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Dossiê Linguagens Urbanas: olhares e diálogos nos territórios das cidades

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AS A METHODOLOGICAL TOOL FOR DECOLONIZATION IN ARCHAEOLOGY[1]

ANÁLISE DO DISCURSO COMO FERRAMENTA METODOLÓGICA PARA A DESCOLONIZAÇÃO NA ARQUEOLOGIA

EL ANÁLISIS DEL DISCURSO COMO HERRAMIENTA METODOLÓGICA PARA LA DESCOLONIZACIÓN EN ARQUEOLOGÍA

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Abstract

This article proposes Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), adapted from Norman Fairclough's three-dimensional model (2001), as a decolonial methodology in archaeology. Focusing on the Serra da Capivara National Park (PNSC), archaeological discourses are analyzed to determine how they perpetuate or challenge colonial power structures, particularly in representations of gender and sexuality. CDA reveals how archaeological interpretations legitimize prejudices by appropriating pre-colonial contexts. The study compares two groups of researchers: one with a neutral approach (1970s) and another with more diverse perspectives (2000s onwards), which still reinforces stereotypes. We conclude that CDA is effective in deconstructing hegemonic narratives, promoting a more critical and inclusive archaeology.

Keywords: Archaeology. Critical Discourse Analysis. Decolonial.

Resumo

Este artigo propõe a Análise Crítica do Discurso (ACD), adaptada do modelo tridimensional de Norman Fairclough (2001), como metodologia decolonial na arqueologia. Focando no Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara (PNSC), analisa-se como os discursos arqueológicos perpetuam ou desafiam estruturas de poder coloniais, especialmente em representações de gênero e sexualidade. A ACD revela como interpretações arqueológicas legitimam preconceitos ao apropriar-se

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de contextos pré-coloniais. O estudo compara dois grupos de pesquisadores: um com abordagem neutra (década de 1970) e outro com perspectivas mais diversas (a partir dos anos 2000), mas que ainda reproduz estereótipos. Concluímos que a ACD é eficaz para desconstruir narrativas hegemônicas, promovendo uma arqueologia mais crítica e inclusiva.

Palavras-chave: Arqueologia. Análise Crítica do Discurso. Decolonial.

Introduction

This article proposes the application of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a decolonial methodology in archaeology, focusing on the case study of Serra da Capivara National Park (PNSC). The main objective is to analyze how archaeological discourses can either perpetuate or challenge colonial power structures, particularly in relation to representations of gender and sexuality. Reflecting on decoloniality means analyzing how discourses and knowledge productions contribute to maintaining a world founded on colonization. Coloniality, as an expression of exploitation, incorporates other structures of domination, such as racism and patriarchy, which feed each other to legitimize the modern and Eurocentric power structure. Critical Discourse Analysis, adapted from Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional model, allows for the identification and questioning of ideologies naturalized in archaeological discourses, contributing to a more critical and inclusive archaeology.

The central research problem is to understand how archaeological interpretations, by appropriating pre-colonial and historical contexts, can legitimize contemporary power structures, maintaining prejudices and social asymmetries. In this sense, Critical Discourse Analysis serves as a methodological tool to deconstruct hegemonic narratives and promote the diversity of voices in the study of the past.

The Serra da Capivara National Park case study waschosen for its relevance in the discussion of gender and sexuality representations in rock art. A comparative analysis of two groups of researchers revealed significant differences in theoretical approaches and interpretations of these representations, highlighting the need for critical reflection on how archaeology constructs narratives about the past.

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This article, therefore, seeks to contribute to the decolonization of archaeology by proposing a methodology that questions the power structures present in scientific discourses and promotes the inclusion of marginalized perspectives.

Theoretical Review

This article is grounded in Critical Discourse Analysis, a methodological approach developed by Norman Fairclough (2001). Critical Discourse Analysis is based on a three-dimensional model that examines the relationship between text, discursive practice, and social practice. According to Fairclough, discourse is not merely a reflection of reality but a social practice that shapes and is shaped by power relations. In archaeology, Critical Discourse Analysis allows for a critical examination of how archaeological narratives are constructed, disseminated, and used to legitimize or challenge existing power structures. Fairclough's model emphasizes the importance of understanding how language operates within social contexts, revealing the ideological underpinnings of texts and their role in maintaining or transforming societal norms.

The decolonial perspective is central to this study. Drawing on the work of Quijano (2007), Maldonado-Torres (2007), and Mignolo (2014), we understand coloniality as a global power structure that persists even after the end of formal colonialism. Coloniality encompasses not only economic and political domination but also epistemic and cultural control, which continue to influence the production of knowledge in fields such as archaeology. Quijano (2007) introduced the concept of the coloniality of power, which highlights how colonial structures are embedded in modern systems of knowledge, including scientific disciplines as archaeology. Decoloniality, therefore, seeks to challenge these structures by promoting alternative epistemologies and methodologies that center marginalized voices and perspectives. This approach is particularly relevant in Latin America, where the legacy of colonialism has deeply influenced the production of historical and archaeological knowledge.

In the context of archaeology, decolonial approaches have gained traction in recent decades, particularly in Latin America. Scholars like Gnecco (1999, 2009)

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have criticized the Eurocentric biases inherent in traditional archaeological practices, which often erase or marginalize the histories of Indigenous peoples. Gnecco argues that archaeology in Latin America has been shaped by the Modernity/Coloniality paradigm, which privileges Western ways of knowing and excludes other forms of historical knowledge. By adopting a relational archaeology based on interculturality, Gnecco (2009) calls for a more inclusive and equitable discipline that recognizes the plurality of historical narratives. This perspective aligns with broader decolonial efforts to dismantle the hierarchies of knowledge production and to create space for Indigenous and non-Western epistemologies.

Gender and sexuality are also key themes in this study. Archaeological discourses have historically been shaped by binary and normative conceptions of gender, often reflecting the biases of the societies that produce them. Feminist and queer theorists, such as Alberti (1999) and Silverblatt (1987), have challenged these assumptions, highlighting the need for more nuanced and inclusive interpretations of past societies. Alberti (1999), for example, critiques the rigid distinction between sex and gender in archaeological interpretations, arguing that such binaries limit our understanding of the complexity of bodily identities in past societies. Similarly, Silverblatt (1987) examines how gender ideologies were shaped by colonial processes, particularly in the context of the Inca state. Their work has paved the way for a critical reevaluation of how gender and sexuality are represented in archaeological texts, opening up new possibilities for interpreting the past in ways that challenge contemporary norms and stereotypes.

Still, this study emphasizes the importance of interdisciplinarity in addressing complex social issues. By integrating insights from linguistics, sociology, and critical theory, we can develop a more comprehensive understanding of the ideological and hegemonic dimensions of archaeological discourse. This interdisciplinary approach not only enriches our analysis but also opens up new possibilities for social change, as it challenges the status quo and promotes more equitable and inclusive narratives. The work of scholars like Wodak (2001) and Van Dijk (2005) has been instrumental in demonstrating how discourse analysis can be used to uncover the power dynamics embedded in texts, making it a valuable tool for critical archaeology.

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Methodology

To compose the corpus of analysis, it was essential to establish reliable databases, such as Google Scholar, which allows searching by criteria such as year, area, type of publication, author, and institution.

This study employs Critical Discourse Analysis, adapted from Norman Fairclough's (2001) three-dimensional model, as a methodological framework to analyze archaeological discourses. Critical Discourse Analysis is particularly suited for this research because it allows to examine how language is used to construct, maintain, or challenge power relations within social contexts. The three dimensions of Critical Discourse Analysis —text, discursive practice, and social practice— provide a comprehensive approach to understanding the ideological and hegemonic biases embedded in archaeological narratives.

Textual Analysis

Fairclough (2008) organizes the textual analytical category into four elements: vocabulary, grammar, cohesion, and textual structure. Vocabulary focuses on individual words, including neologisms, lexicalizations, and their meanings.

In this study, scientific articles and publications related to the rock art of Serra da Capivara National Park are analyzed. Special attention is given to how gender and sexuality are represented in these texts, particularly through the use of terms such as "male," "female," "hunter-gatherer," and "anthropomorphic." By examining these linguistic choices, implicit assumptions and ideologies that shape archaeological interpretations are revealed.

Figure 1: Three-dimensional conception of speech.

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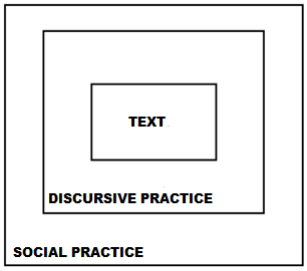

Source: Fairclough, 2008, p.101.

Fairclough's three-dimensional model of CDA emphasizes the importance of understanding how language operates within social contexts, revealing the ideological underpinnings of texts and their role in maintaining or transforming societal norms. This model allows for a critical analysis of how archaeological narratives are constructed, disseminated, and used to legitimize or challenge existing power structures (Fairclough, 2001).

Discursive Practice

The second dimension examines the production, distribution, and consumption of archaeological discourses. This involves analyzing the context in which these texts are produced, including the institutional affiliations of the authors, the target audience, and the means of dissemination (e.g., academic journals, conferences, or public media). For this study, articles published between the 1970s and 2020s were selected, focusing on two distinct groups of researchers: one associated with the Franco-Brazilian Mission and the other with more contemporary approaches. This comparative analysis allows for the identification of shifts in theoretical perspectives and methodological practices over time.

Social Practice

The third dimension explores the social and ideological implications of archaeological discourses. Here, we investigate how these discourses contribute to the construction of social realities, particularly in relation to gender, sexuality, and coloniality. By situating the texts within their broader social and historical contexts, we aim to reveal how archaeological narratives can either reinforce or challenge

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existing power structures. For example, we analyze how certain interpretations of rock art perpetuate binary and normative conceptions of gender, while others attempt to incorporate more diverse and inclusive perspectives.

Data Collection and Analysis

The texts were analyzed using Fairclough's three-dimensional model, with a focus on identifying patterns of language use, discursive strategies, and ideological effects. The findings were then categorized and interpreted in light of the study's decolonial and feminist objectives.

Ethical Considerations

As a critical methodology, Critical Discourse Analysis requires researchers to be transparent about their own positionality and biases. In this study, we acknowledge that our analysis is shaped by our commitment to decolonial and feminist perspectives. While we strive to maintain objectivity in our textual analysis, we recognize that our interpretations are inevitably influenced by our social and political contexts. This reflexivity is essential for ensuring the rigor and credibility of our research.

Chart: 1 Analytical Categories of Dialectic-Relational CDA

TEXT	DISCURSIVE PRACTICE	SOCIAL PRACTICE
Vocabulary Grammar Cohesion Textual Structure	Production Distribution Consumption Context Strength Coherence Intertextuality	**Ideology** Meanings Assumptions Metaphor **Hegemony** Economical, political, cultural and ideological orientations

Source:Resende e Ramalho (2006, p. 29).

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This chart will be better described in the constitution of a research path, which we seek to develop as a way of adapting Critical Discourse Analysis to be applied within archaeological studies, as a decolonial methodology.

Adapting CDA in a decolonial perspective for Archeology

When considering Critical Discourse Analysis as a decolonial methodology, a framework of subversive complicity is adopted to challenge colonial structures in archaeological discourse. By positioning itself at the intersection of different ontologies and epistemologies, this study aims to open new pathways for understanding how scientific discourses perpetuate or combat violence, oppression, and other social problems rooted in colonization. Adapting Critical Discourse Analysis from Applied Linguistics to Archaeology not only breaks with traditional, positivist methodologies but also creates new frameworks for analyzing the social impacts of scientific narratives.

According to Ramón Grosfoguel (2012), subversive complicity is understood as a strategy of resistance and political-cultural subsistence in the face of a colonial, hierarchical, and unequal power relationship. It involves appropriating non-Latin references, which must be re-signified according to the specificities of the Latin American reality (Grosfoguel, 2012, p. 355).

This methodological approach was developed during a master's research project focused on analyzing narrative conventions in scientific discourses about the rock art of Serra da Capivara National Park (PNSC), particularly regarding representations of gender (Oliveira, 2022). Located in southeastern Piauí, Brazil, the PNSC spans approximately 130,000 hectares and has been a site of extensive archaeological research since the 1970s, led by the Franco-Brazilian Mission under archaeologist Niède Guidon. The park is home to over 1,300 archaeological sites, most featuring rock art, making it one of the largest and most significant archaeological complexes in the Americas (**Figure 2** e **Figure 3**).

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Figure 2: Geological Monument known as "Pedra Furada," one of the main tourist attractions of the Serra da Capivara National Park.



Source: Itelmar Oliveira.

Figure 3: Night visit to the walkway built around the rock wall of the shelter site known as "Boqueirão da Pedra Furada."

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Source: Itelmar Oliveira.

The rock art at Serra da Capivara National Park has been classified into three main traditions: the Northeast Tradition (**Figure 4**), the Agreste Tradition (**Figure 5**), and the Geometric Tradition (Guidon, 2007). These classifications reflect the region's long history of human occupation, dating back to the Pleistocene and continuing through the 20th century with the reoccupation of rock shelters by maniçobeiro workers (**Figure 6**). The diversity of cultural groups and the richness of the archaeological record have attracted researchers worldwide, leading to a wide range of interpretations, particularly regarding gender and sexuality.

However, many of these interpretations are shaped by modern conventions and binary assumptions about gender, often based on the morphological attributes of rock art figures. This has resulted in narratives that reflect contemporary biases rather than the complexities of past societies.

Figure 4: Polychromatic niche with paintings from the Northeast Tradition, located at Boqueirão da Pedra Furada.

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Source: Itelmar Oliveira.

Figure 5: Anthropomorph framed in the Agreste Tradition, found at the Toca do Serrote da Bastiana site.



Source: Itelmar Oliveira.

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Figure 6: Restored flour oven from the time of the 'maniçobeiros' occupation. Toca do Sítio do Meio.



Source: Itelmar Oliveira.

Constitution of the Corpus of Analysis

To compose the corpus of analysis, it is essential to select reliable databases for scientific research. Platforms such as Scientific Electronic Library Online (SciELO) and the Coordination for the Improvement of Higher Education Personnel (CAPES) portal are commonly used due to their extensive collections and advanced search options, which allow filtering by criteria such as year, subject area, publication type, author, and institution. However, for this study, we chose Google Scholar as the primary search tool for two main reasons: its breadth of information and its accessibility.

Google Scholar indexes academic works across multiple languages and disciplines, providing access to a wide range of publications, including articles, theses, and conference papers, as long as they are available in online repositories. Its advanced search feature allows users to refine results by author, publication date, and citation count, making it a valuable tool for identifying relevant studies.

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The data for this study were collected from academic databases such as Google Scholar, SciELO, and CAPES, using keywords related to the PNSC, rock art, gender, and sexuality. A total of 32 articles were selected for analysis, representing a range of theoretical and methodological approaches. The texts were analyzed using Fairclough's three-dimensional model, with a focus on identifying patterns of language use, discursive strategies, and ideological effects (Oliveira, 2022).

For data collection, it is crucial to define keywords that align with the research objectives. These keywords should reflect the main subject, object of study, and thematic area of the research. Once the keywords are established, a search is conducted, and the results are screened to exclude irrelevant or duplicate documents. This initial screening focuses on analyzing titles and abstracts to ensure that only studies relevant to the research object are included in the corpus.

After refining the search results, a representative sample of documents is selected for in-depth analysis. This involves identifying key linguistic and discursive features, such as ideological or hegemonic language, and mapping how these elements contribute to the construction of meaning within the texts. By applying theoretical frameworks to this analysis, we can uncover the underlying power dynamics and ideological biases present in the discourses.

Textual practice

In textual analysis, we focus on vocabulary and grammar, identifying key terms (e.g., 'hunter-gatherer', 'vulva/phallus') and linguistic structures that naturalize gender binaries. Cohesion and textual structure, as they follow academic standards (ABNT), were less relevant to our critical objectives.

The first step in textual analysis involves identifying and segregating key words, paying attention to neologisms, lexicalizations, and the relationships between words and their meanings. Grammar is also analyzed to understand how words are structured into sentences and how these structures convey implicit ideological or hegemonic meanings. For example, the use of specific pronouns, nouns, adjectives, or prepositions can reveal underlying power dynamics or social biases.

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Once the words are identified, they are tabulated to analyze their frequency and patterns of use. This process helps to identify whether certain terms are preferred or repeated, and how they are used to describe people, objects, or actions. By grouping texts with similar linguistic profiles, we can map the connections between word choice and the sociocultural context, revealing how language reflects and reinforces power relations, beliefs, and values. This analysis provides a foundation for understanding the ideological meanings embedded in archaeological discourses.

Discursive Practice

The dimension of discursive practice examines the production, distribution, and consumption of discourses, serving as the interface between text and social practice. This stage analyzes the entire discourse environment, including the social relationships between the enunciator (the producer of the discourse) and the receiver (the audience), as well as the factors that influence how messages are transmitted and received.

Three key elements are prioritized in this analysis:

1. **Production Contexts**: This involves identifying who produces the discourses, their institutional affiliations (e.g., universities, research centers), geographic locations, and funding sources. For example, in scientific research, we examine whether the authors are students, professors, or independent researchers, and how their backgrounds influence the discourse.
2. **Distribution Channels**: This focuses on how discourses are disseminated, whether through academic journals, news portals, blogs, or other media. It also considers the target audience and how the discourse is tailored to reach specific groups.
3. **Impact and Circulation**: This evaluates how discourses spread beyond their initial medium, including their citation frequency, connections to other works, and adoption by different fields of knowledge. Indicators such as self-references and interdisciplinary appropriation are also analyzed.

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The analysis of discursive practice highlights the dialectical potential of Critical Discourse Analysis, revealing how discourse shapes and is shaped by social reality. Key aspects include the strength of statements (e.g., use of analogies or anachronisms), the coherence of the text, and its intertextuality (how it relates to other texts). These elements help us understand the role of discourse in constructing knowledge and its potential to drive social change.

Finally, the distribution stage examines how discourses are received by the public, focusing on their political and ideological implications. Institutions often collaborate to make discourses more acceptable, aiming to facilitate understanding and foster identification among audiences. By analyzing discursive practice, we can identify which social groups are invested in constructing specific narratives and the purposes behind them.

Social practice

The third dimension of Fairclough's three-dimensional model, social practice, examines how discourses are embedded in broader ideological, political, and economic structures. This stage situates discourse within a framework of power as hegemony and views changes in power relations as part of a hegemonic struggle (Fairclough, 2001). Here, we analyze the meanings of words identified in the textual and discursive practices, considering their contexts of production, distribution, and consumption.

To interpret these meanings, we draw on decolonial perspectives and other critical approaches, recognizing that words carry ideological, political, ethical, moral, and religious dimensions shaped by historical colonialities. This analysis reveals how discourses reinforce or challenge existing power structures, offering insights into the social problems they perpetuate.

The social practice dimension highlights that ideologies are integral to social practices and are constructed through discourse. They can either maintain dominant narratives or be used to resist and transform them. By applying Fairclough's model, we aim to promote discursive and social change, particularly in how historically oppressed groups are represented and perceived (Irineu et al.,

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2020). This approach not only critiques existing power dynamics but also opens pathways for more inclusive and equitable narratives.

Case study

The case study of this research focused on the analysis of social representations of gender in scientific discourses about the rock records of the Serra da Capivara National Park (PNSC). We analyzed how different groups of researchers approach and interpret the representations of gender present in the region's rock records, highlighting the theoretical approaches, the terms used and the notions about sex, gender and sexuality present in the analyzed discourses. In the research, two distinct groups of researchers were identified:

Group 1 (G1): Formed by female researchers from the Fundação Museu do Homem Americano (FUMDHAM) who began publishing on the topic in the region since the 1970s, following the Franco-Brazilian Mission. This group is characterized by its initial and pioneering approaches to the study of PNSC rock records.

Group 2 (G2): Composed of researchers associated with different research institutions from different parts of the country, who began their publications on the PNSC rock records in the 2000s. This group represents a new generation of scholars who brought different perspectives and approaches to the analysis of rock records. Por meio da aplicação da CDA, a pesquisa buscou identificar as representações de gênero predominantes, as abordagens teóricas adotadas e as problemáticas relacionadas à interpretação das relações de gênero nos registros rupestres. Através da análise comparativa entre os dois grupos, buscamosnos aprofundar na compreensão das dinâmicas de poder presentes nos estudos arqueológicos da região.

These groups were identified based on the approaches, theoretical perspectives and focus adopted in relation to gender representations in scientific discourses on the PNSC rock records. Each group has distinct characteristics that influence their interpretations and contributions to archaeological studies in the region.

In relation to G1, among the 07 articles analyzed, it is essential to highlight that the first work is from 1981, and, for the most part, they are written in a more

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neutral language, without making any sense of gender. As shown in Table 1, we noticed a preference for using the word “human” and its variations (human figures, human groups, etc.), to refer to the people who produced the records, as well as the use of the concept “anthropomorphic” to refer to to human figures represented in rock records.

Tabela 1: Lexical items segregated from Group 1 texts.

YEAR	CODE	TITLE	LEXICAL ITEMS
1981	G1_A1	A Representação Humana na Arte Rupestre do Piauí: Comparações com outras Áreas.	Family Human characters; Human figure; man; woman; hunter-gatherer; male; female
1987	G1_A2	Arte rupestre a temática e sua importância para a caracterização das etnias pré-históricas - Cuadernosdel Instituto Nacional de Antropología y Folklore	Human figure; Human forms; Human beings; prehistoric man; man/men; first groups/first men; hunter-gatherer; hunter;
2005	G1_A3	Arqueologia de Gênero: Teoria e Fato Arqueológico	Human society/human species/human communities/human populations/human groups/human figures/human bones/human child/human work; men and women;
2010	G1_A4	A Presença da Tradição Nordeste na região do Cariri Ocidental: Questões Classificatórias	Human occupation; Human representations; gender indication
2011	G1_A5	Grafismos de Contorno Aberto no PNSC – PI.	Human figures; Anthropomorphic male; gender definition
2019	G1_A6	Uma Visão Panorâmica da Arte Rupestre do Brasil	Couples; anthropomorphic figures generally sexual;
2020	G1_A7	Imagens Sonoras. Danças na Arte Rupestre da Serra da Capivara, PI, BR – Uma Introdução	Man; male and female; Human figure/human groups

Fonte: Oliveira, 2022.

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Group 2, although influenced by G1 studies, brings in its theoretical framework characteristics focused on post-processual archeology, increasingly highlighting the subjective nature of scenographic interpretations in rock records. By presenting a more interpretative proposal for the records, it was expected that it would highlight a greater diversity of words and/or concepts to gender the anthropomorphs represented. However, from the analysis, it was possible to identify some terms that proved to be questionable, and even controversial. Questionable because it presents words such as “homosexualism” (G2_A2), with this ending “ism” that attributes a disease character, a stigma that the LGBTQIA+ population suffered (and still suffers) due to a long history of repression and prejudice. Controversial because, unlike G1, G2 appropriates a theoretical field focused on gender studies, which has occasionally fought gender as a characteristic linked to nature.

Tabela 2: Segregated lexical items from the Group 2 analysis corpus.

YEAR	CODE	TITLE	LEXICAL ITEMS
2007	G2_A1	As pinturas rupestres do Brasil: Educação para a vida até hoje.	human groups; men/women
2012	G2_A2	Corpos em evidência cenas corpóreas antropomorfas rupestres em São Raimundo Nonato (PI)	homosexualism; zoophilia; hunting, sex, childbirth, games, social fights, courtship and rites
2012	G2_A3	O feminino rupestre em são Raimundo Nonato (Piauí) muito antes de 1500.	Sexual marker; Gender = Sex Family; Mrs. Neanderthal; Mr. Neanderthal; Husband; Woman = Wife;
2013	G2_A4	O Registro de fauna nas pinturas do PNSC (PI) e seus prováveis indicadores paleoambientais.	Men
2013	G2_A5	Da Antropologia pré-histórica para a Antropologia Visual: Das Imagens as Memórias nas Pinturas Rupestres do PNSC - PI.	Men; Female/Male

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2014	G2_A6	As pinturas rupestres do Brasil: Memória e identidade ancestral	Men; Female pubic triangles; parents, siblings or lovers
2015	G2_A7	A Pintura do corpo e da Sexualidade: Análise de possíveis cenas sexuais de pessoas do mesmo sexo em pinturas rupestres no PNSC - PI	Men/Women; People; Gender Binarism; Queer Archaeology; Sex, Gender and Sexuality; Homoaffective; Bestiality/Zoophilia; Shaman; Hunters; Male; Female Gender; Hunters
2015	G2_A8	As comunicações e as relações sociais nas pinturas rupestres.	Men; People; Human; People; Hunters;
2015	G2_A9	Reflexões acerca da Arte Rupestre no PNSC, PI - Reminiscências de uma História da Tradição Nordeste de Pinturas Rupestres	violence (rapes, executions and fighting);
2015	G2_A10	Representações dos falos nas pinturas rupestres do Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara – Piauí – Brasil	Male and female genitalia; Vulva and Phallus; Male and female gender; Human; Gender identity; demarcation of sexuality or gender; Musicality, sexuality; violence and religiosity;
2016	G2_A11	Representações das genitálias femininas e masculinas nas pinturas rupestres no Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara, PI, Brasil	Vulva and Phallus; Gender identity; Female and Male; Men's chores; Feminine gender; Genitalia of both sexes; Homosexuals; Zoophilia; Human; People of the same sex Musicality, sexuality; violence and religiosity;
2018	G2_A12	Arqueologia Turismo e História do PNSC - PI	Human

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2018	G2_A13	As mulheres ancestrais. Representações do feminino nas pinturas rupestres de São Raimundo Nonato – PI	Man/Woman; Gender = sex; Gender roles; Family; Woman = wife; Husband/Single; Female/Male; Male and female genitalia; Homosexuals; Sexual Choices and Options
2018	G2_A14	As principais teorias explicativas acerca da arte rupestre: O uso da magia no PNSC - PI, Brasil, um estudo de caso.	Man/Men; Shamanism/shamanic practice;
2018	G2_A15	Nossos ancestrais praticavam sexo? Diversidade sexual nos registros rupestres do PNSC - PI, BRASIL	Gender and Sexuality; Queer Theories; I talk; Ancient Society; People of the same sex
2018	G2_A16	Registros Rupestres do PNSC-PI: Breves reflexões sobre a pesquisa Antropológica na Educação e suas Perspectivas Interdisciplinares	Gender and Sexuality; Gender Identification; Male/Female; Same gender = same sex; Different genres; Phallus and vulva; Male and Female Sex
2018	G2_A17	Questões Queer para analisar os registros rupestres com cenas que sugerem práticas sexuais na Serra da Capivara	Gender indicator; Sexual and Gender Division; Male and female; Phallus and Vulva; Queer; sexual ambiguity; Human Figures; People;
2019	G2_A18	Relações sexuais entre pessoas de mesmo sexo nas pinturas rupestres no PNSC – PI	Gender and queer studies; Representations of androgyny; Sexual Orientation; Countless Sexualities; gender indicated by the penis; different sex/gender; zoophilia; Pedophilia; People of the same sex; Humans of the same sex; Phallus and Vulva;

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2019	G2_A19	Representações de relações sociais e sexuais entre pessoas do mesmo sexo nas cenas rupestres do PNSC - PI.	Representations of androgyny; Sexual Orientation; Countless Sexualities; gender indicated by the penis; different sex/gender; zoophilia; Pedophilia; People of the same sex; Humans of the same sex; Phallus and Vulva;
2020	G2_A21	O papel das mulheres ancestrais nas pinturas rupestres do parque nacional Serra da Capivara-PI, Brasil	Male Gender Female Gender Demarcation of sexuality or gender male anthropomorph Genitalia/genitals Phalluses and Vulvas Hunting = Men's Chores Collection = Women's Chores Hands facing backwards as an attribute to represent "women" Family Representation of engraved vulvas Sexuality scenes with animals Homosexual and Zoophilia
2020	G2_A22	Uma breve introdução a discussão sobre as pinturas rupestres brasileiras	Human; Sexuality; Sexual relations; Men = universal subject; Men and women
2020	G2_A23	Multiplicidade sexual nos registros rupestres do PNSC – PI (BRASIL)	Modern man = universal subject; Sexuality; Opposite sexes/genders; Male and female gender; Zoophilia; People of the same sex; People of the opposite sex; Human Groups;
2021	G2_A24	A presença de possíveis relações homoafetivas na arte rupestre do Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara - PI, Brasil	Gender and queer archeology; bestialism/zoophilia; pedophilia; Homoaffectivity/homoaffective; Homosexuality and zoophilia; Sexual violence; gender dimorphism, sexist, sexist, classist, racist, womanophobic, transphobic

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			and homophobic; People of the same sex; Human groups;
2021	G2_A25	As representações rupestres e a possível temática zoofílica no PNSC – PI: Um estudo de caso	Anthropomorph and zoomorph; Zoophilia; Men; Male genitalia; Male human beings; Pre-colonial human groups; erect phallus
2021	G2_A26	O cotidiano ancestral e as representações sexuais rupestres no Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara – PNSC/PI – Brasil	Zoophilia and bestiality; Heterosexuals and homosexuals; Homoerotic homoeroticism; Penis/vagina; Phallus/vulva Oral/anal; Binarism and gender dimorphism; Prehistoric sexualities;
2021	G2_A27	Novas notas sobre formas da sexualidade ancestral nas rochas do parque nacional	scenes aspects of everyday life, such as hunting, sex, childbirth, games, fights, confrontations, courtship, rites, scenes of various animals; sex scenes between couples, with three people, in groups, with representations of zoophilia and pedophilia; phalluses and vulvas; human groups; Sexuality;
2021	G2_A28	Lasrepresentaciones rupestres y laposible temática de la zoofilia enel parque nacional Serra da Capivara, Piauí, Brasil: unestudio de caso.	Anthropomorph and zoomorph; Zoophilia; Men/women; Male genitalia; Male human beings; Pre-colonial human groups; I speak erect; Anal region; Male genitalia;
2021	G2_A29	As representações rupestres de biomorfos no Parque Nacional Serra da Capivara - PI um estudo de caso	Shaman/sorcerers/witches; Human groups; Humans and non-humans;
2021	G2_A30	Novos apontamentos sobre as representações da sexualidade nos registros rupestres no parque nacional Serra Da Capivara – PI, Brasil um estudo	Different sex/genders; Gender indicated by the penis; Homoaffective; Zoophilia; Pedophilia;

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2021	G2_A31	O Feminino ancestral e sua potência no PNSC - PI	Man/Woman; Gender = sex (male and female); Gender roles; Family; Woman = wife; Husband/Single; Female/Male; Male and female genitalia; Homosexuals; Sexual Choices and Options
2021	G2_A32	Os falos nas pinturas rupestres do PNSC – PI-BRASIL	hunting, sex, childbirth, games, social fights, dances, courtship, rites; gender with phallus; Zoophilia/pedophilia; phalluses as markers of masculine identity; phalluses and vulvas;
2021	G2_A33	Sexualidade ancestral no parque nacional Serra Da Capivara – PNSCPI – Brasil	Heterosexuals and Homosexuals; Zoophilia and bestiality; Sexual violations; gender dichotomy and binarism; Phalluses and vulvas; Homoeroticism; Female homosexuality; Female homoeroticism; Gender and Queer Archeology;

Source: Oliveira, 2022.

In the comparative analysis between Group 1 (G1) and Group 2 (G2), we observed significant differences in theoretical approaches and views on gender and sexuality. While Group 1 may present more traditional and established interpretations, Group 2 stands out for bringing more diverse and contemporary approaches, incorporating new theoretical and methodological perspectives for the analysis of rock records. These differences highlight the evolution and diversity of approaches adopted by researchers, contributing to a broader and more in-depth understanding of gender representations in PNSC archaeological studies.

That said, some reservations need to be made regarding the two groups, mainly in relation to the representativeness of the G1 and the inclusion of sexual diversity in the debate on the pre-colonial period by the G2. For example, G1 is a group made up mostly of women, which has been producing knowledge since the

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1970s and establishing parameters for analyzing rock records, in a deeply sexist environment, such as institutional archeology. Likewise, G2 proposes to break with the notion of compulsory heterosexuality in the reading of archaeological contexts, bringing the debate on sexuality and gender from rock records into the discourse. Even if in the end their speeches turn into creating associations between homosexuality and criminal practices, we cannot deny the political implications of recognizing, in the past, identities that are oppressed in contemporary times, which can be read through the key of strategic essentialisms, when appropriated by groups in a subordinate position. In these terms, claiming temporal depth and the status of belonging to a natural world can be instrumentalized aspects in the struggle for existence and rights in a state organized by colonial parameters.

Final Considerations

Throughout this article, a methodological path was developed for applying CDA that is compatible with the interests of critical perspectives in Archaeology. In this way, CDA is adapted as a decolonial methodology capable of highlighting ideologies rooted in archaeological discourses. By distinguishing these three analytical categories, it is possible to highlight the different layers of oppression that may be explicit and/or naturalized in texts written by archaeologists.

In this way, we tested this model in studies of scientific discourses on the PNSC rock records, which suggest or point to interpretations about the social representations of sexuality and gender. From the analysis of the three categories discussed above, it was possible to highlight, from a historical perspective, two distinct groups of researchers in the region, with almost incompatible focus and objectives.

The first group (G1), which aims to identify patterns of similarities in the production of rock records. Despite not focusing on raising interpretations about sexuality and gender, the speeches of this group present a distinction from anthropomorphs represented in a binary category, classified based on the presence of the phallus or vulva, that is, the narratives are constructed based on the choice of thematic elements to gender anthropomorphs.

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As presented by Benjamin Albert (2005), we believe that these binary approaches to sex and gender limit the interpretations of these archaeological remains, preventing a more plural understanding of the complexity of bodily identities in past societies. In this way, we can affirm that the differentiation between male and female, within the studies of rock records, acts in a normative way. Therefore, it is important that we analyze the power relations present in these narratives, recognizing that the notions of sex and gender are not universal and immutable, that is, these identities are socially and culturally constructed, varying according to the historical and cultural context in which they are inserted.

This traditional model of sexual differentiation benefits the status quo of masculinities by being based on structuralist conceptions of sexual difference, which often perpetuate a compulsory binary matrix between male and female opposites. Reinforcing traditional oppositions: sex/gender; heterosexuality/homosexuality, nature/culture; and etc. The emphasis on the rigid distinction between sex and gender can prevent a more in-depth analysis of the relationships between bodies, gender identities and cultural practices in past societies.

The second group (G2) focuses on interpretations increasingly related to subjects such as: sex, sexuality, and gender. Although the group seeks support from theoretical currents linked to feminism and queer theory, extensive material is produced that propagates stigmas and gender stereotypes (Oliveira, 2022).

The main problems identified in Group 2 are related to the use of inappropriate terms, the lack of sensitivity in approaching issues of gender and sexuality, and the need for theoretical deepening for a more plural and inclusive analysis of rock records. These aspects point to the importance of critical and responsible reflection on gender representations in archaeological studies.

From the application of CDA, it becomes clear how the G2 narratives are built around an association of “homosexual” or “homoaffective” relationships with themes of sexual perversion, such as “pedophilia” (**Figure 7**) and “zoophilia”. The frequent use of terms such as "zoophilia", "bestiality" and "pedophilia" to describe contexts associated with depictions of same-sex sexual practices is highly problematic and stigmatizing (**Figure 8**).

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Figure 7: Rock painting from the Northeast Tradition, located at the Boqueirão da Pedra Furada site, which has repeatedly been associated with the practice of pedophilia.



Source: Itelmar Oliveira.

This inappropriate and pejorative association of homosexual relationships with behaviors considered deviant or criminal contributes to the perpetuation of negative and prejudiced stereotypes towards the LGBTQIA+ community. Furthermore, this approach reinforces discriminatory and disrespectful views regarding the diversity of sexual orientations and gender identities. Therefore, the association of homosexual relationships with themes of sexual perversion represents an extremely problematic point in Group 2, highlighting the need for a more sensitive, respectful approach, free from stereotypes in relation to issues of gender and sexuality in archaeological studies.

Figure 8: Rock painting from the Northeast Tradition, located at Boqueirão da Pedra Furada, which has repeatedly been associated with the practice of sexual relations between two individuals of the same sex.

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Source: Itelmar Oliveira.

The research demonstrated that the coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2014) is naturalized in discourses about rock art, since they provide a narrative constructed from a normalization of heterosexuality as a universal standard of social organization. Thus, while the first group presents a discourse on hierarchies based on sexual division, in which the subject represented is mostly male (hunter-gatherer), the second group goes deeper into recognizing sexualities and gender identities based on a recent modern standard. By naturalizing the idea of gender, based on biological sex, archaeological discourse reinforces the ideology of patriarchy, serving as ammunition to maintain gender within this binary, hierarchical and oppressive context, in which the male subject is at the top of this power relationship.

Thus, CDA becomes a decolonial methodology in archaeology, allowing us to reveal some of the ideological and hegemonic bases that have roots in colonization and that are present in the construction of archaeological discourses.

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In the exercise, it must be clear that the methodological proposal focuses on discursive practice that is socially structured and not on the criticism of individual subjects who produce discourse. At this juncture, the starting point for the work is the recognition that archaeological discourses must serve to provide improvements for current society and not create real projects that attribute concepts and values of modernity to endorse violence against certain portions of the population.

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