).
These utterances, of inexhaustible richness and multiple possibilities, integrate the mutual and heterogeneous repertoire of speech genres, created and expanded by the society’s need to communicate. To Bakhtin (2011), every utterance is particular, individual and determined by the different branches of language usage. This way, genres must be divided according to their primary and secondary enunciative natures.

The ideological value and construction possibilities of any given genre must be outlined and analyzed to determine if the genre belongs to one discursive category or another. Primary and simpler genres are less variable and less ideological, since they are linked to everyday dialogues or utterances with minor variations, such as birth certificates and casualty lists or notes, for instance.

On the other hand, secondary genres are more complex, as they arise from more intricate communicative situations developed in cultural interaction, with written speech as a predominant form in the communication process. These utterances incorporate and rework simple genres, formed in immediate conditions. The comprehension of secondary genres is variable according to the social situation, since it is a determining factor to the enunciative nature and dialogic responsiveness action of these discursive genres.

The distinctive characteristics of a genre can provoke some conceptual confusion about the utterance, since the dialogical relation between the genres is very subjective. Studying this matter, Possenti (2012), in an article addressing the theoretical and methodological issues involving speech genre analysis, highlights, among the methods tested, Maingueneau’s (2013) concept of scenography.

According to Maingueneau (2013), the genre must be observed in the speeches it creates, because this is the path in charge of establishing the scenography and the social roles of the genre. In the theoretical conception of the speech analyst, every genre establishes its own social roles in an effort to progressively build its own speech devices and, by this perspective, scenography is a process of paradoxical interlacing. As it starts, the speech presumes a certain situation of enunciation that, in fact, will be validated progressively, through the enunciation itself. Therefore, scenography is both the speech source and what it engenders; it legitimizes an utterance that, in turn, must legitimize it, establishing this scenography where speech is born is precisely the scenography demanded to utter as required. What the text says must allow for validation of the scene itself, through which content manifests. (MAINGUENEAU, 2013, p. 98).

This principle allows for articulation of the theorists mentioned herein for the theoretical-methodological framework of this study. The reader is the one that must be considered in the discursive constitution of a genre, validating the utterance through the features that allow the success of an enunciation in establishing generic coercion. With this, Cavalcanti (2013) proposes a theoretical proximity between Bakhtin and Maingueneau to consider the categories proposed by these theorists regarding the presence of the concept of discursive genres in Maingueneau’s observations.

To Cavalcanti (2013), these coercions allow the genre to be situated in an enunciative space that enables it to gain meaning. Scenography, an interesting concept to think about journalistic categories, is not only the imposition of a single compositional form, but also of speech itself, from the genres’ purposes. According to the author, this concept is similar to the notion of style from Bakhtin (2011), whose proposal is to understand that the individual features of a genre allow for the manifestation of an individual expressive style. This proves that a discursive genre has a malleable quality depending on its purpose, assuming style within the relationship with the language code built into scenography.

Through scenography, considering the speech mode and the response the reader wants, a discursive genre constitutes its significance. Marques de Melo’s (2010) and Costa’s (2010) journalistic categories highlight journalism must be divided into different categories. These categories are based on the function of reading/describing reality, and the proposal of the genre is built in relation to the facts and to the newspaper readers.
2.1 JOURNALISTIC GENRES AND STUDY

The notion of journalistic genres (MARQUES DE MELLO, 2003 apud COSTA, 2010) must be based on the core function of reading or describing reality, taking into consideration the stable parameters that indicate the social interaction agents and the communicative purposes prompted by them. In light of this, the genres can be organized into five journalistic categories: informative, opinionative, interpretative, utilitarian and diversional. Costa (2010) agrees with Marques de Mello (2003 apud COSTA, 2010) when he claims a text unit can have more than one communicational purpose.

The category of informative journalism is based on the triad of objectivity, impartiality and veracity, is built together with the events’ progression, and with how the subjects related to the events are presented as they appear in reality. However, this category may create an unwanted dichotomy with opinionative journalism, which is constituted by texts where the points of view of the company, the editorial staff, and other filters that ensure coverage of occurrences merge.

Costa (2010) also defends journalism can be practiced within the interpretative category, which is determined by genres that demand analytical and documental effort to give citizens a more accurate portrayal of events, by understanding, with this feature, the explanatory process. As for the utilitarian and diversional categories, the author proposes the former is established as a form of publicity that aids the consumer and the newspaper as producers of culture, focusing on releasing relevant content to the public, the latter aims to stay away from the communication mode of the former, seeking to make the narrative more attractive and appealing for the reader (WERNECK, 2004, p. 525 apud COSTA, 2010, p. 72).

According to Muggiati et al. (1971 apud COSTA, 2010, p. 72), one must understand diversional journalism as related to New Journalism (known in Brazil as Literary Journalism). The author claims the purpose of this category is to enhance the journalistic features by implementing writing modes from literature and fiction. Usually, it comprises genres that narrate life stories or personal essays that emphasize on particular facets of news agents appealing to literary artifices. These characteristics need to be considered when thinking about the discursive constitution of the obituary and how we can analyze it in the face of the theoretical concepts of this study.

3 THE OBITUARY GENRE IN BRAZIL

Considering the position of Costa (2010) on the possibility that “a single text unit can have more than one communicative purpose” (COSTA, 2010, p. 43), we intend to introduce the idea that, even though the obituary can move between multiple journalistic categories through the association of enunciative elements, due to its biographical, less “news coverage” scenography, the obituary establishes greater correspondence to the interpretative and utilitarian categories. In it, that some utilization of stylistic features of literary journalism occurs, as it happens in a larger scale in profiles, chronicles and minibiographies, is undeniable.

Nonetheless, before claiming the obituary belongs to this or that journalistic category, or defending it arises from this or that discursive genre, we must observe the genre as an autonomous materiality of speeches, with its own scenography and social function defined through the means that it is discursively related.

From this hypothesis, the initial procedures for this research were applied to analyze all 2,284 obituaries from the Folha de S. Paulo’s digital archive. In a quantitative aspect, the purpose of this analysis was to recognize thematic, compositional and stylistic characteristics of the genre, considering data collected regarding the gender (male or female), the age, and the importance in the media of the deceased.

The people whose lives are the source material for obituarists is predominantly male (76% compared to 24% of females) and, within these, 62% had local fame – some media recognition in the place they lived in --, 31% were anonymous and 7% were famous. These data differ the Brazilian obituary from the North American, regarding the thematic, as the latter has the purpose of
publishing obituaries of people of national interest due to media, scientific, cultural importance, or due to the relevance of their social services done in life.

An interesting fact related to the turnover of obituary authors was observed. The number of obituarists grew throughout the years, and this may demonstrate the column was established in the newspaper publishing by preserving the literary style (Figure 1). It is important to highlight the column has always kept a permanent journalist, responsible for writing the largest amount of texts per year.

![Obituarists per year](source: authors (2017))

The style and composition of the obituary began stabilizing in 2008, when a greater literary style was adopted, and tragic death cases were excluded, focusing on a scenography that establishes an ode to the life of the deceased. In this analysis (Figure 2), we considered as literary characteristics the parsimony of chronological and biographical information of the deceased and utilitarian notes (date of death, cause, location/date/time of burial, and seventh to thirtieth day masses, etc.), in other words, the elements that avoid the construction of an excessively curricular text.

![Literary style](source: Authors (2017))
In a way, the literary style contributes to distance the obituary from regular news, without turning it into an expanded notice of demise. In Table 1, we present examples of different genres published in the Folha de S. Paulo. In Notice, published in November 8th, 2008, we can observe the usage of the biographical element in relation to the death reported in two pages dedicated to actions of the Primeiro Comando da Capital in the city of São Paulo. The *causa mortis*, however, is the main theme of the text, along with a brief biographical note about the life of the soldier shot to death. Two days after the soldier’s death, an obituary was published, authored by Estêvão Bertoni.

In Obituary, published in November 10th, 2008, also in Table 1, the death — or the person departed — is not the focus of the genre, which makes the life story the central theme, where professional, family and personal information about the deceased are attached, within a celebratory and biographical scenography. The lack of emphasis on the death determines that the style of the obituary is guided more towards the life story than to the information on the death; this last one appears only as a final element of the text. Both examples, when compared, allow us to illustrate the compositional, stylistic and thematic differences in both genres.

Frame 1: Comparison between notice of demise and obituary of Ailton Tadeu Lamas

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Notice (08/11/2008)

Soldado morto por ladrões era conhecido como ‘parteiro da PM’

DA REPORTAGEM LOCAL

O parteiro da Polícia Militar. Era assim que os outros polícias militares da zona norte de São Paulo conheciam o soldado Ailton Tadeu Lamas, morto a tiros ontem quando tentava prender alguns dos ladres que roubaram o agência do banco Real docentra de Guarulhos.

Ao longo de 22 anos de carreira na Polícia Militar, Lamas ganhou notoriedade por ter conseguido inúmeras vezes de atrair 14 mulheres a deixar a luz em bairros pobres da zona norte, inclusive no Jardim Tremembé, onde ele morreu ontem.

Ailton Lamas viajou soldado da PM em 1986 e atualmente estava na 3ª Companhia do 43º Batalhão, responsável pelo atendimento à população de uma área bastante pobre da zona norte — na divisa com Guarulhos.

Em março, quando foi homenageado por conta dos partos que fez, Lamas deu a seguinte declaração ao “Diário Oficial” sobre umas das primeiras ações como parteiro: “Naquele dia ocorreu um acidente terrível aqui na região e eu estava sozinho. Quando recebi a ligação, corri para o local e consegui ajudar a mulher. O parto foi complicado, pela posição de bebê. Respirei fundo, mas no final eu dei tudo certo e nasceu um garoto”, disse orgulhoso.

Filhos

Na mesma entrevista, ele relembraram até o endereço da casa do primeiro parto: “Recebemos o chamado de 190 e, quando chegamos à rua Bernardino Fonseca Lobo, na Vila Albertina, no Morro do Pioelho, observei já estava nascente. Não tive tempo para colocar a mãe na viatura, um Onibus, e realizamos o parto na residência. Ele foi muito bem, mas lembre os ensinamentos de pronto-socorro que recebi no Centro de Formação de Soldados e o bebê nasceu bem”.

Por conta do trabalho, ironicamente, Lamas não pode assistir ao parto de dois filhos. “Nas vezes em que minha mulher foi para o hospital eu estava de plantão. Quando chegava lá, meus filhos já haviam nascido”, disse o soldado, em março deste ano.

Obituary (10/11/2008)

AILTON TADEU LAMAS (1964-2008)

O PM parteiro e o pagode em velório

ESTÊVÃO BERTONI

DA REPORTAGEM LOCAL

Houve uma reunião de familiares e amigos naquela sexta-feira, 10. Partindo o policial militar Ailton Tadeu Lamas a iniciaiva de puxar o pagode. Até aí tudo normal.

De festa, porém, o encontro não tinha nada: era um velório. Um câncer no esôfago havia matado o soldado do policial, aos 62 anos.

Ocorreu no corpo era velório, no cemitério de Curiápolis, em São Paulo. Ailton juntou alguns amigos, também PMs, e os levou para os fundos do local. Lá, começou a cantoria, para satisfazer um desejado que o próprio sogro havia manifestado.

Era fanático por pagode, fã de grupos como Fundo de Quintal, Exaltasamba e Revelação. Tanto que, na sexta, quando morreu, aos 44, bateu na cabeça após confronto com bandidos que roubaram um banco em Guarulhos, tinha um cambio marcado no Cumbuca, boteco que frequentava no Tre-

memóial, zona norte de SP.

No batalhão, além de ter ficado conhecido como o “PM parteiro”, por ter ajudado em 14 partos, era também o Caricata, pelo físico e cheiro. Para os sobrinhos, era o Tio Beto. Na infância, foi o Barata no bairro onde morava.

Antes de entrar para a polícia, há mais de 22 anos, Ailton era encarregado pelos frios num supermercado que já não existe. No trabalho, conheceu a mulher, então secretária de produtos.

No seu velório, não houve pagode, mas a camisa do São Paulo estava sobre o caixão. Apaixonado pelo tricolor, apostava que o time seria campeão brasileiro neste ano. “Já preparava a comemoração”, lembrava o sobrinho, que quer ser policial.

Ao ser questionada se o pai costumava lhe dar presentes, a filha Alice, 13, respondeu: “Meu presente era ter ele comigo”. Ailton deixou visíveis e dois filhos. Suas cônegas foram retiradas para dorça.

obituario@folhsap.com.br

Source: SOLDADO... (2008), Bertoni (2008)
The focus of the text lies in what happened during the individual's lifetime and the interpretation of the facts as they really occurred are important to the genre's construction, since the life story has to maintain a fidelity contract with the "official story" of the deceased, excluding any "intention" of fictional writing. The scenography of the obituary is constituted, in a simple way, like a casual conversation between friends, a reminder of who was this person, an ephemeral memory preserved in the newspaper. As we can observe, the focus in the deceased's life and the highlight of the personal, professional and family aspects distance the obituary from the notices of demise, in which the compositional and thematic elements have little flexibility. In the Folha's case, the name (in bold type), age, the date of death, remaining relatives and burial site are presented. This can be observed in the column Mortes (Deaths) presented below (Figure 3).

Figure 3: In red, the column of notices of demise next to the obituary, in blue. Both from the section Mortes in the Folha.

Source: VIVEU ... (2014)
In André Godim Pereira’s obituary (Figure 4), for instance, written by Estêvão Bertoni, we can observe how the selection of important events is inserted in an interpretative way, as a "faithful" portrayal of the deceased’s life, with a celebratory tone and without explicit value judgement. With a simple literary projection, the narrative proposes a succession of facts taking place in Godim’s daily life. In the text, the focus falls on family and, especially, the passion for computers, which is one of the most remarkable facts about the deceased’s life, along with the discovery of his disease.

ANDRÉ GONDIM PEREIRA (1982-2011)

O computador e o transplante

ESTÊVÃO BERTONI
DE SÃO PAULO


coluna.obituaria@sp.com.br

Figure 4: Obituary of André Gondim Pereira, authored by Estêvão Bertoni.

Source: Bertoni (2011a)

Considering a taxonomical analysis of the genre, as proposed by Costa (2010), guided by the comparison with the discursive concepts of Bakhtin (2010) and Maingueneau (2013), it is possible – in our understanding – to insert the obituary into the informative and utilitarian journalistic categories, taking into account the concept described by Costa (2010) that journalistic genres have the basic function of reading/descrying the reality. The scenography focused on celebrating life and the style of the text turn the genre toward diversional journalism (literary/New Journalism) since it proposes stories of human interest and, in a way, also demands skills from interpretative journalism for the production of the text.

The writing process, as informed by Bertoni (e-mail*), consists of selecting the deceased, collecting data, interviewing the relatives, interpreting the data and the collected elements, and producing the obituary, which takes approximately five hours. This is significantly different from the profile, biographies and North American obituaries (which would require a comprehensive research on the deceased’s life related to the deceased).

By using elements that inform the cause of death and the remaining relatives, the Brazilian obituary does not exclude itself from the scope of informative journalism, adopting a slight degree of objectivity in the text narrative. By informing the location of the event, the wake or the Seventh and the Thirtieth Day Masses, it is not only providing service to the audience that is interested in information about the deaths occurred in the period next to the publishing date, but also to the newspaper, as a form of free propaganda that brings in a greater numbers of readers.

The obituary, despite being a delightful story, is different from the profile, as it opts for anonymous or locally recognizable individuals. Furthermore, “being dead” is fundamental to the thematic construction of the genre, after all, as highlighted by Suzuki (2008), the reader, as basis of the dialogical relation of the speech, already knows the ending to this story before he starts reading it.

* In July 2014, we interviewed Estêvão Bertoni, former obituarist at Folha de S. Paulo Newspaper.
The notice of demise can be considered a primary genre with elementary information, since it exclusively states the deceased’s age, date of death, the remaining relatives, and the burial, cremation, and wake sites, etc. The obituary, on the other hand, uses elements of the individual’s life as a theme, in a conversational style, narrating facts, wishes and personal accomplishments of the deceased, as in the double obituary (more unusual) of Roberto Pires de Jesus and Alex Damaceno de Souza⁷ (Figure 5), also written by Estêvão Bertoni.

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The obituary is necessarily connected to death as a human activity, as it is the basic condition for the construction of scenography and style as the linguistic code that achieves the life celebration speech. It is through this relationship to the funereal that the obituary is validated and allowed to materialize its content, distancing itself from the profile. In other words, the obituary is restricted to the ‘Deaths’ section, while the profile is usually seen in the Culture and Diversity sections, in specific situations, profiling individuals with media or practice area recognition.

Another characteristic is the frequency. The obituary is a daily publishing in the Folha and, due to that, has rapidly established itself and earned a captive audience, obtaining, in 2008, its current and more stable format. In addition, data interpretability and the relationship with literary scenography are important to make the text more pleasant, lightening the weight of the news and commonplace tragedies of daily reporting.

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⁷ Due to the page layout, we have opted to adapt the text size by dividing it in half. The original is composed by six columns, an unusual size for the Brazilian obituary, which presents, at most, three or four columns.
Vilas Boas (2002, p.93) brings some discussions about the profile genre, establishing it as

... a short biographical text ... published in printed or electronic media, narrating remarkable episodes and circumstances of a famous or non-famous individual’s life. These episodes and circumstances are combined, when possible, with opinion pieces, descriptions (of physical spaces, periods, features, behaviors, intimacy, etc.) and profiling from what the character reveals (sometimes without saying).

The profile maintains some similarity to the obituary, since it works within the area of interpretative journalism and proposes to narrate a good life story. It presents short narratives portraying moments of people’s lives (VILAS BOAS, 2003 apud COSTA, 2010) and is also a story of human interest. Profiles consist of deeper characterization of an individual, listing more credible descriptions of several categories. In José Wilker’s profile (Figure 6, published in newspaper O Estado de São Paulo on April 8th, 2014, we have an example of what can be considered a “biographical profile of the deceased”.

Figure 5: José Wilker’s profile, published in section Metrópole of newspaper O Estado de São Paulo.

Source: Marten, Pennafort and Ciarelli (2014)

In this profile, some characteristics deserve highlighting. Firstly, the relationship of the profile with other great names of cinema along with a general approach about the author’s importance and career, with a report tone. Furthermore, the death information, often times disregarded in “conventional” profiles like Talese’s or the ones published in Revista Piauí, for example.

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**Figure 5:** José Wilker’s profile, published in section Metrópole of newspaper O Estado de São Paulo.

Source: Marten, Pennafort and Ciarelli (2014)
The biographical information of the deceased is presented as a compositional element made clear in the profile, from the beginning of the career, the information of death, and from that, his career ascension, concluding with the Oscar award. Another factor is the frequency. The profile was published by the Estadão to pay homage to Wilker, within two pages of “Caderno A” (Figure 7) dedicated to the author, including articles, chronologies, several career photos and the repercussion of the author’s death, thematic elements that go beyond the compositional and thematic simplicity of obituaries.

There is a specific composition in the publishing of this text, in which Wilker’s career is reiterated in a text that summarizes his life for the reader as a homage. The profile is also related to other genres the Brazilian obituary does not usually dialogues with, like the chronology, tweets from famous peers paying their last homages and an extended report highlighting the cause of death and career information of the deceased. The space of two newspaper pages is dedicated exclusively to Wilker, without any space for other death information or the insertion of obituaries and notices of demise.

From this argument, we defend, by considering the obituary as a variation of the profile, there is 1) a misunderstanding, by not observing it as a discursive genre; 2) a disregard for the nature of such utterance; 3) a neglect of what the reader expects when reading the text; and, mainly, 4) a disfigurement of the theme, composition and styles into which the obituary is inserted.

Always bound to the funereal genres and with the role of informing (as a service) the death of an individual, celebrating his deeds in life, the obituary maintains its utilitarian aspect and celebrates the life of a specific individual through a brief report. In the Brazilian
case, it is composed of approximately 100 lines, which materializes its interpretative journalism format, with some characteristics from the diversional/literary.

The speeches involving utilitarian and interpretative journalism are used, aiming for the celebration of life, theme that is built by the obituary. Withman (1971), father of the modern obituary, highlights the obituary is not a biography, an academic essay or a tribute, but an instant portrayal of the subject, or “a quick review of the subject, his conquests, his wealth, his time” which obtains its strength by portraying every human existence with extreme singularity (WITHMAN, 1971 apud SUZUKI, 2008, p. 297).

4 CONCLUSION

This article has analyzed the obituary genre by observing its construction in the newspaper Folha de S. Paulo. Considering this, although utilizing death as the text’s starting point and working within the area of informative and utilitarian journalism, the obituary also carries some traces of interpretative and literary (diversional) journalism that allow the reader to immediately read it within the frame of this journalistic category.

The Brazilian obituary is distinguished from speech genres like the profile and the biography, common texts in literary journalism, by presenting the information and causa mortis of the notices of demise. The obituary is not built with a narrative as elaborated as the biographies and the profiles⁸, establishing itself in Brazil as a genre that aims for the celebration of the deceased's life, using literary features with parsimony.

Furthermore, the genre cannot be completely distinguished from the category of Literary Journalism (diversional), since it inserts some narrative features to give extra flavor to a text that, while not utilizing the fictional modes of literary writing or the disruption of standards typical of Literary Journalism, composes a lighter text with a touch of chronicles, allowing the Folha reader to have a moment of delight in face of the commonplace and heavy daily news.

By discussing the hypothesis of the obituary being a kind of “deceased's biographical profile”, we verified the obituary’s characteristics focus on an individual that are not generally famous in their field of work, or have a certain local recognition; and demands this individual has to be, imperatively, dead. The profile, on the other hand, is not concerned with the “state of existence” of the individual, preferably presenting people with importance in their field, occasional notoriety or great media recognition.

Considering this, we have verified the profile, an exclusively interpretative genre with characteristics veered toward Literary Journalism, seeks living or dead individuals with certain notoriety or occasional fame as raw material, with no distinction between living or dead. Therefore, a text that presents more characteristics describing the person’s personality or family can be a profile; when an extended chronology of biographical information is listed along the previous proposal, a biographical profile; and when the two previous proposals are presented when elaborating a text about a dead person, a deceased's biographical profile. Furthermore, profile authors search for people with greater importance or occasional notoriety.

This article also suggests framing the obituary as a variant of the profile assumes a desire to transform the Brazilian obituary into a genre of literary journalism, as established in newspapers such as The New York Times, which disregards the conditions of production and elaboration of the genre in Brazil. The production of the Brazilian obituary occurs in approximately five hours, as informed by Bertoni (e-mail), and is comprised of the selection of the deceased, biographical research, and the obituary writing.

Therefore, the focus of the genre as produced in Brazil is the celebration of the life of an individual that may or may not have produced something relevant to the group he lived with. It narrates this story in a simple way that, although not close to the Literary Journalism of the profiles and biographies, inserts some features from literature to make the genre lighter and with a less report

⁸ As illustration, we suggest reading the profile written by João Moreira Salles as an example of brilliant, excellent Literary Journalism. The text was published in a special issue of Revista Piauí that pays homage to Artur Avila for the conquest of the Fields Award. Cf. João Moreira Salles (2014), 'Questões da ordem e do caos: Artur tem um problema', Piauí, Edição Especial, ago. 2014, p. 14-21.
Furthermore, as an informative and utilitarian genre of funereal nature, it not only presents the death information along with the interpretation of the data about the individual’s life, but also demands that the individual is deceased, so that the social function of the celebration of life is understood as a whole, and obtains the meaning of a life story that deserves being told.

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