



UNIVERSIDADE
ESTADUAL DE LONDRINA

GABRIELA PIRES MALACRIDA

**UMA DISCUSSÃO COMPORTAMENTALISTA RADICAL
ACERCA DA CONSTRUÇÃO DO “SENSO DE SI”**

Londrina
2025

GABRIELA PIRES MALACRIDA

**UMA DISCUSSÃO COMPORTAMENTALISTA RADICAL
ACERCA DA CONSTRUÇÃO DO “SENSO DE SI”**

Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Análise do Comportamento, do Departamento de Psicologia Geral e Análise do Comportamento, da Universidade Estadual de Londrina como parte dos requisitos à obtenção do título de Mestre em Análise do Comportamento.

Área de concentração: Análise do Comportamento

Orientador: Prof. Dr. Guilherme Bracarense Filgueiras

Londrina
2025

O presente trabalho foi realizado com apoio da Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior - Brasil (CAPES) - Código de Financiamento 001.

Ficha de identificação da obra elaborada pelo autor, através do Programa de Geração Automática do Sistema de Bibliotecas da UEL

M196u Malacrida, Gabriela Pires .

Uma discussão comportamentalista radical acerca da construção do senso de si / Gabriela Pires Malacrida. - Londrina, 2025.
132 f. : il.

Orientador: Guilherme Bracarense Filgueiras.

Dissertação (Mestrado em Análise do Comportamento) - Universidade Estadual de Londrina, Centro de Ciências Biológicas, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Análise do Comportamento, 2025.
Inclui bibliografia.

1. Noção de Eu - Tese. 2. Comunidade Verbal - Tese. 3. Senso de Si - Tese. 4. Behaviorismo Radical - Tese. I. Filgueiras, Guilherme Bracarense. II. Universidade Estadual de Londrina. Centro de Ciências Biológicas. Programa de Pós-Graduação em Análise do Comportamento. III. Título.

CDU 159.9

GABRIELA PIRES MALACRIDA

**UMA DISCUSSÃO COMPORTAMENTALISTA RADICAL
ACERCA DA CONSTRUÇÃO DO “SENSO DE SI”**

Dissertação apresentada ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Análise do Comportamento, do Departamento de Psicologia Geral e Análise do Comportamento, da Universidade Estadual de Londrina como parte dos requisitos à obtenção do título de Mestre em Análise do Comportamento.

BANCA EXAMINADORA

Orientador: Prof. Dr. Guilherme Bracarense Filgueiras
Universidade Estadual de Londrina - UEL

Profa. Dra. Camila Muchon de Melo
Universidade Estadual de Londrina - UEL

Prof. Dr. Diego Zilio Alves
Universidade Federal do Espírito Santo – UFES

Londrina, 26 de Fevereiro de 2025

Em “Capitães de Areia”, Jorge Amado escreveu que algumas pessoas têm estrelas no lugar do coração. Quando uma dessas pessoas se vai, há um espaço no Céu para seu coração-estrela. Tenho certeza que minha irmã tinha uma estrela no lugar do coração. Essa é a estrela que me guia. Por isso, dedico minha trajetória a mantê-la viva em cada coisa que faço, inclusive nas linhas que escrevo.

Agradecimentos

Primeiramente, tenho grande gratidão ao Programa de Pós-Graduação em Análise do Comportamento da UEL e a meus professores, cuja sensibilidade a situações adversas me acolheu durante os momentos mais difíceis. Agradeço especialmente a meu orientador, Prof. Guilherme Bracarense Filgueiras, pelas calorosas discussões sobre Behaviorismo Radical e Epistemologia, que me permitiram perceber o quanto me identifico com essa visão de mundo, e pelas contribuições para que essa pesquisa pudesse ser concluída.

Agradeço aos amigos que fiz durante as disciplinas cursadas, responsáveis por terem segurado as pontas quando não pude estar presente. Nomearei aqui dois deles, pela relação especial que desenvolvemos: Gabriel, meu parceiro do Estágio em Docência e de vindas apressadas para Maringá para chegarmos a tempo das aulas, e Letícia, minha amiga maristinha de tanto tempo.

Sem medidas, agradeço a meus pais, Dona Ana e Cadu, por terem proporcionado o que havia de melhor para minha formação pessoal e profissional. Espero que vocês saibam que esse trabalho também é resultado de todos esses anos de incentivo, dedicação, carinho e cuidado. Incluo aqui, também, minha musa inspiradora, Dona Judith, também conhecida como a grande Vovó Juju, que, com sua trajetória de vida, também me incentivou a conhecer mais sobre o mundo e sobre as relações humanas. Espero que vocês três saibam que seus sorrisos ao saberem das pequenas grandes conquistas ilumina meus dias e seu abraço me faz mais forte.

Agradeço a minha irmã, Ana Carla, que nos deixou cedo demais, por todas as vezes que segurou minha mão, ainda que por telefone, e me lembrou que eu nunca estive sozinha. Você sabe bem o quanto eu gostaria que você estivesse aqui para pendurarmos os diplomas da UEL um ao lado do outro. A saudade que sinto de você hoje é o azar de quem teve a gigantesca sorte de te conhecer, te chamar de irmã e te admirar por uma vida toda. Aonde quer que você esteja, sei que olha por mim. Saudade de T-Rex, te amo pra sempre.

Ofereço um abraço em agradecimento também a minhas pessoas mais próximas, que estiveram aqui durante (toda, ou pelo menos) boa parte do caminho, garantindo um espaço livre para reclamações e para a comemoração de conquistas. Agradeço especialmente a: Luiza, por estar presente de todas as formas possíveis e me lembrar que o caminho se faz caminhando (e que fica mais fácil quando não vamos sozinhas); Gi, por continuar ao meu lado, mesmo com o passar de todos esses anos e ser uma das minhas maiores incentivadoras no mundo; Maíra, por todas as velas que já acendemos uma pela outra na esperança de que os caminhos se iluminem; e Mariana Maia, que me ensina a olhar a vida com mais calma e a descobrir o como no caminho. Com muito carinho, agradeço Raquel e Juliana, agora minhas comadres, pelo constante incentivo e conforto nos momentos em que preciso.

Agradeço também a Bárbara, minha companheira, por me mostrar que existe amor na pós-graduação e, com sua trajetória como mulher e cientista, me lembrar constantemente que o caminho pode ser árduo, mas que são nossas próprias convicções que nos fazem continuar aqui. Obrigada por ser quem você é e, assim, me incentivar também a ser cada vez mais quem sou. Se somos todos feitos de poeira estelar, gosto de acreditar que nós viemos da mesma estrela. A sua existência no universo muda a minha existência no universo.

Dedico reconhecimento também a importância do meu trabalho como Psicóloga Clínica na construção do meu objeto de estudo. Acompanhar pessoas diariamente, conhecer diferentes histórias e concepções de mundo amplia minha visão sobre a vida. Saber mais sobre a noção de Eu e sobre como a comunidade verbal nos ensina a nos conhecer também tem como objetivo ser uma profissional mais atenta e sensível às diferentes possibilidades de ser e estar no mundo.

Por último, mas não menos importante, agradeço a companhia de Ellie e Oliver, que me fizeram mãe e tia de pet (respectivamente), e me lembram todos os dias de alongar as costas, apreciar pequenas coisas, tirar um cochilo e, sobretudo, a amar.

“I used to represent the behaviorist’s attitude toward himself by describing a lecturer who explains human behavior, including the behavior of other lecturers, and leaves the stage. Then he sticks his head out from the wings and says, ‘And I’m like that too!’.”

(B. F. Skinner, *Notebooks*, 1980)

Malacrida, G. P. **Uma discussão comportamentalista radical acerca da construção do “Senso de Si”**. 2025. 131f. Dissertação (Pós-Graduação em Análise do Comportamento) – Universidade Estadual de Londrina, Londrina, Brasil.

RESUMO

A proposta de psicologia científica de Skinner advoga em função de explicações para o comportamento com base na análise de relações funcionais entre eventos ambientais e comportamentais. Ao considerar que o comportamento ocorre no ambiente, o autor afirma que esse ambiente em que o comportamento ocorre pode ser tanto físico como social. No que diz respeito à perspectiva social, a comunidade verbal adota o papel de organização de contingências sociais, sendo responsável pelo desenvolvimento de alguns comportamentos; o que também acontece para os repertórios autocentrados, relacionados ao conceito de Eu adotado por Skinner em sua teoria. As práticas da comunidade verbal corroboram para que os repertórios que dizem respeito à noção de Eu emergem, cabendo questionar quais variáveis podem ser responsáveis, neste processo, pelo surgimento de diferentes noções de Eu. Assim, compreende-se como objetivo deste trabalho a investigação de possíveis relações entre as práticas de uma comunidade verbal e a construção de diferentes noções de “si mesmo”. Para tanto, foi realizada uma pesquisa de natureza teórico-conceitual, nas seguintes etapas: A Etapa 1 compreendeu o rastreamento dos termos “self” e “selves” em livros publicados ou republicados do autor na língua original, sendo extraídos e categorizados os trechos em que a palavra-chave estava presente. A Etapa 2 visou identificar as ocorrências dos termos “verbal Community”, “verbal environment” e o radical “communit-” nos mesmos materiais da Etapa 1, sendo os trechos extraídos nessa etapa; Nesta etapa, no caso de materiais em que houvesse ocorrência de 10 ou mais citações, foi realizada a análise integral do texto por meio de fichamento. Na Etapa 3, os trechos obtidos nas etapas anteriores foram confrontados com a noção relacional da literatura skinneriana, utilizando de termos relacionados à experiência dos sujeitos nas relações; Nos casos de correspondência, o excerto foi extraído e categorizado. Como resultados, entende-se que os repertórios comportamentais que dizem respeito a noção de Eu possuem natureza verbal e compreendem a capacidade do indivíduo de conhecer e manejar seu próprio comportamento, repertórios esses estabelecidos por meio de contingências sociais comuns (de uma perspectiva funcional) a diferentes indivíduos e que atendem a diferentes propósitos. Para que o aprendizado destes repertórios possa ocorrer, a comunidade verbal programa contingências, lançando mão de determinadas práticas e processos. Nessas condições estabelecidas pela comunidade emergem e são mantidos determinados repertórios comportamentais. No caso dos repertórios autocentrados, o desenvolvimento destes pode criar condições para que o sujeito tenha a capacidade de perceber as variáveis que afetam seu comportamento, identificando também respostas colaterais que favorecem ou dificultam a manutenção das relações com a comunidade verbal. Dessa forma, a capacidade de autopercepção de variáveis que afetam o comportamento, como sentimentos, emoções e de estados de privação e saciação se trata de um dos fatores que corrobora para a construção de diferentes noções de Eu. Além disso, o desenvolvimento da capacidade de autoidentificação com seu corpo e comportamento, que também pode ser nomeada como senso de si, fornece condições para o indivíduo compreender sua experiência nas relações estabelecidas com o ambiente.

Palavras-chave: Noção de Eu; Comunidade verbal; Senso de si, Behaviorismo radical.

Malacrida, G. P. **A radical behaviorist discussion about “Sense of Self”**. 2025. 131f. Master’s thesis (Graduate Program in Behavior Analysis). State University of Londrina, Londrina, Brazil.

ABSTRACT

Skinner's theory of scientific psychology proposes to explain behavior based on the analysis of functional relationships between environmental and behavioral events. Considering that behavior occurs in an environment, the author states that this environment in which the behavior occurs can be either physical or social. With regard the social perspective, the verbal community adopts the role of organizing social contingencies, being responsible for the development of certain behaviors; which also happens for self-centered repertoires, related to the concept of Self adopted by Skinner in his theory. The practices of the verbal community corroborate the emergence of repertoires that concern the notion of Self, and it is worth questioning which variables may be responsible, in this process, for the emergence of different notions of Self. Thus, the objective of this work is understood to be the investigation of possible relationships between the practices of a verbal community and the construction of different notions of “myself”. To this end, a theoretical-conceptual research was carried out, in the following stages: Stage 1 involved tracking the terms “self” and “selves” in published or republished author’s book in original language, extracting and categorizing the excerpts in which the keyword was present. Stage 2 aimed to identify and extract citations in which the terms “verbal Community”, “verbal environment” and the root “communit-” occurrence, in the same materials as Stage 1; At this stage, in the case of materials in which there were 10 or more citations, a full analysis of the text was carried out by means of indexing. the excerpts obtained in the previous stages were compared with the relational notion of Skinnerian literature, using terms related to the subjects' experience in relationships; In cases of correspondence, the excerpt was extracted and categorized. As results, it’s understood that the behavioral repertoires that concern the notion of Self have a verbal nature and comprise the individual's capacity to know and manage their own behavior, repertoires that are established through social contingencies common (from a functional perspective) to different individuals and that serve different purposes. In order for these repertoires to be learned, the verbal community programs contingencies, using certain practices and processes. Under these conditions established by the community, certain behavioral repertoires emerge and are maintained. In the case of self-centered repertoires, their development can create conditions for the subject to have the ability to perceive the variables that affect their behavior, also identifying collateral responses that favor or hinder the maintenance of relationships with the verbal community. Thus, the capacity for self-perception of variables that affect behavior, as feelings, emotions and states of deprivation and satiation is one of the factors that contributes to the construction of different notions of Self. Furthermore, the development of the capacity for self-identification with our own body and behavior, which can also be called a sense of self, provides conditions for the individual to understand their experience in the relationships established with the environment.

Key words: Concept of Self; Verbal community; Sense of self, Radical behaviorism.

Lista de Ilustrações

Figura 1 - Disposição do número de citações extraídas que se referem aos termos “Self” ou “Selves” em algumas obras produzidas pelo autor entre 1953 e 1999.

Figura 2 - Disposição do número de citações extraídas que se referem aos termos “Verbal Community”, “Verbal environment” e o radical “Communit-” em algumas obras produzidas pelo autor entre 1953 e 1999.

Figura 3 - Disposição do número de citações extraídas nas etapas 1 e 2 que se referem aos termos relativos à experiência do sujeito em algumas obras produzidas pelo autor entre 1953 e 1999.

Lista de Tabelas

Tabela 1 - Título e ano dos livros e republicações de artigos em formato de livros selecionados para rastreio de citações referentes à etapa 2. A terceira coluna apresenta a edição e ano do material utilizado para análise.	23
Tabela 2 - Categorias utilizadas, descrição e exemplos de trechos referentes a execução da Etapa 2.....	24
Tabela 3 - Capítulos selecionados para levantamento de principais conceitos e caracterização das teses	27
Tabela 4 - Modelo e exemplos de categorização dos excertos correspondentes às palavras-chave elencadas para a Etapa 3.....	30

Lista de Apêndices

Apêndice A - Lista de citações extraídas na Etapa 1

Apêndice B - Lista de citações extraídas na Etapa 2

Sumário

Introdução	14
Objetivos	21
Objetivo Geral.....	21
Objetivos Específicos.....	21
Método	22
ETAPA 1 – Caracterização dos repertórios comportamentais que compõem a noção de Eu na literatura skinneriana	22
ETAPA 2 – Identificação dos contextos da comunidade verbal subjacentes às práticas de ensino de repertórios da noção de Eu	26
ETAPA 3 – Identificação de variáveis relacionadas à construção de diferentes noções de Eu	29
Resultados e Discussão	32
Caracterização dos repertórios comportamentais que compõem a noção de Eu na literatura skinneriana.....	39
Identificação dos contextos da comunidade verbal subjacentes às práticas de ensino de repertórios da noção de Eu.....	50
Identificação de variáveis relacionadas à construção de diferentes noções de Eu	68
Considerações Finais	73
Referências Bibliográficas	76
APÊNDICES	79
Apêndice A - Citações extraídas na execução da Etapa 1	79
Apêndice B - Citações extraídas na execução da Etapa 2	95

Introdução

No início do século XX, grande parte das visões de psicologia consideravam variáveis interiores para explicar o sujeito e seu comportamento, recorrendo a características de um sistema mente-corpo e adotando como modelo de explicação a cisão entre o sujeito e seu comportamento (Chiesa, 2006). Como modelo de explicação, para propostas de psicologia metafísica, seria possível explicar o que o sujeito pensa, sente e faz recorrendo a elementos como “mente”, “alma” e “psique”, entre outros; esses elementos seriam compreendidos como iniciadores e/ou mediadores do comportamento, e as causas do comportamento são atribuídas a eles (Figueiredo & Santi, 2008; Abib, 2009). Anteriormente, em meados de 1800, a preocupação com uma proposta de psicologia científica já havia se tornado pauta, como nas pesquisas de Wundt e James, cujo intuito foi a elaboração de propostas sistemáticas e científicas para o estudo dos fenômenos que concernem à vida humana, processo que ocorreu em grande escala no século 20 (Abib, 2009).

Nesse contexto de oposição às visões hegemônicas de psicologia metafísica, emerge a proposta de psicologia científica de B. F. Skinner (1904-1990), denominada Análise do Comportamento, que se embasa na filosofia do Behaviorismo Radical (Abib, 2009). A condição de radicalidade do behaviorismo skinneriano é compreendida como a preocupação em pautar as explicações sobre comportamento exclusivamente com base em “variáveis de natureza comportamental para explicar o comportamento” (Laurenti & Leão, 2009, p. 168), afastando-se assim, como proposta científica de psicologia, das teorias metafísicas. O autor ressalta a necessidade de abandonar a tradição internalista e essencialista que era adotada por outras propostas de psicologia, em que a explicação do comportamento seria atribuída à noção de um eu iniciador de comportamentos, que seria responsável por originar e mediar a forma como o sujeito se relaciona com o mundo (Chiesa, 2006; Pimentel, Bandini & Melo, 2012). Para respaldar seu posicionamento, Skinner tece críticas teóricas, ontológicas e sociopolíticas

à concepção de eu iniciador, que seria responsável por distanciar-se de explicações do comportamento, cessando discussões a respeito deste, assim como ignora contingências sociais em vigor, bem como compreende o “eu” e o comportamento de naturezas distintas (Skinner, 1971/1981/1989).

Como alternativa, para explicar o comportamento com base nas variáveis de natureza comportamental, o autor dedica-se, então, ao “exame das relações do indivíduo com seu contexto natural e social” (Abib et al., 2012, p. 90). Dessa forma, a perspectiva comportamentalista radical aporta sua análise na relação entre sujeito e ambiente, entendendo como comportamento a “relação de interdependência entre eventos ambientais, eventos comportamentais, estados comportamentais e processos comportamentais” (Lopes, 2008, p. 11). Enfatiza-se, então, a necessidade de analisar também o contexto em que o sujeito se comporta e as consequências de seu comportamento para então, tecer uma explicação adequada a respeito deste, evidenciando assim a noção de contingência em que o comportamento acontece (Skinner, 1953).

Para a Análise do Comportamento, a noção de contingência pode ser compreendida como o estabelecimento de relações funcionais entre eventos ambientais e comportamentais (Skinner, 1953). Para isso, são analisadas as relações de dependência entre o contexto antecedente e conseqüente e o comportamento, visando compreender o que o sujeito faz, quando faz e por que faz. Ao compreender a influência da ação do sujeito no mundo e a conseqüência desta ação como responsável por alterar o mundo e o próprio comportamento, entende-se também sobre a probabilidade do comportamento tornar a ocorrer. O autor, dessa forma, caracteriza o papel do ambiente no comportamento, que pode ser compreendido como um conjunto de eventos que tanto afeta quanto é afetado pelo comportamento do organismo (Skinner, 1969).

Por entender que o comportamento ocorre em um ambiente, pode-se compreender

como ambiente tanto o que é físico (o mundo que nos cerca), como o que é social (as pessoas com as quais interagimos). O ambiente físico pode ser compreendido como estímulos ambientais que não são mediados por outros sujeitos, como os objetos físicos que estão ao nosso redor, e, também, a temperatura e luminosidade de um ambiente, por exemplo, que são fatores que podem afetar o comportamento. Um exemplo seria o caso de uma pessoa com sede e que ao perceber que está sem ingerir água por um longo período, poderá procurar em seu ambiente por um copo ou outro recipiente para beber água e, ao encontrá-lo, utilizará deste, agindo em função da presença ou ausência de objetos no ambiente. Neste e em outros casos, o ambiente pode favorecer ou dificultar a ocorrência do comportamento (Skinner, 1974). No que tange à perspectiva do ambiente social, este pode ser entendido como estímulos que são mediados por outros indivíduos que podem estar presentes ou não no momento em que o comportamento ocorre. O papel de um indivíduo pode adotar de mediador com relação a estímulos do ambiente social pode ser entendido como o intermédio que é realizado por esse sujeito para que um outro indivíduo tenha acesso ao estímulo. Um exemplo seria uma carta deixada por outra pessoa para alguém; a pessoa que escreveu pode não estar presente, mas a carta, além do estímulo físico (no caso, papel com palavras escritas) é mediada por outra pessoa, e, por isso, pode ser compreendida como estímulo social. Em se tratando de comportamentos que ocorrem em contingências sociais, o papel do ambiente social seria de fornecer contexto para que diferentes indivíduos se relacionem conforme um modelo de comportamento em que as consequências serão mediadas pelos pares (Skinner, 1953).

O papel de organização dessas contingências sociais, que é adotado pela comunidade verbal, compreende um dos temas analisados por Skinner em sua obra. O autor caracteriza a influência da comunidade verbal na construção de diferentes tipos de repertórios, como no livro “Cumulative Record”, publicado em 1959, no qual o autor discute em diversos trechos o papel da comunidade verbal na construção e manutenção de relações específicas entre respostas e estímulos. Nesta e em outras produções, como “Science and Human Behavior”

(1953) e “About Behaviorism” (1974), o autor aborda a comunidade verbal como fundamental para o desenvolvimento do repertório de auto-observação, autodescrição, autoconhecimento e autocontrole, por exemplo. O prefixo “auto” que é designado a repertórios relacionados à noção de Eu refere-se à capacidade do indivíduo de comportar-se em função do seu próprio corpo e comportamento, como no caso da auto-observação, que compreende a possibilidade de o sujeito observar seu próprio comportamento.

As produções do próprio autor a respeito das relações entre a comunidade verbal e o sujeito abrem flanco também para que estudiosos da Análise do Comportamento investiguem variáveis a respeito dessas relações, evidenciando, por exemplo, a influência da comunidade verbal no estabelecimento de repertórios verbais. Autores como Malerbi e Matos (1992), Burton e Kagan (1994), Bradenburg e Weber (2005), Corrêa, Cantero e Melo (2014) e Mucheroni (2020), discutem a definição skinneriana de comunidade verbal e a caracterização do seu papel mediador da relação entre o sujeito e o ambiente, no contexto do desenvolvimento de repertórios de autodescrição, autocontrole e autoconhecimento. Outras produções no campo da Análise do Comportamento (como em Micheletto & Sérió, 1993; Cruz, 2006; Dentello, 2009; Bettio & Laurenti, 2016; Moreira et al., 2017; Malacrida & Laurenti, 2018; e Laurenti & Lopes, 2024) evidenciam que a “noção de Eu” pode ser um dos pontos de maior contato entre o conceito de comunidade verbal e sua relação com o sujeito. Um ponto comum entre essas produções se trata das discussões estabelecidas entre as noções de Eu e de comunidade verbal, posto que é por meio das condições estabelecidas e fornecidas pela comunidade verbal que os repertórios autocentrados se desenvolvem.

Nessas produções são discutidos aspectos que dizem respeito à noção de Eu, compreendida como um conjunto de repertórios verbais integrados, que descreve condições corporais e o comportamento do próprio sujeito. Esses conjuntos de repertórios autocentrados englobam: (1) a auto-observação, compreendida como a capacidade de observar seu próprio corpo e comportamento; (2) a autodescrição, entendida como a possibilidade de que o sujeito

descreva seu próprio corpo e comportamento, bem como identificar que existem variáveis que afetam seu comportamento; (3) o autoconhecimento, isto é, a capacidade de associar o que percebe de seu corpo e comportamento e as variáveis antecedentes e consequentes de suas ações, analisando funcionalmente o que faz, quando faz e como faz; (4) o autocontrole, compreendido pela capacidade de diferenciar as consequências de comportamentos distintos e, também, de compreender o contexto em que seu comportamento acontece e, assim, comportar-se de maneiras diferentes por avaliar as consequências de seu comportamento; (5) o autogoverno, entendido como o manejo de funções cognitivas para facilitar a resolução de problemas de diferentes naturezas; e (6) a autoedição, ou seja, a capacidade de produzir comportamento verbal sobre seu próprio comportamento verbal, alterando-o assim, por considerar as consequências de seu comportamento.

Nos trabalhos que analisam esses conjuntos de contingências, observa-se que os repertórios descritos emergem a partir da organização promovida pela comunidade, que lança mão de uma série de práticas para tal. Outras produções a respeito ressaltam também características como a relação entre comportamento verbal e comunidade verbal (Mucheroni, 2020), a identificação de práticas culturais dominantes em uma sociedade e práticas de contracontrole (Laurenti & Lopes, 2022) e a relação entre repertórios específicos – que condizem com a noção de Eu behaviorista radical – e a influência de agências de controle na capacidade de falar sobre si (Trintim, 2024). O próprio Skinner já admitia o papel da comunidade verbal na construção de repertórios, como na auto-observação, por exemplo. Nas palavras do autor:

A auto-observação é também produto de contingências discriminativas, e se a discriminação não for forçada pela comunidade, pode nunca ocorrer. Estranhamente, é a comunidade que ensina o sujeito a ‘conhecer a si mesmo’.¹ (Skinner, 1974, p. 134,

¹Tradução livre do trecho: “Now, self-observation is also the product of discriminative contingencies, and if a discrimination cannot be forced by the community, it may never arise. Strangely enough, it is the

tradução nossa)

Em excertos como esse, o autor descreve o papel fundamental da comunidade verbal na construção de repertórios, descrevendo essa comunidade como responsável pelo estabelecimento de contingências discriminativas. É importante para a comunidade que o sujeito desenvolva esses repertórios e também é importante para os indivíduos, o que se aproxima do conceito da biologia de “relação ecológica mutualista”, isto é, uma relação em que há ganhos para ambas as partes envolvidas. Nesse sentido, parece haver, então, certo interesse envolvido, na perspectiva do sujeito, na possibilidade de estar integrado a uma comunidade verbal; na mesma medida, é possível considerar que há, também, um certo ganho para a comunidade em ter sujeitos que queiram dela fazer parte.

Para a comunidade verbal, é por meio dos repertórios de auto-observação e autodescrição que se pode conhecer as intenções do indivíduo, o que torna possível prever e controlar seu comportamento por meio de procedimentos mais refinados, considerando que as práticas de uma comunidade visam à sobrevivência do grupo, para além do indivíduo. Para os indivíduos, por sua vez, há algumas razões pelas quais podem interessar-se por fazer parte da comunidade. Para Skinner:

Os homens fundaram, aderiram ou sonharam com tais comunidades por muitas razões. Alguns são movidos por interesses intelectuais: querem provar uma teoria (por exemplo, que os homens são naturalmente nobres ou que são incompletos sem ‘comunidade’ ou ‘amor’) ou apressar uma etapa profetizada na história. Outros têm razões pessoais mais imediatas: procuram por prazeres simples, satisfação de necessidades básicas, ordem política, estabilidade econômica, ajuda na autodisciplina, e assim por diante. Tais objetivos são frequentemente formalizados como ‘valores’. O objetivo da comunidade é maximizar a felicidade, a segurança, a santidade ou a

community which teaches the individual to "know himself".”

realização pessoal.² (Skinner, 1959/1999, p. 59, tradução nossa)

No trecho, Skinner descreve a possibilidade de valores e motivações individuais também representarem interesses de um grupo, posto que a união de sujeitos com motivações semelhantes pode facilitar a manutenção de práticas por parte de uma comunidade verbal. Além disso, para o grupo, a existência de interesses individuais pode representar uma possibilidade de união por um objetivo em comum; por outro lado, seria razoável considerar que diferentes aspirações individuais poderiam aumentar a probabilidade de conflitos dentro da comunidade. Nesse sentido, interesses muito distintos em um mesmo grupo tendem a dificultar o controle do comportamento por parte da comunidade verbal e, eventualmente, representar um risco para o grupo. Nota-se ainda, considerando essa citação, que haveria uma faceta, descrita por Skinner, como um ‘viés pessoal’, que orienta o sujeito em sua tomada de decisão a respeito de alinhar-se às práticas de uma comunidade verbal. Esse viés pessoal reflete não apenas a influência da comunidade atual sobre o indivíduo, mas também o papel de outras variáveis, possivelmente relacionadas à história de vida do sujeito, na seleção das práticas com as quais se identifica. Em outras palavras, o sujeito não é apenas um 'receptor' das contingências grupais atuais; pelo contrário, elementos de sua história – como interesses pessoais, experiências anteriores e reforçadores específicos (indicados por Skinner como ‘razões pessoais’, entre outros) – parecem desempenhar um papel central na composição dos repertórios da noção de si.

Em síntese, as práticas de uma comunidade verbal desempenham um papel

²Tradução livre do trecho: “Men found, join, or dream of such communities for many reasons. Some are moved by intellectual interests: they want to prove a theory (for example, that men are naturally noble or that they are incomplete without "community" or "love") or to hasten a prophesied stage in history. Others have more immediate personal reasons: they seek simple pleasures, the satisfaction of basic needs, political order, economic stability, help in self discipline, and so on. Such goals are often formalized as "values." The goal of the community is to maximize happiness, security, sanctity, or personal fulfillment.

fundamental no arranjo de contingências que moldam e mantêm um conjunto de repertórios verbais complexos, denominados de “noção de Eu”. A comunidade fornece o contexto e as condições necessárias para o desenvolvimento desses repertórios pelo sujeito. Entretanto, se as contingências organizadas pela comunidade – como valores, regras e o controle exercido por agências – tendem a ser semelhantes para diferentes indivíduos, o que explicaria a formação de noções de Eu distintas? Quais seriam as variáveis pessoais, apontadas por Skinner, que poderiam contribuir para que diferentes sujeitos desenvolvam formas singulares de se identificar consigo mesmos, resultando, assim, na existência de diferentes noções de Eu?

Compreende-se, então, como objetivo desta pesquisa, investigar possíveis relações entre as práticas de uma comunidade verbal, os repertórios verbais que compõem a noção de “Eu” e as variáveis que possibilitam a diferenciação no senso de si. Avalia-se como necessário um estudo que relacione: (a) a caracterização dos repertórios verbais que compõem a noção de Eu; (b) a descrição das práticas por meio das quais a comunidade verbal corrobora com a construção do “senso de si”; (c) a identificação de variáveis que possibilitam a construção de diferentes noções de Eu em membros de uma mesma comunidade.

Objetivos

Objetivo Geral

Investigar possíveis relações entre as práticas de uma comunidade verbal, os repertórios autocentrados relacionados a noção de Eu e as variáveis que possibilitam a diferenciação no senso de si.

Objetivos Específicos

- 1) Caracterizar os repertórios comportamentais autocentrados que compõem a noção de Eu na literatura skinneriana.

- 2) Descrever os contextos da comunidade verbal subjacentes às práticas de ensino de repertórios da noção de Eu.
- 3) Identificar variáveis relacionadas à construção de diferentes noções de Eu.

Método

Foi realizada uma pesquisa de cunho teórico-conceitual, que consiste na análise de teorias psicológicas visando esclarecer o significado dos conceitos fundamentais de uma determinada perspectiva teórica, além das relações estabelecidas entre conceitos centrais e correlatos, os compromissos filosóficos aos quais a teoria se afilia e, também, o contexto histórico do desenvolvimento desta. Considerando os objetivos norteadores, o objetivo desta pesquisa foi de explicitar o significado de conceitos fundamentais (comunidade verbal e self), visando identificar as relações entre estes e demais conceitos correlacionados na obra skinneriana. Para a execução desta pesquisa, foram realizadas, então, as seguintes etapas: (1) Caracterização dos repertórios comportamentais que compõem a noção de Eu na literatura skinneriana; (2) Descrição de contextos da comunidade verbal subjacentes às práticas de ensino de repertórios da noção de Eu; e (3) Identificação de variáveis relacionadas à construção de diferentes noções de Eu.

ETAPA 1 – Caracterização dos repertórios comportamentais que compõem a noção de Eu na literatura skinneriana

Nesta etapa, com o objetivo de realizar uma descrição de aspectos fundamentais para a compreensão de uma noção de Eu behaviorista radical, foram elencados os materiais produzidos por Skinner por meio da lista presente no site da B. F. Skinner Foundation e, também, do levantamento realizado pelas autoras Andery, Micheletto e Sérgio (2004). Foram selecionados os livros e republicações de artigos em formato de livros de natureza teórica

e/ou conceitual em língua original, que estão dispostos na Tabela 1. Foram excluídas publicações de outras naturezas, como o livro ficcional “Walden II”, e artigos que não integrassem as republicações em formato de livro, bem como os materiais referentes a trabalhos experimentais na Análise do Comportamento.

Tabela 1

Livros e republicações de artigos em formato de livros selecionados para rastreamento de citações referentes a etapa 1

Título do livro	Ano de Publicação ou Republicação	Edição/Ano do material selecionado
The behavior of organisms	1938	1ª Edição/1938
Science and human behavior	1953	1ª Edição/2014
Schedules of reinforcement	1957	1ª Edição/2013
Verbal behavior	1957	1ª Edição/2020
Technology of teaching	1968	1ª Edição/2003
Contingencies of reinforcement	1969	1ª Edição/1969
Beyond freedom and dignity	1971	2ª Edição/1973
About behaviorism	1974	2ª Edição/1976
Reflections on behaviorism and society	1978	1ª Edição/1978
Skinner for the classroom	1982	1ª Edição/1982
Enjoy old age	1983	1ª Edição/1983
Upon further reflection	1986	1ª Edição/1986
Recent issues in the analysis of behavior	1989	2ª Edição/1999
Cumulative record	1959	3ª Edição/1999

Os livros em formato PDF foram categorizados em pastas nomeadas com o ano de

publicação do referido material e, no momento da coleta e categorização, foi realizado um rastreio preliminar das palavras “Self” e “Verbal Community”, visando testar se o material estava no formato OCR (“Reconhecimento Ótico de Caracteres”, do inglês *Optical Character Recognition*), que permite a busca de palavras e extração de trechos pelas ferramentas do leitor de PDF.

Nos materiais elencados foram rastreadas, por meio da Ferramenta CTRL+F, as terminologias “Self*” e “Selves*”, sendo as ocorrências contabilizadas e registradas em uma tabela que correlaciona a citação extraída da obra, a referência bibliográfica, categoria de palavra-chave e um comentário, caso necessário. As categorias das citações foram atribuídas conforme identificação do contexto do uso da palavra, como “Origem social do Self”; “Senso de Si”; “Repertório Autocentrados”, “Automanejo” e “Outros”. As citações foram categorizadas a partir das palavras chave e, caso fizessem referência a mais de uma categoria, eram sinalizadas como entrada para cada uma dessas categorias. Os dados brutos coletados estão apresentados no Apêndice A e, na tabela 2 constam exemplos de trechos categorizados conforme as respectivas palavras-chave.

As ocorrências das diferentes terminologias foram contabilizadas e, por meio da categorização, foram evidenciadas as diferentes contribuições da comunidade no processo de construção de cada um destes repertórios. Com base neste levantamento foi construído um texto dissertativo apresentando algumas das acepções de Eu na obra skinneriana e o papel da comunidade no desenvolvimento desses repertórios.

Tabela 2

Categorias utilizadas, descrição e exemplos de trechos referentes a execução da Etapa 2.

Categoria	Descrição	Exemplo de Citação
Origem social do self	Identificação de processos sociais envolvidos na modelagem e manutenção de repertórios que caracterizam a noção de Eu.	"The contingencies necessary for self descriptive behavior are

		<p>arranged by the community when it has reason to ask ‘What did you say?’, ‘Did you say that?’, ‘Why did you say that?’, and so on, for the answers are useful in many ways." (Skinner, 1957, p. 314)</p>
<p>Senso de si</p>	<p>Capacidade de auto-identificação com comportamentos, processos e descrições.</p>	<p>“It his apparent causality lodged within the private world within a skin, together with the organization imposed upon it by the fact that all its determining conditions have occurred in the history of one person, generates a ‘sense of self’. We feel there is an ‘I’ who knows what he is going to do and does it. Each of us is aware or conscious of at least one such self, which we learn to manage more or less effectively.” (Skinner, 1978, pp. 51-52)</p>
<p>Automanejo</p>	<p>Caracterização geral da capacidade de manejar o próprio comportamento, sem descrição de repertório autocentrado específico.</p>	<p>“Some parts of our behavior alter and improve the effectiveness of other parts in what may be called intellectual self-management.” (Skinner, 1968, p. 120)</p>
<p>Repertórios Autocentrados</p>	<p>Identificação e caracterização de repertórios comportamentais que dizem respeito a capacidade do</p>	<p>“Punishment is also the principal variable</p>

	sujeito de manejar seu próprio comportamento, fazendo referência aos repertórios: (1) Auto-observação; (2) Autodescrição; (3) Autoconhecimento; (4) Autocontrole; (5) Autogoverno; e (6) Autoedição.	responsible for the behavior of self-control, which, as we have just seen, also reduces primary reinforcement.” (Skinner, 1953, p. 327)
Outros	Demais citações em que há ocorrência das palavras-chave mas que diferem do intuito desta pesquisa.	“Then the resulting automatic punishment leads to "repression," the individual- acts as if he were not hearing his own speech or not reading his own writing. We can encourage the suppression of the self-audience by preventing or reducing the normal feed-back of verbal behavior.” (Skinner, 1957, p. 180)

ETAPA 2 – Identificação dos contextos da comunidade verbal subjacentes às práticas de ensino de repertórios da noção de Eu

Considerando o interesse em compreender a noção de comunidade verbal cunhada por Skinner ao longo de sua obra, foram elencados os livros e materiais republicados em formatos de livros, elencados na lista de produções do site da B. F. Skinner Foundation e, também, os referenciados pelas autoras Andery, Micheletto e Sérgio (2004). Foram selecionados os livros e republicações de artigos em formato de livros de natureza teórica e/ou conceitual em língua original, que estão dispostos na Tabela 1. Foram excluídas publicações de outras naturezas, como o livro ficcional “Walden II”, artigos que não integrassem as republicações em formato de livro, bem como os materiais referentes a questões experimentais na Análise do Comportamento.

Os livros em formato PDF foram categorizados em pastas nomeadas com o ano de publicação do referido material e, no momento da coleta e categorização, foi realizado um rastreo preliminar das palavras “Self” e “Verbal Community”, visando testar se o material estava no formato OCR, que permite a busca de palavras e extração de trechos pelas ferramentas do leitor de PDF.

Nos materiais selecionados foi feito o rastreo dos termos³ “verbal community” e “verbal environment”, por meio da ferramenta de busca CTRL+F; além destes, foi rastreado também o radical “Communit-”, para abarcar trechos em que o autor não necessariamente nomeia como comunidade verbal, mas descreve características da comunidade. Foram selecionados excertos em que o autor caracteriza a noção de comunidade verbal, explicita procedimentos de ensino utilizados por essa ou detalha particularidades a respeito da relação entre sujeitos. Os trechos em que o autor apenas cita as palavras-chave com intuítos diferentes dos que interessam para essa pesquisa foram descartados. Além disso, os materiais selecionados foram sistematizados em tabelas (Apêndice B), descrevendo a referência da obra e título do capítulo.

No caso de capítulos dos quais foram extraídas 10 ou mais citações, estes foram analisados integralmente por meio de fichamentos, nos quais foi realizado um levantamento dos principais conceitos presentes naquele material e a caracterização das teses do texto. Os materiais em que foi feita a análise integral estão descritos na Tabela 3.

Tabela 3

Capítulos selecionados para levantamento de principais conceitos e caracterização das teses.

Título do livro e ano de publicação do material utilizado	Número do capítulo(s) selecionado Título do capítulo selecionado	Número de excertos extraídos
Science and Human Behavior (2014)	Capítulo 17 – Private Events in a Natural Science	13 citações
Verbal Behavior (2020)	Capítulo 2 – General Problems	15 citações
	Capítulo 5 – The Tact	44 citações

	Capítulo 8 – The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis	14 citações
	Appendix – The Verbal Community	15 citações
Contingencies of Reinforcement (1969)	Capítulo 8 – Behaviorism at fifty	20 citações
About Behaviorism (1976)	Capítulo 2 – The world inside de skin	12 citações
Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Capítulo 5 – Behaviorism at Fifty	12 citações
Cumulative Record (1999)	Parte 1: The Design of Experimental Communities	15 citações

O levantamento das teses teve o intuito de identificar os trechos do texto em que o autor destaca a atuação da comunidade verbal na construção dos repertórios, destacando as práticas por meio das quais a comunidade verbal ensina repertórios comportamentais. Como produto final da execução da etapa, foi composto um texto dissertativo que explicita as dimensões apresentadas por Skinner, ao longo de sua obra, para a caracterização da noção de comunidade verbal e seu papel no desenvolvimento de repertórios relacionados à noção de Eu.

ETAPA 3 – Identificação de variáveis relacionadas à construção de diferentes noções de Eu.

Considerando a base epistemológica do Behaviorismo Radical, que compreende o comportamento como produto das relações estabelecidas entre sujeito e ambiente e, tendo em vista que o intuito da presente etapa compreende a identificação de variáveis que possam favorecer ou dificultar o estabelecimento de relações entre o sujeito e a comunidade verbal, foi realizado um novo rastreamento nas citações obtidas como produto da execução das Etapas 1 e 2. Para tanto, foram elencadas variáveis disposicionais, isto é, variáveis presentes nas relações entre indivíduo e comunidade, que podem ser responsáveis pela construção de uma experiência individual das contingências estabelecidas pela comunidade, posto que podem alterar a probabilidade de que o sujeito se comporte ou não em função da comunidade verbal.

Foram rastreados termos relacionados à experiência do indivíduo de suas relações, visando identificar trechos em que o autor estabelece correlação entre a noção de experiência individual, a comunidade verbal e o conceito de Eu. Foram elencados como descritores de busca as palavras-chave: “Hist*”; “Experi*”, “Motiv*”; “Privat*”; “Saciat*”; “Emot*” e “Individ*”. As citações em que um termo ou mais estava presente foram extraídas e organizadas em uma nova tabela, contendo o trecho, a referência da obra, a palavra-chave a qual se referia e um comentário, conforme modelo na tabela 4.

Tabela 4

Modelo e exemplos de categorização dos excertos correspondentes às palavras-chave elencadas para a Etapa 3.

Trecho	Referência da obra	Palavra-chave correspondente	Comentário
"The more precise control established by the community in Abstraction has sometimes caused this term to be applied to (i) the history of reinforcement producing the desired result, (2) the resulting response, and (3) the controlling property of stimuli." (p. 127)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Hist*	História de Reforçamento – repertório treinado pela comunidade verbal.
“The behavior of one who speaks correctly by applying the rules of a grammar merely resembles the behavior of one who speaks correctly from long experience in a verbal community. The results may be the same, but the controlling variables are different and the behaviors are therefore different” (p. 124)	Contingencies of Reinforcement (1969)	Experien*	A experiência com as contingências controla o comportamento de uma maneira diferente das regras e, portanto, se tratam de comportamentos diferentes (ainda que produzam "os mesmos resultados").
The response "I am hungry" would then describe a tendency to eat, with little or no reference to stomach contractions. Everyday usage reflects a mixed reinforcement. A similar analysis could be made of all terms descriptive of motivation, emotion, and action in general, including (of special interest here) the acts of seeing, hearing, and so on.” (p. 423)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Motiv*	Condição motivacional alterando a resposta verbal.
“In general the verbal community cannot arrange the subtle contingencies necessary to teach fine distinctions among stimuli which are inaccessible to it. It must rely on visible evidence of the presence or absence of a private condition. A parent may teach a child to say 'I am hungry' not because he feels what the child is feeling, but because he sees him	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Privat	Restrições para a comunidade ensinar a nomear estímulos inacessíveis a ela – baseia-se na evidencia visível da presença/ausência de privação.

<p>eating ravenously or behaving in some other way related to deprivation of, or reinforcement with, food. The evidence may be good, and the child may learn to 'describe his feelings' with some accuracy, but this is by no means always the case, because many feelings have inconspicuous behavioural manifestations. As a result the language of emotion is not precise. We tend to describe our emotions with terms which have been learned in connection with other kinds of things; almost all the words we use were originally metaphors.”</p>			
<p>Terms describing sensations and images are taught by manipulating discriminative stimuli - a relatively amenable class of variables. The remaining mental events are related to such operations as deprivation and satiation, emotional stimulation, and various schedules of reinforcement. The difficulties they present to the verbal community are suggested by the fact that there is no psychophysics of mental states of this sort. That fact has not inhibited the use of such states in explanatory systems. (p. 126).</p>	<p>Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)</p> <p>Behavior e Skinner for the Classroom (1982)</p>	<p>Privat/Satiat</p>	<p>Nomeação de imagens e sensações – ensinada por manipulação de estímulos discriminativos; eventos mentais – relacionados a estados de privação/saciação, estímulos emocionais e esquemas de reforço. Dificuldade de ensinar: não há psicofísica dos estados mentais e condições assim.</p>
<p>“The question, "Why did you do that?" is often important to the community, which establishes a repertoire of responses based upon the external events of which behavior is a function, as well as upon the functional relation itself. We are usually able to report that a particular stimulating situation, a special contingency of reinforcement, a condition of deprivation, or some emotional circumstance is responsible for our own behavior [...].” (p. 263)</p>	<p>Science and Human Behavior (1953)</p>	<p>Emot</p>	<p>Comunidade fornece contexto para o estabelecimento de respostas que correlacionam eventos externos dos quais o comportamento é função. Treino para aprender a relacionar o comportamento com múltiplas variáveis (inclusive as disposicionais).</p>

<p>"Another class of verbal responses generated by an emotional condition is descriptive of the speaker's own behavior. A response such as / am angry is seldom called an expression of emotion. The public or private stimuli in control of such a response may fall within any of the classes just listed (cf. the discussion of / am hungry in Chapter 5). Thus, I am angry may be descriptive of the changes in glands and smooth muscles studied in the physiology of emotion; it may be a report of a facial expression (seen, perhaps, in a mirror) or of a cry of anger, possibly shaped by a particular community, or of an inclination to emit such a cry, or it may be a description of the speaker's own inclination to act aggressively. The community has set up the response / am angry on the basis of observable aspects of such behavior or other public concomitants, and the mature individual may use the expression with some accuracy when the controlling stimuli are now private." (p. 217-218)</p>	<p>Verbal Behavior (1957)</p>	<p>Individ*</p>	<p>O acompanhante público de um estado emocional pode ser observado pela comunidade e, assim, sua inclinação a comportar-se sob controle dessas variáveis.</p>
--	-------------------------------	-----------------	--

Posteriormente, foram avaliadas as correlações estabelecidas entre as práticas da comunidade verbal e a descrição de variáveis disposicionais, identificando contextos em que o autor discute a possibilidade de alteração na probabilidade de que o sujeito se comporte de diferentes formas em função de variáveis relacionadas à forma como o indivíduo experiencia as práticas da comunidade. Com base nessa análise, foi composto um texto dissertativo que explicita dimensões que concernem a experiência do indivíduo nas relações que estabelece com a comunidade verbal.

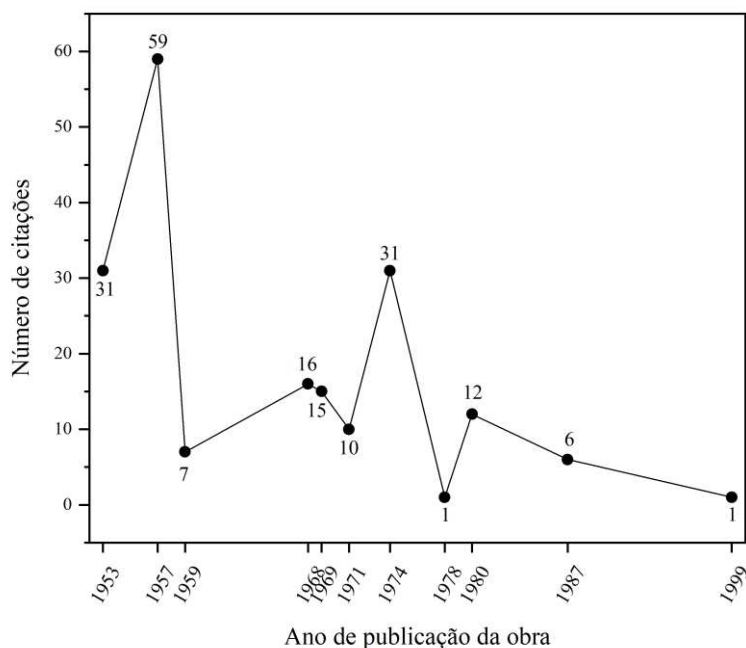
Resultados e Discussão

Em termos quantitativos, o resultado da execução da Etapa 1 evidenciou a ocorrência de 137 citações, ao longo da obra skinneriana, em que o autor se refere aos termos "Self" ou

“selves”, que foram sistematizadas nas categorias: (1) Origem social do Eu; (2) Senso de si; (3) Repertórios Autocentrados; (4) Automanejo; e (5) Outros. Em correspondência às categorias, foram elencadas 20 citações que se referem a Origem social do Eu; cinco citações que dizem respeito ao Senso de Si; 56 citações referentes a Repertórios Autocentrados; 43 excertos sobre Automanejo e 13 trechos categorizados como “Outros”. A Figura 1 apresenta a quantidade de citações (em valores absolutos) por ano de publicação das obras de onde foram extraídas. Nota-se que o livro *Verbal Behavior* (1957) se destaca, com 59 excertos extraídos, seguido dos livros *Science and Human Behavior* (1953) e *About Behaviorism* (1974) com 31 trechos. Nos demais livros, foram extraídos: 16 excertos em *Technology of Teaching* (1968); 15 citações em *Contingencies of Reinforcement* (1969); 12 excertos em *Notebooks* (1980); 10 trechos em *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971); sete citações em *Cumulative Record* (1959/1999), seis excertos em *Upon Further Reflection* (1987) e apenas uma ocorrência nos livros *Recent Issues in Analysis of Behavior* (1999) e *Reflections on Behaviorism and Society* (1978).

Figura 1

Disposição do número de citações extraídas que se referem aos termos “Self” ou “Selves” em algumas obras produzidas pelo autor entre 1953 e 1999.



Conforme o gráfico, o livro *Verbal Behavior* (1957) se destaca, com 59 excertos extraídos, seguido dos livros *Science and Human Behavior* (1953) e *About Behaviorism* (1974) com 31 trechos. Nos demais livros, foram extraídos: 16 excertos em *Technology of Teaching* (1968); 15 citações em *Contingencies of Reinforcement* (1969); 12 excertos em *Notebooks* (1980); 10 trechos em *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971); sete citações em *Cumulative Record* (1959/1999), seis excertos em *Upon Further Reflection* (1987) e apenas uma ocorrência nos livros *Recent Issues in Analysis of Behavior* (1999) e *Reflections on Behaviorism and Society* (1978).

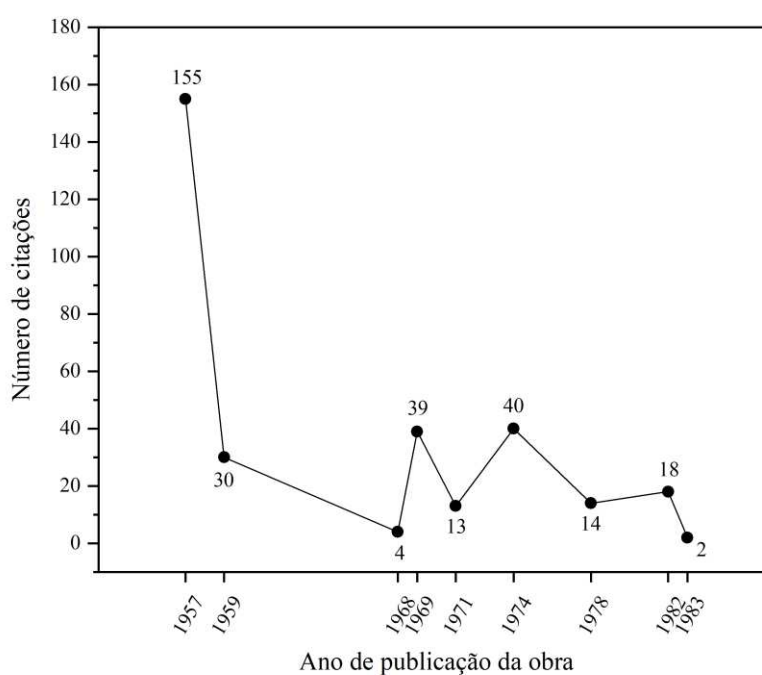
A grande incidência de citações encontradas nos materiais publicados em 1953, 1957 e 1974 parece guardar correlação importante com os tópicos abordados pelo autor nestas obras, considerando a natureza verbal do conceito de Eu para B. F. Skinner. Nos livros de 1953 e 1957 o autor dedicou-se a explorar o Comportamento Verbal e a construção de relações entre sujeito e ambiente conforme essa perspectiva, bem como os impactos para o próprio sujeito do desenvolvimento de alguns repertórios e a construção social necessária para que o processo de aprendizagem aconteça. Em 1974, por sua vez, o autor rebate especulações sobre o Behaviorismo Radical cunhadas por outras propostas de psicologia, apresentando as correlações existentes entre o comportamento operante e questões que tradicionalmente eram atribuídas a estados internos, como o pensamento e a percepção de sentimentos.

No que tange à perspectiva da Etapa 2, o rastreamento na obra do autor referente aos termos “Verbal Community”, “Community” e “Verbal Environment”, considerando os critérios de seleção, resultou na extração de 371 citações, que foram sistematizadas conforme modelo descrito na apresentação da referida etapa no método. A Figura 2 apresenta a quantidade de citações (em valores absolutos) por ano de publicação das obras de onde foram extraídas. Conforme a figura, o número de citações extraídas das obras obteve maior ocorrência nos livros: *Verbal Behavior* (1957), com 155 excertos; *About Behaviorism* (1974), com 40 trechos; *Contingencies of Reinforcement* (1969), com 39 citações; *Cumulative Record* (1959/1999), com 30 excertos. Na obra *Science and Human Behavior* (1953), foram extraídos 26 trechos; No que diz respeito a outras produções, em *Skinner for the Classroom* (1982) foram obtidas 18 citações e em *Upon Further Reflection* (1987), 16 excertos. As demais obras apresentaram incidência de citações inferior a 15, sendo 14 trechos em *Reflections on Behaviorism and Society* (1978); 13 excertos em *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971); 4 citações em *Technology of Teaching* (1968), e, por fim, dois excertos em

Enjoy old Age (1983).

Figura 2

Disposição do número de citações extraídas que se referem aos termos “Verbal Community”, “Verbal environment” e o radical “Communit-” em algumas obras produzidas pelo autor entre 1953 e 1999.



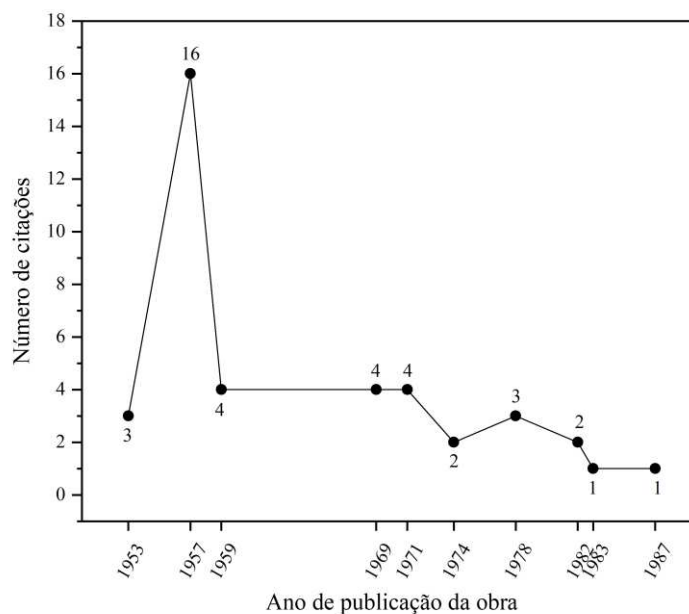
Quanto à disposição das citações extraídas na Etapa 2 e às obras em que foram obtidas, uma possível correlação pode ser compreendida na observação dos tópicos discutidos pelo autor em algumas dessas obras. Em *Verbal Behavior* (1957), o autor discute em alguns trechos sobre o comportamento verbal ser tanto objeto de aprendizagem quanto estratégia de ensino por meio das práticas de uma comunidade verbal, discussão correlata a que pode ser

encontrada ao analisar os textos presentes em *Contingencies of Reinforcement* (1969) e *Cumulative Record* (1959/1999). Nas demais obras, a referência a noção de Comunidade Verbal parece estar relacionada à compreensão de determinadas práticas, por meio das quais a comunidade controla o comportamento do sujeito – como em 1953, em que o tema é abordado pelo autor na quarta seção, sobre o comportamento das pessoas em grupo e sobre agências controladoras.

A respeito da Etapa 3, foram utilizadas as categorias: (1) História de Vida; (2) Experiência; (3) Motivação; (4) Privação; (5) Saciação; (6) Emoção e (7) Individual. O rastreamento nos trechos obtidos nas Etapas 1 e 2 buscando identificar termos relacionados à experiência do indivíduo de suas relações resultou no destaque de 39 citações, sendo elas: 11 excertos relacionados a (1) História de Vida; Quatro trechos referentes a (2) Experiência; Um trecho relacionado a (3) Motivação; Dois excertos correspondentes a (4) Privação; Uma citação referente à (5) Saciação; 11 trechos correspondentes a (6) Emoção e Nove excertos correspondentes a (6) Individual. No que se refere à distribuição dos trechos nas obras publicadas, a figura 3 demonstra a relação entre o número de citações encontradas e os anos dos livros em que constam. O livro *Verbal Behavior* (1957) apresenta maior incidência de trechos, com 16 excertos retirados. Nas demais obras, foram encontradas 4 citações em cada um dos livros *Contingencies of Reinforcement* (1969), *Beyond Freedom and Dignity* (1971) e *Cumulative Record* (1959); 3 excertos em *Reflections on Behaviorism and Society* (1978) e em *Science and Human Behavior* (1953); 2 trechos em *About Behaviorism* (1974) e em *Skinner for the Classroom* (1982); e, por fim, 1 citação em *Enjoy old Age* (1983) e em *Upon Further Reflection* (1987).

Figura 3

Disposição do número de citações extraídas nas etapas 1 e 2 que se referem aos termos relativos à experiência do sujeito em algumas obras produzidas pelo autor



Nota-se a maior ocorrência de excertos no livro *Verbal Behavior* (1957), que pode ser correlacionada, mais uma vez, com os tópicos abordados pelo autor nesta obra. Nela, o autor discute alguns temas relativos ao controle do comportamento verbal, como o caso do controle por variáveis que são subproduto do comportamento, como as emoções. Por compreender que as emoções são de natureza individual, isto é, fazem parte da experiência do indivíduo nas relações que estabelece com o ambiente, há certa coerência em uma maior incidência de citações estar presente neste material.

Serão apresentados a seguir, na forma de texto dissertativo e organizados em capítulos, os resultados qualitativos dos materiais analisados pela pesquisadora.

Caracterização dos repertórios comportamentais que compõem a noção de Eu na literatura skinneriana

A noção de Eu presente na obra de B. F. Skinner é conceituada por meio de termos comportamentais, sendo compreendida pelo autor como conjunto de repertórios comportamentais de natureza verbal (Skinner, 1989). Para o autor, o Eu possui origem social verbal, não preexistindo ao comportamento verbal, mas sim, sendo compreendido como conjunto de repertórios que dizem respeito a capacidade do indivíduo de ficar sob controle de seu próprio corpo e comportamento e, assim, ser capaz de falar sobre o que sente, pensa e faz (Skinner, 1953). Expõe Skinner (1989):

É sua aparente causalidade alojada no mundo privado dentro da pele, juntamente com a organização que lhe é imposta pelo fato de todas as suas condições determinantes ocorrerem na história de uma pessoa, geram um ‘senso de si’. Nós sentimos que existe um ‘eu’ que sabe o que ele vai fazer e faz isso. Cada um de nós está ciente ou consciente de pelo menos um desses ‘eu’, que aprendemos a gerenciar de forma mais ou menos eficaz.⁴ (Skinner, 1978, p. 51-52, tradução nossa).

Para o autor, é no contexto do sujeito estar sob controle de seu corpo e seu comportamento que o “senso de si” ou “consciência de si” emerge. Para tanto, o indivíduo é treinado pela comunidade para falar sobre si por meio da organização de contingências, e, ao passo que é questionado sobre o que sente/sentiu e fez/faz, são criadas condições para o estabelecimento de respostas a respeito de sentimentos e comportamentos. Sendo assim, o repertório verbal compreendido como “Eu” tem características de outros repertórios

⁴Tradução livre do trecho: “It his apparent causality lodged within the private world within a skin, together with the organization imposed upon it by the fact that all its determining conditions have occurred in the history of one person, generates a ‘sense of self’. We feel there is an ‘I’ who knows what he is going to do and does it. Each of us is aware or conscious of at least one such self, which we learn to manage more or less effectively.”

comportamentais: a Auto-observação, autodescrição, autoconhecimento, autocontrole, autogoverno e autoedição, que serão discutidos a seguir.

Preliminarmente, entende-se que o denominador comum entre os termos supracitados compreende a terminologia “Auto” que os acompanha, que, no inglês, diz respeito ao prefixo “Self”. Em ambos os casos, ao atribuir o prefixo “Auto”, se faz referência à perspectiva individual do sujeito, ao que é “próprio” e “particular”. No caso dos repertórios, se tratam de comportamentos autocentrados, isto é, a ação do sujeito sob seu próprio comportamento, dizendo respeito a possibilidade de que o indivíduo conheça e gerencie o que faz, quando faz e como faz.

A escolha por apresentar os repertórios citados na ordem em que estão dispostos acima atende a uma característica particular dos repertórios autocentrados, que se trata da gradação crescente no nível de atividade exigida do sujeito para engajar-se em determinados comportamentos. Segundo Reis e Laurenti (2018), a noção de atividade é circunscrita pela ideia de considerar ativo tudo o que produza eventos, sendo conhecidas ou não as variáveis responsáveis por tais produções. Para os autores, essa visão do conceito de atividade é compatível com a perspectiva comportamentalista radical à medida em que se considera que os sujeitos agem no mundo e suas ações produzem consequências, e esse processo corresponde ao escopo da “atividade humana”.

No que diz respeito a auto-observação, para Skinner (1953), este repertório pode ser compreendido como a capacidade do sujeito de observar seu próprio corpo e comportamento, tratando-se da possibilidade de que o indivíduo reconheça o que faz, o que pensa e o que sente. Um exemplo seria uma situação em que o sujeito identifica que contrai seu corpo e tenta se afastar diante da presença de um determinado animal peçonhento. Afirma Skinner (1959):

Somente quando somos questionados sobre o que fizemos, estamos fazendo ou

estamos prestes a fazer, ou o porquê, temos alguma razão para observar ou recordar nosso comportamento e suas variáveis controladoras. Todo comportamento, humano ou não-humano, é inconsciente; ele se torna ‘consciente’ quando o ambiente verbal fornece as contingências necessárias para a auto-observação.⁵ (Skinner, 1959, p. 62-63, tradução nossa)

Neste trecho, é possível analisar a importância atribuída por Skinner à comunidade verbal, que, para o autor, tem o papel fundamental no desenvolvimento dos repertórios autocentrados. Neste caso, o autor esclarece a relação entre os questionamentos por parte da comunidade e o desenvolvimento do repertório de auto-observação: os questionamentos da comunidade estabelecem contexto e direcionam o sujeito a agir sob controle de seu próprio comportamento, observando-o. É importante notar, também, que neste trecho Skinner atribui à noção de “consciência” a possibilidade de reconhecer as contingências controladoras do próprio comportamento, processo fundamental para que o indivíduo também seja capaz de falar sobre seu comportamento.

Sendo questionado sobre seu comportamento, este mesmo indivíduo pode desenvolver a capacidade de falar sobre o que sente e faz (ou sentiu e fez), repertório nomeado como autodescrição (Skinner, 1989). Para o autor, este repertório se trata da habilidade de o sujeito descrever o que faz, pensa e sente, discorrendo sobre suas condições corporais e, também, seus comportamentos observáveis e privados (Skinner, 1953/1989). A capacidade de falar sobre o que sente e faz pode ou não estar correlacionada ao desenvolvimento anterior de um repertório de observação de seu próprio comportamento, e, nessas condições, pode ser favorecida pelo desenvolvimento do repertório de auto-observação. Para o autor:

⁵Tradução livre do trecho: “Only when we are asked about what we have done, are doing, or are about to do, or why, have we any reason to observe or recall our behavior or its controlling variables. All behavior, human and nonhuman, is unconscious; it becomes "conscious" when verbal environments provide the contingencies necessary for self-observation.”.

O comportamento verbal autodescritivo é interessante por vários motivos. Somente por meio da aquisição de tal comportamento o falante se torna ‘consciente’ do que está fazendo ou dizendo e por quê.⁶ (Skinner, 1957, p. 139)

Para o autor, a capacidade de observar e falar sobre o que sente e faz está diretamente relacionada a possibilidade de um comportamento ser consciente, e pode ser assim caracterizado a medida em que o sujeito é capaz de descrever o que faz, bem como pela possibilidade de associar o comportamento as variáveis das quais este é função. Neste processo, instala-se o comportamento de introspecção ou introspectar, que compreende a soma das capacidades de observar e descrever o comportamento e, também, suas condições corporais.

Esses comportamentos de auto-observação e autodescrição compõem um subconjunto do repertório de autoconhecimento. Para o autor, é possível que existam “tipos” ou “níveis” de autoconhecimento, como, por exemplo, o autoconhecimento deficitário (Trintim, 2024). Esses níveis dependerão da história do sujeito sob condições de treino discriminativo sobre as contingências que controlam o seu comportamento. Diferente do que é concebido no vernáculo popular, o autoconhecimento não se trata apenas da capacidade de identificar e descrever sentimentos e estados internos, mas de associar ambas as capacidades (auto-observação e autodescrição) para analisar as contingências que controlam o comportamento (Skinner, 1953/1974). É o caso de um indivíduo conseguir identificar como se comporta e como se sente em uma determinada situação e associar o que identifica a função de seu comportamento, podendo compreender assim o que faz, quando faz e como faz, bem como porque o faz.

A noção skinneriana de consciência está atrelada, portanto, à capacidade do sujeito de

⁶Tradução livre do trecho: “Self-descriptive verbal behavior is of interest for many reasons. Only through the acquisition of such behavior does the speaker become "aware" of what he is doing or saying, and why.”.

perceber seu ambiente, descrever e analisar as variáveis das quais seu comportamento é função (Skinner, 1989). Trata-se aqui, então, da possibilidade de que o indivíduo tenha comportamentos caracterizados por essa própria capacidade de compreender seu ambiente e comportamento e descrevê-lo. Assim, com base no comportamento de conhecer a si mesmo, ou seja, da capacidade de ter consciência sobre seus comportamentos em mesma medida que de seus estados internos o sujeito pode então relatar o que faz, quando o faz e porque se comporta, bem como alterar seu próprio comportamento por reconhecer as múltiplas variáveis das quais é função.

Para Skinner (1953) essa capacidade de alterar o próprio comportamento pode ser compreendida como repertório de autocontrole, também integrante da noção de Eu. A definição skinneriana de autocontrole descreve a habilidade de comportar-se de diferentes maneiras diante de um contexto, visto que é por meio da análise deste ambiente que o indivíduo compreende as variáveis das quais seu comportamento é função. À medida que compreende essas variáveis, o indivíduo pode, então, manipular o ambiente e aumentar ou reduzir a probabilidade de determinados comportamentos acontecerem (Skinner, 1953). Seria o caso de um sujeito que, por exemplo, está em um bar consumindo bebida alcoólica: diante da possibilidade de consumir mais ou menos bebidas e produzir consequências diferentes para seu comportamento (como a ressaca no dia seguinte, a possibilidade de um vexame, a necessidade de voltar dirigindo para casa), o indivíduo pode escolher tomar um copo de água, por exemplo.

No caso deste exemplo, segundo concepções tradicionais, é possível que afirmações internalistas e introspectivistas afirmassem que a mudança na atitude do sujeito ocorreu por uma “autoreflexão” e por uma “força de vontade”, que fariam com que, subitamente, o indivíduo se comportasse de outra maneira. Entretanto, uma visão comportamentalista radical advoga em função de outra compreensão, que busca na história do próprio indivíduo a

explicação para a mudança comportamental. Segundo essa perspectiva, é possível que o contato com diferentes ocorrências de eventos dessa mesma natureza ao longo da história deste sujeito tenham produzido diferentes consequências (aversivas ou reforçadoras), a depender de seus comportamentos em contextos semelhantes. À medida que o sujeito consegue correlacionar as consequências que são produto de seus comportamentos, é possível que este comece a se comportar de diferentes formas.

Neste sentido, Skinner (1953) estabelece algumas utilidades para o repertório de autocontrole, como frente a situações cujas consequências podem provocar conflitos, ou em momentos em que o sujeito pode evitar estímulos aversivos - e respostas emocionais a eles; bem como em casos em que, ao discriminar o contexto, torna-se possível lidar com a maior probabilidade de reforçamento em alguns casos e punição, em outros (Skinner, 1953).

Segundo Skinner (1953):

Amplificamos estímulos gerados por nosso próprio comportamento quando usamos um espelho para adquirir uma atitude elegante ou para dominar um passo de dança difícil; estudamos filmes de nosso próprio comportamento para aperfeiçoar nossa habilidade em um esporte; ou ouvimos gravações da nossa própria voz para melhorar a pronúncia ou a dicção.⁷ (Skinner, 1953, p. 256, tradução nossa)

Dessa forma, ao passo que o sujeito se torna capaz de identificar as consequências que seu comportamento produz, há possibilidade de comportar-se ou não de determinadas formas. No caso do exemplo anterior, a respeito do indivíduo que está em um bar, por discriminar as contingências em que se comporta e compreender as consequências de seu comportamento, o sujeito pode, então, optar por comportar-se de maneiras diferentes (escolhendo beber mais ou não) visando evitar estimulação aversiva (continuar bebendo e, caso dirija embriagado, poder

⁷Tradução livre do trecho: “We amplify stimuli generated by our own behavior when we use a mirror to acquire good carriage or to master a difficult dance step, or study moving pictures of our own behavior to improve our skill in a sport, or listen to phonograph recordings of our own speech to improve pronunciation or delivery.”.

ser pego em uma blitz, por exemplo) ou sentir-se bem no dia seguinte (sem ressaca, por ter parado de beber bebidas alcóolicas e iniciado a ingestão de água). Trata-se da capacidade do sujeito de manipular seu próprio comportamento. Para além, é possível também, que em função da consciência de seu comportamento e das variáveis relacionadas a ele, o indivíduo possa, então, alterar os estímulos visando aprimorar seu próprio comportamento e produzir diferentes tipos de consequências.

Uma outra possibilidade que também diz respeito ao aprimoramento do comportamento e a comportar-se de diferentes formas frente a uma situação problema, trata-se da classe de comportamentos nomeada como autogoverno. Para o autor (1968), este repertório relaciona-se ao estabelecimento da autonomia intelectual e da manipulação do ambiente e do próprio comportamento com o intuito de aumentar a probabilidade de emitir respostas compatíveis com a solução de problemas de diferentes naturezas. Segundo Skinner (1989):

Outras contingências verbais geram o comportamento chamado autogoverno ou pensamento, em que os problemas são resolvidos manipulando contingências (como na resolução prática de problemas) ou regras (como no “raciocínio”).⁸ (Skinner, 1989, p. 63, tradução nossa)

Para Skinner (1968), a noção de autogoverno está relacionada à originalidade de uma ideia, considerando que as técnicas relacionadas a esse repertório promovem a alteração ou aumento da efetividade do comportamento. Segundo o autor, trata-se de uma classe de comportamentos composta por comportamentos encobertos eficientes na resolução de problemas de natureza lógica, algorítmica ou heurística (Skinner, 1968). Nestes casos, por

⁸Tradução livre do trecho: “Other verbal contingencies generate the behavior called self-management or thinking, in which problems are solved by manipulating either contingencies (as in practical problem solving) or rules (as in ‘reasoning’).”.

meio do autogoverno, o sujeito pode alterar o ambiente e, conseqüentemente, alterar a probabilidade de que o comportamento de solucionar problemas ocorra. Nas palavras do autor:

O objetivo do autogoverno é geralmente chamado de auto-realização, ou auto-atualização. Realização parece estar ligada com conquistas, com evitar entraves e com a descoberta de reforçadores positivos. Atualização parece ter mais a ver com a maximização de histórias genéticas e ambientais com o intuito de libertar a pessoa de contextos imediatos. Em ambos os casos, a ênfase está claramente no aqui e no agora, no estar, no bem-estar e no se tornar momentaneamente.⁹ (Skinner, 1986, p. 71, tradução nossa)

Destaca-se aqui a relação direta entre o desenvolvimento dos repertórios relacionados a noção de Eu e o comportamento verbal, considerando que, para Skinner (1957), os

⁹Tradução livre do trecho: “The goal of self-management is often called self-fulfillment or self-actualization. Fulfillment seems to be concerned with achievement, with avoiding restraints and discovering positive reinforcers. Actualization seems to have more to do with maximizing genetic and environmental histories in order to free a person from immediate settings. In both cases the emphasis is clearly upon the here and now, on being or well-being or momentary becoming.”.

operantes verbais¹⁰ estão presentes nessa relação. Segundo o autor, é com base na análise das variáveis que controlam a emissão do comportamento verbal - que pode acontecer a medida em que o sujeito observa (auto-observação), descreve (autodescrição), analisa funcionalmente (autoconhecimento) e altera a probabilidade de emissão de seus próprios comportamentos (autocontrole e autogoverno) - que o indivíduo pode também manejar seus comportamentos encobertos. Assim, o sujeito lança mão de uma classe mais complexa de operantes verbais, os autoclíticos, e altera seus próprios comportamentos verbais, de maneira a manejar a eficiência do comportamento em termos de privilegiar respostas que serão positivamente reforçadas em detrimento das que seriam punidas. Enfatiza-se, aqui, que a capacidade de se comportar sob controle de seu próprio comportamento, também é aprendida verbalmente.

Ao manejar seu próprio comportamento verbal abre-se flanco para a possibilidade de que o sujeito também edite seu comportamento verbal, repertório esse nomeado como autoedição, que é compreendido como derivado de técnicas de autogoverno (Skinner, 1980). Segundo o autor, é neste processo que o indivíduo pode, então, revisar seu comportamento

¹⁰O autor (1957) afirma que existem alguns tipos de operantes verbais, descritos a seguir: (1) Tato (tacto): compreende a resposta verbal, vocal ou motora sob controle de um estímulo discriminativo verbal ou não-verbal, mantido por consequências fornecidas por outro sujeito, como na nomeação de eventos, pessoas e objetos; (2) Mando: se trata de respostas verbais, vocais ou motoras controladas por eventos encobertos associados a quadros motivacionais antecedentes. É mantido por consequências que cessam o estado motivacional anterior, como na solicitação para outrém de um copo de água no caso de a pessoa ter passado muitas horas sem a ingestão de líquidos; (3) Ecóico: é a resposta verbal, vocal ou gestual sob controle do estímulo apresentado em que há a repetição da identidade estrutural do estímulo, conseqüenciada segundo a semelhança com o estímulo, como quando um aprendiz repete o termo “gato” após ouvir seu professor pronunciar “gato”; (4) Textual: se trata da resposta verbal vocal controlada por um estímulo verbal visual, sendo mantida por reforçamento social, como uma criança que ao ser questionada sobre uma palavra que está escrita em um papel lê, em voz alta, essa mesma palavra; (5) Intraverbal: compreende a resposta verbal, vocal ou motora sob controle do comportamento verbal do próprio sujeito ou de outrem, que é reforçada socialmente, como no caso de um sujeito que é questionado sobre o resultado a soma “2+2” e responde “quatro”; (6) Autoclítico: compreendido como comportamento verbal agindo sob o próprio comportamento verbal, se trata da resposta verbal, vocal ou motora que é controlada pelo próprio comportamento verbal, como no caso de um sujeito que se prepara para fazer uma pergunta para outra pessoa e revisa os elementos de sua pergunta antes de emití-la.

antes de emití-lo. Para Skinner (1957):

O falante e o ouvinte dentro da mesma pele se envolvem em atividades tradicionalmente descritas como "pensamento". O falante manipula seu comportamento; ele o revisa e pode rejeitá-lo ou emití-lo em forma modificada. A medida em que ele faz varia em uma ampla gama, determinada em parte pela medida em que ele serve como seu próprio ouvinte. O orador hábil aprende a provocar comportamentos fracos e manipular variáveis que irão gerar e fortalecer novas respostas em seu repertório.¹¹ (Skinner, 1957, p. 11, tradução nossa)

Neste trecho o autor explicita características do repertório de autoedição, compreendida como a capacidade de que o sujeito altere seu próprio comportamento verbal. Para tanto, o indivíduo revisa, repetindo para si mesmo, seu comportamento, buscando aprimorá-lo para que, à medida que seja emitido, maior seja a possibilidade de reforçamento. Nestes casos, há uma correlação entre os contextos em que o indivíduo se comporta e a história passada de reforçamento, posto que, ao estar sob controle de variáveis das quais seu comportamento é função, o sujeito evita se comportar de determinadas maneiras que, outrora, foram punidas.

No que tange, de maneira geral, aos repertórios comportamentais que dizem respeito à noção de Eu, evidencia-se a natureza verbal do comportamento. A perspectiva em primeira pessoa (no inglês, *Self*), é de natureza verbal, posto que não há um Eu que é descrito pelo comportamento verbal, mas sim, o Eu é comportamento verbal do indivíduo, que está sob controle de seu próprio corpo e comportamento. Skinner descreve uma progressão entre os repertórios relacionados à noção de Eu, em uma gradação do nível de atividade. Para o autor,

¹¹Tradução livre do trecho: "The speaker and listener within the same skin engage in activities which are traditionally described as "thinking." The speaker manipulates his behavior; he reviews it, and may reject it or emit it in modified form. The extent to which he does so varies over a wide range, determined in part by the extent to which he serves as his own listener. The skillful speaker learns to tease out weak behavior and to manipulate variables which will generate and strengthen new responses in his repertoire."

o conceito de Eu behaviorista radical é construído em condições sociais, isto é, em contingências sociais verbais. À medida que é a comunidade verbal que faz questionamentos ao sujeito sobre seu corpo e comportamento, instruindo-o a observar e descrever, emergem os repertórios de auto-observação e autodescrição. Com base nestes repertórios, torna-se possível que o sujeito analise funcionalmente as variáveis das quais seu comportamento é função, desenvolvendo-se, assim, o repertório de autoconhecimento. Ao passo que o sujeito discrimina as variáveis, ele pode, então, comportar-se de formas diferentes em situações que provocam conflitos ou frente a estimulação aversiva e, também, na resolução de problemas lógicos e heurísticos (autocontrole e autogoverno). Ao conseguir manejar seu próprio comportamento, o indivíduo pode também alterar seu comportamento verbal por meio da autoedição.

Os repertórios comportamentais que compreendem o desenvolvimento dessa capacidade são comuns aos sujeitos em uma mesma sociedade, bem como as condições fornecidas socialmente para a constituição da capacidade do sujeito de correlacionar as variáveis das quais seu comportamento é função e a perspectiva em primeira pessoa, isto é, a possibilidade de que o indivíduo descreva seu corpo e comportamento. O desenvolvimento das diferentes capacidades que compreendem os repertórios constituintes da noção de Eu para o Behaviorismo Radical não acontece de forma linear. Isso ocorre porque as condições de exposição à estimulação por parte da comunidade não são especificamente organizadas em função de cada um dos repertórios, um por vez, mas sim, acontecem conforme as demandas apresentadas pela comunidade verbal. Além disso, é possível compreender a funcionalidade dos repertórios em termos da apresentação de demandas por parte da comunidade, que fornece contexto para o que indivíduo desenvolva os repertórios e os aprimore, diante da necessidade também apresentada por esse contexto.

Entende-se, então, que a descrição teórica ou até mesmo o desenvolvimento dos

repertórios que dizem respeito à noção de Eu parece não fornecer elementos suficientes para compreender quais condições corroboram para que os indivíduos possam se identificar como diferentes uns dos outros. Ainda que os repertórios a serem desenvolvidos compreendam um denominador comum entre os indivíduos, o estabelecimento de relações pode ocorrer de maneira diferente entre os sujeitos, o que pode produzir diferentes interesses entre os sujeitos, bem como diferentes acepções de Eu. Por considerar que o estabelecimento dessas relações ocorre por intermédio da comunidade verbal, faz-se necessário compreender por meio de quais práticas a comunidade verbal ensina os sujeitos a descreverem a si e a seu comportamento.

Identificação dos contextos da comunidade verbal subjacentes às práticas de ensino de repertórios da noção de Eu

Tendo sido descrito que os repertórios de auto-observação, autodescrição, autoconhecimento, autocontrole, autogoverno e autoedição compreendem parte do conjunto de comportamentos aos quais Skinner recorre, ao longo de sua obra, para explicar a noção de Eu, cabe, então, compreender alguns dos processos de ensino organizados pela comunidade verbal para o desenvolvimento desses repertórios. Para o autor (1953/1974), está no escopo da comunidade verbal fornecer condições antecedentes e consequentes para que esses repertórios emerjam. Dessa forma, a noção de comunidade verbal será explorada a seguir, visando compreender características que definem o conceito e descrever as práticas por meio das quais a comunidade verbal ensina o sujeito.

O termo popular “Comunidade”, segundo o dicionário Michaelis (2024), pode ser definido como “Qualidade ou estado daquilo que é comum a diversos indivíduos”, “Conjunto de pessoas que vivem numa mesma região, com mesmo governo, e que partilham as mesmas tradições histórias e/ou culturais” e, ainda, “Qualquer conjunto de indivíduos ligados por

interesses comuns (culturais, econômicos, políticos, religiosos etc.) que se associam com frequência ou vivem em conjunto”. Sendo assim, é possível considerar que a noção coloquial de comunidade se associa tanto ao que é compartilhado por indivíduos com interesses comuns e que dividem os mesmos contextos, quanto a as tradições e regras que são organizadoras das relações estabelecidas entre os sujeitos que possuem interesses comuns.

As aplicações vernaculares do termo comunidade não se distanciam do que pode ser compreendido como noção de “comunidade verbal” na obra skinneriana. Para o autor, uma comunidade verbal é composta por indivíduos que compartilham de práticas, de um conjunto de comportamentos e de valores morais, que determinam quais comportamentos serão reforçados e quais não serão tolerados por aquele grupo. A existência da comunidade verbal pressupõe a existência de sujeitos que sejam treinados por ela, que compartilhem de práticas sociais que fazem sentido naquele contexto.

A compreensão de que existem interesses comuns que direcionam os sujeitos à vida em comunidade remonta também a ideia de origem das comunidades verbais, cuja organização de contingências em função de determinados objetivos atrai sujeitos por diversas razões. Para Skinner (1959/1999), algumas dessas razões compreendem valores comuns entre membros de uma comunidade que, em função desses norteadores, organizam as contingências que afetam o comportamento de outros indivíduos, bem como afetam seus próprios comportamentos. Assim, a organização de contingência por parte da comunidade verbal pode ser orientada por diferentes valores e com diferentes interesses, sobretudo voltados a possibilidade de maximização de reforçadores e de redução do contato com estímulos aversivos. Nas palavras do autor (1959/1999):

Os homens fundaram, aderiram ou sonharam com tais comunidades por muitas razões. Alguns são movidos por interesses intelectuais: querem provar uma teoria (por exemplo, que os homens são naturalmente nobres ou que são incompletos sem

‘comunidade’ ou ‘amor’) ou apressar uma etapa profetizada na história. Outros têm razões pessoais mais imediatas: procuram por prazeres simples, satisfação de necessidades básicas, ordem política, estabilidade econômica, ajuda na autodisciplina, e assim por diante. Tais objetivos são frequentemente formalizados como ‘valores’. O objetivo da comunidade é maximizar a felicidade, a segurança, a santidade ou a realização pessoal. ¹² (p. 59, tradução nossa)

As práticas de uma comunidade têm início, então, nos interesses individuais de seus membros, que podem visar a satisfação de determinadas necessidades. Ao passo que os interesses individuais são norteadores no processo, o encontro de diversos sujeitos com interesses comuns pode favorecer o surgimento de uma comunidade verbal; que, por sua vez, organizará as contingências para que esses interesses continuem sendo satisfeitos.

A organização das contingências por parte da “comunidade” está relacionada não só a satisfação de interesses pessoais, mas, também, a manutenção da existência da própria comunidade. O componente “Verbal” na definição de comunidade verbal, por sua vez, está atrelado às estratégias utilizadas pela comunidade para ensino e manutenção de repertórios verbais. Para Skinner (1957), uma dessas bases para a construção do conceito de comunidade verbal trata-se do comportamento verbal, descrito como modelado e mantido por essa comunidade. Nas palavras do autor:

O comportamento verbal é modelado e mantido por um ambiente verbal, por pessoas que respondem ao comportamento de determinadas maneiras devido às práticas do

¹²Tradução livre do trecho: “Men found, join, or dream of such communities for many reasons. Some are moved by intellectual interests: they want to prove a theory (for example, that men are naturally noble or that they are incomplete without "community" or "love") or to hasten a prophesied stage in history. Others have more immediate personal reasons: they seek simple pleasures, the satisfaction of basic needs, political order, economic stability, help in self discipline, and so on. Such goals are often formalized as "values." The goal of the community is to maximize happiness, security, sanctity, or personal fulfillment.

grupo do qual são membros. Essas práticas e a interação resultante entre falante e ouvinte produzem os fenômenos que são aqui considerados sob a rubrica de comportamento verbal.¹³ (Skinner, 1957, p. 226, tradução nossa).

Por definição, a noção de comportamento verbal versada por Skinner (1957) descreve que, para que seja possível nomear um comportamento como verbal, são necessárias três características: deve se tratar de um comportamento operante, que é mantido pelas consequências mediadas por um ouvinte e, este ouvinte, imprescindivelmente deve ter sido treinado como ouvinte por uma comunidade verbal. Enfatiza-se que as relações estabelecidas entre falantes e ouvintes fornecem contexto e, também, consequenciam os comportamentos, conforme o modelo de tríplice contingência adotado pela perspectiva skinneriana (que será abordado em outro trecho deste texto).

Por correlacionar as noções de comportamento verbal e comunidade verbal em função de como indivíduos e grupo e se relacionam, o autor salienta também outras características desta interação; uma delas compreende a necessidade de que os envolvidos nesta relação pertençam a uma mesma comunidade verbal, posto que o comportamento verbal será modelado e mantido de acordo com práticas específicas de um grupo do qual os indivíduos são membros. O comportamento dos membros dessa comunidade é também produto das contingências arranjadas pela comunidade e, ao alterar o comportamento de indivíduos deste grupo, esse processo pode também alterar as práticas da própria comunidade:

O comportamento verbal é o comportamento reforçado por meio da mediação de outras pessoas, mas apenas quando as outras pessoas se comportam de maneiras que

¹³Tradução livre do trecho: “Verbal behavior is shaped and sustained by a verbal environment by people who respond to behavior in certain ways because of the practices of the group of which they are members. These practices and the resulting interaction of speaker and listener yield the phenomena which are considered here under the rubric of verbal behavior.”

foram moldadas e mantidas por um ambiente verbal evoluído, ou linguagem.¹⁴

(Skinner, 1987, p. 90, tradução nossa)

Dessa forma, é com base nessas práticas específicas que se compõe tanto a própria comunidade quanto o comportamento verbal dos indivíduos. Para o autor, se comportar perante uma comunidade verbal é um caminho bidirecional: na medida em que os comportamentos dos indivíduos de uma comunidade foram moldados pela própria comunidade, esses mesmos sujeitos irão fornecer contexto e consequenciar o comportamento de outros membros dessa mesma comunidade conforme as mesmas condições estabelecidas.

Em relação à definição dos comportamentos considerados adequados em uma comunidade, o autor afirma que há uma lógica reguladora, estabelecida pelas práticas específicas (e valores norteadores) de cada comunidade, a respeito de quais comportamentos serão reforçados e de quais não serão tolerados. Skinner ressalta que são as contingências de reforço social que fortalecerão determinados repertórios (Skinner, 1969). Segundo ele:

Os três termos que aparecem nas contingências de reforço produtoras de um operante são divididos entre duas pessoas: o falante responde ao contexto e o ouvinte se envolve no comportamento e é afetado por suas consequências. Isto só acontecerá se os comportamentos do falante e do ouvinte forem suportados por contingências adicionais organizadas pela comunidade verbal.¹⁵ (Skinner, 1974, p. 39, tradução nossa)

Nesse recorte, o autor explicita que um falante, que está sob controle da história como ouvinte por ter sido treinado por uma comunidade verbal, responde ao contexto; enquanto

¹⁴Tradução livre do trecho: “Verbal behavior is behavior that is reinforced through the mediation of other people, but only when the other people are behaving in ways that have been shaped and maintained by an evolved verbal environment, or language”.

¹⁵Tradução livre do trecho: “The three terms which appear in the contingencies of reinforcement generating an operant are divided between two people: the speaker responds to the setting, and the listener engages in the behavior and is affected by the consequences. This will happen only if the behaviors of speaker and listener are supported by additional contingencies arranged by the verbal community.”

outro sujeito, também sob controle da história como ouvinte, possui papel na mediação das consequências pelas quais também foi e é afetado. Ambos estão sob controle de contingências estabelecidas pela comunidade verbal e engajam-se no comportamento um do outro com base no que lhes foi ensinado, isto é, com base nas práticas em vigor na comunidade verbal da qual são membros.

A noção de práticas de uma comunidade, por sua vez, pode ser compreendida como as contingências que são estabelecidas por esta, como na definição de quais comportamentos são adequados e quais são inadequados para aquela comunidade. O autor cita, ao longo de sua obra, alguns exemplos de comunidades, como a ciência e a literatura (Skinner, 1957), por exemplo, que possuem diferentes práticas e, em consequência destas, definem diferentes tipos de comportamento como adequados. Para Skinner:

O cientista emite um conjunto de respostas sobre um determinado assunto por causa das contingências reforçadoras estabelecidas pela comunidade verbal científica. O poeta emite um conjunto inteiramente diferente de respostas a respeito do mesmo tema, porque suas respostas são eficazes de outras maneiras em outros tipos de ouvintes e leitores. Qual comportamento se aproxima mais do objeto não é tanto uma questão de fato, precisão e abrangência, mas sim, dos interesses e práticas das comunidades verbais.¹⁶ (Skinner, 1957, p. 127, tradução nossa)

Em resumo, a noção skinneriana de comunidade verbal pode ser compreendida como um conjunto de sujeitos cujas práticas estão relacionadas aos valores do grupo ao qual pertencem; as práticas estabelecidas pelo grupo irão modelar e manter o comportamento dos próprios integrantes desse grupo. As práticas, compreendidas como contingências em vigor

¹⁶ Tradução livre do trecho: “The scientist makes one set of responses to a given state of affairs because of the reinforcing contingencies established by the scientific verbal community. The poet emits an entirely different set of responses to the same state of affairs because they are effective in other ways on other kinds of listeners or readers. Which behavior most closely matches the actual situation is a question not so much of fact, accuracy, or comprehensiveness as of the interests and practices of verbal communities.”

na comunidade, são determinadas por normas sociais específicas e variam conforme diferentes histórias daquele grupo, impactando na conformação de diferentes valores, regras e características culturais. Ainda, destaca-se aqui a possibilidade de diferentes práticas em uma mesma comunidade ou práticas semelhantes em diferentes comunidades, posto que as práticas estão diretamente atreladas às características da própria comunidade. Neste sentido, existem interesses que dizem respeito à própria comunidade e sua manutenção, bem como aos interesses de cada um dos sujeitos e, neste processo, há necessidade de conciliação entre estes objetivos.

Para Skinner (1959/1957), a comunidade verbal possui um papel fundamental na modelagem e manutenção de repertórios, posto que é a responsável pela manutenção de relações específicas entre os estímulos e as respostas, bem como o manejo das consequências. Segundo ele, é a comunidade a responsável por determinar qual resposta será controlada por uma determinada condição correspondente. Nas palavras do autor:

O modo como um estímulo ou alguma propriedade de um estímulo adquire controle sobre uma determinada forma de resposta é, agora, bem compreendido. A forma de uma resposta é modelada pelas contingências prevalentes em uma comunidade verbal. Uma determinada forma está sob controle de um determinado estímulo por meio do reforço diferencial em uma contingência de três termos.¹⁷ (Skinner, 1957, p. 115, tradução nossa)

A organização das contingências em vigor por parte da comunidade compreende uma de suas funções na vida do sujeito, posto que é por meio deste arranjo que são fornecidas

¹⁷Tradução livre do trecho: “How a stimulus or some property of a stimulus acquires control over a given form of response is now fairly well understood. The form of a response is shaped by the contingencies prevailing in a verbal community. A given form is brought under stimulus control through the differential reinforcement of our three-term contingency. The result is simply the probability that the speaker will emit a response of a given form in the presence of a stimulus having specified properties under certain broad conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation.”

condições para o desenvolvimento de determinados repertórios, que são comuns aos indivíduos. Neste processo, é possível compreender o papel da comunidade verbal como mediadora das relações entre o indivíduo e o mundo, posto que é esta que fornece condições para que o sujeito conheça a si e a realidade, fornecendo contexto para tal. Para Skinner:

Uma comunidade geralmente está interessada no que estamos fazendo, fizemos ou planejamos fazer e por quê, e organiza contingências que produzem respostas verbais que nomeiam e descrevem estímulos externos e internos associados a esses eventos. Ela [a comunidade verbal] nos desafia questionando “Como você sabe?” e respondemos, se é que o fazemos, descrevendo algumas das variáveis das quais o nosso comportamento é função. A “consciência” resultante disso é um produto social.¹⁸ (Skinner, 1982, p. 121, tradução nossa)

As condições estabelecidas pela comunidade fornecem contexto para que o sujeito conheça a realidade e se relacione com aspectos do ambiente. Essas condições influenciam a forma como o sujeito interage com o ambiente, determinando os estímulos aos quais ele responderá e as contingências que moldaram seu comportamento. Para tanto, a comunidade aproveita de circunstâncias em que o indivíduo se comporta publicamente para estabelecer esses repertórios. Segundo Skinner:

Comportamentos deste tipo são frequentemente observados como uma espécie de comentário sobre as contingências de reforço às quais alguém está sendo exposto. Uma criança aprende a descrever tanto o mundo no qual está reagindo quanto às consequências de suas ações. As situações em que ele não consegue fazer isto

¹⁸ Tradução livre do trecho: “The community is generally interested in what we are doing, have done, or are planning to do and why, and it arranges contingencies which generate verbal responses which name and describe the external and internal stimuli associated with these events. It challenges us by asking “How do you know?” and we answer, if at all, by describing some of the variables of which our verbal behavior was a function. The “awareness” resulting from all this is a social product.”.

tornam-se tão aversivas que não é possível escapar delas por meio de palavras. As descrições de seu próprio comportamento são especialmente importantes. A comunidade lhe pergunta: O que você fez? O que está fazendo? O que você vai fazer? E porque? E suas respostas descrevem seu comportamento e o relacionam com variáveis efetivas. As respostas eventualmente se mostram valiosas para a própria criança.¹⁹ (Skinner, 1969, p. 142-143, tradução nossa)

Evidencia-se o papel da comunidade no ensino de repertórios de observação e descrição do próprio comportamento, por meio de condições estabelecidas pela própria comunidade verbal, como em casos em que o sujeito é questionado sobre o que está fazendo, por exemplo.

Para a comunidade verbal em si é vantajoso que o sujeito desenvolva um repertório em que conhece o próprio comportamento e é capaz de falar sobre ele, posto que, por meio desse processo, a comunidade pode também prever e controlar o comportamento do sujeito. Para tanto, a comunidade arranja contingências, isto é, fornece contexto, modela o comportamento e, sobretudo, programa consequências para fortalecer comportamentos que são desejados, bem como, fornece condições de punição e extinção para o caso de repertórios socialmente inadequados. Segundo Skinner (1953)

Tornamos o comportamento mais provável organizando contingências especiais de reforço. Ao punir o consumo de álcool - talvez apenas com “desaprovação” - proporcionamos o reforçamento automático do comportamento que controla o consumo de álcool, porque tal comportamento reduz então a estimulação aversiva condicionada. Algumas destas consequências adicionais são fornecidas pela natureza,

¹⁹Tradução livre do trecho: “Behavior of this sort is often observed as a kind of running comment on contingencies of reinforcement to which one is being exposed. A child learns to describe both the world to which he is reacting and the consequences of his reactions. Situations in which he cannot do this become so aversive that he escapes from them by asking for words. Descriptions of his own behavior are especially important. The community asks him: What did you do? What are you doing? What are you going to do? And why? And his answers describe his behavior and relate it to effective variables. The answers eventually prove valuable to the child himself”.

mas, em geral, são arranjadas pela comunidade.²⁰ (p. 240, tradução nossa)

Neste sentido, por ser função da comunidade verbal arranjar contingências para que o indivíduo se comporte, é por meio destes processos que acontece a seleção de comportamentos no repertório do sujeito. A consequenciação de respostas, com um viés de aprovação ou desaprovação do comportamento, modela o repertório do sujeito.

Enfatiza-se que, para o sujeito, a aprendizagem de repertórios que dizem respeito a capacidade de observar, dissertar sobre e manejar o próprio comportamento também possui papel fundamental no arranjo das relações estabelecidas entre sujeito e comunidade. Um indivíduo que é capaz de nomear condições sob as quais se comporta, bem como compreender consequências de seu comportamento, possui também capacidade de discriminar contextos em que determinados comportamentos serão socialmente adequados ou não. Existem ganhos para a comunidade e para o indivíduo, no que diz respeito à possibilidade de que este sujeito conheça seu próprio comportamento.

As práticas de ensino de repertórios, por parte da comunidade verbal, estão atreladas a uma série de processos comportamentais, como a discriminação de estímulos, além dos processos de reforço, punição e esquiva, ou seja, relacionados tanto a manipulação de variáveis antecedente quanto de eventos consequentes. No que tange a essa perspectiva, Skinner (1953) descreve que a comunidade é responsável pelo processo de condicionamento operante, ou seja, pelo reforçamento de determinados comportamentos em determinadas situações, e, por conseguinte, pelo estabelecimento de comportamentos discriminativos. Nas palavras do autor:

²⁰ Tradução livre do trecho: “We make this controlling behavior more probable by arranging special contingencies of reinforcement. By punishing drinking—perhaps merely with "disapproval"— we arrange for the automatic reinforcement of behavior which controls drinking because such behavior then reduces conditioned aversive stimulation. Some of these additional consequences are supplied by nature, but in general they are arranged by the community.”

Quando a comunidade condiciona o indivíduo a dizer: ‘Eu vejo...’, ‘Eu ouço...’, ‘Eu cheiro...’ e assim por diante, deve haver alguma evidência de comportamento discriminativo.²¹ (Skinner, 1953, p. 265, tradução nossa)

E, ainda:

Explicamos a força [do comportamento] mostrando que na presença do objeto ou evento uma dada resposta é caracteristicamente reforçada em uma dada comunidade verbal.²² (Skinner, 1957, p. 82, tradução nossa)

Em uma análise específica dos processos envolvidos na tríplice contingência, a comunidade tem o papel de fornecer o contexto (eventos antecedentes), quanto trabalha a modulação dos eventos consequentes. Nesse sentido, a comunidade participa da organização de contingências, como no arranjo de contingências para a modelagem de respostas e a disposição do reforçador ao sujeito. Em casos em que o indivíduo se comporta adequadamente segundo os padrões daquela determinada comunidade verbal, sua resposta pode ser reforçada, enquanto, em situações em que o comportamento diverge desses mesmos padrões, a resposta pode ser punida ou colocada em extinção.

Neste sentido, Skinner (1957) afirma que a frequência relativa do reforçamento, que é característica de cada comunidade, é de suma importância para a predição do comportamento. A seleção de comportamentos adequados socialmente envolve, também, valores morais e éticos estabelecidos como consenso na comunidade. São fortalecidos repertórios que também são responsáveis pela manutenção da existência da comunidade e de suas compreensões do

²¹ Tradução livre do trecho: “When the community conditions the individual to say, ‘I see . . .’, ‘I hear . . .’, ‘I smell . . .’ and so on, it must have some evidence of discriminative behavior.”

²² Tradução livre do trecho: “We account for the strength by showing that in the presence of the object or event a response of that form is characteristically reinforced in a given verbal community.”

que é correto e inadequado. Além disto, a consequência reforçadora também é imprescindível, neste contexto, tanto para o desenvolvimento quanto para a manutenção do repertório, posto que a mudança dessas circunstâncias pode enfraquecer o operante e resultar em seu desaparecimento, em um processo conhecido como extinção (Skinner, 1957). O desdobramento deste processo vai além do reforçamento ou punição de respostas, mas, também, estabelece a generalização de “como se comportar” em função de outros membros da comunidade, bem como de outros contextos.

No caso da Discriminação de Estímulos, o autor salienta que a forma da resposta é modelada pelas contingências que prevalecem em uma comunidade verbal, por meio de um processo de reforçamento diferencial, ou seja, determinada resposta é reforçada se ou quando ocorre na presença de um determinado estímulo. Nestas circunstâncias, observa-se uma variação na probabilidade de comportamentos específicos ocorrerem na presença de determinados estímulos antecedentes. Além disso, a resposta que não estiver de acordo com os parâmetros fornecidos pela comunidade é punida ou, muitas vezes, não conseqüenciada. Segundo Skinner (1957):

O resultado é, simplesmente, a probabilidade de um falante emitir uma resposta de uma determinada maneira na presença de um estímulo com propriedades específicas, sob condições específicas de privação ou estimulação aversiva.²³ (Skinner, 1957, p. 115, tradução nossa)

A comunidade verbal também pode lançar mão de estimulação aversiva em função de modelar e manter repertórios, como é o caso do estabelecimento de punições para determinados comportamentos que são desaprovados socialmente. Segundo Skinner (1971) tanto a iminência quanto o uso de punição em si são particularmente eficazes, do ponto de

²³Tradução livre do trecho: “The result is simply the probability that the speaker will emit a response of a given form in the presence of a stimulus having specified properties under certain broad conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation.”.

vista comportamental, embora não o sejam do ponto de vista ético (por seus impactos no repertório e pelos subprodutos emocionais, entre outras questões), e trata-se de uma estratégia adotada pela comunidade. O controle aversivo torna-se útil, neste contexto, por fornecer contexto para o controle comportamental dos indivíduos por parte da comunidade, posto que o sujeito deixa de se comportar de uma determinada maneira (que potencialmente seria inadequada do ponto de vista social) e engaja-se em comportamentos que são tolerados socialmente. Neste contexto, o comportamento demonstra-se eficaz pois, além de reforçado, evita punição. Para o autor:

Seguindo as regras que outros derivaram de contingências punitivas no ambiente natural e social, uma pessoa pode muitas vezes evitar ou escapar da punição. Tanto as regras como as contingências que geram o comportamento de seguir regras podem ser visíveis, mas também podem ser aprendidas e mais tarde lembradas, e o processo torna-se, então, invisível. O indivíduo diz a si mesmo o que fazer e o que não fazer, e é fácil perder de vista o fato de ter sido ensinado a assim fazer pela comunidade verbal.”²⁴ (Skinner, 1971, p. 71, tradução nossa)

Destaca-se aqui, também, o reconhecimento social que é dado ao sujeito ao comportar-se adequadamente conforme as prescrições da comunidade verbal, variável importante que abre flanco para a discussão de questões envolvendo o controle por regras, que é estabelecido também pela sociedade e, em certa medida, compreende parte da forma como o sujeito se relaciona com o mundo.

Reconhecidos alguns dos processos comportamentais envolvidos na relação entre

²⁴Tradução livre do trecho: “By following the rules which others have derived from punitive contingencies in the natural and social environment a person can often avoid or escape punishment. Both the rules and the contingencies which generate rule following behaviour may be conspicuous, but they may also be learned and later remembered, and the process then becomes invisible. The individual tells himself what to do and what not to do, and it is easy to lose sight of the fact that he has been taught to do so by the verbal community.”

comunidade verbal e indivíduo, faz-se possível discutir os comportamentos relacionados a noção de Eu que são produtos das contingências de ensino em vigor na comunidade. Skinner (1953/1957) identifica que as condições providas pela comunidade podem ser eficazes para o ensino de repertórios de auto-observação e autodescrição, tanto de comportamentos públicos como de comportamentos encobertos, assim como de estímulos públicos e privados. Para Skinner (1957), se a comunidade não fornecer condições para a auto-observação e autodescrição, potencialmente estes repertórios não se desenvolverão de outras maneiras.

Segundo o autor:

Ora, a auto-observação é também produto de contingências discriminativas e, se uma discriminação não puder ser forçada pela comunidade, poderá nunca surgir. Curiosamente, é a comunidade que ensina o indivíduo a ‘se conhecer’.²⁵ (Skinner, 1957, p. 134, tradução nossa)

Sendo a comunidade que ensina o sujeito a conhecer a si mesmo, cabe diferenciar teoricamente, aqui, dois tipos de repertório que são ensinados pela comunidade: os repertórios que envolvem comportamentos públicos e os que envolvem comportamentos encobertos (relacionados à estimulação privada). Em ambos os casos, o comportamento será contextualizado em um ambiente e terá consequências que alteram a probabilidade do comportamento tornar a ocorrer. A diferenciação reside na possibilidade de observação do estímulo por parte da comunidade (Skinner, 1953/1974). No caso dos comportamentos públicos, a comunidade pode observar o comportamento do sujeito e, com base em uma análise funcional, compreender diretamente quais estímulos públicos estão relacionados a resposta e a consequência; enquanto no caso dos comportamentos encobertos, apenas o sujeito tem acesso ao estímulo privado, como no caso do pensamento, por exemplo (Skinner,

²⁵Tradução livre do trecho: “Now, self-observation is also the product of discriminative contingencies, and if a discrimination cannot be forced by the community, it may never arise. Strangely enough, it is the community which teaches the individual to ‘know himself’.”

1974). Nas palavras do autor:

As coisas com as quais uma pessoa está em contato na superfície de seu corpo são estímulos públicos, acessíveis à comunidade verbal e a comunidade pode, portanto, ensinar palavras como suave, áspero, oleoso ou pegajoso sem dificuldade. Mas as coisas dentro do corpo não são facilmente acessíveis, e as respostas verbais que as descrevem são provavelmente imprecisas e pouco confiáveis.²⁶ (Skinner, 1945, p. 255, tradução nossa)

Para o autor (1945/1969) a comunidade verbal ensina o sujeito a se comportar, no que tange a perspectiva de comportamentos públicos, por meio da manipulação dos estímulos ambientais aos quais o comportamento é contingente, além da consequenciação do agir no mundo, fornecendo parâmetros do que é correto ou errado e, também, de como se comportar em função de determinados estímulos. Entretanto, no caso de comportamentos relacionados à estimulação privada, isto é, em situações nas quais a comunidade verbal não tem acesso ao estímulo, Skinner (1945/1969) afirma que a comunidade recorre à possibilidade de produzir comportamento verbal a respeito do estímulo e, assim, ter acesso a ele.

Segundo Skinner (1945) a comunidade pode recorrer a quatro técnicas para driblar o problema da acessibilidade por meio do comportamento verbal: (1) a comunidade pode utilizar de um acompanhante público para ensinar a nomear um evento privado; (2) a comunidade pode inferir o estímulo privado por meio das respostas colaterais que o acompanham; (3) a comunidade pode reforçar comportamentos autodescritivos por meio do reforço instrucional de manifestações visíveis; e, por fim, (4) a comunidade pode induzir o sujeito a responder a seus eventos privados fornecendo suporte na nomeação desses eventos,

²⁶Tradução livre do trecho: “The things with which a person is in contact at the surface of his body are public stimuli, accessible to the verbal community, and the community can therefore teach words like smooth, rough, oily, or sticky without difficulty. But things inside the body are not readily accessible, and verbal responses describing them are likely to be imprecise and unreliable.”

com base em metáforas.

No primeiro e segundo casos, a comunidade verbal utiliza de acompanhantes públicos do estímulo para fornecer suporte na nomeação destes eventos (Skinner, 1945/1969).

Segundo o autor (1945/1969) um exemplo seria uma situação de um sujeito com dor de dente, que apoia seu rosto ou se contorce ao consumir algum tipo de alimento, sinalizando que está se comportando em função de uma estimulação que não pode ser observada pela comunidade. Nestes casos, é por meio do acompanhante público ou resposta colateral (mão no queixo, expressão facial) que a comunidade pode acessar a estimulação privada e, assim, conhecê-la por meio do relato do sujeito.

No terceiro caso, Skinner (1945) afirma que a comunidade verbal lança mão do ensino dos repertórios de auto-observação e autodescrição, isto é, faz-se necessário que o sujeito esteja apto a observar e a descrever seu próprio comportamento. Neste caso, ao estimular a capacidade do sujeito de falar sobre o que faz é, também, associada à percepção dos estímulos privados, ou seja, ao que sente quando faz. Na circunstância em questão, a comunidade verbal fornece contexto para que o indivíduo correlacione a estimulação pública de descrever o que sente com a estimulação privada, o que se sente. Em decorrência deste processo, altera-se o estímulo que controla a resposta e o sujeito pode emitir respostas verbais a respeito da estimulação privada por si só, sem necessariamente haver uma estimulação pública e essa mudança acontece em função de estímulos com propriedades idênticas (Skinner, 1945).

No quarto caso, o processo descrito pelo autor envolve a transferência de estímulos (ou indução) e, frequentemente, envolve o uso de metáforas (Skinner 1945). Trata-se dos casos em que a estimulação pública e privada não é idêntica, mas sim, coincidente. Nestes casos, o reforço da resposta verbal não acontece em função da resposta real, mas sim, a uma nomeação de condições que se assemelham à essa estimulação privada e que estão presentes

no ambiente público. Um exemplo seria a descrição do estado interno como “agitado”, uma metáfora que corresponde a um estímulo público de estar em movimento. Em decorrência deste processo, frequentemente ocorrem imprecisões na descrição do estímulo privado (Skinner, 1945).

Em todos os casos, independentemente do tipo de controle de estímulos estabelecido, observa-se o papel central da comunidade verbal no ensino de repertórios relacionados à descrição de eventos privados. Esse ensino ocorre por meio do reforçamento diferencial de respostas, em que determinados comportamentos são socialmente reforçados em detrimento de outros, que são punidos ou colocados em extinção. Neste processo, a comunidade verbal torna-se responsável por ensinar repertórios verbais (como os relacionados aos operantes verbais) e, também, outros comportamentos operantes, como os comportamentos governados por regras (e que, frequentemente, dizem respeito a regras socialmente estabelecidas).

No que diz respeito especificamente aos repertórios que compõe a noção de Eu, torna-se possível afirmar que os repertórios de auto-observação, autodescrição, autoconhecimento, autocontrole, autogoverno e autoedição possuem gênese nas práticas de ensino em vigor na comunidade verbal. As condições de desenvolvimento destes repertórios dizem respeito as contingências estabelecidas pela comunidade verbal e às características particulares de uma determinada comunidade. Esses repertórios serão comuns aos indivíduos de uma comunidade verbal a medida em que as contingências em vigor, por parte da comunidade, fornecerem contexto e consequenciarem o desenvolvimento da capacidade do sujeito de discorrer sobre o que sente, pensa e faz, atrelando as variáveis do contexto e as consequências a suas respostas aos estímulos.

Compreende-se então a importância da comunidade verbal para o sujeito, posto que é ela que consequência o comportamento do sujeito, além de fornecer estimulação antecedente para que este se comporte. A comunidade verbal é responsável por modelar e manter o

repertório operante do indivíduo, tendo papel fundamental na instrumentalização do sujeito para que ele possa perceber e se comportar em função do ambiente, sendo ele privado ou público e, também, produzir comportamento verbal sobre seu próprio comportamento. Está no escopo da comunidade verbal, por meio de sua mediação da relação entre o sujeito e o mundo, que o sujeito possa conhecer a si mesmo. Para tanto, a comunidade treina, consequenciando e fornecendo contexto para o comportamento, modelando e mantendo repertórios, para assim também manter sua própria organização e existência.

Considerando que a comunidade verbal adota determinadas práticas de ensino para os comportamentos relacionados à noção de Eu, entende-se que a descrição geral desses contextos em que a comunidade atua apresenta também características comuns entre os sujeitos. Diferentes indivíduos que estejam sob controle de uma determinada comunidade verbal estarão suscetíveis à práticas de ensino comuns para aquela comunidade, que são correspondentes aos valores que orientam a própria comunidade. Assim, compreende-se que o desenvolvimento de diferentes noções de Eu não depende apenas dos repertórios adquiridos ou das práticas empregadas pela comunidade, mas também de uma perspectiva individual que emerge dessas interações e de suas relações particulares.

A essa perspectiva individual podem ser atribuídas algumas características particulares, como a sensibilidade ao reforço social e o acesso a condições de natureza emocional, estímulos esses provenientes dos esquemas de reforço e punição que são organizados pela comunidade verbal no processo de ensino-aprendizagem dos repertórios. Dessa forma, ainda que as práticas da comunidade verbal estabeleçam condições comuns para o desenvolvimento de repertórios relacionados à noção de Eu, variações individuais podem emergir a partir da interação entre esses repertórios e as variáveis específicas do sujeito. Portanto, torna-se relevante identificar quais variáveis modulam essa diferenciação e contribuem para a construção de diferentes noções de Eu.

Identificação de variáveis relacionadas à construção de diferentes noções de Eu

Como visto anteriormente, a integração dos repertórios comportamentais auto-observação, autoconhecimento, autocontrole, autogoverno e autoeducação compreende parte do conjunto de repertórios aos quais Skinner se refere, ao longo de sua obra, como “sistema unificado de respostas” (Skinner, 1953) que constituem a noção de Eu. Além disso, entende-se que a comunidade verbal tem papel importante no desenvolvimento destes e de outros repertórios, por fornecer condições antecedentes e consequentes para que o processo de ensino-aprendizagem desses comportamentos aconteça. Como é responsabilidade da comunidade empregar determinadas práticas — planejar contingências e arranjar condições para o desenvolvimento de comportamentos — pode-se compreender que há certa regularidade nas condições às quais diferentes indivíduos são expostos ao longo da vida.

Essa regularidade diz respeito a manutenção, por parte da comunidade verbal, não apenas das práticas de ensino-aprendizagem por meio das quais são desenvolvidos esses repertórios, mas também, das condições que orientam a comunidade para o estabelecimento destas práticas, como os valores de certo e errado, que são próprios de cada comunidade. Por considerar, por exemplo, que uma determinada comunidade verbal possui seus próprios parâmetros de comportamentos que serão reforçados e quais não serão tolerados (e provavelmente serão punidos ou colocados em extinção); e que as práticas por meio das quais esses comportamentos serão ensinados e mantidos terão uma função semelhante, ainda que em um determinado recorte de tempo, entende-se que diferentes sujeitos poderão ser submetidos a condições muito semelhantes (do ponto de vista da estrutura, valores e regras que orientam as práticas de uma determinada comunidade). Dessa forma, as variáveis que podem influenciar o processo de desenvolvimento de diferentes capacidades de identificar-se consigo mesmo podem estar atreladas a perspectiva do indivíduo nas relações que estabelece.

Em circunstâncias tradicionais, a variação na capacidade de se identificar consigo mesmo poderia ser atribuída a instâncias internas, como a mente ou a personalidade, por exemplo. Segundo essas teorias, são atribuídas ao sujeito as potenciais explicações para compreender a diferença de comportamento entre dois indivíduos. Nesses casos, o comportamento seria produto de um “agente interno”, “eu iniciador” ou “agente iniciador” (entre outras possibilidades), que seria o responsável por mobilizar o sujeito para que ele se comporte, iniciando, mediando e regulando o comportamento do indivíduo. Seria o caso de, em uma situação de conflito, por exemplo, um sujeito afirmar que não sabe por que agiu de determinada forma e justificar seu ato com base na ideia de que há algo “em seu interior” que o obrigou a agir desta maneira. A aplicação da ideia do eu iniciador incorre no que Chiesa (2006) denomina cisão entre o eu e o comportamento, isto é, o eu é tratado como a causa e o comportamento como manifestação externa desta causa. Com base nessa relação causal, o comportamento seria mero sintoma ou expressão externa daquilo que acontece no eu, comumente localizado no interior do indivíduo.

Na obra skinneriana, as teorias que recorrem à ideia de um “eu iniciador” são firmemente criticadas em função de recorrerem à cisão entre a mente e o comportamento, ou, neste caso, entre o Eu e o comportamento. O autor cunha críticas de natureza epistemológica, política e sociais, além de fornecer explicações alternativas sob a ótica comportamentalista radical. Recorrendo à perspectiva relacionista, um dos pressupostos filosófico-epistemológicos do Behaviorismo Radical, Skinner busca explicar o comportamento com base na relação entre organismo e ambiente, sem privilegiar um ou outro, mas enfatizando a interdependência entre eles. Nesta lógica, autores como Lopes (2008) e Zilio (2012), defendem que só é possível nomear os elementos pertencentes a essas relações à medida em que se analisam funcionalmente as relações que estabelecem entre si.

Por meio de uma perspectiva relacionista, podemos elencar, então, algumas variáveis

que caracterizam a relação estabelecida entre o sujeito e o ambiente e que estão relacionadas às noções disposicionais, propostas por Ryle (1949/1980). Para o autor, o estabelecimento de conceitos disposicionais diz respeito à possibilidade de considerar uma variável como responsável por alterar a probabilidade ou tendência em uma relação. Essa noção proposta por Ryle (1949/1980) parece estar relacionada à noção skinneriana de estados motivacionais e emocionais e que podem alterar a probabilidade de o comportamento acontecer.

O conjunto de estados emocionais e motivacionais está relacionado à variáveis que podem alterar o valor reforçador ou punitivo de um estímulo ao qual o indivíduo está em contato. Por consequência, ao modificarem as condições sob as quais o indivíduo se comporta, essas variáveis também influenciam a probabilidade de ocorrência do comportamento. Especificamente, os processos que influenciam o estabelecimento e a manutenção de determinadas relações — alterando a probabilidade de ocorrência de comportamentos — incluem estados como privação e saciação, bem como estados emocionais.

O desenvolvimento dos repertórios que dizem respeito à noção de Eu, destacados no primeiro capítulo, também será afetado por essas condições motivacionais e emocionais. Apesar de serem compreendidos como os mesmos repertórios a serem construídos, a forma como o processo se dá pode ser alterada pela facilidade ou dificuldade no estabelecimento de relações entre o indivíduo e sua comunidade verbal, pois é ela quem fornece contexto para a emergência de repertórios comportamentais. A experiência do indivíduo nessas contingências,

nesse caso, compõe um fator fundamental, posto que também será a comunidade que ensinará a nomear e manejar esses estados motivacionais e emocionais. O próprio Skinner (1971) afirma que a comunidade verbal reconhece essas variáveis que podem alterar a probabilidade de o sujeito se comportar, e adota diferentes estratégias para driblar a inacessibilidade, recorrendo ao estabelecimento de respostas baseadas em eventos públicos.

A capacidade de perceber seu próprio corpo e manejar seu comportamento, que outrora fora ensinada pela comunidade verbal, não se limita às contingências estabelecidas pela comunidade verbal. Caso o processo de aprendizagem de um novo repertório tenha sido efetivo, outras condições também podem controlar o comportamento além daquelas que estavam presentes no processo de ensino-aprendizagem. À medida que o indivíduo desenvolve capacidade de observar, descrever, manipular variáveis e alterar seu próprio comportamento verbal, ele também pode emití-lo sob controle de outras condições, como as condições que são produzidas pela experiência sensório-motora.

A experiência sensório-motora, que envolve a forma como o sujeito percebe seu próprio corpo em contato com as contingências desses contextos, corrobora para a compreensão de que há uma faceta individual nas relações estabelecidas entre sujeito e comunidade verbal. Essa questão individual pode ser compreendida como parte da experiência do indivíduo nas contingências mantidas pela comunidade verbal, que possui características relacionadas com as variáveis da história de cada sujeito, a susceptibilidade a estímulos, as condições de privação e saciação, bem como os sentimentos evocados nestas relações. O indivíduo se relaciona, portanto, não apenas com as condições proporcionadas por sua comunidade verbal, mas também, está imerso em suas experiências sensório-motoras destas relações.

Dessa forma, as práticas da comunidade verbal não podem ser caracterizadas como idênticas para diferentes indivíduos, ainda que possam compartilhar uma estrutura comum e

expressar valores e regras semelhantes. Além disso, mesmo para um mesmo indivíduo, essas práticas não permanecem inalteradas ao longo do tempo. Os membros da comunidade verbal também estão suscetíveis às mudanças em suas próprias variáveis motivacionais e emocionais, o que pode influenciar a maneira como arranjam contingências (de reforço e/ou punição) para determinados comportamentos. Assim, a interação de um sujeito com a comunidade hoje pode ser diferente da interação que ocorrerá em outro momento, dependendo do estado emocional e das experiências recentes dos membros do grupo.

Dessa forma, nem as práticas da comunidade verbal poderão ser caracterizadas como as mesmas em função dessas variáveis, nem os sujeitos poderão ser compreendidos como os mesmos, posto que a experiência sensório-motora dessas relações é individual. Além disso, esses indivíduos também não se sentirão os mesmos, pois a perspectiva é única e individual a depender dessa experiência. Nesse contexto, o Eu não pode ser reduzido apenas a um conjunto de repertórios fixos, pois está continuamente sendo moldado por essas variações nas interações sociais. Mais do que um repertório, o Eu é a perspectiva em primeira pessoa que vivencia as contingências estabelecidas pela comunidade e faz experienciar essas contingências de maneira única, o que abre flanco para a discussão sobre o sujeito sentir-se como si mesmo (sense of self).

A explicação para o sense of Self não se encontra na descrição de repertórios que constituem a noção de Eu e nem nas práticas estabelecidas pela comunidade verbal para o desenvolvimento destes repertórios, mas sim, pela experiência das condições em que o comportamento é estabelecido e mantido. O sentir-se como si mesmo compreende a perspectiva única do indivíduo em relação às experiências que vive, de maneira que o sujeito se identifica com as características que percebe de si e de seu próprio comportamento, sendo capaz de descrever as condições em que se comporta a partir de sua própria perspectiva.

Considerações Finais

Ao considerar que o desenvolvimento de determinados repertórios comportamentais guarda relação com o contato com contingências e pode ser explicado com base na história de relações estabelecidas entre o indivíduo e seu ambiente, torna-se possível explicar o importante papel desempenhado pela comunidade verbal na origem de certos comportamentos. Uma comunidade, por meio de suas práticas, pode estabelecer contingências para que o sujeito se comporte de maneiras específicas, utilizando de diferentes processos comportamentais para consequenciar o comportamento do indivíduo. À medida em que essas relações acontecem, tanto o contato com contingências quanto os efeitos dos processos comportamentais em questão poderão ser identificados pelo sujeito.

Para que o sujeito possa identificar, por sua vez, as mudanças produzidas em si no contato com as contingências e seus efeitos, é imprescindível que seu comportamento verbal tenha sido treinado por uma comunidade, posto que o processo de ensino-aprendizagem dos repertórios verbais irá acontecer nas contingências estabelecidas pela própria comunidade. Nesses casos, a comunidade pode orientar o indivíduo a direcionar atenção para seu corpo e comportamento, fornecendo contexto e condições para que o autorrelato aconteça. Será a comunidade, então, a responsável por instruir o sujeito a nomear e identificar estímulos, comportamentos e consequências.

A capacidade de identificar e nomear estímulos serão fundamentais para o desenvolvimento de alguns repertórios que integram a noção de Eu, sendo precursores para a observação e descrição do corpo e comportamento (auto-observação e autodescrição). Somadas a essas capacidades, podem ocorrer o desenvolvimento de repertórios que visam o automanejo (autoconhecimento, autocontrole, autogoverno e autoedição) do comportamento entendidas aqui como repertórios integrantes da noção de Eu. Na mesma medida, será por meio da descrição de aspectos do corpo e comportamento, com base nesses repertórios, que o

sujeito poderá desenvolver a capacidade de identificar-se consigo mesmo.

A auto-identificação com aspectos de como o sujeito se sente e como se comporta pode ser, então, uma via de explicação para compreender a possibilidade de existirem diferentes Eus, isto é, diferentes possibilidades de auto-identificação. Por considerar que existe uma perspectiva individual nas relações desenvolvidas no contexto estabelecido pela comunidade, entende-se que a experiência sensório-motora particular do sujeito produzirá também, contexto para que ele se comporte. Atribuí-se a essa experiência particular a identificação de efeitos concomitantes ao comportamento e que são produto, também, das contingências em que o sujeito age. Esses efeitos, por sua vez, poderão alterar as relações que o sujeito virá a estabelecer.

Em conclusão, entende-se como contribuição do presente trabalho a identificação de aspectos que dizem respeito à experiência dos sujeitos de seu comportamento, que está sob controle de variáveis estabelecidas pela comunidade. Evidencia-se que parte das variáveis identificadas diz respeito a eventos privados e de efeitos colaterais das consequências produzidas pelo seu próprio comportamento. Esses eventos, que são subprodutos destas contingências, poderão afetar o comportamento de diferentes maneiras, facilitando ou dificultando o estabelecimento e a manutenção de relações com o ambiente físico e social. A medida em que afetam o comportamento dessa maneira, podem ser entendidos como variáveis disposicionais, por alterarem a probabilidade de novas relações comportamentais ocorrerem.

Para mais, no que tange a perspectiva de estudos futuros, pode ser ampliada a amostra de palavras-chave que dizem respeito a noção de comunidade verbal, como “grupo” ou “ambiente social”, visando maiores contribuições a respeito das práticas que são estabelecidas pela comunidade. Além disso, podem também ser identificados aspectos que dizem respeito a práticas específicas por parte da comunidade que corroboram para a manutenção de estados de privação, que podem favorecer o estabelecimento de relações de controle por parte de

grupos específicos, por ejemplo.

Referências Bibliográficas

- Abib, J. A. D. (2009). Quem sou eu? In: Tomanik, E. A.; Caniato, A. M. P.; & Facci, M. G. D. (Orgs.). *Constituição do sujeito e a historicidade*. (pp. 13-32). Alínea.
- Abib, J. A. D.; Laurenti, C.; & Lopes, C. (2012). O homem complexo. *Conversas pragmatistas sobre comportamentalismo radical: mundo, homem e ética*. (pp. 85-130). ESETec.
- Andery, M. A.; Micheletto, N. & Sério, T. M. (2004). Publicações de B. F. Skinner: de 1930 a 2004. *Revista Brasileira de Terapia Comportamental e Cognitiva*, 6(1), 93-134.
- Bettio, C. D. B., & Laurenti, C. (2016); Contribuições de B. F. Skinner para o estudo do desenvolvimento humano. *Acta Comportamentalia: Revista Latina de Análisis Del Comportamiento*. 24(1).
- Burton, M., & Kagan, C. (1994). The verbal community and the societal construction of consciousness. *Behavior and Social Issues*, 4(1).
- Bradenburg, O. J. & Weber, L. N. D. (2005). Autoconhecimento e Liberdade no behaviorismo radical. *PsicoUSF*, 10(1), 87-92.
- Chiesa, M. (2006). Behaviorismo radical: A filosofia e a ciência. Editora Celeiro. (Trabalho original publicado em 1994).
- Corrêa, B. A., Cantero, C. R., & Melo, C. M. (2014). O papel da comunidade verbal no ensino de autocontrole: Implicações de uma visão dualista de homem. *Perspectivas em Análise do Comportamento*, 5(1), 17-26. <https://doi.org/10.18761/perspectivas.v5i1.123>
- Cruz, R. N. (2006). Uma introdução ao conceito de autocontrole proposto pela análise do comportamento. *Revista Brasileira de Terapia Comportamental e Cognitiva*. 8(1), 85-94.
- Dentello, F. (2009). *Análise do conceito de eu em James e Skinner* (Dissertação (Mestrado). Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo.
- Pimentel, N. dos S., Bandini, C. S. M., & e Melo, C. M. (2012). Compreendendo o abandono do “eu iniciador” em B. F. Skinner a partir das críticas de G. Ryle ao mentalismo tradicional: Questões teóricas e consequências práticas. *Acta Comportamentalia*, 20(2), 217-233.
- Laurenti, C., & Leão, M. F. F. C. (2009). Uma análise do modelo de explicação no behaviorismo radical: o estatuto do comportamento e a relação de dependência entre eventos.

Interação em Psicologia, 13(1), 165-174.

Laurenti, C., & Lopes, C. E. (2016). Metodologia da pesquisa conceitual em psicologia. In C. Laurenti, C. E. Lopes & S. F. Araujo (Orgs.), *Pesquisa teórica em psicologia: Aspectos filosóficos e metodológicos* (pp. 41-69). Hogrefe.

Laurenti, C., & Lopes, C. E. (2022). Uma análise do comportamento contracultural: Perspectivas e desafios. *Perspectivas em Análise do Comportamento*, 13(1), 25-40. <https://doi.org/10.18761/DH00024.jan22>

Lopes, C. E., & Laurenti, C. (2024). A construção política do “Eu” no Comportamentalismo Radical: Opressão, submissão e subversão. *Acta Comportamentalia: Revista Latina de Análisis del Comportamiento*, 32(1).

Lopes, C. E. (2008). Uma proposta de definição de comportamento no behaviorismo radical. *Revista Brasileira de Terapia Comportamental e Cognitiva*, 10(1), 1-13.

Malacrida, G. P., & Laurenti, C. (2018). Uma análise do conceito de “Eu” nos textos de B. F. Skinner. *Revista Brasileira de Análise do Comportamento*, 14(1), 69-78.

Malerbi, F. E. K., & Matos, M. A. (1992). Análise do comportamento verbal e a aquisição de repertórios autodescritivos de eventos privados. *Psicologia: Teoria e Pesquisa*, 8(3), 407-421.

Micheletto, N., & Sérgio, T. M. de A. P. (1993). Homem: Objeto ou sujeito para Skinner? *Temas em Psicologia*, 1(2), 11-21.

Michaelis On-Line. (2025). Dicionário Brasileiro da Língua Portuguesa. Editora Melhoramentos. Disponível em: <https://michaelis.uol.com.br/moderno-portugues/busca/portugues-brasileiro/comunidade/>.

Moreira, F. R.; Silva, E. F.; Lima, G. O.; Assaz, D. A; Oshiro, C. K B., & Meyers, S. B. (2017). Comparação dos conceitos de self entre FAP, ACT e obra de Skinner. *Revista Brasileira de Terapia Comportamental e Cognitiva*, 19(3), 220-237.]

Mucheroni, N. (2020). *O conceito de comunidade verbal na obra de B. F. Skinner*. Dissertação de mestrado. Programa de estudos Pós graduados em Psicologia Experimental: Análise do Comportamento. PUC-SP.

Trintim, Lucas Tobias. (2024) *Autoconhecimento e agências controladoras: uma investigação da influência do ambiente social sobre o conhecimento de si mesmo*. Dissertação de mestrado (Pós-Graduação em Análise do Comportamento). Universidade Estadual de Londrina, Londrina, Brasil.

Skinner, B. F. (1945). The operational analysis of psychological terms. *Psychological Review*, 52, 270-277. Recuperado Outubro, 2023, em <https://userpages.umbc.edu/~catania/ABACNJ/Pages%20from%20BBS%20BFS%204%20terms.pdf>

Skinner, B. F. (1953). *Science and Human Behavior*. The Macmillan Company.

Skinner, B. F. (1957). *Verbal Behavior*. Copley Publishing Group.

Skinner, B. F. (1959). *Cumulative Record*. Appleton Century Crofts.

Skinner, B. F. (1968). *Technology of Teaching*. Meredith Corporation.

Skinner, B. F. (1969). *Contingencies of Reinforcement*. Appleton Century Crofts.

Skinner, B. F. (1971). *Beyond Freedom and Dignity*. Penguin Books Ltd.

Skinner, B. F. (1974). *About Behaviorism*. Vintage Books.

Skinner, B. F. (1975). Contingências do Reforço. Coleção Os Pensadores. São Paulo: Ed. Abril. Traduzido do original inglês *Contingencies of Reinforcement*, New Jersey, Prentice Hall, 1969. Cap I, pp 9-27.

Skinner, B. F. (1978). *Reflections on Behaviorism and Society*. Prentice-Hall Inc.

Skinner, B. F. (1981). Selection by consequences. *Science*, 213(4507), 501-504.
<https://doi.org/10.1126/science.7244649>

Skinner, B. F. (1987). The evolution of verbal behavior. *Journal of the Experimental Analysis of Behavior*, 45(1), 115-22.

Skinner, B. F. (1989). *Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior*. Merrill Publishing Company.

Zilio, D. (2012). Relacionismo substancial: a ontologia do comportamento à luz do behaviorismo radical. *Psic.: Teoria e Pesquisa*, 28(1), 190-118.

APÊNDICES

Apêndice A - Citações extraídas na execução da Etapa 1

Número	Citação	Referência
1	"The contingencies necessary for self descriptive behavior are arranged by the community when it has reason to ask 'What did you say?', 'Did you say that?' 'Why did you say that?', and so on, for the answers are useful in many ways."	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 12 – The Autoclitic – p. 314
2	"Verbal communities which encourage introspection and self-observation are particularly likely to have this effect. Once we have observed variables affecting our own behavior, we may respond to them in other ways."	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 5 – Operant Behavior – p. 126
3	"Verbal behavior primarily controlled by the self as an audience may show progressive changes. The diary-writer is affected by continuing automatic reinforcement, and the audience control which he exerts over himself may be sharpened."	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 7 – The Audience – p. 180
4	Self-knowledge. Discriminative responses to one's own behavior and to the variables of which it is a function appear to be the exclusive product of the social environment. Whether or not our subject will be self-conscious and introspective depends upon the extent to which the group has insisted upon answers to questions such as 'What are you doing?' or 'Why did you do that?'"	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 27 – Culture and control – p. 423
5	"We cannot satisfactorily answer this question by pointing to a special subdivision of the speaker as a controlling self or personality, because no ultimate explanation would thus be achieved. We should still have to explain the behavior of such a "speaker," and our problem would only be made more difficult because that speaker is inaccessible."	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 12 – The Autoclitic – p. 312
6	"I have found it necessary from time to time to attack traditional concepts which assign spontaneous control to the special inner self called the speaker. Only in this way could I make room for the alternative explanation of action which it is the business of a science of verbal behavior to construct."	Verbal Behavior – Two Personal Epilogues – p. 460
7	But is this a matter of the behavior with which one responds to oneself or of the self to which one responds? In human behavior the critical issue is not the feeling but what is felt, just as it is not the seeing but what is seen. A machine, no matter how sensitive, can feel only a machine. A machine is all a machine can possibly be conscious of.	Contingencies of Reinforcement – p. 294
8	""[...] But how do we enter into the minds of others? (1) Others tell us how to feel, as they have been taught to do by those who have seen only their behavior upon given occasions. (2) We feel events in our bodies when behaving in the same ways upon similar occasions, and hence suppose that that is what others are talking about. (3) One way of 'describing' a feeling is to describe na occasion upon which people would presumably feel that way. 'Then felt I like some watcher of the skies...' 'He felt as if he had been physically struck...' I have tried to reamin 'behavioristic' in writing my autobiography. Some readers would have been deeply moved – as I was – both when I wrote and when I	(Notebooks – p. 147-148).

	lived the life I was describing.”	
9	“It his apparent causality lodged w ithin the private world within a skin, together with the organization imposed upon it by the fact that all its determining conditions have occurred in the history of one person, generates a ‘sense of self’. We feel there is an ‘I’ who knows what he is going to do and does it. Each of us is aware or conscious of at least one such self, which we learn to manage more or less effectively.”	(Reflections on Behaviorism and Society – Cap. 1 – Society – p. 51-52
10	“All behavior, human and nonhuman, is unconscious; it becomes ‘conscious’ when verbal environments provide the contingencies necessary for self-observation. (It is the person, of course, who is ‘conscious’ or ‘unconscious’, not the behavior.) Other verbal contingencies generate the behavior called self-management or thinking, in which problems are solved by manipulating either contingencies (as in practical problem solving) or rules (as in ‘reasoning’).”	Recent Issues – Cap. 6 – Whatever happened to psychology as the Science of behavior? – p. 63
11	“I have always been bothered by the fact that I never dressed well. And I have just discovered why. Those who dress well never wear their clothing out. Yesterday I bought three pair of shoes. (I can’t get shoes in Harvard Square because my feet are size 7 and the stores seldom carry it.) I shall now throw away two or three pairs which are still good. I am planning on buy some shirts in the mode. I have not worn my present supply, which is embarrassingly dated, as I discovered last week at my management clinic. Of course the reason is that styles are changed precisely to induce people to throw good clothes away. Or to give them away in doing so sharpen a class distinction. The lower classes are out of style. Perhaps that is why, recently, they have innovated a style of their own.”	(Notebooks – p. 70-71).
12	“Self-knowledge is of social origin. It is only when a person’s private world becomes important to others that it is made important to him. It then enters into the control of the behavior called knowing. But self-knowledge has a special value to the individual himself. A person who has been “made aware of himself” by the questions he has been asked is in a better position to predict and control his own behavior.”	(About Behaviorism – Cap. 2 – The World Within the Skin – p. 16).
13	“To Thine Own Self be True. What can it mean? Let thy behavior be determined by a Thee? By a Self? Or by the history of reinforcement that has made thee a person? To act to please another person is being true to oneself if the other person the does one a favor a favor. To please someone you like is being true to yourself because [inscrição em uma língua cabreira que eu não sei] (a friend is another self). And it is being true to oneself to please and hence appease one who threatens. But these are pretty surely not what Polonius meant. The relation of current reinforcers to a person’s history is the issues. One who has acted for the good of others all one’s life and now betrays a frient to avoid punishment is not being true to oneself though it is the self that seems to gain”	(p. 148-149 – Notebooks).
14	“A person or self is a repertoire of behavior. The repertoire shaped and maintained by daily life is rich and varied. The repertoire shaped and maintained by a factory is small and stale. It does not compose much of a person.”	(Upon Further Reflection – Cap. 3 – News from nowhere – p. 7).

15	"As I have argued elsewhere, self-knowledge, consciousness, or awareness became possible only when the species acquired verbal behavior, and that was very late in its history."	(Reflections – Cap. 2 – The science of behavior – p. 111).
16	"Much more needs to be done in analyzing what one does when doing nothing. My analysis of leisure is a start. But what is achieved when one practices meditation? I don't know the technique well enough to make a good analysis, but I can see something of what happens as I sit listening to music. If I do not read or look at pictures, I am thinking under very weak control of external variables. I fantasize easily, and often intensively. I observe myself doing so. Notes come to mind and I write them down, as I am doing now. If I control some of this, keeping myself from thinking about problems, I limit myself to – what? Exactly! 'To what?'. What does one do when there is nothing to do? Things turn up which would otherwise be displaced and concealed. One discovers unfamiliar parts of oneself. As I have noted elsewhere, the absence of conspicuous control may suggest that this is me, the inner me. It is often worth looking at."	Notebooks - p. 349-350
17	"We must all begin as babies, and no degree of self-determination, self-sufficiency, or self-reliance will make us individuals in any sense beyond that of single members of the human species."	(Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 6 – Values – p. 123
18	"Now, self-observation is also the product of discriminative contingencies, and if a discrimination cannot be forced by the community, it may never arise. Strangely enough, it is the community which teaches the individual to 'know himself'."	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 5 – The Tact – p. 134
19	"Self-descriptive verbal behavior is of interest for many reasons. Only through the acquisition of such behavior does the speaker become "aware" of what he is doing or saying, and why."	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 5 – The Tact – p. 139).
20	It does not deny the possibility of self-observation or self-knowledge or its possible usefulness, but it questions the nature of what is felt or observed and hence known. It restores introspection but not what philosophers and introspective psychologists had believed they were "suspecting," and it raises the question of how much of one's body one can actually observe." (About Behaviorism – Cap. 1 – The Causes of Behavior – p. 10
21	"The kind of self-descriptive behavior which needs further study arises from a special effect on the listener. The ultimate explanation of any kind of verbal behavior depends upon the action which the listener takes with respect to it."	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 12 – The Autoclitic – p. 314
22	"If consciousness seems to have a causal effect, it is the effect of the special environment which induces self-observation."	(About Behaviorism – Cap. 10 – The Inner World of Motivation and Emotion – p. 61).
23	"In self-knowledge, the knowing self is different from the known. In self-management the controlling self is different from the controlled. But all selves are the products of genetic and environmental histories. Self-knowledge and self-management are of social origin, and the selves known and managed are the products of both contingencies of survival and contingencies of reinforcement."	(About Behaviorism – Cap. 15 – Summing Up – p. 88).

24	<p>“But the special knowledge resulting from self-observation can be given a formulation which preserves intact the notion of the continuity of species. Experimental methods can be applied first to the behavior of the Other One, and only later to the analysis of the behavior of the scientist himself.”</p>	<p>(Cumulative Record – Cap. 5 – For experimental psychologists only – p. 374).</p>
25	<p>““Self-control. The inanimate environment may establish some degree of self-control — for example, the individual may learn not to eat a delicious but indigestible food — but by far the greater part of self-control is culturally determined, particularly by ethical, religious, and governmental agencies.”</p>	<p>(Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 27 – Culture and control – p. 423).</p>
26	<p>“(Introspective knowledge of dreaming is weak or lacking because the conditions needed for self-observation are lacking, and when such self-knowledge survives into the waking state, it usually disappears quickly as one forgets one’s dreams). It is also possible to know that you have seen something before. We recognize what we have once cognized. In a déjà vu this feature of self-knowledge is defective.”</p>	<p>(About Behaviorism – Cap. 5 – Perceiving – p. 37).</p>
27	<p>“(e) Introspective knowledge of one’s body — self-knowledge — is defective for two reasons: the verbal community cannot bring self-descriptive behavior under the precise control of private stimuli, and there has been no opportunity for the evolution of a nervous system which would bring some very important parts of the body under that control. (f) Within these limits self-knowledge is useful. The verbal community asks questions about private events because they are the collateral products of environmental causes, about which it can therefore make useful inferences, and selfknowledge becomes useful to the individual for similar reasons”</p>	<p>(About Behaviorism – Cap. 15 – Summing Up – p. 86).</p>
28	<p>“Private events are limited not only in the extent to which they control “introspective” accounts but also in the extent to which they are useful in self-management.”</p>	<p>(Notebooks – p. 228).</p>
29	<p>“No doubt ad the effect of a very long verbal history, I myself describe and explain human behavior by talking about feelings. I was thinking about a particular set of social contingencies and said myself, ‘It induces people to do things they don’t want to do, things they feel guilty doing.’ I caught myself and ‘translated’: ‘things they have been punished for doing.’ (I might have added the rule-following parallel: ‘or things they have been told they will be punished for doing’.) There is an immediate gain. We begin to ask questions. Is there na important difference if the behavior is contingency-shapped rather than evoked by warning? What kind of punishment, by what or whom? The ‘feeling’ serves as a simple but deceptive summary of punitive contingencies. Incidentally, this is not real translation unless the feeling is merely a summary. It is going back to relevant causes, rather than stopping with colateral effect.”</p>	<p>(Notebooks – p. 282-283).</p>
30	<p>“We shall see that self-descriptive behavior also serves the individual himself and that when it does so, it tends to remain accurate.”</p>	<p>(About Behaviorism – Cap. 2 – The World Within the Skin – p. 15).</p>

31	“The general interest level of members of the group, their motivations and emotional dispositions, their behavioral repertoires, and the extent to which they practice self-control and self-knowledge are all relevant to the strength of the group as a whole.”	(Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 28 – Designing a Culture – p. 430-431).
32	“[...] even so, a fragmentary echoic behavior appears in what are called ‘clang associations’ responses which are alliterative or rhyming or otherwise similar to the stimulus word. A fragmentary self-echoic behavior (see below) may be shown in reduplicative forms like helter-skelter, razzle-dazzle, and willy-nilly.”	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 4 – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 56).
33	“Echoic responses are useful and reinforced when they serve as fill-ins. In answer to the question “What will happen to the international situation during the next few weeks?” The student may begin during the next few weeks, the international situation..., which may be purely echoic but, especially if the situation demands speed, self-reinforcing if it provides a breathing space for the composition of the rest of the sentence.”	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 4 – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 57).
34	“Before turning to kinds of self-management which are more likely to be called thinking, it will be well to note a special characteristic responsible for much confusion in the field.”	(Technology of Teaching – Cap. 6 – Teaching Thinking – p. 123).
35	“As we have seen, the techniques of self-management used in thinking are very similar to those which another person would use to bring about the same changes in the thinker’s behavior.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 7 – The motivation of the student – p. 166
36	“Self-knowledge is at best a by-product of contingencies; it is not a cause of the behavior generated by them. Even if we could discover a spider’s felt intention or sense of purpose, we could not offer it as a cause of the behavior.”	(Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 7 – The Phylogeny and Ontogeny of Behavior – p. 194).
37	“The relatively permanent nature of a text, as compared with the echoic stimulus, makes self-textual behavior ordinarily more important than self-echoic, and the former demonstrates in a more obvious fashion the occasional advantages of the later mentioned in the preceding chapter.”	(Verbal Behavior – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 69).
38	“Parts of that repertoire are concerned with self-knowledge and self-control which, as we shall see in Chapter 9, are social products even though they are usually misrepresented as intensely individual and private things.”	(Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 6 – Values – p. 122).
39	“The speaker hears himself, and the writer reads what he himself has written. Such self stimulation often evokes further behavior echoic, textual, or intraverbal but ‘talking to oneself’ has another function”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 6 – Special Condition Affecting Stimulus Control – p. 164).
40	“Our increasing knowledge of the control exerted by the environment makes it possible to examine the effect of the world within the skin and the nature of self-knowledge. It also makes it possible to interpret a wide range of mentalistic expressions.”	(About Behaviorism – Cap. 1 – The Causes of Behavior – p. 10).
41	“This is not echoic behavior, because the borrowed response is not emitted in the proper temporal relation to the verbal stimulus. The borrowing occurs because of the automatic self-reinforcement generated by the speaker as a result of his earlier conditioning as a listener.”	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 6 – Special Condition Affecting Stimulus Control – p. 164).

42	“Music also provides evidence of the importance of self-stimulation in ‘intraverbal’ chains. The singer who cannot produce notes at the proper pitch may ‘loose the melody’ in either sight-reading or singing by ear or from notes.”	(Verbal Behavior – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 73).
43	“At the other end of the age-continuum we find the verbal behavior of senility slow halting speech under faulty stimulus control, "forgotten" intraverbals, the rambling of trivial intraverbals and self-echoics, the reduced audience-control which makes for irrelevance, unchecked repetition, and so on.”	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 8 – The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis – p. 213-214).
44	“Such self-stimulation is reminiscent of the early stages of reading. It provides for the self-correction of units somewhat above the level of the single speech-sound. Eventually the translator improves upon this crude procedure by developing more eficiente intraverbal operants, mainly of larger patterns, and by acquiring normal listening or reading behavior under the control of the new language without the aid of translation.”	(Verbal Behavior – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 77).
45	“I have mentioned two reasons, to which I shall have many occasions to return: in teaching self-knowledge (1) the verbal community must make do with rather primitive nervous systems, and (2) it cannot fully solve the problem of privacy.”	(About Behaviorism – Cap. 2 – The World Within the Skin – p. 16).
46	“Only because it does so can coordinated behavior, in which one response is in part controlled by another, be executed. Verbal behavior exemplifies the co-ordination which requires self-stimulation. The speaker may be his own listener for example, when intraverbal responses generate ‘free association’ and automatic self-stimulation from verbal behavior is crucial in the analysis of syntactical and other processes involved in composition and thinking (Parts IV and V). We are concerned here with self-tacts with verbal behavior controlled by other behavior of the speaker, past, present, or future. The stimuli may or may not be private”	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 5 – The Tact – p. 139).
47	“When I listen to music while not Reading, I sit up, my earflaps on (sound-reflecting surfaces held at angels tom y ears by a wire frame fitted on my head), and I get a “sense of self”. I am not sure that it is different from lying awake listening to music in the middle of the night, but at least I do not read.”	(Notebooks – p. 148).
48	“He may hear himself or react to private stimuli associated with vocal behavior, possibly of a covert or even incipient form. In a more obvious case, he may read what he has written. Self-stimulation has already been appealed to in discussing self-echoic, self-textual, and selfintraverbal behavior, as well as certain effects of the speaker acting as his own listener and audience.”	(Verbal Behavior – Cap. 12 – The Autoclitic – p. 314 [tact])
49	“An importante part of that solution is to teach techniques of self-control in which the devil could be said to be tricked rather than vanquished.”	(Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 3 – The Environmental Solution – p. 66-67).
50	“It is about a problem we all face, and the solution I propose is na example about verbal self-management, using my Verbal Behavior (1957) as the basis of a technology.”	Upon Further Reflection – Cap. 9 – How to discover whats you have to say, a talk to students – p. 1).

51	“Manipulating stimuli. Most of the techniques of self-control through the manipulation of stimuli may be directly extended to the behavior of others.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 20 – Personal Control – p. 316
52	“Some parts of our behavior alter and improve the effectiveness of other parts in what may be called intellectual self-management.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 6 – Teaching Thinking – p. 120
53	“To attend to something as a form of self-management is to respond to it in such a way that subsequent behavior is more likely to be reinforced.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 6 – Teaching thinking – p. 121
54	“Specific instruction is particularly important because self-management is often covert and models are therefore not generally available for imitation.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 7 – The motivation of the student – p. 167
55	“The religious agency usually establishes a repertoire of obedience for future use, and it may also set up extremely powerful self-control to guarantee a measure of controlled behavior in the absence of the religious agent.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 23 – Religion – p. 356, grifos do autor
56	“Extreme measures of self-restraint are sometimes enjoined. The individual may confine himself to restricted diets, enter upon periods of fasting, engage in certain exercises or adopt certain postures, or take certain drugs — all because of the resulting change in his dispositions to act in virtuous or sinful ways. Self-control through the manipulation of stimuli is common. ‘Temptation’ (often personified in religious literature as Satan) embraces all the stimuli which lead to sinful behavior. ‘Wrestling with the devil’ appears to describe the conflict between the controlled and controlling responses of Chapter XV.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 23 – Religion – p. 357
57	“It is sometimes said that children are not ready for the freedom of self-control until they reach the age of reason, and that meanwhile they must either be kept in a safe environment or be punished.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 4 – Punishment – p. 73
58	“Education furthers freedom in a second way by teaching techniques of self-management which permit men to deal effectively with any aversive features of the environment which may survive.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 8 – The creative student – p. 172
59	“Contingencies which respect originality do not strengthen specific topographies. They may, however, indirectly reinforce techniques of self-management.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 8 – The creative student – p. 182
60	“We have considered the teaching of a few motor skills (such as rhythm and high-jumping), a few perceptual skills (discriminating or matching colors, tones, or patterns), certain kinds of verbal behavior (handwriting, spelling, naming and describing, reading, and speaking a second language), a few verbal and nonverbal repertoires (arithmetic, memorized poetry, musical thinking, high school physics, and human behavior), some techniques of intellectual and ethical self-management (attending, exploring, studying, solving problems), and a few aspects of emotional behavior.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 8 – The creative student – p. 193
61	“Covert nonverbal behavior often occurs in solving problems, creating works of art, engaging in self-control, and otherwise manipulating variables affecting one's own behavior.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 8 – The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis – p. 198

62	“But the behavior involved in understanding music can be analyzed experimentally, operant conditioning is not rote learning, programs can promote original behavior, and what is learned from making mistakes can be taught in other ways (155). Problem solving, creative thinking, intellectual and ethical self-management, and behavior governed by rules are also often said to be out of reach.”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 4 – The Experimental Analysis of Behavior – p. 100
63	“In a more serious vein these techniques have made it possible to explore the complexities of the individual organism and to analyze some of the serial or coordinate behaviors involved in attention, problem solving, various types of self-control, and the subsidiary systems of responses within a single organism called personalities.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 2 – The Science of learning and the art of teaching – p. 12
64	“The stimuli which a man constructs in solving problems can be helpful to other people precisely because the variables manipulated in self management are those which control the behavior of men in general. In constructing external stimuli to supplement or replace private changes in his behavior, a man automatically prepares for the transmission of what he has learned.”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 6 – An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving – p. 138-139
65	“He has changed the physical world to minimize aversive properties and maximize positive reinforcements, and he has constructed governmental, religious, educational, economic, and psychotherapeutic systems which promote satisfying personal contacts and make him more skillful, informed, productive, and happy. He is engaged in a gigantic exercise in self-control, as the result of which he has come to realize more and more of his genetic potential.”	(Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 2 – Utopia as na Experimental Culture – p. 46
66	“Not only has the most ardent behaviorist feelings like everyone else; on balance he has quite possibly more enjoyable ones, because there are states of the body — associated, for example, with failure, frustration, or loss — which are far from enjoyab ey are less likely to be experienced by those who practice scientific self-knowledge and self-management.”	About Behaviorism – Cap. 15 – Summing Up – p. 95
67	“A man who has been alone since birth will have no verbal behaviour, will not be aware of himself as a person, will possess no techniques of self management, and with respect to the world around him will have only those meagre skills which can be acquired in one short lifetime from non-social contingencies.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 6 – Values – p. 122
68	“The solution to many neurotic problems often consists of doing something to bring behavior to an and instead of simply ending it. Is this the difference between self-management by exercising the “will” (just stop a bad habbit) and by changing the environmental contingencies?”	Notebooks – p. 96
69	“The description which is thus generated is not yet a rule, but the person may use the same terms to mand his own behavior (as a form of self-control), to make resolutions, to formulate plans, to state purposes, and thus to construct rules.”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 6 – An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving – p. 159
70	“The contingences could have controlled behavior before they were ever formulated; the Golden Rule was derived from them. It enjoined people to examine in themselves the effects of measures they proposed to use with others. To follow the rule, a person needed both self-knowledge and self-control.”	Notebooks – p. 318

71	“Self-government often seems to solve the problem by identifying the controller with the controlled. The principle of making the controller a member of the group he controls should apply to the designer of a culture.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 8 – The design of a culture – p. 169
72	“You will have to work out your own rules. As in any application of a behavioral analysis, the secret of successful verbal self-management is an understanding of what verbal behavior is all about.”	Upon Further Reflection – Cap. 9 – How to discover what you have to say, a talk to students – p. 7
73	“To the cultural designer, these statements function as prescriptions for effective action; to the members of the group, they are important variables furthering effective self-management.”	Cumulative Record – Cap. 1 – The implications of a Science of behavior for human affairs, especially for the concept of freedom - p. 46
74	“When we solve the problem in any of these ways, we leave no room for personal responsibility or self-control. We leave no room for moral struggle; and if to struggle is human, we have indeed destroyed something of man.”	Cumulative Record – Cap. 1 - The implications of a Science of behavior for human affairs, especially for the concept of freedom – p. 55
75	“Aggressive action is punished by retaliative measures. All these aversive consequences normally lead to some measure of self-control.”	Cumulative Record –Cap. 1 - The implications of a Science of behavior for human affairs, especially for the concept of freedom – p. 55
76	“Any or all of these emotional conditions may be directly or indirectly aversive, in which case they combine with other conditioned aversive stimulation in providing for the reinforcement of behavior which displaces or otherwise reduces the probability of the punished response. The best example of such behavior is selfcontrol. The group also directly reinforces practices of self-control.”	(Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 21 – Group Control – p. 325).
77	“Among the forms of good behavior strengthened by the community are practices of self-control in which behavior which might result in extensive reinforcement is weakened.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 21 – Group Control – p. 327
78	“The kind of selfknowledge represented by discriminative verbal behavior the knowledge which is "expressed" when we talk about our own behavior is strictly limited by the contingencies which the verbal community can arrange.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 5 – The Tact –p. 135
79	“An educational institution often directly instructs the student in this sense, but it usually functions by establishing a complex verbal repertoire which the student later uses in what may be called self-instruction.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 26 – Education – p. 410
80	“Education has never taught the self management of motivation very effectively. It has seldom tried. But techniques become available as soon as the problem is understood.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 7 – The motivation of the student – p. 168
81	“When punishment is particularly severe, the self-knowledge discussed in Chapter 2 may be affected. The behavior suppressed may include the behavior involved in knowing about associated bodily conditions. The result is what Freud called ‘repression’.”	About Behaviorism – Cap. 4 – Operant Behavior – p. 29
82	“Although the reinforcing community uses the conspicuous manifestations of behavior, the speaker acquires the response in connection with a wealth of additional self stimulation. The latter may assume practically complete control — for example, when the speaker describes his own behavior blindfolded.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 5 – The Tact – p. 139

83	“Such an achievement would simply represent a special case of self-control in the sense of Chapter XV. It is easy for a ruler, or the designer of a culture, to use any available power to achieve certain immediate effects. It is much more difficult to use power to achieve certain ultimate consequences. But every scientific advance which points up such consequences makes some measure of self-control in the design of culture more probable.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 29 – The Problem of Control – p. 443-444
84	“All the examples of self-control described in Chapter XV could also be classified as ethical or moral problems. We deal with the ethics of governmental design and control as we deal with the ethics of any other sort of human behavior.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 29 – The Problem of Control – p. 444
85	“Other kinds of self-knowledge about stimulus control become available when we analyze the contingencies which control our behavior.”	About Behaviorism – Cap. 5 – Perceiving – p. 37
86	“The creative writer is reinforced by many things among them money, prestige, and various forms of self-stimulation. Some of these may be contingent upon particular responses, but there is a large measure of generalized reinforcement for verbal behavior simply as such.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 8 – The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis – p. 203
87	“They may also take the same steps in solving the problem of motivation. Techniques of self-control are available in heightening one’s own industry, enjoyment, and dedication.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 7 – The motivation of the student – p. 185
88	“But books which are "universal" are less likely to be ‘favorite’ books in matching most accurately the idiosyncracies of a particular reader. Gordon Allport has pointed out that autobiographies seem to be especially interesting because they satisfy the reader's own self-love. We might translate this by saying that most people possess Strong behavior of talking about themselves and that only autobiographies or novels written in the first person supply the appropriate verbal supplementation.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 10 – Supplementary Stimulation – p. 275
89	“It is one of the functions of a culture to correct for these innate dispositions through the design of techniques of control, and particularly of self-control, which moderate the effects of reinforcement.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 8 – The design of a culture – p. 173
90	“To solve the problems of the poor we must inspire self-respect, encourage initiative and reduce frustration.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 1 – A technology of behavior – p. 15
91	Many have looked for answers in a vita monastica or a strict puritanism. Eastern mystics have claimed to "abolish boredom by cherishing happiness". Rationalists have turned to skillful self-management. All such solutions have begun as personal experiences, which have served as cultural variations to be tested by their effect on the survival of the practicing groups.”	Upon Further Reflection – Cap. 2 – What’s wrong with daily life in the western world – p. 573
92	“According to traditional denitions of self-control, happiness, decision, responsibility, and urging, the behaviorist is indeed inconsistent, but according to his own denitions he is not; and when the latter are understood, objections of this sort lose their force.”	About Behaviorism – Cap. 15 – Summing Up – p. 95
93	“Behavior shaped and maintained by its immediate consequences is not only unconscious, it is unrational, unreasoned, unplanned. Social contingencies breed self-management.”	Upon Further Reflection – Cap. 3 – News from nowhere – p. 7

94	<p>“... is not one of the seven deadly sins, yet it is of the same magnitude. Occasionally one has insight and nevertheless continues to practice it. More often it goes unanalyzed. But what is it? What is felt? And what conditions breed what is felt? What does one who is sorry for oneself do? We feel ‘wronged’ when an aversive situation is due mainly to others. We tend to protest or attack as a means of righting the wrong. But we may feel sorry for ourselves simply after misfortune from any source, and in that case we can only protest too or attack nature, chance, or God. If we do no more than feel a tendency to act, feeling sorry for ourselves is wholly unproductive, since it falls short of changing any conditions. Rather than protest a wrong, whether due to others or to chance, we may seek the consolation of having others feel sorry. But simply to court a feeling on the part of others is again unproductive. We should induce action to correct the wrong.”</p>	Notebooks – p. 295
95	<p>“Pessimism and a loss of self-confidence, hope, and faith are, as we saw in Chapter 4, associated with a lack of strong positive reinforcement.”</p>	About Behaviorism – Cap. 9 – Knowing – p. 59
96	<p>“Those verbal contingencies gave rise to consciousness or self-knowledge.”</p>	Upon Further Reflection – Cap. 3 – News from nowhere – p. 7
97	<p>“The refusal of the welfare chiseler to make sacrifices then ‘calls into question the meaning of (the worker’s) act of self-abnegation’ and makes that ‘willed, created meaning vulnerable’. An elaborate psychic operation involving sacrifice, meaning, virtue, volition, self-abnegation, and will has the kind of prestige accorded the medieval sorcerer, a prestige denied to the behaviorist, who simply reports a set of social contingencies.”</p>	About Behaviorism – Cap. 10 – The Inner World of Motivation and Emotion
98	<p>‘Its members experience an intensified need for self-affirmation. Under the circumstances, collective self-glorification, found in some measure among all groups, becomes a frequent and intensified counterresponse to long-standing belittlement from without’. The first step is to strike out such expressions as ‘sense of’, ‘experience a need’, ‘self-affirmation’, ‘self-glorification’, and ‘belittlement’.</p>	About Behaviorism – Cap. 10 – The Inner World of Motivation and Emotion – p. 65
99	<p>“Freud was unable to stop smoking cigars, up to 25 a day, though smoking must have been obviously related to the heavy “catarrh” he suffered from most of his life, as well as to the protracted cancer of the jaw in his last years. (Did he stop toward the end?) An astonishing lack of self-understanding or self-control. Was he not bothered by it, or did much of his theory spring from the need to acknowledge that the habit was “bigger than he was” – that contingency-shaped behavior (the “unconscious”) prevailed against rule-governed (“the rational conscious mind”)?”</p>	Notebooks – p. 341

100	<p>“They do not speak well of themselves because of ‘collective self-glorification’; they speak well of themselves because it is reinforcing to hear themselves well spoken of, and they are especially likely to do so when they have previously not been well spoken of. The behavior at issue can be observed in a single person: ‘When a person is able to do so, he will speak of his good qualities in contradicting what others have said of him’. There is nothing very surprising about this or very difficult, but it lacks the depth of the appeal to a need for self-affirmation and counterresponses of self-glorification.”</p>	<p>About Behaviorism – Cap. 10 – The Inner World of Motivation and Emotion – p. 65</p>
101	<p>“The struggle for freedom has seemed to move toward a world in which people do as they like or what they want to do, in which they enjoy the right to be left alone, in which they have been ‘redeemed from the tyranny of gods and governments by the growth of their free will into perfect strength and self-confidence’.”</p>	<p>About Behaviorism – Cap. 12 – The Question of Control – p. 78</p>
102	<p>“Suffering is dead. Suffering for something has gone way of suffering because of something. To the cultural practices which protects us from the hunger of poverty or famine we now add others with which we avoid the hunger of self-denial.”</p>	<p>Notebooks – p. 67</p>
103	<p>“Men control themselves by controlling the world in which they live. They do this as much when they exercise self-control, as when they make changes in their culture which alter the conduct of others.”</p>	<p>Cumulative Record – Cap. 1 - The implications of a Science of behavior for human affairs, especially for the concept of freedom – p. 56</p>
104	<p>“Among these activities are conspicuous instances involving the process of self control — the so-called “Freudian mechanisms.”</p>	<p>Cumulative Record – Cap. 4 – The analysis and management of neurotic, psychotic and retarded behavior – p. 292</p>
105	<p>“In the process of creation, as we saw in Chapter XVI, a medium may be manipulated to reveal self-reinforcing properties, but the ‘universality’ of a work of art is measured by the number of other people who also find it reinforcing.”</p>	<p>Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 20 – Personal Control – p. 315</p>
106	<p>“Punishment is also the principal variable responsible for the behavior of self-control, which, as we have just seen, also reduces primary reinforcement.”</p>	<p>Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 21 – Group Control p. 327</p>
107	<p>“Such punishment, supplemented by other procedures, generated behavior which reflected ‘purity’ or ‘modesty’ as a form of self-control. Facts related to sexual behavior which could not be concealed were explained in fictitious ways. Incipient sexual behavior was, of course, severely punished, not only with aversive stimulation, but with such powerful conditioned punishments as disapproval, shaming, and threats of ostracism. As a result any incipient sexual behavior gave rise to aversive selfstimulation. This provided for the reinforcement of further acts of self-control and elicited emotional responses with which sexual behavior was incompatible.”</p>	<p>Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 27 – Culture and Control – p. 420</p>
108	<p>“Then the resulting automatic punishment leads to “repression,” the individual- acts as if he were not hearing his own speech or not reading his own writing. We can encourage the suppression of the self-audience by preventing or reducing the normal feed-back of verbal behavior.”</p>	<p>Verbal Behavior – Cap. 7 – The Audience – p. 180</p>

109	“The puritanical solution is never easy to ‘sell’, and it is not always successful. Punishment does not merely cancel reinforcement; it leads to a straggle for self-control which is often violent and time consuming.”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 3 – The Environmental Solution – p. 52-53
110	“Curiously enough, the puritan would also find it objectionable because certain admirable forms of self-control would not be exhibited”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 3 – The Environmental Solution – p. 53
111	“A person never becomes truly self-reliant. Even though he deals effectively with things, he is necessarily dependent upon those who have taught him to do so.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 5 – Alternatives to punishment – p. 92
112	“To escape punishment — either the natural punishments of the physical environment or the social punishments of society — he engages in an activity called self-control. When the same ultimate ‘good’ behavior is achieved without punishment, self-control in this sense is unnecessary.”	Cumulative Record – Cap. 1 – The implications of a Science of behavior for human affairs, especially for the concept of freedom – p. 54
113	“The extremity of this form of religious control is seen in the suppression of the behavior of self-preservation in pacifistic philosophies, acts of martyrdom, and the mortification of the flesh.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 23 – Religion – p. 356
114	“This is especially likely when its controlling practices coincide with those of the group as a whole. In short, all the techniques described under self-control in Chapter XV and under personal control in Chapter XX are available to the agency possessing the necessary power.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 23 – Religion – p. 354
115	“They were to remain open so that people could achieve freedom and dignity through self-control. But the argument is convincing only if we neglect the reasons why people behave well when it is apparently possible for them to behave badly.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 4 – Punishment – p. 73
116	“We saw that the ethical group and religious and governmental agencies cannot simply establish good, pious, or legal forms of behavior, but must also set up processes of self-control which will enable the individual himself to arrive at good, pious, or legal behavior on novel occasions in the absence of members of the group or agency.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 26 – Education – p. 411
117	“It is only when his good behavior is the result of self-management, of what is often called ethical or moral struggle, that he is likely to be admired. But a careful analysis of the origins of self-management leads us back again to the cultural environment.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 8 – The creative student – p. 187
118	“Education can do much more than it now does in this direction. It can teach the skills exhibited by artists, musicians, and craftsmen. It can build a sustained interest in literature as well as in the arts and music. It can teach techniques of self-management (now largely abandoned by religious and ethical agencies) which help the individual to avoid drugs and excessive consumption and to resist the special contingencies arranged by gambling systems.”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 3 – The Environmental Solution – p. 71
119	“He does this only because he is the product of a culture which generates self-control or cultural design as a mode of behavior. The environment determines the individual even when he alters the environment.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 29 – The Problem of Control – p. 448

120	“Whether it is taken as the disorder to be treated or as the symptom of an underlying disorder of another kind, it is scrutinized for “significances.” Meaning is sought in the gestures of the psychotic or in the self destructive behavior of the autistic child. The importante thing about a psychotic, however, is not what he is doing but what he is not doing.”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 1– The Role of The Environment – p. 16
121	“A person obeys a law and observes a maxim in part to avoid censure, possibly self-imposed, for failing to do so. He keeps a resolution, carries out a plan, and holds to a purpose in part for similar reasons.”	Contingencies of Reinforcement – Cap. 6 – An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving – p. 163
122	“A great deal of self-probing may go on, however, when parts of such a verbal production alter other parts through supplementary stimulation.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 14 – The Analysis of Complex Cases – p. 216
123	“Verbal behavior primarily controlled by the self as an audience may show progressive changes. The diary-writer is affected by continuing automatic reinforcement, and the audience control which he exerts over himself may be sharpened.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 7 – The Audience – p. 180
124	“A rather simple example of precurent behavior which illustrates the difference between leaving the student to discover techniques for himself and giving him instruction in self-management is attention.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 6 – Teaching thinking – p. 120
125	“It is the exceptional environment which sets up self-descriptive behavior with respect to such events. Marcel Proust 7 was the introspective product of such an environment and has recorded at length his search for the precise stimuli generating emotional reactions and the earlier history which gave them their power.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 6 – Special Condition Affecting Stimulus Control – p. 157
126	“The fact is, there is no similarity between a pattern of sounds and the muscular responses which produce a similar pattern. At best we can say that the self-stimulation resulting from an echoic response resembles the stimulus. The resemblance may play a role in reinforcing the response, even in the echoic relation, but it has no effect in evoking the response.”	Verbal Behavior – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 59
127	“It may also set up behavior which is effective in extending such a repertoire: our subject will show a strong ‘curiosity about nature’ if exploratory responses have frequently been reinforced, and special skills in research and invention if self-manipulative behavior of the sort discussed in Chapter XVI has been conditioned.”	Science and Human Behavior – Cap. 27 – Culture and control – p. 423
128	“In silent reading self-stimulation from textual behavior is reduced to such a scale that it can no longer be observed by others, but in responding to difficult new material (e.g., complex instructions) the textual behavior of even the expert reader may assume conspicuous proportions as he begins to strengthen self-stimulation by reading aloud.”	Verbal Behavior – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 66
129	“Several techniques of self-management, similar to those mentioned in Chapter 6, further individuality by generating behavior which does not resemble the behavior of a teacher.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 8 – The creative student – p. 178
130	“Some self-correction is possible in larger samples of textual behavior. One may respond first with a garbled syllable, word, or frase and then change to a correct form which "sounds right" or "makes sense." This depends upon the prior conditioning of the response of the listener, and a response usually "sounds right" or "makes sense" only if it is of	Verbal Behavior – Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli – p. 69

	substantial size.”	
131	“Personal credit is a crucial issue in ethical self-management. A student gets little credit for behaving well when he cannot behave badly.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 8 – The creative student – p. 187
132	“Self-echoic and self-intraverbal responses are again evident, as well as combinations of these in multiple causation.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 10 – Supplementary Stimulation – p. 264 – textual probes
133	“Self-echoic and self-transcriptive tendencies may produce perseverative distortions (idle chattle). Blends of synonymous forms may be attributed to a mixture of audiences or a weakness of audience control. Occasionally this is obvious. A song beginning in German Morgen rot and in English Morning red was sung Morgen red.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 11 – New Combinations of Fragmentary Responses – p. 301
134	“There may be an admixture of such self-reinforcement when one is presumably talking or writing to others. The speaker who is particularly under the influence of himself as a listener is sometimes described as egocentric or ‘loving to hear himself talk’.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 6 – Special Condition Affecting Stimulus Control – p. 164
135	“In other words, he ‘plays what he likes’, just as the self-reinforcing speaker ‘says what he likes’ The disse player calls his point before the dice have come to rest; his response may be a magical mand, but it is also a way of hearing good news at the earliest opportunity.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 6 – Special Condition Affecting Stimulus Control – p. 165)
136	“Must we conclude that all those who have speculated about consciousness as a form of self-knowledge — from the Greeks to the British empiricists to the phenomenologists — have wasted their time? Perhaps we must.”	About Behaviorism – Cap. 15 – Summing Up – p. 86
137	“Then educational reinforcement has given way to the contingencies of everyday discourse, and in particular when these in turn have given way to the self-reinforcement of the speaker, the deterioration may be extensive.”	Verbal Behavior = The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis – p. 211
138	“The traditional conception of language would lead one to believe that in such a case total silence would prevail, yet perhaps the greater part of scientific and philosophical discourse is of this sort. We shall deal with this extraordinarily important effect of self instruction in Chapter 19.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 14 – Composition and ts Effects – p. 364
139	“The traditional conception of language would lead one to believe that in such a case total silence would prevail, yet perhaps the greater part of scientific and philosophical discourse is of this sort. We shall deal with this extraordinarily important effect of self instruction in Chapter 19.”	Verbal Behavior – Cap. 14 – Composition and ts Effects – p. 364
140	“Another kind of freedom comes from self-reliance. The student who can do things for himself is independent of others, and the larger and more effective his repertoire, the freer he is.”	Technology of Teaching – Cap. 8 – The creative student – p. 173
141	“A classical problem concerns ‘self control’. A person eats too much and gets sick but survives to eat too much again.”	Beyond Freedom and Dignity – Cap. 2 – Freedom – p. 40
142	“The objection is not always a matter of vocabulary. Those who approach a behavioristic formulation for the first time may be surprised by the mention of self-control.”	About Behaviorism – Cap. 15 – Summing Up – p. 95

143	<p>“I often slightly miss the point of a question asked after a talk, and after I answer in the question patiently restated. It usually happens when I am lecturing on a subject I have already discussed many times. Yesterday I spoke on teaching, a field in which I must have answers a thousand questions during the past fifteen years. Naturally, the questions fell into categories and my answers were similarly compartmentalized. Fifty standard answers have taken a prominent place in my ‘teaching’ repertoire. A given question triggers one of them – the one that is nearest but still not quite apt. I can no longer, without great effort, tailor an appropriate answer. I take my answers ready-made off the shelf.”</p>	(Notebooks – p. 355)
144	<p>“Rogers is concerned with choices which involve multiple and usually conflicting consequences. I have dealt with some of these in Science and Human Behavior in an analysis of self-control,”</p>	Cumulative Record – Cap. 1 – The implications of a Science of behavior for human affairs, especially for the concept of freedom – p. 35

Apêndice B - Citações extraídas na execução da Etapa 2

	Citação	Referência	Capítulo
1	“We are in a better position to see how abstractions grow and change. Verbal behavior, perpetuated by the verbal community, has succeeded in isolating more and more subtle properties of nature. Sometimes we can watch this happen. Sometimes we can make plausible speculations as to how it might have happened. Etymology often supplies valuable clues.” (p. 136)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 6 - Shaping and Maintaining Operant Behavior
2	“The referent of the term is further refined — perhaps through centuries of changing practices in a verbal community — until in the hands of the modern mathematician the term comes under the control of a very special property of nature, the modern referent of the word ‘chance’.” (p. 136)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 6 - Shaping and Maintaining Operant Behavior
3	“A simple command is an aversive stimulus — a threat—specifying the action which will bring escape. In getting out of bed on a cold morning, the simple repetition of the command "Get up" may, surprisingly, lead to action. The verbal response is easier than getting up and easily takes precedence over it, but the reinforcing contingencies established by the verbal community may prevail. In a sense the individual "obeys himself." Continued use of this technique may lead to a finer discrimination between commands issued by oneself and by others, which may interfere with the result.” (p. 236-237)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 15 - Self-Control
4	“The kind of self-knowledge represented by discriminative verbal behavior—the knowledge which is "expressed" when we talk about our own behavior—is strictly limited by the contingencies which the verbal community can arrange. The deficiencies which generate public mistrust lead, in the case of the individual himself, to simple ignorance. There appears to be no way in which the individual may sharpen the reference of his own verbal repertoire in this respect. This is particularly unfortunate because he probably has many reasons for distorting his own report to himself” (p. 261)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
5	“A description of behavior which has not been executed appears to depend upon private events only. For example, a man may say, ‘I was on the point of going home at three o'clock,’ though he did not go. Here the controlling stimuli are not only private, they appear to have no public accompaniments. Such responses as ‘I'm strongly inclined to go home’ or ‘I shall go home in half an hour’ also describe states of affairs which appear to be accessible only to the speaker. How can the verbal community establish responses of this sort?” (p. 262)	Science and Human Behavior	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
6	“Consider a simple episode in which A asks B for a cigarette and gets one. To account for the occurrence and maintenance of this behavior we have to show that A provides adequate stimuli and reinforcement for B and vice versa. A's response, ‘Give me a cigarette,’ would be quite ineffective in a purely mechanical environment. It has been conditioned by a verbal community which occasionally reinforces it in a particular way. A has long since formed a discrimination by virtue of which the response is not emitted in the absence of a member of that community.” (p. 307)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 19 - Social Behavior
7	“The whole field of verbal behavior exemplifies the use of stimuli in personal control. The speaker generates auditory patterns which are effective because of the listener's history in a given verbal community.” (p. 317)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 20 - Group Control
8	“It does not follow that, if this was the case, abstract responses could never have arisen; for it is not impossible to conceive of events in a	Science and Human Behavior	Capítulo 6 - Shaping and Maintaining

	group of individuals which could have given rise to the rudiments of a verbal environment from which abstract verbal behavior could then have sprung. The matter, however, is highly speculative.” (p. 136)	(1953)	Operant Behavior
9	“Verbal behavior always involves social reinforcement and derives its characteristic properties from this fact. The response, "A glass of water, please," has no effect upon the mechanical environment, but in an appropriate verbal environment it may lead to primary reinforcement. In the field of social behavior special emphasis is laid upon reinforcement with attention, approval, affection, and submission. These important generalized reinforcers are social because the process of generalization usually requires the mediation of another organism.” (p. 299)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 23 - The Self
10	“To explain why the water is forthcoming in the latter case, however, requires a rather elaborate analysis of the verbal environment. It is enough to note here that a verbal environment may maintain itself through its effects upon all participants, quite apart from its function in teaching the language to new members of the community. An adult in a new verbal environment may receive no explicit educational reinforcement but may nevertheless acquire an adequate vocabulary. Some nonverbal customs and manners can be explained in the same way. Moreover, when a custom is perpetuated by a governmental, religious, or educational agency, we may point to the usual return benefits.” (p. 416).	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 27 - Culture and Control
11	“A common culture should lead to a common ‘character’. Russian and American children learn to throw stones and to keep from stubbing their toes in essentially the same way because the relevant variables are principally in the physical environment. They do not speak in the same way because their verbal environments are different. Other kinds of behavior which are socially reinforced are also different. The two groups follow different classifications in shaping the behavior of the individual as right or wrong. Religious, governmental, psychotherapeutic, economic, and educational agencies differ widely in the power and extent of their control. The effects of the family and of business and social organizations are also different. As a result Russians and Americans show very different behavioral repertoires or ‘characters’.” (p. 424)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 27 - Culture and Control
12	“But eventually, verbal behavior is successful only when it generates suitable behavior in the average listener; therefore, the form of the behavior comes to correspond more and more closely to the standards of a given community. When we move from one community to another, the topography of our behavior may change.” (p. 97)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 6 - Shaping and Maintaining Operant Behavior
13	“Verbal behavior, perpetuated by the verbal community, has succeeded in isolating more and more subtle properties of nature.” (p. 136)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 6 - Shaping and Maintaining Operant Behavior
14	“We make this controlling behavior more probable by arranging special contingencies of reinforcement. By punishing drinking—perhaps merely with "disapproval"— we arrange for the automatic reinforcement of behavior which controls drinking because such behavior then reduces conditioned aversive stimulation. Some of these additional consequences are supplied by nature, but in general they are arranged by the community.” (p. 240)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 23 - The Self
15	“We may readily admit these deficiencies, however, for the behavior of making decisions is also usually deficient. It is not present in any degree in the behavior of lower organisms or of many people. When present, it is usually the result of special reinforcements applied by the community. Though the individual may accidentally hit upon various ways of deciding, it is more likely that he will be taught relevant techniques.” (p. 244)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 23 - Thinking
16	“This can easily be done if the community and the individual both have access to red stimuli. It cannot be done if either the individual or the community is colorblind. The latter case resembles that in which a verbal response	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science

	is based upon a private event, where, by definition, common access by both parties is impossible. How does the community present or withhold reinforcement appropriately in order to bring such a response as 'My tooth aches' under the control of appropriate stimulation? It may easily establish the response 'My tooth is broken' because both the individual and the community have access to the stimulus for 'broken', but the community has no comparable access to the stimulus eventually controlling 'aches'. Nevertheless, verbal behavior of this sort is obviously set up. The community may resort to public accompaniments of the private event." (p. 259)		
17	"It has often been pointed out that many subjective terms are metaphorical, at least in origin. The language of emotion, for example, is almost wholly metaphorical; its terms are borrowed from descriptions of public events in which both the individual and the reinforcing community have access to the same stimuli. Here again the community cannot guarantee an accurate verbal repertoire because the response may be transferred from public event to private event on the basis of irrelevant properties". (p. 259)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
18	"The layman also finds the lack of a reliable subjective vocabulary inconvenient. Everyone mistrusts verbal responses which describe private events. Variables are often operating which tend to weaken the stimulus control of such descriptions, and the reinforcing community is usually powerless to prevent the resulting distortion. The individual who excuses himself from an unpleasant task by pleading a headache cannot be successfully challenged, even though the existence of the private event is doubtful." (p. 260)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
19	"Strangely enough, it is the community which teaches the individual to "know himself." (p. 261)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
20	"Some contingencies involving inner stimulation do not, of course, have to be arranged by a reinforcing community. In throwing a ball we time a sequence of responses by the stimulation which our own movements generate. Here the reinforcing contingencies are determined by the mechanical and geometrical exigencies of throwing a ball, and since a reinforcing community is not involved, the question of accessibility to the behaving individual does not arise." (p. 261)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
21	"It is generated by a community which insists upon answers to such questions as "What did you say?" "What are you doing?" "What are you going to do?" or "Why are you doing that?" Although these questions are usually practical ones, the theoretical implications are equally important. Since the individual may often observe his own behavior as a public event, the public-private distinction does not always arise. In that case the accuracy of the self-descriptive repertoire may be adequate. If a man says, "I went home at three o'clock," there are ways in which this may be checked and his behavior reinforced to insure future accuracy. But part of the stimulation which the individual receives from his own behavior is different from that available to the community." (p. 262)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
22	"The question, "Why did you do that?" is often important to the community, which establishes a repertoire of responses based upon the external events of which behavior is a function, as well as upon the functional relation itself. We are usually able to report that a particular stimulating situation, a special contingency of reinforcement, a condition of deprivation, or some emotional circumstance is responsible for our own behavior [...]" (p. 263)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
23	"When a man says, "There is a rainbow in the sky" or "The clock is striking twelve," we can give a reasonable interpretation of his behavior in terms of a stimulating situation and certain characteristic conditioning procedures with which the community has set up verbal responses." (p. 264).	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science

24	“When the community conditions the individual to say, ‘I see . . .’, ‘I hear . . .’, ‘I smell . . .’ and so on, it must have some evidence of discriminative behavior.” (p. 265)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
25	“How, for example, can the community teach the individual to report correctly that he is seeing the color of a piece of cloth or hearing the oboe in a full orchestra? Here there must be clear evidence that a discriminative reaction is being made. "Do you see that bird in the bush?" "Yes." "What kind is it?" Only when collateral information is correctly given does the community appropriately reinforce the response ‘Yes’.” (p. 265)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
26	“The private events correlated with the public events used by the community are also the result of discriminative behavior, not simple stimulation. The response, "I see a rainbow," is, therefore, not equivalent to "There is a rainbow." If it were, a single discriminative stimulus—the rainbow—would account for both forms, but "I see a rainbow" is a description of the response of seeing a rainbow. When the rainbow is actually present, the distinction may be of little moment.” (p. 265)	Science and Human Behavior (1953)	Capítulo 17 - Private Events in a Natural Science
27	“"Language" is now satisfactorily remote from its original commitment to vocal behavior, but it has come to refer to the practices of a linguistic community rather than the behavior of any one member.” (p. 2)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 1 - A Functional Analysis of Verbal Behavior
28	"The transcription permits the reader to construct a facsimile of the behavior which will have the same effect upon the verbal community as the original sample. It is a practical and economical record, because an indefinite number of different acoustic events may be represented with a few symbols." (p. 15)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
29	"The analytical (rather than scriptive) function of the phoneme in modern linguistics arises, on the one hand, from an excursion into phonology which will not have to be made here and, on the other, from the study and comparison of the practices of whole verbal communities." (p. 15-16)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
30	"The linguist is concerned with such facts as these: (i) in one verbal community the responses pin and bin have different effects or occur under different conditions, while in another verbal community they have the same effect or occur under the same conditions; (2) in one verbal community the responses pit and bit have different effects or occur under different circumstances, while in another verbal community they have the same effect or occur under the same circumstances; (3) in that community in which pin and bin have the same effect, pit and bit also have the same effect; and in that community in which pin and bin have different effects, pit and bit also have different effects. These facts present problems which lie beyond the mere transcription of verbal behavior, because they include references to the conditions of occurrence of verbal behavior or to effects upon a listener. We shall deal with these additional facts in another way here." (p. 16)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
31	"The property of behavior by virtue of which we classify a response as "opening a door" is our principal interest. In the same way, we do not need to know all the details of a vocal response so long as the sound-pattern which it produces achieves a given effect upon a specified verbal community." (p. 16)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
32	"In a community in which all verbal behavior was written, we should have to identify "speech-marks," and discover their essential geometric properties. If such a language resembled modern script, we should have to study a large number of marks which functioned as, say, the letter a in order to identify their common features and to discover what properties could for most purposes be ignored. If such a community spoke only with typewriters, the range of properties would be narrow. The advantage of a narrow range for the reader, as well as the scientist, is suggested by the frequent instruction "Please print." Graphology provides a rudimentary "phonetics" of written verbal behavior; here again the "significances" require other	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems

	techniques of analysis." (p. 17)		
33	"In the practices characteristic of a verbal community, it may not be possible to establish the functional unity of a similar large sample of behavior." (p. 21)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
34	"The verbal community, as a collection of listeners, forces speech toward a standard level of speed, energy, and repetitiveness. If a child speaks loudly, he is told not to shout. If he mumbles, he is told to speak up. If he hesitates, he is told to hurry. If his words come tumbling out, he is told to be deliberate. To repeat oneself is bad form, and the double negative, which is merely the innocent result of a strong No, is called ungrammatical and illogical." (p. 15)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
35	"But if the indicators are somewhat obscured by these conflicting interests, evidence of strength still survives. We still make practical inferences about a speaker's behavior from his energy, speed, and repetitiveness. A complete levelling to a monotone is not achieved and is in fact also opposed by the community." (p. 26)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
36	"Although over-all frequencies are interesting and often satisfactory data, they depart from our program of dealing with the individual speaker upon a given occasion. The data are more often relevant to studies of characteristic practices of a given verbal community, and hence to the commoner preoccupations of linguistics. Nevertheless, use may sometimes be made of such data in inferring characteristic processes in the individual speaker." (p. 28)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
37	"In teaching the young child to talk, the formal specifications upon which reinforcement is contingent are at first greatly relaxed. Any response which vaguely resembles the standard behavior of the community is reinforced." (p. 29)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
38	"If the contingencies of reinforcement are for any reason ever relaxed, the properties of the verbal response undergo a change in the other direction. The degeneration of the forms of military commands is an example. Consider a sergeant with a new squad to be conditioned to follow his commands. The sergeant begins with a verbal response borrowed from the larger verbal community, for example, the response March! At first this may need to be clearly enunciated, but the squad soon executes the appropriate response regardless of many specifications of the command, partly because other aspects of the situation begin to control the behavior. The form of the response then characteristically degenerates, and may eventually reach the stage of a mere forceful expulsion of air with some voicing but little or no shaping. It is only because the appropriate behavior of the squad survives the deterioration in the behavior of the sergeant that the final form is effective. The squad, as a group of listeners, has been progressively reconditioned. A new squad, however, may bring back the more specific form of response in the behavior of the sergeant" (p. 30)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
39	"Reinforcing consequences continue to be important after verbal behavior has been acquired. Their principal function is then to maintain the response in strength. How often the speaker will emit a response depends, other things being equal, upon the over-all frequency of reinforcement in a given verbal community. If reinforcements cease altogether through some change of circumstance, an operant grows weak and may effectively disappear in "extinction." (p. 30)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
40	"Any information regarding the relative frequency of reinforcement characteristic of a given verbal community is obviously valuable in predicting such behavior." (p. 30)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems
41	"A child acquires verbal behavior when relatively unpatterned vocalizations, selectively reinforced, gradually assume forms which produce appropriate consequences in a given verbal community." (p. 31)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems

42	"IN A GIVEN verbal community, certain responses are characteristically followed by certain consequences. " (p. 35)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 3 - The Mand
43	"It will be convenient to have a name for the type of verbal operant in which a response of given form is characteristically followed by a given consequence in a verbal community." (p. 35)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 3 - The Mand
44	A mand is characterized by the unique relationship between the form of the response and the reinforcement characteristically received in a given verbal community." (p. 36)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 3 - The Mand
45	"In a given verbal community, however, certain formal properties may be so closely associated with specific kinds of variables that the latter may often be safely inferred. In the present case, we may say that some responses, simply because of formal properties, are very probably mands" (p. 36)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 3 - The Mand
46	"The pattern of response which characteristically achieves the given reinforcement depends, of course, upon the 'language' that is, upon the reinforcing practices of the verbal community (see Appendix). But we have to explain not only the relationships between patterns of response and reinforcements, but the maintenance of the behavior of the listener. When we come to consider other types of verbal operants, we shall find that the behavior functions mainly for the benefit of the listener, and in that case his behavior is not difficult to explain. The mand, however, works primarily for the benefit of the speaker; why should the listener perform the necessary mediation of reinforcement?" (p. 36)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 3 - The Mand
47	"A mand assumes a given form because of contingencies of reinforcement maintained by the listener or by the verbal community as a whole. The stimulating conditions which prevail when such a response is emitted and reinforced do not enter into the definition of the unit." (p. 46)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 3 - The Mand
48	"The formal similarity between stimulus and response is part of these contingencies and can be explained only by pointing to the significance of the similarity to the reinforcing community." (p. 59)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 4 - Verbal Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli
49	"The degree of accuracy insisted upon by a given reinforcing community is important. In general, the speaker does no more than is demanded of him. In a verbal community which does not insist on a precise correspondence, an echoic repertoire may remain slack and will be less successfully applied to novel patterns. Sometimes an echoic repertoire includes stable relations between stimuli and responses which do not exactly match for example, the lisper may 'match' s with th and continue to do so with the acquiescence of the reinforcing community." (p. 63)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 4 - Verbal Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli
50	"Why the family, the community, and educational agencies arrange such reinforcements is to be explained in terms of the ultimate advantages gained from having an additional literate member of the group. In an explicit formulation, however, actual reinforcing events must be specified" (p. 66)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 4 - Verbal Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli
51	"A text, like a bit heard -speech, is simply the occasion upon which a particular response is reinforced by a verbal community." (p. 67)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 4 - Verbal Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli
52	"Such an experiment, repeated on many subjects or on one subject many times, produces a fair sample of the responses under the control of a standard stimulus in a given verbal community." (p. 74)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 4 - Verbal Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli
53	"When the translation is from the old to the new language, the translator may not react to his own behavior as a listener at all. He composes a sentence in the new language only as a series of intraverbal responses. It may or may not be effective in an appropriate verbal community. If the speaker is not yet a listener in that community, there will be no automatic correction of his behavior." (p. 77)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 4 - Verbal Behavior Under the Control of Verbal Stimuli

54	"We account for the strength by showing that in the presence of the object or event a response of that form is characteristically reinforced in a given verbal community." (p. 82)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
55	"The tact emerges as the most important of verbal operants because of the unique control exerted by the prior stimulus. This control is established by the reinforcing community for reasons to be noted in a moment. It contrasts sharply with the controlling relations in the mand, where the most efficient results are obtained by breakingdown any connection with prior stimuli, thus leaving deprivation or aversive stimulation in control of the response." (p. 83)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
56	"These "inferences" need to be more sharply represented byanalyzing the reinforcing practices of the community which maintainmands and tacts in strength" (p. 83)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
57	"In very general terms we may say that behavior in the form of the tact works for the benefit of the listener by extending his contact withthe environment, and such behavior is set up in the verbal community for this reason." (p. 85)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
58	"A given object does not remain the inevitable occasion for the reinforcement of an appropriate response, and the probability of response therefore comes to vary with the occasion. The listener mayhelp by saying What is that? or by manding behavior in the form of a tact in other ways. Another property may be the novelty of the occasion. Familiar objects lose their control because the community eventually withholds reinforcement except under special conditions." (p. 89)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
59	"The property which makes a novel stimulus effective may be the property upon which reinforcements supplied by the community are contingent. This "generic extension" is illustrated when a speaker calls a new kind of chair a chair. The property responsible for the extension of the response from one instance to another is the property which determines the reinforcing practice of the community. Since it is also the important property for the listener upon a novel occasion, the extended response is acceptable and useful." (p. 91)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
60	"Todiscover the "essence" of chair, we should have to examine the actual contingencies of reinforcement in a given community. In generic extension, in contrast with other kinds of extension to be noted shortly, the defining properties tend to be practical. The stimulus control of chair is dictated ultimately by the use which the reinforcing community makes of chairs. For the same reason the controlling stimuli tend to be "objects."" (p. 91)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
61	"Responses to single properties may show generic extension, however. The extended response is accepted by the community andreinforced to establish a still larger stimulus class. When we say Therace is to the swift, we designate the important practical property of those who win races. When an extension of this sort is reinforced bythe verbal community, the tact becomes a standard operant underthe control of a single property" (p. 92)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
62	"A second type of extension takes place because of the control exercised by properties of the stimulus which, though present at reinforcement, do not enter into the contingency respected by the verbal community." (p. 92)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
63	"Similar stimulation, produced by tasting soda water, evoked the response. In this example, the pinpoint stimulation was private, a condition which raises several difficult problems in the analysis of behavior, as we shall see later, but which is useful here in permitting us to distinguish between the property which served the community as the basis of reinforcement and the property responsible for the extension of the response to a novel stimulus. The community couldnot have used pinpoint stimulation alone to set up such a response." (p. 93)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
64	"Sometimes a comparison of practices in different verbal communities will throw some light on the importance of metaphorical	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact

	extension, Any response which is peculiar to a given community is presumably not the result of current metaphorical extension, even though it may appear to be a metaphor." (p. 94)		
65	"The distinction between generic and metaphorical extension is between a contingent and an adventitious property of the stimulus. Generic extension respects the original reinforcing practice, which persists unchanged in the verbal community even though the range of effective stimuli may be extended as more and more instances with new collateral properties are reinforced." (p. 95)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
66	"Most verbal communities not only fail to respond effectively to such extensions but provide some sort of punishment for them." (p. 102)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
67	"As in metaphor and metonymy, solecistic extension is commonest when no other response is available. Also, as in metaphor and metonymy, some erroneous responses are reinforced by the verbal community and acquire a functional, if not a social, status comparable with that of correct responses. Original mistakes are perhaps almost as rare as original metaphors" (p. 102)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
68	"The verbal community deals with this problem by resorting to another behavioral process which sharpens stimulus control and opposes the process of extension. It reinforces responses in the presence of a chosen stimulus property and fails to reinforce, or perhaps even punishes, responses evoked by unspecified properties. As a result, the response tends to be made only in the presence of the chosen property." (p. 107)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
69	"Our definition of verbal behavior, incidentally, includes the behavior of experimental animals where reinforcements are supplied by an experimenter or by an apparatus designed to establish contingencies which resemble those maintained by the normal listener. The animal and the experimenter comprise a small but genuine verbal community. This may offend our sense of the proprieties, but there is consolation in the fact that such a relation as that represented by the abstract tact is susceptible to laboratory study." (p. 108 - NOTA DE RODAPÉ)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
70	"A verbal response, however, can come under the exclusive control of red because the necessary contingency does not require a practical consequence common to all instances of red. Even though the verbal community is eventually concerned with practical matters, it can maintain the unique contingency required for an abstraction when the practical consequences vary from instance to instance. The listener may be concerned with the redness of a stimulus for many different reasons, and he will behave in response to the speaker's red in different ways upon different occasions, but all that he requires of the speaker is that the response red be correlated with a red stimulus in each case. The generalized reinforcement provided by the community may rest on a single condition." (p. 109)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
71	"How a stimulus or some property of a stimulus acquires control over a given form of response is now fairly well understood. The form of a response is shaped by the contingencies prevailing in a verbal community. A given form is brought under stimulus control through the differential reinforcement of our three-term contingency. The result is simply the probability that the speaker will emit a response of a given form in the presence of a stimulus having specified properties under certain broad conditions of deprivation or aversive stimulation." (p. 115)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
72	"These traditional terms carry many irrelevant connotations, arising from their use in describing the relations between the speaker's response and the behavior of the listener and the contingencies of reinforcement imposed by a verbal community." (p. 115)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
73	"The properties of a stimulus which are relevant in evoking a response, either in the individual speaker or according to the practices of a given community, can be discovered only by considering a series of occasions upon which the properties are systematically varied and	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact

	the presence or absence of the response noted." (p. 117)		
74	"The relation between a property of a response and a controlling property of a stimulus can be demonstrated only by comparing many instances of the verbal behavior of a single individual. Such a relation need not be obvious to the speaker. It may not be identified with any reaction of a listener or with the reinforcing practices of the verbal community." (p. 120)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
75	"If the speaker emits the response destroy upon one occasion and the response destructible upon another, and if, as is likely, we can identify a common element in the two occasions, then we have evidence for the functional unity of the operant destr That comparable forms are to be found in other languages or that the history of this root may be traced through earlier forms of the same language are interesting related facts, which may explain why the contemporary verbal community establishes operants showing such similarities. But these facts add nothing to the demonstration of the functional unity of the minimal unit in the behavior of this speaker." (p. 120)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
76	"(And it does not follow, of course, that the functional unity of a minimal operant in the behavior of a speaker corresponds to the practices of any community..." (p. 122)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
77	"All the problems of reference arising from the contingencies of reinforcement imposed by a verbal community have their parallels in other types of verbal responses. An example of a "minimal mand" comparable to the sp~ just discussed is the initial sound hw- (usually written wh-) occurring in many English interrogatives. It may be argued that it has an independent function as a mand for verbal action, that it may appear alone in moments of stress, that it may appear in neologistic formations, and that it may be necessary to recognize it in explaining some instances of the multiple causation of verbal behavior" (p. 122 - NOTA DE RODAPÉ)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
78	"Phonemes are usually defined in terms of the reinforcing practices of a community, but they can also be defined with respect to the behavior of the individual speaker after it has been shaped up by such a community." (p. 123)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
79	"The considerable difference between a given state of affairs and the verbal behavior which it comes to control means that, to a listener, verbal behavior lacks the richness, complexity, and detail of "direct experience." The extent to which this is true depends upon the properties selected for reinforcement by a verbal community. The scientist makes one set of responses to a given state of affairs because of the reinforcing contingencies established by the scientific verbal community. The poet emits an entirely different set of responses to the same state of affairs because they are effective in other ways on other kinds of listeners or readers. Which behavior most closely matches the actual situation is a question not so much of fact, accuracy, or comprehensiveness as of the interests and practices of verbal communities." (p. 127)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
80	"The more precise control established by the community in Abstraction has sometimes caused this term to be applied to (1) the history of reinforcement producing the desired result, (2) the resulting response, and (3) the controlling property of stimuli." (p. 127)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
81	"In setting up the type of verbal operant called the tact, the verbal community characteristically reinforces a given response in the presence of a given stimulus. This can be done only if the stimulus acts upon both speaker and reinforcing community. A private stimulus cannot satisfy these conditions. How, then, does the verbal community establish the contingencies of reinforcement which produce verbal responses to private stimuli? How, for example, is the response toothache appropriately reinforced if the reinforcing community has no contact with the tooth? There is no question that responses to private stimuli are established, but how are they set up,	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact

	what is their relation to controlling stimuli, and what, if any, are their distinguishing characteristics?" (p. 130-131)		
82	"There are at least four ways in which a reinforcing community with no access to a private stimulus may generate verbal behavior with respect to it" (p. 131)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
83	"The community reinforces as correct the response My tooth aches when it observes such collateral behavior as holding the hand to the jaw, executing certain facial expressions, or roaring in certain temporal patterns." (p. 131-132)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
84	"Roughly speaking, a man may describe some inner condition with the verbal repertoire appropriate to its several features and, on the basis of this information, the community may then reinforce an appropriate response to the whole state of affairs." (p. 132)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
85	"(3) A third possibility is that the community may not need to appeal to private stimuli at all; it may reinforce a response in connection with a public stimulus, only to have the response transferred to a private event by virtue of common properties, as in metaphorical and metonymical extension." (p. 132)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
86	"When a response is descriptive of the speaker's own behavior, there is a fourth possible way in which a private stimulus may acquire control. The original contingency may be based upon the externally observable behavior of the organism, even though this stimulates the speaker and the community in different ways. If the behavior is now reduced in magnitude or scale, a point will be reached at which the private stimuli survive although the public stimuli vanish. In other words, behavior may be executed so weakly or so incompletely that it fails to be seen by another person, although it is still strong enough to stimulate the behavior himself. In such a case, the response is eventually made to a private stimulus which is similar except in magnitude to private stimuli otherwise accompanied by public manifestations useful to the community. This is possibly only a special case of the first principle above, but it should be noted that when the object described is behavior itself, a reduction in magnitude may affect public and private manifestations differently." (p. 133)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
87	"Although these four practices are in a sense ways in which the verbal community circumvents the inaccessibility of private stimuli in setting up verbal behavior under their control, no one of them guarantees the precision of control seen in responses to external manipulable stimuli." (p. 133-134)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
88	"Now, self-observation is also the product of discriminative contingencies, and if a discrimination cannot be forced by the community, it may never arise. Strangely enough, it is the community which teaches the individual to "know himself."" (p. 134)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
89	"The kind of self-knowledge represented by discriminative verbal behavior the knowledge which is "expressed" when we talk about our own behavior is strictly limited by the contingencies which the verbal community can arrange. The deficiencies which generate public mistrust lead, in the case of the individual himself, to simple ignorance." (p. 135)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
90	"A characteristic result of these defective contingencies is that such responses are often controlled by a mixture of stimuli the nature of which is not clear either to the community or listener or to the speaker himself." (p. 135)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
91	"For technical purposes the response might be brought under the control of only one of these states of affairs in a particular speaker, but a special set of contingencies opposed to those of the community as a whole would be required." (p. 135-136)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
92	"We acquire this under circumstances in which public events are available to the reinforcing community, although private accompaniments which may be more important to us eventually control the response. The community may base its reinforcements upon generally fearful stimuli, as in (i) above, or such concomitant	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact

	responses as sweating, cowering, retreating, or jumping at slight noises, as in (2)." (p. 137)		
93	"Although the individual of our community uses the behavior, to be imitated, the response is not a simple imitation. AS? with a wealth of adchbetwe self-stimulation. The latter may be only practically complete control-for example, when the speaker describes his own behavior blindfolded. In that case the speaker and the community react to different, though closely associated, stimuli, as in the example of the blind man." (p. 139)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
94	"The community can impart that response when it has evidence that the individual is responding discriminatively to a given stimulus, but the private stimuli which take over the future control of the response are not necessarily thereby determined." (p. 140)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
95	"As we have noted, it is social reinforcement which leads to individual to know himself. It is only through the gradual growth of a verbal community that the individual becomes "conscious." He comes to see himself only as others see him, at least only as others insist that he see himself." (p. 140)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
96	"It is not the stimulus used by the community and may not be the stimulus controlling the speaker's description of his own behavior, but it may acquire control of that description in a form of metonymical extension." (p. 142)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
97	"The ability to respond verbally "to past events" is acquired, and acquired under explicit reinforcing contingencies arranged by the verbal community for just this purpose." (p. 142)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
98	"What is needed is an analysis of the technique, through which the verbal community establishes verbal behavior based upon such events." (p. 145)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
99	"The amount of reinforcement accorded the verbal behavior of a particular speaker varies from community to community and from occasion to occasion." (p. 148)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
100	"Verbal behavior would be pointless if the listener did nothing more than reinforce the speaker for emitting it. The verbal community maintains the behavior of the speaker with generalized reinforcement, but a given listener often takes specific action with respect to what is said." (p. 151)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
101	"In some measure, the verbal community continues with such reinforcement into the mature life of the speaker, but upon any particular occasion the speaker is most concerned with "letting the listener know about something" that is, the strength of his behavior is determined mainly by the behavior which the listener will exhibit with respect to a given state of affairs." (p. 152)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
102	"Emotional reactions are not always controlled by specific differentiated forms of response. One may react emotionally to a verbal stimulus merely because it possesses the property of being verbal. "I hear the sound of words; their sense the air/ Dissolves unjoined ere it reach my ear." Under other circumstances a language may have an emotional effect because it is appropriate to a given verbal community." (p. 158)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
103	"A man talks to himself, as he talks to another listener or to the verbal community at large, because of the reinforcement he receives. There seems to be no way in which a solitary individual could generate or maintain a repertoire, but when a community has established verbal behavior through the usual methods and has concurrently conditioned the speaker as a listener, the speaker may talk to himself and will continue to do so in the absence of further reinforcement from the community. There may be an admixture of such self-reinforcement when one is presumably talking or writing to others. The speaker who is particularly under the influence of himself as a listener is sometimes described as egocentric or "loving to hear himself talk.""	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control

	(p. 163-164)		
104	"Behavior which acquires its formal properties from self-reinforcement may depart from the standards -of the community. The speaker and listener in the same skin may undergo the kind of change which is observed over a much longer period of time in the history of a verbal environment." (p. 164-165)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
105	"Distortion of stimulus control through such effects is widely tolerated in some verbal communities and sharply suppressed in others." (p. 166)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
106	"Verbal behavior is, of course, frequently punished. The community which has hitherto reinforced a response may change its practices. A different community is more likely to punish possibly with all the manifestations of "xenoglossophobia." Sometimes the whole repertoire of the speaker is affected, and the incompatible behavior then opposes the effect of generalized reinforcement. Usually, however, punishment is a special effect which alters only part of a repertoire." (p. 166-167)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
107	"Audiences which control the largest subdivisions of a verbal repertoire are the communities which establish the reinforcing contingencies of the so-called "languages" -English, French, Chinese, and so on. In a Chinese verbal community, only certain forms of response are effective; as an audience, any member or group of members of this community constitutes the occasion for the emission of forms called "Chinese." In the bilingual speaker, the Chinese part of a repertoire will be stronger upon such an occasion than in a community appropriate to another part, such as English" (p. 173)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 7 - The Audience
108	"The audience variable is important in interpreting the traditional notion of "proposition." If we define a proposition as "something which may be said in any language," then instead of trying to identify the "something" we may ask why there are different languages. The answer is that different contingencies of reinforcement involving a single state of affairs are maintained by different verbal communities. A proposition is not "free to be expressed in any one of many forms," for the form is determined by other variables, among them the audience. If there were only one standard and consistent verbal community, a proposition could be, though perhaps not happily, identified with "the response which expresses it." When there are many different communities and as many different audiences, the "something" common to all of the resulting alternative "expressions" cannot be identified with a verbal form. The only common factor is among the controlling variables." (p. 174-175)		Capítulo 7 - The Audience
109	"If there is no spontaneous development of one type of operant as the result of setting up another, then the only problem arising from the presence of the same form in operants of different types is a problem concerning the verbal community. The "word" as a unit of analysis is appropriate to the practices of the community rather than the behavior of the individual speaker." (p. 189-190)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
110	"No matter how useful the concept of word may be in analyzing the reinforcing practices of a verbal community, it does not represent a functional unit in the behavior of the individual speaker. We must accept the responsibility of giving an independent explanation of how responses of the same form appear in different types of operants." (p. 190)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
111	"If the individual moves from one verbal community to another or if the community changes its practices, behavior may undergo extinction. Responses occur without achieving reinforcement. This has the effect of reversing the process brought about by operant reinforcement. It is to be distinguished from the loss of verbal behavior with the mere passage of time (see below) and from punishment, which, as we have seen, has a more complex effect" (p. 206)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis

112	"The forms of verbal responses may contain elements not demanded by the verbal community and these may persist for long periods of time." (p. 209)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
113	"We must distinguish carefully between changes taking place in the individual speaker, because of possibly temporary changes in the demands of a verbal community, and changes in the reinforcing practices of the community as a whole, which may require many generations. The latter, which are often called changes in the language, seem, in general, to be accumulations of slight changes in the behavior of individual speakers together with corresponding permanent changes in the reinforcing practices of the community." (p. 210)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
114	"Age is another important variable. The schedule according to which verbal behavior matures in a standard verbal environment have been extensively studied. The 'age at which a child first makes speech-sounds or first acquires recognizable responses under the control of a verbal community and the growth of different kinds of verbal responses in his repertoire have all been recorded." (p. 213)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
115	"The extent to which the so-called emotional expressions become verbal that is, acquire definite form because of the reinforcing practices of a community is hard to establish." (p. 215)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
116	"Another class of verbal responses generated by an emotional condition is descriptive of the speaker's own behavior. A response such as / am angry is seldom called an expression of emotion. The public or private stimuli in control of such a response may fall within any of the classes just listed (cf. the discussion of / am hungry in Chapter 5). Thus, I am angry may be descriptive of the changes in glands and smooth muscles studied in the physiology of emotion; it may be a report of a facial expression (seen, perhaps, in a mirror) or of a cry of anger, possibly shaped by a particular community, or of an inclination to emit such a cry, or it may be a description of the speaker's own inclination to act aggressively. The community has set up the response / am angry on the basis of observable aspects of such behavior or other public concomitants, and the mature individual may use the expression with some accuracy when the controlling stimuli are now private." (p. 217-218)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
117	"This aspect of the reinforcing contingencies of a community may not be equally effective upon the behavior of all speakers." (p. 220)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
118	"(These characteristics of verbal behavior may be due in part to the defective practices of the community, although they also exemplify other effects.)" (p. 221)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
119	"The contingencies established by the community to oppose repetition obviously affect the use of frequency of response as a measure of strength." (p. 222)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
120	"Different parts of the verbal community, or the same community upon different occasions, may reinforce different responses in the same way." (p. 227)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
121	"Different forms of response are established by different verbal communities when the ultimate reinforcement, as well as the external situation except for the audience, is the same." (p. 230)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 9 - Multiple Causation
122	"Punishments which are explicitly arranged by the verbal community have the same effect. When a response has been emitted, it may be punished if emitted again, and alternative responses in the thematic group are therefore relatively strong. There is a reverse effect." (p. 236)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 9 - Multiple Causation
123	"The speaker may acquire verbal behavior descriptive of his own behavior. Although the community can establish such a repertoire only by basing its reinforcing contingencies upon observable behavior, the speaker eventually exhibits it under the control of private events." (p. 313)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic

124	"The contingencies necessary for self-descriptive behavior are arranged by the community when it has reason to ask "What did you say?," "Did you say that?/" "Why did you say that?," and so on, for the answers are useful in many ways. It is unlikely that such behavior would arise in the absence of explicit reinforcement; indeed, it remains uncommon even though strongly encouraged by the community." (p. 314)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic
125	"Other responses to which no or not is added may be intraverbal; some irrelevant contiguity of usage has strengthened a response which, if not qualified, would have an inappropriate effect upon the listener. In each instance a response in some strength is emitted, but it is emitted under circumstances in which it is not reinforced as a tact by the verbal community and may even be punished. This additional condition, acting upon the speaker, is the occasion for adding the autoclitic no or not" (p. 323)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic
126	"The response is acquired from the reinforcing practices of the verbal community. The child first hears No! as the occasion upon which some current activity must be stopped if positive reinforcement is to be received or aversive stimulation avoided." (p. 323)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic
127	"Because of the standardizing practices of the verbal community, a response such as Red no or No red eventually assumes the form Not red. In the example just cited, the child would emit a response say, This is mine under inappropriate circumstances, and accompany it by a shake of the head." (p. 324)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic
128	"Through the reinforcing contingencies analysed in Part II, the verbal community makes it probable that under specific circumstances the speaker will emit specific forms of responses." (p. 327)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic
129	"Although autoclitics are set up by the verbal community because they are useful to the listener, we must not forget that the speaker is himself a listener and that he himself may eventually find his own autoclitics useful." (p. 330)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic
130	"The verbal community which makes the distinctions carried by various types of autoclitics generates this tendency to respond in larger characteristic units." (p. 346)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 14 - Composition and Its Effects
131	"The extent to which communities encourage autoclitics varies over a wide range." (p. 356)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 14 - Composition and Its Effects
132	"Special subdivisions of a given verbal community may act as separate audiences to determine the level of autoclitic behavior, as we shall see in Chapter 16. In addition to the practices of the community, the individual speaker may employ or avoid autoclitics for personal reasons." (p. 356)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 14 - Composition and Its Effects
133	"Verbal behavior may be objectionable to the listener simply as noise. Punishment for this reason usually drives the verbal behavior of children to the covert level. When the community has made sure that a child possesses an effective repertoire, it often has no further interest in what the child says." (p. 373)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 15 - Self-Editing
134	"Verbal behavior is frequently punished because of deficient stimulus control. Poor conditioning, forgetting, interactions among somewhat similar responses, and many other conditions may lead to "the wrong word to mands and tacts, and echoic, textual, and intraverbal responses which do not satisfy the reinforcing contingencies of the community. The deficient control in the impure tact-lying, Exaggerating, wishful thinking, and so on invokes punishment in most communities. Behavior which is strong primarily because of its effects upon the speaker himself, because he is "talking to himself" is likely to be punished by others. "Illogical" speech, far-fetched intraverbal sequences, and the irrelevant intraverbal responses called "flight of ideas" are commonly punished, especially by practical and scientific verbal communities. The resulting "fear of uttering nonsense" poses problems for the technique of psychoanalysis. Responses taken without acknowledgment from the	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 15 - Self-Editing

	verbal behavior of someone else, as in plagiarism, are also subject to punishment" (p. 373-374)		
135	"A response which may be mildly punished because, for example, it is slightly inaccurate or inappropriate to a particular verbal community is often emitted with the autoclitic "nervous laugh" indicating to the listener that the speaker has felt the effect of punishment but is responding in spite of it. Insecure people may qualify most of their remarks, at least with respect to potentially punishing listeners, with an autoclitic giggle" (p. 378)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 15 - Self-Editing
136	"The traditions and practices of editing which prevail within a verbal community are in part responsible for the extent of the verbal behavior shown by its members. The reticent or laconic differs from the voluble or effusive, in part at least, because of differences in the consequences of verbal behavior. Within a given community a speaker will show various degrees of editing in the presence of various special audiences." (p. 394)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 16 - Special Conditions of Self-Editing
137	"In the history of logic and science we can trace the development of a verbal community especially concerned with verbal behavior which contributes to successful action. The behavior maintained by that community differs from the devices employed to maintain it, as effective discourse, for example, differs from rules for effective discourse." (p. 418)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 18 - Logical and Scientific Verbal Behavior
138	"The practices of the community may then be explained in terms of their special achievements." (p. 419)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 18 - Logical and Scientific Verbal Behavior
139	"The logical and scientific verbal community has slowly accumulated a set of techniques for the construction of effective verbal behavior. The speaker moves from one set of responses to a possibly more useful set. He may eventually emit, for example, what appears to be a tact or intraverbal response for which immediate appropriate stimuli are lacking but which nevertheless leads to effective action. The practices which bring this about seem to have been empirical discoveries. They are not always successful, but the growth of the logical and scientific verbal community has greatly extended the likelihood of success" (p. 422-423)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 18 - Logical and Scientific Verbal Behavior
140	"A verbal community would come to suppress exaggerated or dishonest behavior and to reinforce responses under more accurate stimulus control, as it would reinforce the correct repetition and recitation of rules of conduct (ethical or otherwise), the correct recollection of facts, and so on, because of substantial practical consequences. Its interests in this respect, however, must have conflicted with, say, its taste for verbal entertainment." (p. 429)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 18 - Logical and Scientific Verbal Behavior
141	"Once a special community concerned with practical consequences has arisen, it becomes a proper object of study." (p. 430)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 18 - Logical and Scientific Verbal Behavior
142	"Three steps appear to lead to this sort of methodological inquiry: (i) some kinds of verbal behavior, including appropriate relational and quantifying autoclitics, prove to have important practical consequences for both speaker and listener, (2) the community discovers and adopts explicit practices which encourage such behavior, being reinforced for this by even more extensive practical consequences, and (3) the practices of the community are then studied and improved, presumably also because of increasingly successful consequences. As an example in logic (i) some intraverbal responses are found useful by the average listener, (2) the community then encourages such behavior by constraining speakers to observe laws of thought, employ acceptable syllogistic formulae, and so on, and (3) the laws of thought, syllogisms, and other logical rules and formulae are then analyzed for internal consistency and validity and with an eye to possible improvement. A parallel sequence in science might be as follows: (i) relatively abstract responses specifying particular properties of stimuli prove useful, (2) the scientific community arranges contingencies of reinforcement which constrain speakers	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 19 - Thinking

	to respond to isolated properties, and (3) the rules and canons of scientific thinking which govern classification and abstraction are studied to explain the effectiveness of (i) and (2) and possibly to suggest improved behavior and practices. The analytical disciplines at Stage 3 may be said to be concerned with the ultimate "validity" of logical and scientific discourse in the sense of specifying the defining consequences of logical and scientific behavior." (p. 430)		
143	"Comparable co-ordinating functions are easily discovered in the behavior of a well-developed verbal community." (p. 432)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	
144	". The writer constitutes within himself an adequate community for the sustained production of literary behavior, and he may continue to write for a long time with no further contribution from the external community. The practices of the inner community often drift toward disturbing idiosyncrasies, however, as the work of such a poetas Emily Dickinson suggests." (p. 439)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 19 - Thinking
145	"The community distinguishes between two classes of rather similar behavior, punishing only one of them. As a result, when an emotional situation disposes a man to hurt someone, a member of the unpunished class of injurious responses is most likely to emerge. That is to say, men are more likely to punish or carry bad news to those whom they do not like. When the two classes of behavior are not easily distinguished, as is often the case, a man is less likely to be punished by the external community or to suffer the conditioned aversive stimulation of "guilt" if he can characterize his behavior as belonging in the unpunished class: / spanked him "for his own good."" (p. 443)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 19 - Thinking
146	"There are good reasons, then, why a speaker also conditioned by the verbal community as a listener should turn his verbal behavior upon himself. The result is close to "thinking" in many traditional senses of the term. Such behavior can, of course, be subtle and swift, especially because the speaker is optimally prepared for his own speech as listener" (p. 445)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 19 - Thinking
147	"The "effects of language on thought" must, of course, be restated. If it is "impossible to express a given idea" in a given language because a necessary term is lacking, we have only to say that the contingencies arranged by a given verbal community fail to respect a possible variable. If it is difficult "to express the same idea in two languages," we have merely to say that the reinforcing practices of two verbal communities differ. Any sort of behavior may be confusing and ineffective. The subtle contingencies of reinforcement arranged by a verbal community easily miscarry: a tact may be extended beyond warrant, an important autoclitic may be omitted, incompatible responses may result from faulty constructions." (p. 451)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 19 - Thinking
148	"There is nothing exclusively or essentially verbal in the material analyzed in this book. It is all part of a broader field of the behavior of a most complex creature in contact with a world of endless variety. For practical purposes a special field has been set apart in terms of characteristics imparted to it by special controlling variables. It is in terms of these variables of the contingencies arranged by the verbal community that verbal behavior can be defined and analyzed." (p. 452)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 19 - Thinking
149	"THE "LANGUAGES" studied by the linguist are the reinforcing practices of verbal communities. When we say that also means in addition or besides "in English/" we are not referring to the verbal behavior of any one speaker of English or the average performance of many speakers, but to the conditions under which a response is characteristically reinforced by a verbal community." (p. 461)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
150	"(The lexical definition simply mentions other responses reinforced under the same circumstances; it does not describe the circumstances.) In studying the practices of the community rather	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community

	than the behavior of the speaker, the linguist has not been concerned with verbal behavior in the present sense." (p. 461)		
151	"A functional analysis of the verbal community is not part of this book, but a few standard problems call for comment. One of them is the old question of the origin of language. Early man was probably not very different from his modern descendants with respect to behavioral processes. If brought into a current verbal community, he would probably develop elaborate verbal behavior. What was lacking was not any special capacity for speech but certain environmental circumstances. The origin of language is the origin of such circumstances." (p. 461)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
152	"Occasionally, through accidental circumstances, two or more children have grown up in partial isolation from established verbal communities and have developed fairly extensive idiosyncratic verbal systems, but the isolation has never been complete enough to prove that a verbal environment will arise spontaneously in the absence of prior verbal behavior" (p. 462)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
153	"But the verbal behavior acquired by the individual under the reinforcing practices of a verbal community does not appear to be a modification of vocalizations acquired by the species because of specific consequences having survival value" (p. 464)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
154	"Verbal communities commonly reinforce mand which cannot have departed very far from the original nonverbal forms. Knocking at the door of a house is a conventional verbal response, which is easily traced to nonverbal origins, for it must have been originally close to the behavior of a dog scratching at the door "to be let in." (p. 465)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
155	"Every listener and speaker need not pass through similar changes, for the gesture is eventually set up by the community. The traffic policeman's gestured "stop" is as culturally determined as a red light or the vocal response "Stop!" (p. 466)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
156	"If B is predisposed to reinforce A, A may shape B's behavior with any reaction indicating its reinforcing effect upon him. For example, conspicuous ingestive behavior on the part of A may reinforce B for cooking or serving a special kind of food. A's behavior in licking his chops may become a gesture equivalent to Give me some more of that as his vocal ra-ra may become the equivalent of the Yum-yum shaped by a particular verbal community." (p. 467)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
157	"In these examples the behavior is never greatly changed, but in others the form is eventually determined by the community that is, it becomes conventional. It has often been pointed out that the frequency of initial m's in words for mother may have some relation to the frequency of that sound as an unconditioned response in situations in which mothers frequently figure, where the rest of each word is presumably shaped by the particular community." (p. 468)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
158	"The origins of most forms of response will probably always remain obscure, but if we can explain the beginnings of even the most rudimentary verbal environment, the well-established processes of linguistic change will explain the multiplication of verbal forms and the creation of new controlling relationships. Fortunately changes in reinforcing contingencies can be traced historically and observed in current communities." (p. 469)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
159	"On the side of "meaning" modern historical linguistics has identified many sources of variation. Some are concerned with accidents or faults in transmission. Others arise from the structure of the verbal community" (p. 469)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
160	"The complex muscular responses of vocal behavior affect the verbal environment by producing audible "speech." This is a much more accessible datum." (p. 15)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 2 - General Problems

161	"Metonymical extension may explain the origin of these expressions in the verbal environment, but it is not needed to account for instances in the behavior of the individual speaker" (p. 101)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
162	"The response insect, although it is controlled by a class of objects, will probably need more differential reinforcement in a given verbal environment than the response red. In verbal responses controlled by single properties of stimuli there is less chance of metaphorical spread and therefore less chance that the listener will make an ineffective response." (p. 111)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
163	"Laboratory experiments in concept formation follow this pattern by setting up and testing for the presence of abstract tacts in an artificial verbal community. The same procedures could be used in an empirical survey of abstraction generated by verbal environments outside the laboratory." (p. 113)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
164	"The extensive verbal behavior usually called animism may have little to do with private stimuli. It may represent a stage in the growth of a verbal environment in which responses describing certain aspects of behavior are extended freely to both animate and inanimate objects." (p. 138)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
165	"Eventually the verbal environment may force a more useful discrimination in which responses of this sort are narrowly restricted to certain characteristics of the behavior of organisms rather than of things in general, but the control is probably never exclusive." (p. 138)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 5 - The Tact
166	"The emotional reaction is usually a by-product of some other verbal function. The verbal environment does not establish the response snake primarily to evoke such a reaction on the part of the listener. The pairing of stimuli which ultimately generates the response arises from contingencies related to more practical behavior. The speaker may acquire the response dead under the control of a biological state of affairs having practical or theoretical importance. The generic characteristic shared by a dead tree, a dead animal, and a dead man could be fairly precisely defined. But dead objects are frequently associated with stimuli evoking powerful emotional responses, even though these play no part in the contingencies established by the verbal environment for that form of response." (p. 155)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 6 - Special Conditions Affecting Stimulus Control
167	"Sounds are 'pronounced correctly,' the pattern of the operant is insisted upon in all its details, and explicit intraverbal sequences are set up. The verbal environment encountered by the speaker at a later date may not respect these contingencies." (p. 210)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	
168	"Age is another important variable. The schedule according to which verbal behavior matures in a standard verbal environment has been extensively studied." (p. 213)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
169	"The special conditioning of the listener is the crux of the problem. Verbal behavior is shaped and sustained by a verbal environment by people who respond to behavior in certain ways because of the practices of the group of which they are members. These practices and the resulting interaction of speaker and listener yield the phenomena which are considered here under the rubric of verbal behavior." (p. 226)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 8 - The Verbal Operant as a Unit of Analysis
170	"We are considering, of course, the origin of the folk-etymology in the behavior of one speaker, not the use of the established form. Similar tendencies in many speakers may, of course, be relevant to the survival of the form in a verbal environment." (p. 245)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 9 - Multiple Causation
171	"Unconditioned vocal responses sometimes enter into multiply caused verbal behavior. The form of the response Ouch! is modified by a particular verbal environment, yet an actual instance may be largely an unshaped cry of pain" (p. 245)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 9 - Multiple Causation
172	"In 'instruction' (Chapter 14) we shall see that he understands to the extent that his future behavior shows an appropriate change. These are all ways in which we are said to 'understand a language'; we	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 10 - Supplementary Stimulation

	respond according to previous exposure to certain contingencies in a verbal environment." (p. 277)		
173	"We are essentially asking, "Was your response a tact or an echoic or intraverbal response to the verbal behavior of someone else?" Because controlling relations are so important, welldeveloped verbal environments encourage the speaker to emit collateral responses describing them." (p. 315)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 12 - The Autoclitic
174	"It also seems reasonable to suppose that, as a verbal environment undergoes historical development, it reinforces larger and larger units. At least, the environment must be prepared to reinforce larger units as units before the parallel process will occur in the development of the individual speaker." (p. 336)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 13 - Grammar and Syntax as Autoclitic Processes
175	"The frequency of unusual, and not necessarily effective, orders in literature is a further indication of the relaxedcriteria of the literary community. Unusual, illogical, or confusingorders are likely to appear (are not likely to be edited) because of the special verbal environment of the world of letters." (p. 354)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 14 - Composition and Its Effects
176	"Some responsesuch as obscenities, blasphemies, and so on are fairly generally punished, but evidently not by the verbal nvironments whichset them up. In general, movement from one group to another fosters punishment" (p. 374)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 15 - Self-Editing
177	"However, reinforcing contingencies play their part. Some verbal environments do not demand much self-descriptive behavior, while others produce the familiar "introspective" person." (p. 385)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 16 - Special Conditions of Self-Editing
178	"Since automatic reinforcement need not respect the contingencies which prevail in the external verbal environment, controlling relations canbe "stretched" at will, beginning perhaps with a slight exaggeration but leading eventually to fiction and lying. The verbal behavior of people who live alone and talk mostly to themselves often seems"queer" to the occasional external listener. The speaker, as his ownaudience, has come to control a special subdivision of his verbal repertoire, distorted by special effects. The public contingencies mayneed replenishment, although some automatic correction will occurif the intrusion of irrelevant consequences destroys eventual practical advantages." (p. 441-442)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Capítulo 19 - Thinking
179	"How the first verbal environment arose will probably always remain a matter for speculation. Theoretically it should be possible to rear a group of human infants in social isolation to discover whether verbal behavior would develop, and if so what it would be like, butthere are obvious ethical problems." (p. 461-462)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
180	"The experiment failed when all the subjects died. Occasionally, through accidental circumstances, two or more childrenhave grown up in partial isolation from established verbal communities and have developed fairly extensive idiosyncratic verbal systems, but the isolation has never been complete enough to prove that averbal environment will arise spontaneously in the absence of prior verbal behavior." (p. 462)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
181	"Most of the mands we can account for without assuming a prior verbal environment are gestures." (p. 467)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
182	"The study of the verbal behavior of speaker and listener, as well as of the practices of the verbal environment which generates such behavior, .may not contribute directly to historical or descriptive linguistics, but it is enough for our present purposes to be able to say that a verbal environment could have arisen from nonverbal sources and, in its transmission from Generation to generation, would have beensubject to influences which might account for the multiplication of forms and controlling relations and the increasing effectiveness of verbal behavior as a whole." (p. 470)	Verbal Behavior (1957)	Appendix: The Verbal Community
183	"The notion of knowledge as response is useful in enabling us to formulate the assembled knowledge of physics in terms of the equations and laws which comprise the verbal behavior of the scientist, rather than his mental states. It also gives a much more	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 6: A Quantitative Estimate of Certain Types of Sound-Patterning in

	<p>plausible view of the insight which is apparently so useful to the analyst. We acquire the vocabulary which describes our own behavior under great difficulty. The verbal community which can easily teach a child to distinguish colors, for example, cannot with the same technique teach him to distinguish aches, pains, feelings, and emotions. As physical states in the individual, these are a part of the physical world, but the individual himself has a special connection with them. My aching tooth is mine in a very real sense because none of you can possibly get nerves into it, but that does not make it different in nature from the ceiling light which we all react to in more or less the same way. As a result of this physical privacy, the subjective vocabulary, such as was used by introspective psychology and seems to be used today by some analysts, has limitations in precision which no one has been able to surmount.” (p. 301)</p>		Poetry
184	<p>“What we want to know in the case of many traditional psychological terms is, first, the specific stimulating conditions under which they are emitted (this corresponds to "finding the referents") and, second (and this is a much more important systematic question), why each response is controlled by its corresponding condition. The latter is not necessarily a genetic question. The individual acquires language from society, but the reinforcing action of the verbal community continues to play an important role in maintaining the specific relations between responses and stimuli which are essential to the proper functioning of verbal behavior, How language is acquired is, therefore, only part of a much broader problem.” (p. 419)</p>	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
185	<p>“There are three important terms: a stimulus, a response, and a reinforcement supplied by the verbal community, (All of these need more careful definitions than are implied by current usage, but the following argument may be made without digressing for that purpose.) The significant interrelations between these terms may be expressed by saying that the community reinforces the response only when it is emitted in the presence of the stimulus. The reinforcement of the response "red," for example, is contingent upon the presence of a red object. (The contingency need not be invariable.) A red object then becomes a discriminative stimulus, an "occasion," for the successful emission of the response "red.”” (p. 419)</p>	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
186	<p>“There are at least four ways in which a verbal community which has no access to a private stimulus may generate verbal behavior in response to it:...” (p. 420)</p>	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
187	<p>“The superiority of the behavioral hypothesis is not merely methodological. That aspect of seeing which can be defined behaviorally is basic to the term as established by the verbal community and hence most effective in public discourse. A comparison of cases (1) and (3) will also show that terms which recede to the private level as overt behavior becomes covert have an optimal accuracy of reference, as responses to private stimuli go” (p. 425)</p>	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
188	<p>“y to occur after failure to alternate and less likely after previous alternation. This may plausibly be attributed to the conditions of reinforcement which establish the tendency to alternate, since the verbal community which provides the reinforcement opposing repetition will presumably react more vigorously to repeated failure to alternate and less vigorously to failure which follows due alternation.” (p. 460)</p>	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
189	<p>“In its relation to government in the broadest sense, a community, speculative or attempted, serves something of the function of a pilot experiment in science or a pilot model or plant in technology. It is constructed on a small scale. Certain problems arising from sheer size— such as communication and transportation— can then be neglected, but the main advantage is that closer attention can be given to the lives of individual members. Such a community is also almost always geographically isolated. “ (p. 59)</p>	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
190	<p>“All this makes it easier to think about such a community as a viable</p>	Cumulative	The design of

	or perishable entity— as an organism with a life of its own. Its success or failure, unlike the rise and fall of eras or nations, is likely to be quick and conspicuous. New ways of doing things are tested for their bearing on its success. Such a community, in short, is an experiment.” (p. 59)	Record (1959)	experimental communities
191	“Men found, join, or dream of such communities for many reasons. Some are moved by intellectual interests: they want to prove a theory (fo r example, that men are naturally noble or that they are incomplete without "community" or "love") or to hasten a prophesied stage in history. Others have more immediate personal reasons: they seek simple pleasures, the satisfaction of basic needs, political order, economic stability, help in selfdiscipline, and so on. Such goals are often formalized as "values." The goal of the community is to maximize happiness, security, sanctity, or personal fulfillment. The more general the goal, however, the more debatable it seems to be. In conceiving of a community as a pilot experiment, the designer may turn directly to two practical questions: W hat behavior on the part of the members of a community is most likely to contribute to its success? How may that behavior be generated and maintained?” (p. 59)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
192	“It is important to a community that its members defend it against its enemies, produce the food, shelter, clothing, and other things it needs, and maintain internal order. It is also obviously important that its members teach each other, and, particularly, new members, how to behave in necessary ways.” (p. 59)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
193	“H e cannot actually institute a new culture all at oncc: the earlier social environments of the members of a community will play a role, if only in providing a contrast to a new way of life. Members may show personal idiosyncrasies or background differences.” (p. 61)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 2: Are Theories of Learning Necessary?
194	“The site of the community— its climate, soil, and existing flora and fauna— will be favorable or unfavorable. The community will begin with a certain amount of starting capital, it will have natural resources, and it may continue to receive outside support in the form of charity or philanthropy. All these conditions limit the significance of a successful result, but there is still scope for extensive design.” (p. 61)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
195	“ Extensive use of punishment will cost a community some of its members. It may also lead to counterattack— as in revolution or religious reformation— or to stubborn resistance to all forms of control. These are familiar, predictable reactions upon which an experim ental analysis o f behavior throws considerable light. “ (p. 61)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
196	“A very different example of the relevance of an analysis of behavior to the design of a community is the use of so-called rewards. A community may need as much power to reward as to punish, but it is not said to be using force because its operations are not resisted” (p. 62)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
197	“A community may resort to positive reinforcement to generate any behavior important to its success... The designer of effective working conditions in a small community is in a favorable position to use a technology of reinforcement. The immediate temporal contingencies are crucial. Many communities have given special attention to rewarding productive labor. ” (p. 62)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
198	“Current systems of rewards are largely aversive, the threatened loss of a standard of living being more important than the receipt of wages. Effective reinforcement of productive labor is one of the more interesting areas in which the designer of an experimental community may apply recent scientific discoveries” (p. 63)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
199	“ If the community does not need productive work, reinforcing contingencies can safely be neglected, but a long-standing conflict between welfare and incentive suggests that the issue has not been wholly resolved.” (p. 63)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities

200	“These are all forms of behavior which flourish when behaviors having a more specific relevance to the success of a community are not needed. A community may be able to afford a certain number of them, but it stands to profit more from other uses of free time. Sports, games, and other forms of complex play; arts and crafts, music, and the dance; literature and the theater; and the contemplation, observation, and exploration of nature which constitute "science" in the broadest sense are important activities to the designer because they bear on the success of the community. Some of them make the community more attractive in the sense that they reinforce supporting behavior and discourage defection.” (p. 64)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
201	“These relations to the success of a community are overlooked in saying that leisure is to be devoted to the pursuit of happiness, for this emphasizes the reinforcers rather than the behaviors reinforced.” (p. 64)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
202	“In summary, then, a community is much more complex than a laboratory experiment in human behavior but much simpler than the large-scale enterprises analyzed in political science, economics, and other social disciplines. For this reason it is especially helpful in studying the effects of a social environment on human behavior and, in return, the relevance of that behavior to the maintenance and development of the environment. It is a favorable ground for social invention.” (p. 64)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
203	“The success or failure of a community, for example, is easily seen to mean the success or failure of all its members, whether or not its social structure is egalitarian; but it is hard to reach a similar sense of community in thinking about a nation or the world as a whole.” (p. 65)	Cumulative Record (1959)	The design of experimental communities
204	“Their behavior in the classroom, quite apart from what they are learning, is part of his assignment. Coming to class, behaving well toward other students, attending to the teacher, entering into discussions, studying— these are as essential to education as what is being learned, and here the teacher plays a different role. He is not a source of knowledge or an evaluator of what a student knows; he is in a sense the governor of a community.” (p. 276)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 4: The Operational Analysis of Psychological Terms
205	“It should be a community in which learning takes place expeditiously, and the teacher can meet that assignment if he knows how to use reinforcement.” (p. 276)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 4: The Operational Analysis of Psychological Terms
206	“Unfortunately, social contingencies are often hard to arrange. To induce the members of a classroom community to behave well with respect to each other, additional reinforcers may be needed” (p. 277)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 4: The Operational Analysis of Psychological Terms
207	“The classroom is a kind of community, with a culture of its own, and we can design such a culture while respecting the standards of dignity and freedom which we value in the world at large. The assignment is important because in the long run education must take its place as the method of choice in all forms of social control.” (p. 281)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 4: The Operational Analysis of Psychological Terms
208	“Several experiments are now in the literature in which an interviewer has skillfully shaped, by very slight reinforcements and punishments, the verbal behavior of the person being interviewed. It is fairly easy to get another person onto an arbitrarily chosen topic during a conversation by showing attention when the topic is being approached and inattention when it is being left. The same process could generate a misleading community of vocabulary in the personal interaction between two people.” (p. 302)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 6: A Quantitative Estimate of Certain Types of Sound-Patterning in Poetry
209	“This scheme presupposes that the stimulus act upon both the speaker and the reinforcing community; otherwise the proper contingency cannot be maintained by the community.” (p. 419)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
210	“But the problem of privacy cannot be wholly solved by instrumental invasion. No matter how clearly these internal events may be exposed in the laboratory, the fact remains that in the normal verbal	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box

	episode they are quite private. We have not solved the second problem of how the community achieves the necessary contingency of reinforcement.” (p. 420)		
211	“The community is skeptical of statements of this sort, and any attempt by the speaker to talk to himself about his private world (as in psychological system making) is fraught with self-deception.” (p. 423)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
212	“system making) is fraught with self-deception. Much of the ambiguity of psychological terms arises from the possibility of alternative or multiple modes of reinforcement. Consider, for example, the response "I am hungry." The community may reinforce this on the basis of the history of ingestion, as in (1), or collateral behavior associated with hunger, as in (2), or as a description of behavior with respect to food, or stimuli previously correlated with food, as in (3). In addition the speaker has (in some instances) the powerful stimulation of hunger pangs, which is private since the community has no suitable connection with the speaker's stomach. "I am hungry" may therefore be variously translated as "I have not eaten for a long time" (1), or "That food makes my mouth water" (2), or "I am ravenous" (3) (compare the expression "I was hungrier than I thought" which describes the ingestion of an unexpectedly large amount of food), or "I have hunger pangs." While all of these may be regarded as synonymous with "I am hungry," they are not synonymous with each other. It is easy for conflicting psychological systematists to cite supporting instances or to train speakers to emit the response "I am hungry" in conformity with a system. With the balloon technique one might condition the verbal response exclusively to stimulation from stomach contractions. This would be an example of either (1) or (2) above. Or a speaker might be trained to make nice observations of the strength of his ingestive behavior, which might recede to the covert level as in (3). The response "I am hungry" would then describe a tendency to eat, with little or no reference to stomach contractions. Everyday usage reflects a mixed reinforcement. A similar analysis could be made of all terms descriptive of motivation, emotion, and action in general, including (of special interest here) the acts of seeing, hearing, and so on.” (p. 423)	Cumulative Record	
213	“The response "red" is imparted and maintained (either casually or professionally) by reinforcements which are contingent upon a certain property of stimuli. Both speaker and community (or psychologist) have access to the stimulus, and the contingency may be made quite precise. There is nothing about the resulting response which should puzzle anyone” (p. 424)		Parte 8 - A Miscellany - Baby in a Box
214	“To say "I see red" is to react, not to red (this is a trivial meaning of "see"), but to one's reaction to red. "See" is a term acquired with respect to one's own behavior in the case of overt responses available to the community. But according to the present analysis it may be evoked at other times by any private accompaniment of overt seeing. Here is a point at which a non-behavioral private seeing may be slipped in. Although the commonest private accompaniment would appear to be the stimulation which survives in a similar covert act, as in (3), it might be some sort of state or condition which gains control of the response as in (1) or (2).” (p. 425)	Cumulative Record (1959)	Parte 8: Baby in a Box
215	“Nonduplicative repertoires are not generated by natural contingencies; they must be taught by a verbal community. They are not always used for purposes of instruction. The important thing for the speaker is that the listener responds, not that he learns anything. The repertoires are very commonly used, however, to solve the problem of the first instance: the teacher simply tells the student to behave in a given way and reinforces him when he does so. The practice is more efficient than shaping behavior by progressive approximation and in many cases more convenient than using duplicative repertoires.” (p. 198 - pdf)	Technology of Teaching (1968)	Capítulo 10 - A Review of Teaching

216	“He will learn to recite what he reads, for example, only if some member of the verbal community reinforces him in such a way that some of his responses come to serve as stimuli which evoke others.” (p. 200)	Technology of Teaching (1968)	Capítulo 10 - A Review of Teaching
217	“Similarly, the modern child learns to talk through contact with a verbal community, but when his talking is particularly important to others—for example, his parents—they speak easily imitated words in easily imitated ways and reinforce successive approximations, and in doing so, they teach.” (p. 230)	Technology of Teaching (1968)	Capítulo 11 - The Behavior of the Establishment
218	“The contrived reinforcement shapes the topography of verbal behavior long before that behavior can produce its normal consequences in a verbal community. In the same way a child reinforced for the proper formation of letters by a chemical reaction is prepared to write long before the natural consequences of effective writing take over.” (p. 99)	Technology of Teaching (1968)	Capítulo 4 - The Technology of Teaching
219	“The concept of contingencies of reinforcement leads to a much more useful formulation. A language is not the words or sentences “spoken in it”; it is the “it” in which they are spoken—the practices of the verbal community which shape and maintain the behavior of speakers.” (p. 12)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 1 - The Role of The Environment
220	“It is the contingencies which prevail in a given verbal community which “generate sentences.” They shape and maintain the phonemic and syntactical properties of verbal behavior and account for a wide range of functional characteristics—from poetry to logic.” (p. 12)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 1 - The Role of The Environment
221	“The contingencies are maintained by other members of the group, whose behavior in maintaining them is the product of earlier contingencies, just as the behavior of the listener in shaping and maintaining the behavior of the speaker is the product of earlier contingencies in the verbal community.” (p. 13)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 1 - The Role of The Environment
222	“Daily life is sometimes explicitly designed, however. The religious communities in the Judeo-Christian tradition were based on sets of rules (e.g., the Rules of Benedict and Augustine) specifying contingencies of social reinforcement. Schools and colleges are to some extent communities in this sense and have their own rules. Institutions for the care of psychotics and retardates, orphanages, summer camps, and penal institutions are other examples. The techniques of control, codified or uncoded, are often aversive; but efforts have recently been made to design communities of these sorts using positive contingencies” (p. 21)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 1 - The Role of The Environment
223	“A new practice can be put into effect more easily in a small community than in the world at large, and the results more easily seen.” (p. 38)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 2 - Utopia as an experimental Culture
224	“It is a question which is clarified by the concept of a community as an experiment. A community is a thing, having a life of its own. It will survive or perish, and the designer must keep that fact in mind. The problem is that survival is often furthered by behavior which is not only not reinforced but may have punishing (even lethal) consequences.” (p. 40)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 2 - Utopia as an experimental Culture
225	“In a home for retarded children, if aversive control is minimal and happiness and dignity therefore maximal, and if some of the children learn enough to be able to move into the world at large, these effects will be among the important reinforcers of those who have designed the community.” (p. 43)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 2 - Utopia as an experimental Culture
226	“No matter how benevolent he may be, or how far from the exercise of power, the designer gets credit for the achievements of the community, and the credit is taken from those who live in it. A ruler who discovers a better way of inducing people to behave well gets credit for an orderly society but at the expense of those who live in it, who would be more admired if they behaved well in a disorderly society” (p. 44)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 2 - Utopia as an experimental Culture
227	“The behavior of one who speaks correctly by applying the rules of a grammar merely resembles the behavior of one who speaks correctly	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior

	from long experience in a verbal community. The results may be the same, but the controlling variables are different and the behaviors are therefore different” (p. 124)		
228	“An experimental analysis permits us to relate behavior to a history of reinforcement and to other variables such as deprivation. We identify the variables and the relations among them. We may do this with respect to our own behavior provided we have been taught to do so by a given verbal community.” (p. 126)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
229	“We identify the variables and the relations among them. We may do this with respect to our own behavior provided we have been taught to do so by a given verbal community. Verbal communities which encourage introspection and self-observation are particularly likely to have this effect. Once we have observed variables affecting our own behavior, we may respond to them in other ways.” (p. 126)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
230	“The reinforcing practices of a community are often inconsistent or episodic, but contingencies which remain relatively unchanged for a period of time may be described in useful ways” (p. 140)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 6 - An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving
231	“A well-known set of reinforcing contingencies is a language. For thousands of years men spoke without benefit of codified rules. Some sequences of words were effective, others were less so or not at all. The discovery of grammar was the discovery of the fairly stable properties of the contingencies maintained by a community. “ (p. 141)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 6 - An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving
232	“The same rules became helpful in instruction and in maintaining verbal behavior in conformity with the usages of the community” (p. 141)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 6 - An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving
233	“Behavior of this sort is often observed as a kind of running comment on contingencies of reinforcement to which one is being exposed. A child learns to describe both the world to which he is reacting and the consequences of his reactions. Situations in which he cannot do this become so aversive that he escapes from them by asking for words. Descriptions of his own behavior are especially important. The community asks him: What did you do? What are you doing? What are you going to do? And why? and his answers describe his behavior and relate it to effective variables. The answers eventually prove valuable to the child himself” (p. 142-143)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 6 - An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving
234	“Rules are stated more precisely because of social contingencies designed to induce a person to report what he is doing and why he is doing it. The verbal community generates “awareness” (135, Chapters 17 and 18) when it teaches an individual to describe his past and present behavior and behavior he is likely to exhibit in the future and to identify the variables of which all three are presumably functions. The description which is thus generated is not yet a rule, but the person may use the same terms to mand his own behavior (as a form of self-control), to make resolutions, to formulate plans, to state purposes, and thus to construct rules.” (p. 159)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 6 - An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving
235	“A system which establishes certain contingencies of reinforcement, such as some part of the natural environment, a piece of equipment used in operant research, or a verbal community.” (p. 160)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 6 - An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving
236	“Behavior which is shaped by the contingencies does not show knowledge of the rules. One may speak grammatically under the contingencies maintained by a verbal community without “knowing the rules of grammar” in any other sense, but once these contingencies have been discovered and grammatical rules formulated, one may upon occasion speak grammatically by applying rules” (p. 162)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 6 - An Operant Analysis of Problem Solving
237	“The verbal community may make the reinforcement of an extensive repertory of responses contingent on subtle properties of colored stimuli. We have reason to believe that the child will not discriminate among colors—that he will not see two colors as different—until exposed to such contingencies. So far as we know, the same process of differential reinforcement is required if a child is to distinguish	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty

	among the events occurring within his own skin.” (p. 229)		
238	“Many contingencies involving private stimuli need not be arranged by a verbal community, for they follow from simple mechanical relations among stimuli, responses, and reinforcing consequences” (p. 229)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
239	“The community is generally interested in what a man is doing, has done, or is planning to do and why, and it arranges contingencies which generate verbal responses which name and describe the external and internal stimuli associated with these events” (p. 229)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
240	“In attempting to set up such a repertoire, however, the verbal community works under a severe handicap. It cannot always arrange the contingencies required for subtle discriminations. It cannot teach a child to call one pattern of private stimuli “diffidence” and another “embarrassment” as effectively as it teaches him to call one stimulus “red” and another “orange” for it cannot be sure of the presence or absence of the private patterns of stimuli appropriate to reinforcement or lack of reinforcement. Privacy thus causes trouble, first of all, for the verbal community. The individual suffers in turn. Because the community cannot reinforce self-descriptive responses consistently, a person cannot describe or otherwise “know” events occurring within his own skin as subtly and precisely as he knows events in the world at large.” (p. 229-230)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
241	“What is particularly clear and familiar to the potential knower may be strange and distant to the verbal community responsible for his knowing” (p. 230)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
242	“We learn to see that we are seeing only because a verbal community arranges for us to do so. We usually acquire the behavior when we are under appropriate visual stimulation, but it does not follow that the thing seen must be present when we see that we are seeing it.” (p. 233)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
243	“The events reported by the students were observed, if at all, in their own behavior. They were describing what they would have expected, felt, and hoped for under similar circumstances. But they were able to do so only because a verbal community had brought relevant terms under the control of certain stimuli, and this was done when the community had access only to the kinds of public information available to the students in the demonstration.” (p. 237-238)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
244	“Whatever the students knew about themselves which permitted them to infer comparable events in the pigeon must have been learned from a verbal community which saw no more of their behavior than they had seen of the pigeons. Private stimuli may have entered into the control of their self-descriptive repertoires, but the readiness with which they applied them to the pigeon indicates that external stimuli had remained important.” (p. 238)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
245	“The stimuli controlling that response (the events to which it refers) are almost inaccessible to the verbal community which builds descriptive repertoires, and they are therefore seldom described by, or observed by, two people in the same way. We react to these events because of contingencies of reinforcement which are perhaps as complex as many of those which generate the constructs of science.” (p. 243)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
246	“The verbal community generates self-descriptive behavior by asking “What are you doing?” or “Why are you doing it?” and reinforcing our answers appropriately. The behavior with which we reply is not to be confused with the behavior generated by the original contingencies. It is not necessarily ‘linguistic,’ but it is verbal in the sense that we should have no reason to engage in it were it not for contingencies arranged by a verbal community.” (p. 244)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
247	“An advanced verbal community generates a high level of such awareness. Its members not only behave appropriately with respect to the contingencies they encounter in their daily lives, they examine those contingencies and construct rules—on-the-spot rules for	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty

	personal use or general rules which prove valuable to both themselves and the community as a whole” (p. 245)		
248	“A man may be able to identify or describe a stimulus under contingencies arranged by a verbal community though he does not respond to it under nonverbal contingencies. For example, only when he is told the solution to a problem in concept formation, does he respond correctly.” (p. 245-246)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
249	“ The question is not whether one necessarily sees contingencies as such when they take effect, but of what happens when a verbal community induces one to see them. Learning without awareness is simply a special case of behaving without awareness, and the latter is common. We are by no means always aware of what we are doing or why. We are perhaps more likely to be aware when we are learning something new, because it is at such times that self-descriptive behavior is of most use” (p. 246)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
250	“Some of the most powerful contingencies arranged by the community to generate awareness involve punishment. To blame someone is to attribute aversive consequences to his behavior” (p. 246)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
251	“A response of given topography is reinforced by the verbal community when it "corresponds" to a stimulus in conventional ways. The importance of the stimulus control brings the tact very close to the classical notion of passive perception or contemplative knowledge” (p. 254)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
252	“ It is one of the great accomplishments of the verbal community that it generates verbal behavior of this form. It does so because the close relation between the topography of behavior and the tacted stimulus is useful to it.” (p. 254)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
253	“The things with which a person is in contact at the surface of his body are public stimuli, accessible to the verbal community, and the community can therefore teach words like smooth, rough, oily, or sticky without difficulty. But things inside the body are not readily accessible, and verbal responses describing them are likely to be imprecise and unreliable” (p. 255)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
254	“He may feel certain bodily conditions associated either with the probability of eating or the shortage of food, and he may refer to these when he tells us that he feels hungry, provided the verbal community has taught him to do so. Internal states are the “referents” of his description of his feelings, and as such are among the independent variables controlling his verbal behavior. What is felt is certainly relevant to a causal sequence, but it does not follow that the act of feeling is an essential part of that sequence” (p. 256)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
255	“If events hitherto classified as private can now be directly observed by the verbal community, the community can arrange better contingencies in teaching its members to talk about them. If an independent indicator of what is felt as anxiety were available, for example, we could teach a person to report its presence or absence and to compare it with other things felt. The new evidence simply points to the fact that what is experienced introspectively is a physical condition of the body, as a behavioristic theory of knowledge has always contended” (p. 262)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
256	“We can indeed examine the extent to which a verbal community induces the individual to respond to events with which the community is not in contact, and our formulation will clarify many traditional problems in the so-called study of mind, but its principal merit from the present point of view is that it permits an analysis of what has traditionally been regarded as a very different kind of stuff” (p. 268)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 8 - Behaviorism at Fifty
257	“A man learns to respond to himself and his own behavior as he learns to respond to things in the world around him, although it is hard for the verbal community to teach him to “know himself” in this sense effectively” (p. 294)	Contingencies of Reinforcement	Capítulo 9 - The Inside Story

258	<p>“It is commonly said that the control becomes internalized, which is simply another way of saying that it passes from the environment to autonomous man, but what happens is that it becomes less visible. One kind of control said to be internalized is represented by the Judaeo-Christian conscience and the Freudian superego. These indwelling agents speak in a still, small voice, telling a person what to do and, in particular, what not to do. The words are acquired from the community.” (p. 70)</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 3 - Punishment
259	<p>“By following the rules which others have derived from punitive contingencies in the natural and social environment a person can often avoid or escape punishment. Both the rules and the contingencies which generate rulefollowing behaviour may be conspicuous, but they may also be learned and later remembered, and the process then becomes invisible. The individual tells himself what to do and what not to do, and it is easy to lose sight of the fact that he has been taught to do so by the verbal community. When a person derives his own rules from an analysis of punitive contingencies, we are particularly likely to give him credit for the good behaviour which follows, but the visible stages have simply faded farther into history.” (p. 71)</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 3 - Punishment
260	<p>“In general the verbal community cannot arrange the subtle contingencies necessary to teach fine distinctions among stimuli which are inaccessible to it. It must rely on visible evidence of the presence or absence of a private condition. A parent may teach a child to say 'I am hungry' not because he feels what the child is feeling, but because he sees him eating ravenously or behaving in some other way related to deprivation of, or reinforcement with, food. The evidence may be good, and the child may learn to 'describe his feelings' with some accuracy, but this is by no means always the case, because many feelings have inconspicuous behavioural manifestations. As a result the language of emotion is not precise. We tend to describe our emotions with terms which have been learned in connection with other kinds of things; almost all the words we use were originally metaphors.” (p. 105-106)</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 6 - Values
261	<p>“The feral child has no language, not because his isolation has interfered with some growth process, but because he has not been exposed to a verbal community. We have no reason to call any culture mature in the sense that further growth is unlikely or that it would necessarily be a kind of deterioration. We call some cultures underdeveloped or immature in contrast with others we call 'advanced', but it is a crude form of jingoism to imply that any government, religion, or economic system is mature.” (p. 139-140)</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 7 - The Evolution of a Culture
262	<p>“A utopian community is usually composed of a relatively small number of people living together in one place and in stable contact with each other. They can practise an informal ethical control and minimize the role of organized agencies” (p. 151)</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 8 - The Design of a Culture
263	<p>“Perhaps the most important feature of the utopian design, however, is that the survival of a community can be made important to its members. The small size, the isolation, the internal coherence - all these give a community an identity which makes its success or failure conspicuous” (p. 152)</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 8 - The Design of a Culture
264	<p>“The behavioural processes in the world at large are the same as those in a utopian community, and practices have the same effects for the same reasons.” (p. 153)</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 8 - The Design of a Culture
265	<p>“There is a similar problem in jurisprudence when laws continue to be enforced which are no longer appropriate to the practices of the community. Rules never generate behaviour exactly appropriate to the contingencies from which they are derived, and the discrepancy grows worse if the contingencies change while the rules remain inviolate. Similarly, the values imposed on goods by economic enterprises may lose their correspondence with the reinforcing effects of the goods, as the latter change. In short, an organized agency which is insensitive to the consequences of its practices is not subject</p>	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 8 - The Design of a Culture

	to. important kinds of countercontrol.” (p. 168-169)		
266	“The difficulty is that although privacy may bring the knower closer to what he knows, it interferes with the process through which he comes to know anything. As we saw in Chapter 6, the contingencies under which a child learns to describe his feelings are necessarily defective; the verbal community cannot use the procedures with which it teaches a child to describe objects” (p. 187)	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 9 - What is Man?
267	“The verbal community specializes in self-descriptive contingencies. It asks such questions as: What did you do yesterday? What are you doing now? What will you do tomorrow? Why did you do that? Do you really want to do that? How do you feel about that? The answers help people to adjust to each other effectively. And it is because such questions are asked that a person responds to himself and his behaviour in the special way called knowing or being aware.” (p. 187)	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 9 - What is Man?
268	“Without the help of a verbal community all behaviour would be unconscious. Consciousness is a social product. It is not only not the special field of autonomous man, it is not within range of a solitary' man.” (p. 187-188)	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 9 - What is Man?
269	“And it is not within the range of accuracy of anyone. The privacy which seems to confer intimacy upon selfknowledge makes it impossible for the verbal community to maintain precise contingencies. Introspective vocabularies are by nature inaccurate, and that is one reason why they have varied so widely among schools of philosophy and psychology.” (p. 188)	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 9 - What is Man?
270	“It is an important part of the contingencies to which a young child is exposed that his own body is the only part of his environment which remains the same (idem) from moment to moment and day to day. We say that he discovers his identity as he learns to distinguish between his body and the rest of the world. He does this long before the community teaches him to call things by name and to distinguish 'me' from 'it' or 'you'.” (p. 194)	Beyond Freedom and Dignity (1971)	Capítulo 9 - What is Man?
271	“We might expect that because a person is in such intimate contact with his own body he should be able to describe its conditions and processes particularly well, but the very privacy which seems to confer a special privilege on the individual makes it difficult for the community to teach him to make distinctions. The community can teach a child to name colors in various ways. For example, it can show him colored objects, ask him to respond with color words, and commend or correct him when his responses correspond or fail to correspond with the colors of the objects. If the child has normal color vision, we expect him to learn to identify colors accurately. The community cannot, however, follow the same practice in teaching him to describe the states of his own body because it lacks the information it needs to commend or correct him.” (p. 13)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 1 - The World Within the Skin
272	“Fortunately, it does not follow that no one can learn to describe some of the states of his own body, because the verbal community can to some extent solve the problem of privacy.” (p. 13)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 1 - The World Within the Skin
273	“The verbal community follows a rather similar practice when it teaches a child such an expression as “That hurts.” When the child has received a sharp blow or cut, the public blow or cut is fairly reliably associated with the private stimuli generated by it. The verbal community uses the public information, but the child may eventually say “That hurts” while responding only to the private event. He has learned to describe a private stimulus with an accuracy which depends only upon how well the public and private events agree.” (p. 13)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
274	“The verbal community may also circumvent the restrictions imposed by privacy by using collateral responses to the stimuli which a person is to learn to identify or describe. For example, it may observe not only that a child receives a painful blow, but that he cries. The private stimuli which come to control the response “That hurts” are then less	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin

	likely to be described with terms %rst descriptive of public stimuli. Similarly, although the community may teach a child to say, "I am hungry," because it knows that the child has not eaten for a long time, it is much more likely to take advantage of collateral behavior: it observes that the child responds quickly or eats ravenously when given food. It then tells him that he is hungry, and the child may acquire the expression "I am hungry" with respect to collateral private stimuli to which the verbal community had no access." (p. 14)		
275	"Although the verbal community solves the problem of privacy in this way and succeeds in teaching a person to describe many states of his body, the descriptions are never completely accurate." (p. 14)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
276	"Moreover—and this is a point of the greatest importance, to which I shall return later—the original biological functions responsible for the evolution of the nervous system have not produced the system the verbal community needs." (p. 14)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
277	"The vocabulary in which the answer is given can be acquired when the behavior is visible to all parties, and the verbal community therefore su7ers no limitation. Descriptions may be co%ned to topography ("I am waving my hand") or may include effects on the environment ("I am drinking a glass of water" or "I am sewing a button on my shirt"). Proprioceptive stimuli are dominant when a person describes his own behavior in the dark, but they are closely related to the public stimuli used in instruction by the verbal community. Questions of this sort are asked because the answers are important to the community, but, as we shall see later, they also become important to the speaker himself and in ways which are likely to maintain their accuracy." (p. 14)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
278	"The verbal community may resort to instrumental ampli4cation, as of the activity of muscles, and thus in a sense make covert behavior public, and encourage a return to the overt level as by asking a person to "think out loud," but it cannot maintain the accuracy of covert behavior. There is no problem, however, in the provenance of the vocabulary. The words used to describe covert behavior are the words acquired When behaving publicly." (p. 15)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
279	"In general the verbal community can check the accuracy of statements regarding inclinations and tendencies, at least in a statistical way, by looking at what happens, and the accuracy of the control maintained by private stimuli is thus to some extent assured. We shall see that self-descriptive behavior also serves the individual himself and that when it does so, it tends to remain accurate." (p. 15)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
280	"Consider the report "I am, was, or will be hungry." "I am hungry" may be equivalent to "I have hunger pangs," and if the verbal community had some means of observing the contractions of the stomach associated with pangs, it could pin the response to these stimuli alone. It may also be equivalent to "I am eating actively.'" (p. 15)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
281	"A more direct question about causes is "Why are you doing that?" and the answer is usually a description of feelings: "Because I feel like doing it." Such an answer is often acceptable, but if the verbal community insists upon something else, it may ask, "Why do you feel like doing it?" and the answer will then be either a reference to other feelings or (at long last) to external circumstances. Thus, in reply to "Why are you moving your chair?," a person may say, "The light was bad" or "To get a better light on my book.'" (p. 16)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
282	"Explanations of behavior vary with the kinds of answers accepted by the verbal community. If a simple "I feel like it" su+ces, nothing else will appear. Freud was inAuential in changing the kinds of answers often given to "Why are you doing that?" He emphasized feelings but allowed for references to personal history. The experimental analysis of behavior goes directly to the antecedent causes in the environment." (p. 16)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
283	"We may take feeling to be simply responding to stimuli, but	About	Capítulo 2 - The

	reporting is the product of the special verbal contingencies arranged by a community. There is a similar difference between behaving and reporting that one is behaving or reporting the causes of one's behavior. In arranging conditions under which a person describes the public or private world in which he lives, a community generates that very special form of behavior called knowing." (p. 16)	Behaviorism (1974)	World Within the Skin
284	"I have mentioned two reasons, to which I shall have many occasions to return: in teaching self-knowledge (1) the verbal community must make do with rather primitive nervous systems, and (2) it cannot fully solve the problem of privacy. There is an old principle that nothing is different until it makes a difference, and with respect to events in the world within the skin the verbal community has not been able to make things different enough. As a result, there is room for speculation, which over the centuries has shown the most extraordinary diversity." (p. 16)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 2 - The World Within the Skin
285	"Universal features of language do not imply a universal innate endowment, because the contingencies of reinforcement arranged by verbal communities have universal features." (p. 21)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 3 - Inate Behavior
286	"How a person speaks depends upon the practices of the verbal community of which he is a member. A verbal repertoire may be rudimentary or it may display an elaborate topography under many subtle kinds of stimulus control." (p. 38)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 6 - Verbal Behavior
287	"Different verbal communities shape and maintain different languages in the same speaker, who then possesses different repertoires having similar effects upon different listeners." (p. 38)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 6 - Verbal Behavior
288	"The three terms which appear in the contingencies of reinforcement generating an operant are divided between two people: the speaker responds to the setting, and the listener engages in the behavior and is affected by the consequences. This will happen only if the behaviors of speaker and listener are supported by additional contingencies arranged by the verbal community." (p. 39)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 6 - Verbal Behavior
289	"A referent might be defined as that aspect of the environment which exerts control over the response of which it is said to be the referent. It does so because of the reinforcing practices of a verbal community." (p. 39)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 6 - Verbal Behavior
290	"A translation can best be defined as a verbal stimulus that has the same effect as the original (or as much of the same effect as possible) on a different verbal community." (p. 40)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 6 - Verbal Behavior
291	"The linguist assigns these elements to syntax or grammar. He does so as part of an analysis of the practices of a given verbal community, from which he extracts rules which may be used in the construction of new sentences, as we shall see in Chapter 8." (p. 41)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 6 - Verbal Behavior
292	"(This fact about verbal behavior is due to the contingencies of reinforcement arranged by most verbal communities.) It does not follow that the child "forms a noun phrase of a given type" by "selecting first one word from the small class of modifiers and selecting second one word from the large class of nouns." This is a linguist's reconstruction after the fact." (p. 41)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 6 - Verbal Behavior
293	"When social contingencies characteristic of a small, slowly changing community are disturbed, formal directions need to be invoked which were once unnecessary. One writer has noted that until a few decades ago "instinct about the rhythm of the mother tongue served instead of principles. Now explicit ones are needed to fill the place of instinct" (where instinct presumably means behavior directly shaped by the verbal community)." (p. 50)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 8 - Causes and Reasons
294	"A person may use the rules of a language to speak correctly when he has not been adequately exposed to a verbal community. In learning a second language, for example, he can discover appropriate responses in a two-language dictionary and appropriate rules in a grammar." (p. 51)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 8 - Causes and Reasons

295	"Speaking a language with the help of a dictionary and a grammar is not like speaking it through exposure to a verbal community. The feelings associated with the two kinds of behavior are also different, but they do not explain the difference in the behaviors." (p. 51)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 8 - Causes and Reasons
296	"Certainly for thousands of years people spoke grammatically without knowing that there were rules of grammar. Grammatical behavior was shaped, then as now, by the reinforcing practices of verbal communities in which some behaviors were more effective than others, and sentences were generated by the joint action of past reinforcements and current settings. But it is the contingencies which "govern the use of language," not rules, whether or not they are extracted." (p. 52)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 8 - Causes and Reasons
297	"To say that we "intuitively" recognize that a sentence such as "John is weak to please" is ill-formed is to imply that no rule of grammar will permit us to call the sentence well-formed, but what we intuitively recognize is that the behavior we possess by virtue of the practices of our verbal community does not include a sentence of this form, nor should we as a member of such a community respond to it in an effective way." (p. 53)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 8 - Causes and Reasons
298	"The verbal community of the scientist maintains special sanctions in an effort to guarantee validity and objectivity, but, again, there can be no absolute. No deduction from a rule or law can therefore be absolutely true. Absolute truth can be found, if at all, only in rules derived from rules, and here it is mere tautology." (p. 55)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 8 - Causes and Reasons
299	"But it is "a major sector of the psyche" only in the sense of "a major part of human behavior," and it is mostly unconscious only because the verbal community does not teach people to observe or describe it." (p. 61)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 10 - The Inner World of Motivation and Emotion
300	"The universal features said to be characteristic of all languages are the result of universal characteristics of language communities arising from the role played by language in daily life." (p. 61)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 10 - The Inner World of Motivation and Emotion
301	"All species except man behave without knowing that they do so, and presumably this was true of man until a verbal community arose to ask about behavior and thus to generate self-descriptive behavior. Self-knowledge is of social origin, and it is useful first to the community which asks the questions. Later, it becomes important to the person himself—for example, in managing or controlling himself in ways to be discussed shortly." (p. 67)	About Behaviorism (1974)	
302	"Different communities generate different kinds and amounts of self-knowledge and different ways in which people explain themselves to themselves and others. Some produce the deeply introspective introverted, or inner-directed person, others the outgoing extravert. Some produce people who act only after a careful consideration of the possible consequences, others the thoughtless and impulsive. Some communities produce people particularly aware of their reactions to art, music, or literature, others of their relations with the people around them. The questions asked by mentalistic psychologists and those asked by behaviorists naturally produce different kinds of self-knowledge. They emphasize how a person feels about things." (p. 67)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 11 - The Self and Others
303	"The verbal community asks, "How do you feel?" rather than, "Why do you feel that way?" because it is more likely to get an answer. It takes advantage of the available information, but it has only itself to blame if other kinds of information are not available." (p. 68)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 11 - The Self and Others
304	"When techniques of self-management have been learned, the instructional contingencies maintained by the verbal community may no longer be needed. Behavior resulting from good self-management is more effective and hence generously reinforced in other ways. It is possible that a much more precise kind of control may begin to be exerted by private effects, in which case the problem of privacy faced by the verbal community is surmounted." (p. 71)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 11 - The Self and Others
305	"People do begin to call behavior good or bad or right or wrong and	About	Capítulo 14 -

	to reinforce or punish accordingly, and rules are eventually stated which help a person conform to the practices of his community and help the community maintain the practices.” (p. 76)	Behaviorism (1974)	Summing Up
306	“But self-knowledge arose much later in the history of the species, as the product of social contingencies arranged by the verbal community, and those contingencies have not been active long enough to permit the evolution of an appropriate nervous system. Introspection has had to use whatever systems were available, and they happened to be systems which made contact only with those parts of the body that played a role in its internal and external economy.” (p. 85)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 14 - Summing Up
307	“Far from ignoring consciousness in this sense, a science of behavior has developed new ways of studying it. (d) A person becomes conscious in a different sense when a verbal community arranges contingencies under which he not only sees an object but sees that he is seeing it. In this special sense, consciousness or awareness is a social product.” (p. 86)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 14 - Summing Up
308	“(e) Introspective knowledge of one’s body—self-knowledge—is defective for two reasons: the verbal community cannot bring self-descriptive behavior under the precise control of private stimuli, and there has been no opportunity for the evolution of a nervous system which would bring some very important parts of the body under that control.” (p. 86)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 14 - Summing Up
309	“The verbal community asks questions about private events because they are the collateral products of environmental causes, about which it can therefore make useful inferences, and self-knowledge becomes useful to the individual for similar reasons. (g) No special kind of mind stuff is assumed. A physical world generates both physical action and the physical conditions within the body to which a person responds when a verbal community arranges the necessary contingencies.” (p. 86)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 14 - Summing Up
310	“Different verbal communities generate different kinds and amounts of consciousness or awareness. Eastern philosophies, psychoanalysis, experimental psychology, phenomenology, and the world of practical affairs lead to the observation of very different feelings and states of mind. An independent science of the subjective would be an independent science of verbal communities.” (p. 86)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 14 - Summing Up
311	“The difference between conspicuous and inconspicuous control has led to many misunderstandings. It is sometimes said that children who are being taught verbal behavior are acquiring it through operant conditioning but that what they learn from a non instructional verbal community is learned through some other process.” (p. 94)	About Behaviorism (1974)	Capítulo 14 - Summing Up
312	The verbal community may make the reinforcement of an extensive repertoire of responses contingent on subtle properties of colored stimuli. (p. 121)	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
313	Many contingencies involving private stimuli need not be arranged by verbal community, for they follow from simple mechanical relations among stimuli, responses, and reinforcing consequences. (p. 121)	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
314	In attempting to set up such a repertoire, however, the verbal community works under a severe handicap. It cannot always arrange the contingencies requires for subtle discriminations. It cannot teach a child to call one pattern of private stimuli “diffidence” and another “embarrassment” as effectively as it teaches him or her to call one stimulus “red” and another “orange”, for it cannot be sure of the presence or absence of the private patterns of stimuli appropriate to reinforcement or lack of reinforcement. Privacy thus causes trouble, first of all, for the verbal community. The individual suffers in turn. Because community cannot reinforce self-descriptive responses consistently, a person cannot describe or otherwise “kwon” events occurring within the skin as subtly and precisely as events in the world at large. (p. 121-122).	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
315	What is particularly clear and familiar to the potential knower may be	Reflections on	Capítulo 5 - Operant

	strange and distant to the verbal community responsible for the knowledge. (p. 122)	Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Behavior
316	We learn to see that we are seeing only because a verbal community arranges for us to do so. We usually acquire the behavior when we are under appropriate visual stimulation, but it does not follow that the thing seen must be present when we see that we are seeing it. The contingencies arranged by the verbal environment may set up self-descriptive responses describing the behavior of seeing even when the thing seen is not present. (p. 124)	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
317	Terms describing sensations and images are taught by manipulating discriminative stimuli - a relatively amenable class of variables. The remaining mental events are related to such operations as deprivation and satiation, emotional stimulation, and various schedules of reinforcement. The difficulties they present to the verbal community are suggested by the fact that there is no psychophysics of mental states of this sort. That fact has not inhibited the use of such states in explanatory systems. (p. 126).	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
318	The events reported by the students were observed, if at all, in their own behavior. They were describing what they would have expected, felt, and hoped for under similar circumstances. But they were able to do so only because verbal community had brought relevant terms under the control of certain stimuli, and this was done when the community had access only to the kinds of public information available to the students in the demonstration. (p. 127).	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
319	“Any discussion of the discriminative behavior generated by the verbal environment to permit a man to examine his conscious content must be qualified accordingly” (p. 127)	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 5 - Operant Behavior
320	“Language is often said to be rule-governed, but it is more likely a product of contingencies: ‘We speak because our behavior is shaped and maintained by the practices of a verbal community’.” (p. 177)	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 7 - The Phylogeny and Ontogeny of Behavior
321	“Children are taught to name colors with similar contingencies, and we all possess comparable repertoires sustained by the reinforcing practices of our verbal environments.” (p. 178)	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 7 - The Phylogeny and Ontogeny of Behavior
322	“Behavior comes under the control of stimuli under certain contingencies of reinforcement. Special contingencies maintained by verbal communities produces ‘abstractions’. We do attach physical labels to physical things and we collect physical objects according to labeled properties, but comparable cognitive processes are inventions which, even if real, would be no closer to an explanation than the external contingencies.” (p. 179).	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 7 - The Phylogeny and Ontogeny of Behavior
323	“In an operant analysis verbal behavior is determined by the consequences which follow in a given verbal environment, and consequences are what cognitive psychologists are really talking about when they speak of intentions. All operant behavior ‘stretches toward’ a future even though the only consequences responsible for its strength have already occurred.” (p. 182)	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 7 - The Phylogeny and Ontogeny of Behavior
324	“The distinction between rules and contingencies is currently important in the field of verbal behavior. Children learn to speak through contact with verbal communities, possibly without instruction. Some verbal responses are effective and others not, and over a period of time more and more effective behavior is shaped and maintained.” (p. 186).	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 7 - The Phylogeny and Ontogeny of Behavior
325	“The verbal community maintains contingencies of such a nature that responses made upon particular occasions serve as useful stimuli to listeners who then behave appropriately to the occasions.” (p. 187).	Reflections on Behaviorism and Society (1978)	Capítulo 7 - The Phylogeny and Ontogeny of Behavior
326	“A good design should, by definition, provide a community with leaders who are appropriate to and supported by the members of the community they serve. A science of behavior is only a means for facilitating the process. It is impossible to say who the correct leaders are and what the best design is, since these things will depend on the people involved and will change from time to time. A good design is, for Skinner, one that produces a culture that flourishes and survives.	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Introduction

	Survival is the ultimate judge. (I'd be amazed if behavioral psychologists emerged as the most effective leaders.)" (p. 5)		
327	"The verbal community may make the reinforcement of an extensive repertoire of responses contingent on subtle properties of colored stimuli. We have reason to believe that the child will not discriminate among colors — will not see two colors as different — until exposed to such contingencies. So far as we know, the same process of differential reinforcement is required if a child is to distinguish among events occurring inside the skin." (p. 121)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
328	"Many contingencies involving private stimuli need not be arranged by a verbal community, for they follow from simple mechanical relations among stimuli, responses, and reinforcing consequences." (p. 121)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
329	"The community is generally interested in what we are doing, have done, or are planning to do and why, and it arranges contingencies which generate verbal responses which name and describe the external and internal stimuli associated with these events. It challenges us by asking "How do you know?" and we answer, if at all, by describing some of the variables of which our verbal behavior was a function. The "awareness" resulting from all this is a social product." (p. 121)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
330	"In attempting to set up such a repertoire, however, the verbal community works under a severe handicap. It cannot always arrange the contingencies required for subtle discriminations." (p. 121-122)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
331	"Privacy thus causes trouble, first of all, for the verbal community. The individual suffers in turn. Because the community cannot reinforce selfdescriptive responses consistently, a person cannot describe or otherwise "know" events occurring within the skin as subtly and precisely as events in the world at large." (p. 122)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
332	"They may well be of a special kind; the stimuli we feel in pride or sorrow may not closely resemble those we feel in sandpaper or satin. But this does not mean that they differ in physical status. In particular, it does not mean that they can be more easily or more directly known. What is particularly clear and familiar to the potential knower may be strange and distant to the verbal community responsible for the knowledge." (p. 122)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
333	"We learn to see that we are seeing only because a verbal community arranges for us to do so. We usually acquire the behavior when we are under appropriate visual stimulation, but it does not follow that the thing seen must be present when we see that we are seeing it. The contingencies arranged by the verbal environment may set up selfdescriptive responses describing the behavior of seeing even when the thing seen is not present.." (P. 124)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
334	"The conditions under which descriptive repertoires are set up are much less successfully controlled. Terms describing sensations and images are taught by manipulating discriminative stimuli — a relatively amenable class of variables. The remaining mental events are related to such operations as deprivation and satiation, emotional stimulation, and various schedules of reinforcement. The difficulties they present to the verbal community are suggested by the fact that there is no psychophysics of mental states of this sort. That fact has not inhibited the use of such states in explanatory systems." (P. 126)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
335	" But they were able to do so only because a verbal community had brought relevant terms under the control of certain stimuli, and this was done when the community had access only to the kinds of public information available to the students in the demonstration. Whatever the students knew about themselves which permitted them to infer comparable events in the pigeon must have been learned from a verbal community which saw no more of their behavior than they had seen of the pigeon's." (p. 127)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
336	"But behavior is often produced by contingencies of reinforcement; rules need not be stored for effective behavior to occur. Language is	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 8 - Why I

	often said to be rule-governed, but it is more likely a product of contingencies: "We speak because our behavior is shaped and maintained by the practices of a verbal community." (P. 177)		Am Not a Cognitive Psychologist
337	"The verbal community maintains contingencies of such a nature that responses made upon particular occasions serve as useful stimuli to listeners who then behave appropriately to the occasions." (p. 187)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 8 - Why I Am Not a Cognitive Psychologist
338	"We speak because our behavior is shaped and maintained by the practices of a verbal community." (p. 187)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 8 - Why I Am Not a Cognitive Psychologist
339	"Knowing" or "being aware of" what is happening in turning a handsping involves discriminative responses, such as naming or describing, which arise from contingencies necessarily arranged by a verbal environment." (p. 121)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
340	"We usually acquire the behavior when we are under appropriate visual stimulation, but it does not follow that the thing seen must be present when we see that we are seeing it. The contingencies arranged by the verbal environment may set up selfdescriptive responses describing the behavior of seeing even when the thing seen is not present." (P. 124)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
341	"in the training process he always behaves in one of these ways; no way station called "identification" appears in practice or need appear in theory. (Any discussion of the discriminative behavior generated by the verbal environment to permit a man to examine his conscious content must be qualified accordingly." (P. 127)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 5 - Behaviorsm at Fifty
342	"and we all possess comparable repertoires sustained by the reinforcing practices of our verbal environments." (P. 179)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 8 - Why I Am Not a Cognitive Psychologist
343	" In an operant analysis verbal behavior is determined by the consequences which follow in a given verbal environment, and consequences are what cognitive psychologists are really talking about when they speak of intentions." (P. 182)	Skinner for the Classroom (1982)	Parte 2 - Theory Capítulo 8 - Why I Am Not a Cognitive Psychologist
344	"The child whose words were said to appear like the shoots of a plant would never have learned to speak at all if left alone. What develops is the verbal community, as it responds in more and njore complex ways to what the child says." (p. 32)	Enjoy old Age (1983)	Capítulo 2 - Doing Something about Old Age
345	"Perhaps you can recount a bit of family lore or some community history that has not been put into print, but the number of your listeners will be small." (p. 145)	Enjoy old Age (1983)	Capítulo 12 - A Great Performance - The Grandeur and Exquisiteness of Old Age
346	"The contingencies may be maintained by the community, and a behavioral engineer may have designed them and changed them from time to time in the light of experience, but the consequences are nonetheless directly reinforcing. " (p. 39)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 3 - News from Nowhere
347	"There is no evidence that anything of the sort happens in a rat, but what about a person? Given the necessary exposure to a verbal community, a person could certainly say, "When I pressed the lever, food appeared," or, more generally, "When the lever is pressed, food appears." In that sense, people come to "know" the contingencies in the world around them. The behavior is verbal and must be analyzed as such. " (p. 98)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 7 - Cognitive Science and Behaviorism
348	"If contingencies are not adequate, we return to the rules. Most of the time, for example, we speak grammatically because of the prevailing contingencies in the verbal community, but when the contingencies are not sufficient, we turn to the rules of grammar." (p. 99)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 7 - Cognitive Science and Behaviorism
349	"Introspection is presumably one of them. An early version of behaviorism (like logical positivism) held that science must confine itself to publicly observable events. But radical behaviorism accepts	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 7 - Cognitive Science and Behaviorism

	the argument that parts of our bodies enter into the sensory control of what we do, not only in behavior such as figure skating but in the self-observation and self-management that are shaped and maintained by a verbal community." (p. 105)		
350	"Rules of grammar describe the contingencies maintained by verbal communities. Languages share "universals" because they serve universal functions." (p. 107)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 7 - Cognitive Science and Behaviorism
351	"Governmental practices tend to move farther and farther from natural, face-to-face contingencies. We can restore some of the advantages in that control by returning to small groups, such as intentional communities." (p. 178)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 12 - The Contrived Reinforcer
352	"The community has been designed in such a way that it naturally reinforces the behavior needed to maintain it, without the mediation of a government or industrial organization. Unfortunately, it is not easy to see how the world as a whole can dispense with governments and economic systems in that way." (p. 178-179)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 12 - The Contrived Reinforcer
353	"Strictly speaking, verbal behavior does not evolve. It is the product of a verbal environment, or what linguists call a language, and it is the verbal environment that evolves. Because a verbal environment is composed of listeners, it is understandable that linguists emphasize the listener." (p. 75)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
354	"In contrast, a behavior analyst asks, "How is it possible for a person to say a potentially infinite number of sentences?") This paper, then, is about the evolution of a verbal environment as the source of the behavior of a speaker." (p. 76)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
355	"The issue, however, is not the evolution of knowing or of knowledgeable persons, or of any organ of such a person, or of any condition of such an organ; the issue is a verbal environment or culture. People come into contact with such an environment when they listen to speakers or read books." (p. 88)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
356	"or (3) when it was shaped and maintained by a verbal environment transmitted from one generation to another (when it became part of a "language")." (p. 89)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
357	"Verbal behavior is behavior that is reinforced through the mediation of other people, but only when the other people are behaving in ways that have been shaped and maintained by an evolved verbal environment, or language." (p. 90)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
358	"At level 3 we could say that other primates have engaged in verbal behavior in artificial verbal environments created by scientists but have not developed a language of their own." (p. 90)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
359	"The sentence "That is called a rose" describes a contingency of reinforcement in a verbal environment. "Call that a rose" is advice to be followed if one is to behave successfully in such an environment." (p. 91)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
360	"To repeat a necessary caveat, I have not tried to say how a verbal environment, or the verbal behavior generated by such an environment, actually evolved." (p. 91)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 6 - The Evolution of Verbal Behavior
361	"The first system could, of course, learn to behave verbally, given the necessary verbal environment, and it would then resemble the second. The second, however, would remain forever simply a rule-following system." (p. 107)	Upon Further Reflection (1987)	Capítulo 7 - Cognitive Science and Behaviorism
362	"In that decade, however, my book <i>Walden Two</i> came to "life. Published in 1948, it was soon on the point of going out of print. In the 1960s, however, its sales rose exponentially. The community it described was not a hippie commune, but it was free of institutions. The functions of government, economics, and religion were taken over by face-to-face personal control." (p. 120)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 11 - New preface to <i>Beyond Freedom and Dignity</i>
363	"In a behavioral account, the direction of action is exactly reversed. Speakers do not take in the world and put it into words; they respond to it in ways which have been shaped and maintained by special contingencies of reinforcement. Listeners do not extract information	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 4 - The Listener

	or knowledge from words and compose secondhand copies of the world; they respond to verbal stimuli in ways which have been shaped and maintained by other contingencies of reinforcement. Both contingencies are maintained by an evolved verbal environment or culture.” (p. 35)		
364	“The problem is especially hard to solve when the behavior is verbal. Speakers are not initiators. Neither in the evolution of a verbal environment nor in the conditioning of speakers and listeners does speaking come first.” (p. 36)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 4 - The Listener
365	“A verbal operant is a probability. Five kinds of operants—mand, tact, intraverbal, echoic, and textual—are distinguished by their respective contingencies of reinforcement. They are maintained by verbal environments or cultures—that is, by listeners.” (p. 37)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 4 - The Listener
366	“True, everything scientists now do must at least once have been contingencyshaped in someone, but most of the time scientists begin by following rules. Science is a vast verbal environment or culture.” (p. 44)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 4 - The Listener
367	“When we say that we talk to ourselves, we mean that one self talks to another. Different repertoires have been shaped and maintained by different verbal environments.” (p. 46)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 4 - The Listener
368	“The practices of the verbal environment we call a language are the greatest achievement of the human species, and verbal environments are composed of listeners.” (p. 47)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 4 - The Listener
369	“because of what they "learn" about the location of nectar and pollen. (Their responses have been selected when they have more readily discovered nectar, that consequence having no current effect.) Dancing resembles speaking, and responding to a dance resembles listening, but speaking and listening have a different origin. They are shaped and maintained by a verbal environment.” (p. 55)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 5 - Genes and Behavior
370	“Only when we are asked about what we have done, are doing, or are about to do, or why, have we any reason to observe or recall our behavior or its controlling variables. All behavior, human and nonhuman, is unconscious; it becomes "conscious" when verbal environments provide the contingencies necessary for self-observation” (p. 62-63)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 6 - Whatever Happened to Psychology as the Science of Behavior?
371	“Children do not need such explicit instruction, of course. They learn to talk, but much more slowly, under the contingencies of reinforcement maintained by a verbal environment.” (p. 91)	Recent Issues in the Analysis of Behavior (1999)	Capítulo 8 - The School of the Future