The representation of social actors in the tweets of Jair Messias Bolsonaro

A Representação dos Atores Sociais nos tuítes de Jair Messias Bolsonaro

Sabrina Bonqueves Fadanelli”
Daniela Fátima Dal Pozzo***
Claudia Cristina Fin****

Abstract
Discourses via social networks have been widely used by politicians, who often apply ideological bias in different ways depending on their interests. Therefore, this study aims to analyze the Representation of Social Actors (Fairclough 2003) in the speech of Jair Messias Bolsonaro, and to verify if changes in these representations occur in the periods before and after being elected. The current Brazilian president's tweets are used as corpora, the first one comprising of 111 tweets published on Bolsonaro's official Twitter, between October 8 to 27, 2018, the pre-campaign period for the second round of Brazilian elections. The second one comprises 83 tweets, from August 8 to 27, 2019, a period in which the candidate already held the position of President of the Republic. The theoretical contribution consists mainly of Fairclough studies within Critical Discourse Analysis, complemented by Foucault (2012) and Charaudeau (2010). Results point to changes in the president's speech in most of the analyzed occurrences.

Keywords
Political discourse. Jair Messias Bolsonaro. Twitter. Representation of social actors. Corpus.

Resumo
Os discursos via redes sociais têm sido muito utilizados por políticos, que muitas vezes aplicam o viés ideológico de formas diferentes conforme seus interesses. Diante disso, este estudo visa a analisar a representação dos atores sociais (Fairclough 2003) no discurso de Jair Messias Bolsonaro, e verificar se ocorrem mudanças nessas representações nos períodos antes e depois de eleito. Utiliza-se como corpus os tuítes do atual presidente, sendo o primeiro corpus deste estudo composto por 111 tuítes publicados no Twitter oficial de Bolsonaro, entre 8 a 27 de outubro de 2018, período da pré-campanha para o segundo turno das eleições. Já o segundo é composto por 83 tuítes, de 8 a 27 de agosto de 2019, período que o candidato já ocupava
O cargo de Presidente da República. O aporte teórico é constituído, principalmente, pelos estudos de Fairclough dentro da Análise Crítica do Discurso, complementada por Foucault (2012) e Charaudeau (2010). Resultados apontam para mudanças no discurso do presidente na maioria das ocorrências analisadas.

Palavras-chave
Discurso político. Jair Messias Bolsonaro. Twitter. Representação de atores sociais. Corpus.

Introduction
As of June 2013, the demonstrations that led to the political process of removal of the then Brazilian president Dilma Vana Rousseff began. With most votes in favor for the impeachment, the vice president of that period, Michel Temer, assumed the presidency. Michel Temer’s government maintained the high rate of rejection (IBOPE, 2016), which was already present during the last term of President Dilma Vana Rousseff, mainly during the period of pre-impeachment demonstrations, by a large part of the Brazilian population, among others reasons, because of the moral crisis established in politics in the face of several allegations of corruption, involving a range of politicians from different parties.

Within this unstable economic and social scenario, political polarization appears. Social networks fed back through this extreme antagonism, becoming a good source for opinions, judgments, information and presidential political campaigns that took place in October 2018.

Sérgio Abranches (2019) states that the relationship between social networks and politics is a defense tool against the old political oligarchy, which legitimizes mechanisms and keeps the spotlight focused on itself, restricting media spaces for the “new” party and “new” politics. In view of this, the author states that: “It is an issue that still requires research, but it was, in part, an unforeseen side effect of the decision of the parties’ oligarchies to offset the ban on corporate campaign financing.” (ABRANCHES, 2019, p. 18, our translation).  

1 “É uma questão que ainda demanda pesquisa mas foi, em parte, um efeito colateral imprevisto da decisão das oligarquias dos grandes partidos de compensar a proibição do financiamento empresarial de campanhas” (ABRANCHES, 2019, p. 18)
Candidates for the Presidency of the Republic and their followers used social networks as a tool to express their ideals, bringing to light, during the presidential campaign, several social and moral clashes.

All candidates used social networks for their campaigns. However, one candidate, Jair Messias Bolsonaro, exploited them fiercely and had an immense and intense reach. He won the 2018 presidential election, even though during his public and political life he expressed controversial opinions regarding different orders of social and economic nature.

Therefore, inevitably, his discourse\(^2\) and texts on social networks became the subject of studies. There is already some research focused on Bolsonaro’s discourse: one of them is the article *Bolsonaro Zuero 3.0: A study on the new articulations of the discourse of the Brazilian right-wing through social networks*, by Luís Guilherme Marques Ribeiro, Cristina Lasaitis and Lígia Gurgel, from 2016, in which an analysis is made of the relationship of social networks with the construction of a public opinion about Bolsonaro. Another study is *Arms, hatred, fear and spectacle in Jair Bolsonaro*, by Deysi Cioccari and Simonetta Persichetti, from 2018. In this study, the researchers seek to analyze the parts that form the image of the presidential candidate. Oliveira (2019) analyzes the volition modality of the inaugural speech of the current president of Brazil, using the Functional Discourse Grammar, and concludes that his discourse uses resources such as the the Simple Present (among others) to establish a relationship of inclusion of the intended audience in the promises of future government actions.

None of the aforementioned studies attempts to analyse Bolsonaro’s discourse on social networks under the bias of Critical Discourse Analysis and Fairclough’s studies. Critical Discourse Analysis, often called CDA, is an approach to the analysis of discourse developed during the 1980s and 90s. In brief, CDA sees discourse as both shaped by the social world in which it plays a part and as a force on this social world. Practitioners of CDA pay attention to the role of discourse in social practices, particularly the practices of the powerful – politicians, the media, large businesses, and so on. A CDA analysis might envolve a description of the ways in which particular types of people are named in newspaper articles, for example, and interpretation of the

\(^2\) We use the definition of Discourse provided by Fairclough (2012, p. 11): “meaning-making as an element of the social process; [...] concerned with various ‘semiotic modalities’, of which language is only one (others are visual images and ‘body language’).
ideological force of this naming. As such, CDA goes beyond mere description of language; it aims to interpret the ideological forces at work in discourse (COULTHARD et al, 2000). Among others, Fairclough (2003) is one of the most representative names of CDA studies, and one category he uses to work with CDA is called Representation of Social Actors. Van Dijk (1996) states that dominant groups or institutions are able to affect the knowledge, values, ideologies and attitudes of people by influencing and controlling means of public discourse and communication. This power is very strong when regarding news reports. News stories may be actual narratives of real facts, and the writer may dispose of its tools as he or she wishes to achieve a certain goal. The way the media portrays the participants of these narratives plays a role in the establishment of this control. Since the popularization of social media, the way people access the news has been going through a massive transformation, and Twitter can be included as one of the most common sources for that. According to Brock (2012, p. 529), ‘Twitter's combination of brevity, multi-platform access, and feedback mechanisms has enabled it to gain mindshare far out of proportion to its actual user base’.

This study aims at analyzing whether the Representation of Social Actors (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003) in the pre-campaign speech and in the speech of Jair Messias Bolsonaro already elected presents changes that may signal a shift on the bias of the president's speech. The study seeks to answer the following questions: how is the Representation of Social Actors (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003) made in the pre-campaign Twitter speech and in the speech of Jair Messias Bolsonaro already elected? Are there any fluctuations in these representations that signal a change in Bolsonaro's speech on the Internet before and after being elected?

The current president's tweets are used as corpora. The first corpus comprises 111 tweets published on Bolsonaro's official Twitter, between October 8 to 27, 2018, the pre-campaign period for the second round of elections. The second corpus is composed of 83 tweets, from August 8 to 27, 2019.

This article is organized in the following sections: some considerations regarding political discourse will be made, and then Fairclough's theory (2003) will be addressed. After that, the methodology of the study will be outlined, and the analysis will be carried out, followed by a discussion section and the final comments.
**Political discourse**

Speakers say whatever for a reason and with an objective. Under the perspective of the French linguist Charaudeau (2010), discourse takes place in a standardized situation in which there are restrictions, and an exchange is expected:

> it is necessary that the speaking subjects gain credibility and know how to capture the interlocutor or the public. They are then led to bet on influence, using discursive strategies in four directions: 1) the way of establishing contact with the other and the way of relationship that is established between them; 2) the construction of the image of the speaking subject (his ethos); 3) the way of touching the affection of the other in order to seduce or persuade him (the pathos) and 4) the ways of organizing the discourse that allow describing the world and explaining it according to the principles of veracity (the logos) (CHARAUDEAU, 2010, p. 59, our translation).

According to Charaudeau (2006, 2010), the individual, when speaking, makes use of discourse strategies aimed at captivating his audience, seducing it, or even threatening it. Political discourse tries to motivate the people in one direction and/or tries to influence them to reject other positions.

Foucault (2012, p. 10), in his inaugural class at the Côme de France, in 1970, relates discourse to power, stating that: "Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but the reason for what we fight, the power that we want to seize".

Both Foucault and Charaudeau relate discourse to action and power. Discourse is the object of desire for representing power. The authorization of discourse allows the maintenance of different orders, such as moral, political, religious, economic, as well as allowing the thought of the discursive broadcaster to be at the center of the protagonism.

Thus, discourse becomes an important object of study because it influences thought and because it is a means of power. Political discourse, thus, makes use of this characteristic and can oscillate according to the interests of individuals. A similar perspective is shared by Critical Discourse Analysis and Fairclough’s studies.

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3 "[...] é preciso que os sujeitos falantes ganhem em credibilidade e saibam captar o interlocutor ou o público. Ele é, então, levado a apostar na influência, se valendo de estratégias discursivas em quatro direções: 1) o modo de estabelecimento de contato com o outro e o modo de relação que se instaura entre eles; 2) a construção da imagem do sujeito falante (seu ethos); 3) a maneira de tocar o afeto do outro para seduzi-lo ou persuadi-lo (o pathos) e 4) os modos de organização do discurso que permitem descrever o mundo e explicá-lo segundo os princípios da veracidade (o logos)” (CHARAUDEAU, 2010, p. 59).

4 “O discurso não é simplesmente aquilo que traduz as lutas ou os sistemas de dominação, mas aquilo por que, pelo que se luta, o poder do qual nos queremos apoderar” (FOUCAULT, 2012, p. 10).
**Fairclough and the representation of social actors**

Fairclough (2003) claims that texts should be analyzed in levels interrelated to each other. This is equivalent to saying that the analysis of every feature of every level will inevitably be linked to the analysis of the others. The two principal levels he presents are *External levels* and *Internal levels*.

External levels regard how social events are expressed by texts, and how such texts are embedded into social practices, dictated and regulated by social structures. An example of this framework is a newspaper article (text), embedded into the social practice of journalism, regulated by society and reality journalism is inserted into (social structure).

External levels are strictly connected to the concept of genre. As Bakhtin (1997) points out, genres are types of utterances developed by social spheres that are relatively stable. Being relatively stable means genres are, as well as social practices, bounded by regulations imposed by social structures.

Internal levels comprehend Action, Representation and Identification (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). Action corresponds to the speech functions (is the text offering, demanding, stating facts, asking questions) and to the grammatical mood expressed by clauses (interrogative, declarative, imperative).

Identification relates to the concept of Modality, which refers to analyzing the linguistic resources writers of texts use to position themselves in the world (CALDAS-COULTHARD; BENNET, 2009).

Representation, the focus of this study, regards how social events and social actors (the ones who carry out social events) are pictured. A social actor can be represented as an active or a passive subject in the event, for example; or it can be named or categorized, personalized or impersonalized. Social actors may be represented through inclusion or exclusion in the text, which actors are given more prominence, and which processes the verbs of the text entail.

Representation of Social Actors is strictly connected to how social events are represented. Fairclough borrows Halliday's Systemic Functional Grammar and uses types of processes to represent these social events. The main processes are Material, Mental, Representational, and Verbal.

Material Processes regard doings and activities which involve a change in the material world (as well as more abstract, metaphorical processes which adopt the grammatical framework of physical activities). Mental Processes relate to the goings
on human consciousness – thinking, feeling and sensing. Verbal Processes are the ones indicating some communication of meaning. Finally, Relational Processes main function are identifying entities, attributing qualities or features to entities, indicating possession or ownership (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004)

Each of these processes affects the way the participants of the processes are pictured, and that is how Fairclough connects representing Social Actors to the processes.

**Methodology and corpora**

As the aim of this study is to investigate how social actors are represented in Bolsonaro’s tweets before and after his election, this study applies an adaptation of Bessa and Sato (2018), with examples of some didactic ways suggested by Fairclough (2003) for an analysis of the representation of social actors. Here are the points which are covered in the analyses:

a) Are there social actors that are Included or excluded in the text, and what are the possible reasons for such inclusion or exclusion.

b) Is the pronoun or name used in the representation? The semantic prosody (LOUW, 1993; HUNSTON; FRANCIS, 2000) of words that co-occur with the social actors is positive or negative?

c) What is the grammatical function attributed to the actor? Does it 'act', does it 'benefit' or is it 'affected'? Is it represented as an asset or liability?

d) What types of processes (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN 2004) are involved? What may they represent in that context of situation?

This research relies on Corpus Linguistics (SARDINHA, 2004), a form of empirical investigation that uses the natural characteristics of the text genres for linguistic analysis and study. For the first corpus, 111 tweets from the candidate’s official Twitter were collected, between October 8th and October 27, 2018 (the day before the second round of elections). For the second corpus, 83 tweets, from August 8 to 27, 2019. Only tweets containing Bolsonaro's posts were selected. Retweets were disregarded.

The texts were saved in * .txt formats, to be processed by the tool AntConc (ANTHONY, 2004). The corpora presented 10260 words (tokens) and 2556 types of words (types), being classified as small for not having more than 80 thousand words, but still representative, given the scope of this research (BIBER, 1988; 2012). The first
step was to load the texts into the software and make a list of words for each corpus separately using the wordlist tool.

Once the lists were ready, a manual selection of lexical items that could represent social actors (proper names, pronouns, nouns) was made, and a PROCV formula was applied in Microsoft Excel 2010 to determine which lexical items were found both in the campaign's tweets and after the election tweets. Table 1 shows the items that resulted from this selection. The words are organized in alphabetical order. The items that appear in bold are the ones that occurred most frequently. The original Portuguese words are listed, and the translation to English is in italics, unless the item is a proper name.

Table 1 – Lexical items occurring in both corpora

| Portuguese          | English          |
|---------------------|------------------|
| Amazônia            | Brazilian(s)     |
| Bolsonaro           |                  |
| brasileiro(s)       | Brazilian(s)     |
| chefe               | chief            |
| criminosos          | criminals        |
| Dilma               |                  |
| ela(s)              | she / they       |
| ele(s)              | he / they        |
| empregados          | employees        |
| esquerda            | leftist          |
| família(s)          | family (ies)     |
| governo             | government       |
| Guedes              |                  |
| imprensa            | press            |
| instituição(s)      | institution(s)   |
| João                |                  |
| líder               | leader           |
| ministro(s)         | minister(s)      |
| nordeste            | northeast        |
| nós                  | we               |
| pai                 | father           |
| países(es)          | country (ies)    |
| parlamentares       | parliamentarians |
| Paulo               |                  |
| policiais           | police officers  |
| população           | population       |
| povo                | people           |
| Presidente          | President        |
| profissionais       | professionals    |
| PT                  |                  |
| Rio                 |                  |
Due to space reasons, the analysis in this article will include the items that, when generating the wordlist, were more frequent, and appeared in both corpora, as shown on table 2. In this study, the concordances presented by the AntConc tool were used for the analysis of the Representation of Social Actors. A corpus itself cannot be read, like a text, with a beginning, middle and end; it must be read in a hypertextual way, for example, through concordances (SARDINHA, 2009, p. 12). The concordances are how words combine to form meanings in a text (SCARAMUCCI, 2007).

Table 2 – Number of occurrences of selected social actors in Bolsonaro’s discourse

| SOCIAL ACTORS       | NUMBER OF OCCURRENCES |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| country (ies)       | 35                    |
| we                  | 33                    |
| PT                  | 28                    |
| Amazônia            | 27                    |
| Brazillian(s)       | 20                    |
| government          | 18                    |
| president           | 18                    |
| family (ies)        | 17                    |
| people              | 16                    |
| Bolsonaro           | 12                    |
| press               | 9                     |

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).
Bolsonaro’s Twitter discourse and the representation of social actors

In this subsection, we carry out with the analysis of the social actors presented on table 2, in descending order, from the highest frequency of occurrence to the lowest, listing them from one to eleven. In the figures, on the right margin, we identify the occurrences as *tuítes governo* for *government tweets* or with numbers for campaign tweets. The figures are in Portuguese, since the research was carried out in this language\(^5\).

**Country / countries**

The lexemes *country/countries* occurred at first sight with relative frequency in both corpora, being used 19 times in campaign tweets, and 16 times in government tweets. However, it is necessary to consider them separately, since in the *corpora* a country can refer to Brazil or another country, and countries refer to countries other than Brazil.

*Country* (singular form), occurs more frequently in the corpus of campaign tweets, where the reference with Brazil is more prominent. Only one occurrence uses Israel as a country and another refers to the word more generally. The cooccurrence with the pronoun *we* is recurrent, denoting the speaker’s desire to be included among the people. Other occurrences of *country* present the dichotomy between candidate Bolsonaro and his opponent: the first appears with positive semantic prosody placements such as *rescue, build, transformation*; the second is presented along with negative material processes such as *sinking, diving, putting (x) in the mud, destroying*, and with negative collocates as a *criminal faction*.

The occurrence of *countries* (plural form) in campaign tweets is small (3), citing other nations that would either contribute to the development of Brazil, or that do not serve as a good model for Brazil.

The occurrence of this social actor appears eight times in the speech of the already elected president. It refers to the political alliances, agreements and disagreements that exist between the Brazilian government and other governments. It appears as an active grammatical function, having the following related collocates:

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\(^5\) In case the reader wishes to check out a translation of the corpora, it is available at the following links: https://drive.google.com/file/d/1lic7oT_Cb17EwVytSulaxlSkypqAW/view?usp=sharing
https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Us2wAlbBm0eZDe0wivRCJS-ZNqEe6Y4/view?usp=sharing
solidarity, developed, saving, sovereignties, which have a positive semantic prosody; now as an affected liability, with the following verbal processes involved, which are negative: shelter, criminals, terrorists, personal political gains. The occurrence of country is linked to Brazil with positive semantic prosody such as friend, recovers, prays to other countries (see Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1 – Country/Countries

| Concordance Hits | 16 |
|------------------|----|
| 1                | questão interna do Brasil e de outros países amazônicos p/ ganhar políticos pessoais. O tom | tuires govern |
| 2                | continuar sendo, como foi até hoje, um país amigo de todos e responsável pela proteção | tuires govern |
| 3                | a se aproximar dos valores de um país cada vez mais semelhante à Venezuela. Vamos discutidos no G7 sem a participação dos países da região, evoca mentalidade colonialista descabi | tuires govern |
| 4                | uma importante contribuição ao planeta. Diversos países desenvolvidos, por outro lado, ainda não conseguiram | tuires govern |
| 5                | através da ideia de uma "aliança" dos países do G-7 para "salvar" a Amazônia, como | tuires govern |
| 6                | Noruega - É nossa política cooperar com outros países e não dar abrigo a criminosos ou | tuires govern |
| 7                | ambiental e respeitamos a soberania de cada país. Meu muito obrigado a dezenas de chefe | tuires govern |
| 8                | um plano conjunto, entre a maioria dos países que integram a Amazônia, na garantia de | tuires govern |
| 9                | participam como convidados. O Brasil é um país que recuperou sua credibilidade e faz comércio | tuires govern |
| 10               | verdade e cientes da nossa soberania. Outros países se solidarizaram com o Brasil, ofereceram meios | tuires govern |
| 11               | de 45 para 59, uma perda de 30% o risco país subiu de 860 para 1800 pontos e as ações | tuires govern |
| 12               | política ambiental que respeite a soberania dos países. - Tive ainda a oportunidade de conversar com | tuires govern |
| 13               | contra o Brasil por mera validade. Nesse país, verde e amarelo, mora no coração de | tuires govern |
| 14               | se desenvolve junto com o restante do país. É nesse sentido que trabalham todos os | tuires govern |
| 15               | Brasil, afronta ao soberania de qualquer país é o mínimo que se pode esperar | tuires govern |

Source: Antcon (2020).

Figure 2 – Country/Countries

| Concordance Hits | 19 |
|------------------|----|
| 1                | impera há anos e que destrói nosso país! | 12/10/20184 |
| 2                | da história do Brasil. Juntos resgatemos nosso país! | 18/10/20187 |
| 3                | países com mais liberdade econômica no mundo possuem | 25/10/20182 |
| 4                | verdadeiro desenvolvimento social e econômico do país. Com uma presidência, o Congresso e demais | 22/10/20181 |
| 5                | da sua atenção. O Brasil é um país cristão. O candidato do PT, Fernando Haddad, | 26/10/20185 |
| 6                | nossa nova independência: o 1º passo rumo ao país da justiça, do emprego, segurança e da | 26/10/20187 |
| 7                | ditaduras socialistas pelo mundo à forã. Um país devastado pelos maiores estâncias de corrupção e | 23/10/20183 |
| 8                | renda da família. Todo e qualquer país do mundo busca sua segurança alimentar. ÀI | 24/10/20181 |
| 9                | forma é que nos pretendemos governar o país, e dessa forma pretendemos, é construir o | 08/10/20183 |
| 10               | é povo furado, estivemos em Israel, um país localizado no deserto e sabemos o que | 18/10/20184 |
| 11               | que assaltou os brasileiros e colocou o país na lama. Canalha! | 09/10/20185 |
| 12               | stôa, desrespeitaram as famílias e mergulharam o país na violência e no caos. Os brasileiros | 18/10/20188 |
| 13               | o modelo do PT, que afundou nosso país no mar da corrupção e violência, ou | 09/10/20186 |
| 14               | de crimes desta natureza espalhados por todo país nos últimos anos. O PT e eu | 10/10/20186 |
| 15               | na roubalheira do PT! Lembram-se: nosso país não é uma fação criminosa para ser | 25/10/20183 |
| 16               | temos promover uma transformação cultural em nosso país, onde a impunidade, a corrupção, o crime | 13/10/20181 |
| 17               | o Brasil que juntos podemos construir. Um país que respeita seus cidadãos e que é | 13/10/20181 |
| 18               | atitudes, o plano de governo e os países que se inspiram! Nada além da simples | 19/10/20181 |
| 19               | violência e trazendo para perto de nós, países que somos amigos! Vamos juntos mudar os | 20/10/20182 |

Source: Antcon (2020).

We

The lexeme we is one of the most frequent in the corpora (see Figures 3 and 4), occurring 31 times in the campaign speech and only 2 times in the government speech. In the tweets of the electoral period, the pronoun is sometimes used as reference to Bolsonaro and his team, sometimes associating them with the idea of Brazilians in
The placement of mental processes related to an emotional appeal (believe, love, trust, win, deserve) is very present.

In government tweets, the pronoun we makes allusion to a idea of Bolsonaro’s enemies – the president of France and communists/the corrupt, as a group affected by the actions of others. On the other hand, we appears as an active agent, alongside material processes, such as ending, which demonstrate actions to end communism, relating it to an eschatological word. Material processes are generally associated with concrete actions, bringing to the social actor the representation that he is active in his role (Halliday; Matthiessen, 2004). The government does not seem to identify itself with the rest of Brazilians, since both occurrences of we no longer include the idea of belonging to the common people.

Figure 3 – We

Source: Antconc (2020).

Figure 4 – We

Source: Antconc (2020).
In the tweets referring to the pre-election, the social actor PT is mentioned 27 times by Bolsonaro, already in his speech as president, he appears only once. As the first corpus is from the pre-campaign of the second round, it is normal for PT to appear so many times, since they were his opponents. The discourse shows an attempt to disqualify the opponent with instances of negative semantic prosody, such as corruption/lie, robbery, hysteria, dangerous, among others. PT appears as a potential enemy of Brazil and Brazilians, however the pre-campaign tweets show the need to defeat the enemy and classify them with negative adjectives. The positioning of Bolsonaro’s image during the campaign is also that of a social actor affected by the actions of opponents. In the only tweet from the government period in which he mentions the PT, Bolsonaro links the Workers’ Party to organized crime. Here, although the occurrence of the lexeme PT is lower, the ideological position of diminishing the opposing party continues. The candidate and current president Jair Messias Bolsonaro shares with his followers the persecution suffered from PT in its pre-campaign, enhancing the rivalry between the political poles (see Figures 5 and 6).

Figure 5 – PT

sobre o perigoso Plano de Governo do PT,
na vida as consequências da corrupção do PT,
a mentiras que estão sendo difundidas pelo PT a meu respeito! Até logo!
a mentiras que estão sendo difundidas pelo PT a meu respeito! Até logo!
O PT agora tenta jogar católicos e evangélicos uns
houve uma grande história por parte do PT. Ao que parece a carapaça serviu mais
o sistema falido e corrupto que o PT construiu!
Apoio voluntário é algo que o PT desconhece e não aceita. Sempre fizeram política
por todo país nos últimos anos. O PT e o PCdoB, incluindo suas parlamentares, votaram
eu usasse coxa dois, seria candidato pelo PT, eles privilegiarem quem tem envolvimento com o
combatiendo, COM A VERDADE, as mentiras do PT! Eu peço, nessa reta final das eleições,
americano em 1969, Ministro das comunicações do PT favorável ao controle da mídia, que fez
é um país cristão. O candidato do PT, Fernando Haddad, após receber de presente uma
Vamos colocar um fim na roubalheira do PT! Lembrem-se: nosso país não é uma
um amigo militante do PSOL, braço do PT, mas confiamos e escutamos o Brasil: LEMBREM-
Ninguém mentiu mais que o PT nesta eleição. São mestres em enganar. Mudaram
todos os grupos possíveis cresceu na era PT. Ninguém promoveu mais a violência do que
mim um falso ataque contra eleitora do PT no Rio Grande do Sul desmascarado pela
O PT não está sendo prejudicado por fake news.

Source: Antcon (2020).
Amazônia

There was only one occurrence of ‘Amazônia’ in campaign tweets, with the use of the verb *deforest*. This verb is associated with a negative semantic prosody (LOUW, 1993; HUNSTON et al., 2000), and Bolsonaro's intention to associate the negative idea of the word is clear, mentioning an alleged accusation by the competing party of what Bolsonaro intended to do with the forest. The other 26 occurrences appear in government tweets, which at first glance seems to make sense since during the first period of the Bolsonaro government the fires in the Amazon received spotlight worldwide. What draws attention is that during the campaign period, the almost exclusion of mentions about the Amazon denotes a lack of interest in the subject by the then candidate, whereas in tweets as president the mention is more associated with words of positive semantic prosody, *how to protect, protection, ours, rich, coveted*. The word appears related to the concept of national sovereignty and the attack on foreign countries and NGOs that criticized the fires that occurred during the Bolsonaro government. In the tweets, the opposition between *us* vs. *them* is clear. In both corpora (see Figures 7 and 8), Amazônia appears mainly as a passive item, reinforcing its role subject to the manipulation of *us*, who want to protect it, and *them*, who want to destroy or exploit it.
Brazilian(s)

The lexeme Brazilian(s) is included in campaign tweets more often than in government tweets (see Figure 9). In campaign tweets, it is possible to note that Brazilians (s) appear mostly as active agents, as people who overflow feelings like pride and indignation at the country's ailments. In other instances, Brazilians are active in their voting process and in deciding what to do with tax money. In government tweets, the lexeme Brazilian(s) is more passively characterized as people who are affected by feelings when accompanied by relational processes (HALLIDAY;
MATTHIESSEN; 2004) - which characterize or describe the people (healthy character, honesty, patriotism, miscegenated, sold off). In other cases, the word refers to the government, alerting the people to “foreign enemies” and the government’s attempt to invest in undeveloped territories, in addition to maintaining a rapprochement with its voters by informing its agenda. The government is responsible for favoring economic freedom, for leveraging positive changes for Brazilian people, who remain passivized.

Figure 9 – Brazilian(s)

Source: Antconc (2020).

Government

The campaign tweets feature 10 occurrences of the lexeme government (against 8 occurrences in the tweets from the government period), as shown in Figure 10; in most instances, the word government is used to expose the opponent candidate’s campaign in contrast to the proposals made by Bolsonaro’s party. The rival party government, in this case PT, is characterized as dangerous, totalitarian, and contrary to the facilitation of job creation. The future Bolsonaro government presents itself as a job creator, intolerant of criminals, and a reformer. The material process change presents a characteristic that stands out for the variation of its semantic prosody: while change in the opponent’s government plan is treated as something negative and undesirable, in Bolsonaro’s government it appears as something positive. The tweets from the government period publicize the work and ideological orientations of Bolsonaro’s government, which features, in the corpora, the government as an
The lexeme government appears alongside semantically positive words, such as work, advances, achievements. It also criticizes the press for not showing these achievements. Another occurrence is related to the leftists, stating that PT, when governing, was in dialogue with criminal factions. The verbal processes associated with the government are relational, describing it positively: being right and good (as opposed to evil), having zero tolerance for crime, being open to dialogue.

**Figure 10 – Government**

Source: Antconc (2020).

**President**

The word president occurs most often in government tweets, totaling 11 times, while appearing 7 times in the campaign speech (see Figure 11). In tweets of the period Bolsonaro was already elected, the lexeme sometimes refers to President Bolsonaro, as an agent, a person who has the power and competence to make choices; other times it refers to the presidents Iván Duque, of Colombia, the discourse regarding plans that involve the Amazon; and when referring to Macron, president of France, the discourse shows unacceptance to Macron’s comments as to Brazilian effectiveness in protecting the Amazon; r.f. Donald Trump, president of the United States, the tweets mention the partnerships between the two countries. Another characteristic of this discourse is that, when referring to Trump or Iván, Bolsonaro usually uses a capital letter for ‘p’ for ‘president’. When referring to Macron or Haddad, he uses lower case letters when calling them the president. In the pre-election tweets, it is possible, from the lexical choices, to understand what self-image Bolsonaro creates for his voters, through the use of positive adjectives that refer to honesty, fight against crime and rescue values. Bolsonaro also uses material processes such as electing, he will be
able to choose, one may have, inciting the action of the Brazilian people to elect him, thus implying that the improvement of the country is on people’s hands.

Family(ies)

The word family and its plural version occurs much more frequently in campaign tweets, which is justified by the target audience to whom the campaign of the then candidate Bolsonaro was directed (see Figure 12). Some occurrences concern the government’s benefit for poorer families, called Bolsa Família, in a promise that the benefit will not end but will be improved if Bolsonaro is elected. This seems to be a strategy to reassure and co-opt for the part of the population that lives in conditions of social vulnerability, and that perhaps was not very sure about the choice of the then candidate for President of the Republic Jair Messias Bolsonaro. Other family occurrences during the campaign refer to the candidate and his opposing party, with negative semantic prosody placements (enemy, offends, disrespected); it also uses family as a positive semantic prosody (thank you, defense, we love, guarantee). The verbal and mental processes love, offend, claim carry an idea of emotion to the text, and the meaning of family is strongly associated with the common people. The low occurrence of the word family (ies) in government tweets may represent a change in focus, in which family appears passive in Bolsonaro’s speech, mentioning the good work of the police and the religion which Bolsonaro is a sympathizer of and practitioner.
Here, the meaning of family becomes more vague, using an indefinite article as in the family of an innocent, or mentioning the family in general.

**Figure 12 – Family(ies)**

|Occurrences| Tweet|
|-----------|------|
|seu viés totalitário. Agora dizem respeitar a família, a democracia e a justiça, mas sabemos|261020183:|
|littares, integrantes das forças armadas. Obrigada família brasileira que tanto clamou para que seus|08102018:|
|Esse candidato Fernando Haddad é inimigo da família brasileira, Queria sim, lá em 2010, implementar o|261020185:|
|aumentar imposto pra pobre, acabar com bolsa-família, com licença maternidade, 13º salário e mais um|191020186:|
|nem um refém fidedigno. Hoje não chora a família de um inocente. – A Caixa Econômica Federal|tuites govern|261020183:|
|alunos de universidades; acabar com o Bolsa Família e décimo terceiro salário. Maturidade gays e|181020188:|
|m pressos, afrontaram a justiça, desrespeitaram as famílias e mergulharam o país na violência e|171020182:|
|falar. Assim vamos um compromisso em defesa da família, em defesa da inocência da criança na|231020186:|
|aumentar Imposto pra pobre, acabar com bolsa-família, escolas e o 13º salário, que iria armar|08102018:tx|
|queles que merecem continuar recebendo o Bolsa Família. Juntos mudaremos o destino dessa nossa nação.|201020182:|
|Nós não pretendemos acabar com o bolsa família. Muito pelo contrário, devemos combater a fraude|08102018:tx|
|FILHOS esse NOSSO DIA, DEUS ARENÇOE nossas FAMILIAS. No video, PAIS desfilam com seus FILHOS|tuites govern|211020184:|
|viver em paz. Nós amamos as nossas famílias, nós respeitamos as crianças, nós respeitamos tod|121020184:|
|contra os outros. Essa divisão ofende várias famílias que, assim como a minha, são formadas|201020182:|
|lá. Olhando nos seus olhos o Bolsa Família terá o décimo terceiro salário. Esses recursos|241020181:|
|garantir a própria alimentação e renda da família. Todo e qualquer país do mundo busca| |

Source: Antconc (2020).

**Povo**

The lexical entities in the campaign tweets associated with people are related to the changes that the government will be able to make, showing patriotism and giving the candidate’s plan an active characteristic through material processes, action, and mental processes of feeling (we will build, respect, rescue, supply, meet, trust, let’s decentralize, raised). As for the relational processes, he attributes, in most cases, a positive entity to the Brazilian people, which is used as a political device to gain the people’s trust: we have the best people in the world, giant, miscegenated. There are also other uses of relational processes, to create an identification with his audience and with the desires of fewer taxes and less crime (exhausted, behind bars). In addition, the articles and pronouns related to people are mostly defined and demonstrative, marking a specific people, the Brazilians, and not any people. However, there is only one occurrence, in Bolsonaro’s discourse, when he included himself as part of the Brazilian people, with the cooccurrence our people. The social actor people appears three times in Bolsonaro’s discourse as president. The words associated with this actor are semantically positive: humility, honesty, patriotism, money. Another use is to refer to the French people, who appear as passive and affected. The correlated words are: I wish you peace and happiness (see Figure 13). The president’s discourse
does not seem to include so many mentions of people because the distancing from Bolsonaro to the people continues to be demonstrated.

Figure 13 – Povo

Bolsonaro

The president’s surname appears in both corpora (see Figure 14), and in 2018 tweets (with 4 occurrences) the surname appears associated with campaign promotion phrases, with material processes such as voting and visiting. In one collocation, the surname Bolsonaro appears with the adjective converted into the noun supporters, with positive semantic prosody, reiterating people who identify with the candidate in the form of support. In the corpus of government tweets (6 occurrences) the surname does not indicate only the president, but also members of the Bolsonaro family, collocating with lexical items such as approved, achievements, advances.
Press

*Press* occurs only twice in government tweets and seven times in campaign tweets (see Figure 15). The greater inclusion of the lexeme in the campaign discourse seems to be strategic, since the collocation of the word with *freedom* or *free* denotes a government supposedly interested in a free press, with a neutral speech. Critical Discourse Analysis grounds itself on the premise that there is no discourse without the presence of ideology (BESSA; SATO, 2018). These occurrences of *press* include mental processes as *know*, *love*, *want*, *defend*. Mental processes are linked to psychological and emotional activity (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN 2004). In government tweets, the lexeme press appears related to the tweet about ministers and the Federal police. It characterizes the press as a bearer of ignorance of the law regarding the influence of the government in the choice of the Federal Police. The verbal and mental processes involved are: *accusing* and *(not) seeing*, whose subject (the press) is represented as active and the government as affected.

![Figure 15 – Press](Image)

Source: Antconc (2020).
Discussion

Once the analysis of this study has been carried out, now it seems important to attempt an answer to the aforementioned questions that guided this study: how is the Representation of Social Actors (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003) made in the pre-campaign Twitter speech and in the speech of Jair Messias Bolsonaro already elected? Are there any fluctuations in these representations that signal a change in Bolsonaro’s discourse on the Internet before and after being elected?

It was possible to find differences in the Representation of Social Actors between the corpora. The social actor country, in the first corpus, is used alongside positive semantic prosody when related to Bolsonaro, and with negative semantic prosody when related to the PT candidate. On the other hand, in the campaign corpus, countries are used to refer to nations that should not be used as a model for good development; in the government corpus, it refers to alliances, agreements and disagreements between Brazil and other nations.

As for the actor we there is a large numerical difference in occurrences: 31 times in the campaign corpus and only twice in the government’s corpus. In the pre-campaign discourse, sometimes we refers to Bolsonaro and his team, sometimes identifying them with the Brazilian people. In Bolsonaro's discourse as president, we relates to what he considers the enemy, in the person of Macron, president of France. Unlike the first corpora, there seems to be no more identification of Bolsonaro and his team with the common people.

In the pre-election discourse, the term PT appears 27 times alongside semantically negative words, as shown in the analysis. This may mean that the current president attracted his followers through rivalry with the other party, classified as enemies of the country’s development, blaming them for all the problems in Brazil. In the second corpus, however PT is mentioned only once, it continues to appear as a potential enemy of Brazilians.

The lexeme Amazônia appears only once in the pre-campaign speech. This may be an indication that, during the campaigns, there was no concern / proposals for forest preservation. The 26 occurrences of Bolsonaro’s already elected speech are related to the time of the fires in the Amazon Forest. Their use is collocated with semantically positive words related to preservation. The contradiction is that in the pre-campaign there was no discourse aimed at protecting the Amazon.
Brazilian(s) appears more often in the pre-campaign tweets. This may be evidence of attitudes adopted by the government to charm the people, a characteristic of political discourse: in the pre-campaign tweets, Brazilian(s) is featured as active, as the one responsible for changing the direction of Brazil; in the government tweets, it appears as passive, as affected.

In the occurrences of the lexeme president in the campaign tweets, it is possible to identify a tendency for candidate Bolsonaro to exclude himself from the action and responsibility for improving the country, leaving it in the hands of the people. In government tweets, the most active and inclusive posture of the elected occurs through mentions of government achievements and the reactions and attitudes of other presidents regarding the same achievements.

The lexeme family(s) has a more significant occurrence in campaign tweets, probably intending to arouse readers’ emotion. This also occurs with the word press, in which mental processes are more associated with psychological and emotional states related to press freedom, which, in turn, are questioned in the 2 occurrences in government tweets.

There were also cases in which not much difference was noted in the campaign and post-election speeches. They were lexemes government, people and Bolsonaro. Bolsonaro is associated with collocations of positive semantic prosody in the campaign and government tweets; r.f. the lexeme government, in both corpora the processes that refer to Bolsonaro’s government are more active (material processes), and those related to PT’s government are more of a relational nature, attributing negativity to their characterization. The occurrence of people in both corpora may demonstrate Bolsonaro’s distance from being included in the concept of common people.

Final Remarks

Taking into account the use of social networks as a communication tool between voters and candidates for political office as well as the use of speech as a tool to gather supporters, the article identified social actors in the pre-campaign and government tweets of Jair Messias Bolsonaro, noting that the relationship between social actors in the pre-campaign and in the government fulfills narrative functions of publicizing the enemies of the president and, consequently, of the Brazilian nation via social media. Knowing that social platforms are a cyber space for sharing information that do not require the inclusion of context and truthfulness of facts, the current president of the
republic enhances, together with his supporters and voters, an intense polarization in which different enemies circulate, that is, any segment that disagrees with government policy decisions. It was possible to identify that the social actors in most cases are represented according to the ideological issues of the president, both in a positive and negative perspective, and that the frequency of lexemes in pre-campaign and government tweets is variable, with some carrying an emotional charge with a clear intention to bring voters closer by common goals. In conclusion, Bolsonaro’s tweets fulfill an important function of ideological rapprochement between supporters and himself, impacting his popularity in a positive and negative way.

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