

# *Interpretative Paths: The media circulation of Bolsonaro's statements and the construction of the sexist and authoritarian discourse*

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## **Abstract:**

Common practice in the media today, especially in the journalistic routine of editing titles or other calls, the highlight of small statements to circulate in other arenas is a way of emphasizing and building meaning. This article aims to describe and analyze how an interview with Jair Bolsonaro (PSL), candidate for the presidency of Brazilian republic in 2018, regarding his assets and the receipt of the so-called 'housing assistance' and the interpretive route projected by the media from the circulation of the statements highlighted by the vehicles that reproduced the original interview. We mobilize concepts from the French Discourse Analyses, specially of *detachability*, *overassertion* and *aphorization* proposed by Maingueneau (2008, 2011, 2014) to form an exploratory study, with a bibliographic nature, through discourse analysis. The analysis authorizes to state that the detachability and the overassertion potentiate the production and circulation of enunciative maneuvers, guiding the readers in the construction of meanings. Readers were mobilized to interpret the highlights, seeking to (re)construct or (rein)force the sense of a macho, authoritarian and even misogynist candidate discredited to take a position in the federal government.

## **Keywords:**

Detachability; Overassertion; Aphorization.

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# Interpretative Paths: The media circulation of Bolsonaro's Statements and the construction of the sexist and authoritarian discourse

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## INTRODUCTION

Selecting an event from the daily life to turn it into a media event, in detriment of so many other possible events to be published, can be considered a first operation of journalism in its process of construction of reality (TRAQUINA, 1999). However, after selecting the content, other mechanisms of construction of meaning are put into practice when preparing the text to be presented to the audience. The creation and formatting of titles or support lines are ways of detaching the text to be published. These short statements, which result from a logic of extraction of a fragment of text, are nominated by Maingueneau (2008, 2011, 2014) as detachable statements, which are the results of a movement that operates a production of meaning from the clipping that is made to be published. These overassertions, or “small-sentences”, translate into detached texts from their original contexts and cotexts, and through the process of displacement, tend to undergo alteration of meaning, deformation of the original claim or even impoverishment, given its formatting in formula style, as Krieg-Planque (2010) nominates, in addition to circulating, eventually, outside the text of which they were part in the origin. Maingueneau (2008) considers that these statements operate this way because they have a few characteristics, including being short, easily memorized, structured in a way to impress, and potentially reusable.

In an attempt to understand this phenomenon, we intend to discuss the enunciative maneuvers in the reproduction of the interview published by *Folha de S. Paulo* on January 11, 2018, with federal deputy Jair Bolsonaro, presidential candidate in 2018 elections. In the text Bolsonaro is questioned about the use of what is called *housing aid*, budget paid by the House of Representatives for those who do not own property in Distrito Federal and used by the deputy since 1995, even though he owns an apartment in Brasilia. After the initial publication, there was a discursive event that would, despite its brief media trajectory, yield a lot of other stories in several Brazilian press vehicles.

The objective, in this work, is to describe and analyze how the repercussion of the interview and the interpretive path projected by the media by the circulation of detachable statements by the vehicles that reproduced the original interview. We intend to investigate the untextualization movement of the original context of the interview

and the effects of representation that the maneuvers of overassertion and aphorization provoked.

This exploratory study, with a bibliographical stamp, through discourse analysis, inscribes in the articulation of the sciences of language with the sciences of communication. The methodological script was elaborated from the theoretical definition and the choice of the *corpus*, constituted of six statements of online vehicles that reverberated the interview. The analysis has been developed from the mobilization of the theoretical categories (enunciative structures) that based the methodological procedures, such as, overassertion, detachability, aphorization and framework.

## FROM REALITY CONSTRUCTION TO DETACHMENT

This work deals with the discursive aspect and, for that, we consider essential to analyze the transformations through which a text goes until it is presented to the public, taking into consideration the understanding of detachability proposed by Maingueneau (2008). The notion talks about the set of properties that certain sentences have that make them circulate, possibly, out of context, in other texts or media, and the implications that this untextualization causes.

Souza (2016) explains that a series of statements can receive this statute, it suffices that, for this, to present themselves as ‘detachable’ statements. “That is, they could be detachable from a text, thanks to the position they are in, to the sense of definition or generalization which can be attributed to the mark of a metadiscursive operation, to the synthetic form and unusual” (SOUZA, 2016, p. 468).

Maingueneau (2008) goes further in this understanding when he states that the detachment of statements is not given only from the detachable sequences, but rather from considering the conditions that allow statements to be detachable. The detachability operates, then, a possible ‘untextualization’ of the text, a removal of parts of the statement for emphasis on the textual whole. Such enhancement may result in elimination of maneuvers of modulations, which reinforce the autonomy and the lapidary nature of the statement. As a result, what the author names as overassertion emerges.

It is from this movement of overassertion, too, that Krieg-Planque (2016) claims to be created the “small sentences”, with overassertion being the phenomenon by which a fragment is presented in the discourse as detachable, by a generalizing nature or because it is an object of stylistic value, for example. In the authors opinion, journalistic routine tends to favor the production of these ‘small sentences’, both because of the periodicity of the media and the fast imperatives to which journalists are subjected, as well as the socioeconomic nature of the of production activities.

In regard of these speech-producing frameworks, the ‘small sentence’ is integrated into the narration because it is constructed as an event, and it is so constructed because it is associated with an intention, a position, a doctrine, an ideology, a personality trait, an opinion, a strategy,

an ambition, interests or a project, that the ‘small sentence’ supposedly condenses or of which it is supposedly a symptom (KRIEG-PLANQUE, 2016, p. 25).

When discussing the movement of the circulation of statements – small sentences – and this new statute that the quotation acquires, Baronas and Cox (2012) state that, in addition to a ‘machine’ to cut out and circulate statements, as proposes Maingueneau (2008), the media also must be considered a powerful machine to (trans)form statements and produce simulacra, according to the ideology(ies) of the groups, organizations and institutions that convey them.” Just as thought, the media has been patenting much more as an instance of the circulation of meanings and interpretations rather than circulation of facts” (BARONAS; COX, 2012, p. 16).

In this context, we can understand that the texts that circulate in the various media are result of a collective production, in which several actors interact and rely on different logics of production, which are potentiated as a selection of parts that will gain prominence. The cutting mechanism to detach snippets, called overassertion, is discussed below.

### **The Problematic that Emerges from Overassertion**

When we understand that overassertion is not a quotation, it is a movement of enunciation enhancement, a modulation of enunciation, which formats a piece of text as detachable, we need to elucidate how it happens in practice. Overassertion is, by definition, according to Maingueneau (2008), an anticipation of the detachment. Therefore, the overassertion applies to all situations where a short sequence stands out in a text, as a candidate for what the author calls untextualization, that is, an operation of enhancement of the fragment relative to the cotext.

This enhancement occurs from various maneuvers, such as inclusion, modification, exclusion and/or deletion of parts of the statement. Also, the enhanced text may be next to the origin text, or not so much. Hence the distinction to which Maingueneau names (2008) strong or weak overassertion. In the case of the strong, he explains that it is the dissociated statements of the origin text in the presentation, unless the readers search to have access to the original publication. In this case, Maingueneau (2008) estimates that it is not possible to identify fidelity of the text related to the discourse origin and the process of intervention of the announcer who quotes is broadened. This strong overassertion originates the strong detachment and favors, in the authors opinion, the process of simulation and intervention of the media-discursive machine. “From the point of view of the operation of the media, for readers, this origin text does not exist” (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 88).

The second distinction is the so-called weak overassertion, which promotes the weak detachment. In this case, the detached statement is close to the text origin, which

does not mean that there is, necessarily, an agreement between the reported text and the discourse of origin.

This is particularly the case with all the phenomena of title placement, in which the overasserted statement finds itself in some way, integrated in the body of the article. We have seen that this does not imply a large fidelity; quite the opposite. This only confirms the results of the recent works on direct discourse, which emphasize the simulation nature and the constant intervention of the announcer who quotes (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 88).

The author also considers that there is no way to define whether the assertion was purposeful of the vehicle or the author of the enunciation. But it emphasizes that the modifications accentuate the nature of formula, favoring the overassertion and, therefore, the detachability.

It has thus become a routine for announcers who are familiar with the mediatic procedures put in utterances in chosen textual positions – very often at the end of the textual unit –, in order to make them detachable, to encourage their further circulation. It is as if the media professionals would discreetly indicate the fragments that they want to see taken over. (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 83).

The overassertion characterizes, then, a relatively short statement of pregnant structure; which is in relevant position in the text or in a passage of the text (semantic condensed), whose theme must be related to the genre of discourse; and that implies a type of amplification of the enunciator's figure. There is, then, a fundamental issue. In any of the cases of overassertion the detachability movement implies a type of amplification of the enunciator's figure, "which not only says, but shows that he says what he says, and it is presumed that what he says condenses a strong message, inducing to take an exemplar position" (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 82).

This movement has an effect of disagreement with the responsibility of the statement. If, on the one hand, the overassertion to some extent takes responsibility away to the journalist, the responsibility of the statements falls on the figure of the overassertor, who is someone who superimposes, which shows an *ethos*<sup>1</sup> of enunciator authorized to enounce. "There is thus an essential disagreement between the actual announcer and the same announcer considered as overassertor of a statement that was detached by the media machine" (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 84). The discussion,

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<sup>1</sup> It is necessary to present the concept of *ethos*. In the evaluation of Charaudeau (2017), the concept relates to the construction of an image of itself, of an identity, of a corporality of the enunciator by means of a tone casted by him in the discursive scope. The *ethos* can then be perceived as the element that structures the relation of communication between the enunciator and its receiver, since "it is the result of a socio-language staging that depends on the crossed judgments that the individuals of a social group do of each other when they act and speak" (CHARAUDEAU, 2017, p. 118).

then, is directed towards an understanding of that overassertion cannot be referred to a single intention. Maingueneau (2008) considers that the texts are a collective product constituted of textual fragments in mosaic, in which intervene the announcer, his agent, the journalist, the pager, the person responsible for the title.

Of course, it is the genre that filters the type of detachable statements semantically more relevant. It is normal that, in an interview, preference of the statements of the person interviewed about themselves marked as detachable. On the other hand, in a philosophical exposition, the detachability concerns, above all, theses, generic statements of great doctrinal content (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 84).

All of these processes are related, largely, to the problematic that Maingueneau denominates the autonomization of overassertion. It is quite common, according to him, that the autonomization of the overassertion against the origin text promotes “a transformation of the enunciation, of one or another of its enunciative parameters, when it passes to the paratext” (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 88). These autonomous sentences have specific properties and are put to circulation in such a way that, eventually, to be interpreted as if they haven’t been part of its original texts. They are, in the opinion of the author, acquire statute of aphorizations.

It seems to us preferable not to confuse a logic of overassertion – which makes a sequence appear on a textual background – and a logic of aphorization (to be exact, aphorist detachment) that implies a kind of totally different enunciation: another figure of the enunciator and the co-enunciator, of the pragmatic statute of the statement. Aphorization attributes new statute to the citation (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, p. 92).

The notion of aphorization appears more enlightened when Maingueneau (2014) groups, in an enunciative plan, the “primary aphorizations”, such as proverbs, adages, slogans, which are devoid of a source text, and the “secondary aphorizations” resulting from detachments from a source text to compose other texts, permanent routine in the media to evoke social events. In many cases, according to the author, the use of quotation marks is what differentiates the two statutes, and which confers the status of an aphorist. This aphorist needs, in the media, a proper name, an identity, in the evaluation of the author. One hypothesis, for him, is the representation of the aphorist by a photo of the face (MAINGUENEAU, 2014), which works as a signature and favors its recognition as a subjectum, a confluence between the juridical/moral subject and the subject of the enunciation which constitutes the aphorist. However, the author makes it clear that the appropriation of the face does not exclude the possibility of collective aphorists.

Going deeper in the understanding of aphorization, it is worth mentioning the concept of enunciative regime. For Maingueneau (2011) the ‘textualizing’ enunciation inscribes each statement in the global horizon of a text coming from a discourse genre,

whether monological or dialogical. On the other hand, the aphorist enunciation does not enter into the logic of the discourse genre, whether they are sentences that are detached from a text ‘by nature’, as in the case of slogans, or sentences that have been detached from various texts. However, the author understands that there is no statement that is outside a genre of discourse.

Maingueneau (2011) explains that in an aphorist enunciation, the enunciator speaks to a type of universal auditorium, since aphorization institutes a speech scene in which there is no interaction between the protagonists. The aphorist maintains a naturally asymmetrical relationship with a receiver who is not a common allocution, but an “audience, an imaginary community consolidated by values. However, it must, in fact, be interpreted by readers or listeners, whose interpretive activity is strongly requested, since aphorization does not have by nature another context other than that of the text in which it is presented” (MAINGUENEAU, 2011, p.19).

And the problem arises, in the author’s evaluation, according to the types of aphorization that are in question. Maingueneau (2011) estimates that, in the case of the detachable aphorization in one text, the interpretation is conditioned to what he calls the framework, which he understood as pragmatic categories:

The same aphorization will be treated differently according to which framework we submit it. In addition, there may be one framework, which in this case, is only dominant. The problem is, however, knowing what directs the receiver to this or that framework. There are indexes of several orders that interact in this question. Some come from the genre and the type of discourse: serious journalism privileges the informational dimension, celebrity coverage attributes a large role to the expression of affections, religious discourse or literature favor the search for hidden meanings etc. Other indexes are more strictly linguistic: except in exceptional cases, an aphorization heavily loaded with tropes or enunciated in Latin will not have an informative purpose. The identity of the aphorist plays an important role: as the aphorization is attributed to a sage, a singer, a philosopher, etc., it will be related to a type of framework (MAINGUENEAU, 2011, p. 20).

In this regard, it is worth highlighting the author’s understanding of the informative framework and the testimonial framework. The first aims to make it know, and it is interpreted if the receiver emphasizes the aphorization on the background of a repertoire of knowledge that is supposed to be shared at a given time. The testimonial framework also tends to reduce or even nullify the informational dimension for the benefit of the expression of a conviction before the world. It assumes very diverse modalities in the evaluation of Maingueneau (2011): it can go both by an enunciative deletion classified as sententious and by a subjective customized superinvestment.

It is in this context of alteration of the initial statements that this work is inscribed, which intends to understand the movement of alteration of statements when they are detached, overasserted. And which understands the removal logic of the text for a

movement of untextualization as something important from the point of view of the presentation of interpretive routes and production of meanings. This untextualization is accompanied by movements that require an interpretative work in the game of enunciative strategies, which will be shown in the sequence with the presentation of the *corpus* that will be analyzed.

## ABOUT THE METHODOLOGY AND THE SELECTION OF STATEMENTS FOR THE *CORPUS*

This work constitutes itself in a study of exploratory nature, bibliographical through discourse analysis. The theoretical-methodological guiding line of this study is related to Maingueneau's reflections (2008, 2011, 2014), essentially those inscribed in the researches of this author, which aim to understand the processes of overassertion, detachability and aphorization. In order to carry out this analysis, we choose an interview granted by federal deputy Jair Bolsonaro, candidate for the Presidency of 2018, to *Folha de S. Paulo*. The text is part of a series of questions regarding the assets of the deputy and his children,<sup>2</sup> the suspicion about an employee in his office not working effectively, and the use of the so-called housing aid, which is intended for politicians who do not own property for their stay in Federal District.<sup>3</sup> Two *Folha de S. Paulo* reporters traveled to Angra dos Reis (RJ) to interview Bolsonaro, who vacationed at the house he owns in a townhouse condominium. Camila Mattoso and Italo Nogueira were spoke with the deputy in an interview which was not scheduled. In the edition of the text to be published, the reporter Ranier Bragon also signs it, he who is an editor of politics in Brasília. The interview was published in full, even with duplicate phrases, typical of oral language. This option, apparently, was due to previous criticisms of the deputy to the newspaper, regarding the manipulation of content that the newspaper *Folha de S. Paulo* had operated in previous publications of his interviews.

In addition to the interview itself, the option of analysis in this text was also to understand the emerging meanings of the interview circulation in other vehicles. Like this, for the formation of the *corpus*, a movement of selection was operated through a search in the *site* Google of the terms "Bolsonaro Folha Interview". On the News tab, a wide variety of results was verified. Therefore, some *corpus* selection criteria were established. The first concerns the date of publication. The interview studied was posted on the *Folha* website at 9:59pm on January 11, 2018. In this way, the first clipping occurred in selecting only the records dated the day after the publication, that is, January 12, respecting the instantaneity characteristic of journalism. Following, only content

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<sup>2</sup> Available to subscribers at: <https://bit.ly/359w10g>.

<sup>3</sup> The reports were published after a survey by Datafolha identified the parliamentarian as the second voting intention in all the scenarios. The texts that described the research were published in December 2017. Not only Bolsonaro was the target of the reports, but all the candidates cited in the survey.



published by communication vehicles was selected. A third element that worked as a clipping was the release of content access; only content accessible by non-subscribers or those who have a temporary free version has been selected. Then, for the sample we selected the texts that, in some way, did reference to the interview that was the basis of the analysis and, finally, we separate the texts that can be considered detachable, from the concepts exposed in this work. In this way, the *corpus* was formed by five statements, presented in Board 1:

**Board 1** - Presentation of the *corpus*

Vehicle where the text was published <sup>4</sup>	Post	Title(T) and line of support (if any) (LS)
<i>Folha de S. Paulo</i> (by Mattoso; Nogueira; Bragon)	11/01 at 9:59 PM	T: “You have to take my patrimony. Forget my children, says Bolsonaro”
<i>Gazeta do Povo</i> online (by Folhapress)	12/01 at 8:26 AM	T: “I used the housing aid money to fuck people”, says Bolsonaro LA: For <i>Folha de S.Paulo</i> , federal deputy speaks about suspicions raised regarding his patrimonial evolution, use of housing aid and the hiring of employees by his cabinet in the House of representatives.
<i>Estado de Minas</i> (by Cipriani)	12/01 at 9:03 AM	T: Bolsonaro says he used housing aid to ‘fuck people’ LA: In an interview in Angra dos Reis, the pre-presidential candidate also said that he will sell the Brasília apartment and live in a mansion.
<i>Revista Fórum</i> online (by Bittencourt)	12/01 at 1:18 PM	T: Bolsonaro for Folha reporter: “I used this housing aid money to fuck people” LA: The presidential candidate lost his mind as he talked about the misuse of the housing aid.
<i>Diário Catarinense</i>	12/01 at 02:40 PM	“Since I was single, I used this housing aid money to fuck people”, says Bolsonaro

Source: Made by the authors.

With regard to the procedures of analysis, this exploratory study has a bibliographic stamp through discourse analysis. The following analysis has been developed from the mobilization of the theoretical categories (enunciative structures) that supported the

<sup>4</sup> Two other publications fit the selection criteria, but they are copies of already analyzed content: *O Correio Brasiliense* used the same content as *O Estado of Minas Gerais* and the website Gaúcha ZH replicated the content of *Diário Catarinense*, which left them out of the cut for analysis.

methodologic procedures, such as: overassertion, detachability, aphorization and framework (MAINGUENEAU, 2008, 2011, 2014).

## THE EFFECTS OF OVERASSERTION IN BOLSONARO'S SPEECH

To understand the logic of circulation of news from the interview of Bolsonaro to *Folha de S. Paulo*, published on January 11, 2018, it is necessary to retake the conditions of production in which the dialogue between journalists and the parliamentarian took place. Bolsonaro met the reporters in front of his residence in Angra dos Reis, when then the parliamentarian was asked to respond. In total, there were 95 questions or statements or affirmations that gave margin to opinion exposure of the pre-presidential candidate. *Folha's* option when presenting the text focused on detaching the patrimony of the deputy, as shown in the following excerpt, published at the opening of the interview: "Folha published on Sunday (7) that the presidential and his three parliamentarians sons have multiplied their wealth in politics, bringing together 13 properties in the valued areas of Rio and Brasilia, with a market price of around R\$15 million" (MATTOSO; NOGUEIRA; BRAGON, 2018, online).

When we understand that overassertion is not a quotation, it is a movement of enunciation enhancement, a modulation of enunciation, which forms a piece of text as detachable (MAINGUENEAU, 2008), we can consider that the title elected by *Folha* – **"You have to take my patrimony. Forget my children" says Bolsonaro** – is not an option of disclosure of the event, only. It can be considered that the statement fits into the title condition with weak overassertion, but with a change in the sentence from the inclusion of the term *patrimony*. The statement also enshrines the ideal of generalization, to which Maingueneau (2008) and Souza (2016) relate as overassertions. We could propose a flight by the parliamentarian to his rendering of accounts with the transfer of assets to relatives as a latent sense that the newspaper sought to promote by associating it with the group of politicians who have this practice as usual. The semantic load of the word *forget*, allied with the disclosure of a news dealing with obscurantism linked to the enrichment of a politician, has a latent sense, especially when dealing with the current Brazilian moment, in which the scandals of corruption accumulate. "Forget my children" could also be an attempt to raise questions about the enrichment of Bolsonaro's sons, also parliamentarians, who are not the focus of the report, but are treated tangentially.

The interpretative path that the sentence overasserted manifests to the reader is also liable to recover an authoritarian image on the part of the deputy. The highlighted section by the newspaper, in an imperative tone, builds a sense of command that the parliamentarian could be giving to the reporters, which reinforces a stereotype already widespread in the press related to Bolsonaro, who is a reserve military.

Maingueneau (2008) considers it normal that, in an interview, the interviewee's statements about himself are considered to be detachable. But considering that the text

is produced from frameworks (2008), he provides a clue to the analysis of the interview in question. When *Folha de S. Paulo* opts for a title that refers to an enunciative maneuver with an aspect to relate the name of Bolsonaro, his statements, highlighted between quotation marks, and his difficulty in presenting concrete elements that justify his patrimonial evolution, one can use the so-called testimonial framework quoted by Maingueneau (2011), since an attempt to reduce or even cancel the information to the detriment of a conviction before the world is made. This relationship has, as an index, also an interview excerpt<sup>5</sup> which deals with a statement by the candidate on the taxes, where he, in addition to assuming that he would evade, also incites the population to evade, when possible. When asked about the issue, the deputy says: “I never evaded. I evade... ‘I kill any and every thug that comes my way. Did I kill any thug?’” saying that the statement was an outburst (MATTOSE; NOGUEIRA; BRAGON, 2018, online).

The interview in question was invested in different senses when published by others communication vehicles. The most widespread, in the cut made for analysis, was related to a Bolsonaro’s statement about his use of the housing aid money. The four texts that circulated on the following day promoted the overassertions that favored an interpretative route that links the image of Bolsonaro to a macho, hostile and even with characteristics of misogyny, given the vulgar expressions with which it responded to the reporter.

To understand this interpretative course, we first resort to the fragment of the initial text, in *Folha de S. Paulo*, which motivated the overassertions of the other texts, which will be analyzed in the sequence. The fragment that opens the *Folha* publication is the following: “In interview with *Folha* on Thursday (11), Deputy Jair Bolsonaro (PSC-RJ) once again criticized the newspaper and defended the reception of housing aid from the House of Representatives, even though he has his own property in Brasilia. He said he wants to sell it and ask for functional apartment. When asked if he used the money to buy his apartment, he replied ‘Since I was single, I used this housing aid money to fuck people’” (MATTOSE; NOGUEIRA; BRAGON, 2018, online)

Initially it is necessary to say that, even if they promote what can be as secondary aphorizations (MAINGUENEAU, 2014) from the point of view of calling in the title sentences that can be read in the internal texts, marked with quotation marks, no vehicle who commented on the interview the next day published it in full, which, in terms of analysis, promotes what the author calls untextualization and enhancement of the fragment in relation to the original text (MAINGUENEAU, 2008). The four texts that reproduced the interview did so from an intentional maneuver, electing from all of it a part to promote the circulation of senses and distancing its readers from the full content of the conversation between *Folha* reporters.

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<sup>5</sup> In the *Folha* interview, Bolsonaro says he made a “slip” when, in 1999, he said that he withholds taxes, and made a recommendation to the population to evade “what’s possible” (COLON, 2018).

To reverberate on the original interview, *Gazeta do Povo* overasserted on: **“I used the housing aid money to fuck people”**, says Bolsonaro. In the support line, the newspaper followed a more informative line in its framework (MAINGUENEAU, 2011): “To *Folha de S. Paulo*, federal deputy talks about suspicions raised about his evolution of patrimony, use of housing aid and the hiring of employees by the House of Representatives”. The option here becomes clearer from the point of view of being a text that seeks to describe what the interview with the parliamentary dealt with, published by *Folha*. Exploring the detach of the statement made by the vehicle, it is necessary to present the excerpt that the newspaper published as an internal text from which the title was extracted: “In an interview with *Folha de S. Paulo*, the deputy Jair Bolsonaro (PSC-RJ) again criticized the newspaper and defended the reception of the housing aid from the House of Representatives, even though he has property in Brasília. He said he wants to sell it and ask for a functional apartment. When asked if he used the housing aid money to buy his apartment, he replied: “Since I was single, I used this housing aid money to fuck people” (GAZETA DO POVO, 2018, online).

A first indicator shows that this is a weak overassertion because within the text there are elements that present the section elected as detach title. However, there is an important suppression. If we compare the title statement to the original statement, we can perceive the withdrawal of the continuity of the sentence said by Bolsonaro: “are you satisfied now or not? Are you satisfied?” This deletion is quite important when it comes to the production of meanings. The option to opacify this section also fulfills a role of making the title believable, while extracting elements that seem more of oral language than a journalistic text. Still, the tone of mockery and contrariety imbued in the extracted text could reinforce the character of gender bias and homophobia that is latent in the parliamentarian’s statement.

The option for the sentence “I used this housing aid money to fuck people” and not another, apparently, is due to the fact that this small sentence has a formula nature (KRIEG-PLANQUE, 2016). When the journalist, as an aphorist, opts for this aphorization attributed to Bolsonaro, the reader is called upon to attribute to this utterance a meaning which extrapolates its first meaning. Bolsonaro has a rather illustrative record of sexist and prejudiced speeches, even having been condemned by the Superior Court of Justice for the crime of incitement to rape and injury for an attack on her fellow deputy Maria do Rosário.<sup>6</sup> He has appealed to the Federal Supreme Court and is awaiting trial. His image is already tied to the sense of a macho, conservative, misogynist and orthodox man with his principles.

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<sup>6</sup> “I don’t rape you because you don’t deserve it” was the phrase uttered by Bolsonaro to his colleague in plenary in December of 2014. In February 2015, in an interview with Zero Hora, another commentary about his opinion of women: “Women should earn less because they get pregnant. When she returns [from maternity leave], she will get another month of vacation, meaning, she worked for five months in a year”.

The framework to which the newspaper related this statement was much more invested in the production of an expression of a conviction of that person in front of the world, what is said of the testimonial framework (MAINGUENEAU, 2011). This is because the statement in question is almost nil, and one can see a subjective superinvestment with the enunciative option.

Krieg-Planque (2016) evaluates that the small sentence is integrated into the narration because it is built as an event, because it is associated with a strategy, with interests. Readers of a title that links a parliamentarian to someone who uses public money to “fuck people” are invited to mobilize a range of interpretive strategies. That is, they are invited to interpret the emphasis by seeking to (re)construct the interpretative course designed by the aphorist. At the end of this course, we could assume that the newspaper also intends to make these readers question about the condition of a person such him having legitimacy to take on the major role of the national executive, heading the presidency of the republic.

The same line of detachment was the option of the newspaper *O Estado de Minas*. The title **“Bolsonaro says he used housing aid to ‘fuck people’”** was followed by the support line “In an interview in Angra dos Reis, the pre-presidential candidate also stated that he will sell the Brasilia apartment and live in a mansion”. The excerpt follows: “When confronted, the pre-candidate has denied using aid to finance one of his apartments and mocked: “Since I was single, I used this housing aid money to fuck people. Are you satisfied now or not?” He replied. Bolsonaro also said that that was the response the reporter deserved and asked if she wanted him to give “continhas” (“little accounts”) (CIPRIANI, 2018, online).

The text takes the job of strengthening the deputy’s image of mockery in relation to questions proposed by the reporters of *Folha*, including when it presents the relationship of his response being what the reporter “deserved”. This character is emphasized when the noun used is ‘Confrontation’ as synonymous with conversation or interview. Another element that assists the reader in the interpretative course is the disdain with which the deputy deals with the accountability of the public money that he receives from the housing aid, cited by the aphorist as “asked if she I wanted him to give “continhas” (“little accounts”)”.

In common in both texts is the option to use an image of the deputy to illustrate the subject. The options of each of the newspapers are quite different, according to Figure 1.



Source: *Gazeta do Povo*, 2018.  
Photo by Fabio Rodrigues-Pozzebom.



Source: *Estado de Minas*, 2018.  
Photo by Lula Marques.

**Figure 1** – Photographs illustrating the texts

Maingueneau (2014) considers that the aphorist of detachable statements in the media usually choose to represent the announcers with a face picture, which functions as a signature and favors its recognition as a subjectum, a term which he defines as confluence between the subject of enunciation and the legal/moral subject. In this aspect, the cut elected for analysis is also expressive in the production of meaning. If the aphorization has the effect to personalize the statements, to authenticate them in some way, the photograph works as an incentive to the meaning formatting. The two images are from archives, and were originally published to handle other events, but minutely elected to circulate again with this new enunciation, since they favor an effect of veracity of what is said.

In the case of *Gazeta do Povo*, Bolsonaro's expression sustains an image of contrariety. A latent interpretive course is of Bolsonaro being forced to recognize a crime, admitting that he made a mistake before the public, and quite outraged at the situation. Perhaps the intention is to show the difficulty of parliamentarians in dealing with contrary opinions or even respond when confronted by a reporter, as it was the case. Another possible meaning of being evoked is the absence of emotional intelligence, the lack of control in the management of his emotions, on the part of the parliamentarian, unable to remain stable when he needs to clarify something.

The photograph chosen by *O Estado de Minas* goes beyond. The image, which has an extremely happy Bolsonaro, smiling, sustains an interpretative path of mockery, of discredit. It is as if the aphorist, by electing this image to depict the subject, showed the parliamentary disregard for the well-being of the public to which the text refers, money spent without responsibility by the parliamentarian who does not bother to take accountability for it in front of the reporters. Another possible meaning of being referred to in reading this image is that of someone above the good and the bad, unpalatable to justice or public opinion, someone whose speech of morality offers conditions to attract a portion of the population that relies on him, above all, and guarantees to put into practice his “moralizing government plan”.

*Revista Fórum* made it clear that the macho sentence was said by Bolsonaro to a female reporter, when detaches, at the beginning of the title **“Bolsonaro to reporter of Folha: ‘I used this housing aid money to fuck people’”**. The option to detach the gender of the reporter also appears in the internal text of the news, when they quote the adjective *satisfied*.<sup>7</sup> The excerpt is as follows: “The Federal Deputy, Jair Bolsonaro (PSC-RJ) lost his mind during an interview with *Folha* on Thursday (11). While answering about the misuse of the housing aid, the presidential candidate replied: “Since I was single at that time, I used this housing aid money to fuck people, are you satisfied now or not? You are satisfied now?” (BITTENCOURT, 2018, online).

A detachment with this note further reinforces gender bias explicit in his speech, precisely because of the social context in which we live, where misogyny is still the most prevalent prejudice, according to Ibope October 2017.<sup>8</sup> Men still harass because they are socialized as someone who, of course, can exert dominion over women. And the line of support reinforces the image that Bolsonaro went too far: “The presidential candidate lost his mind when talking about the misuse of the housing aid”. “Lost his mind” here suggests an understanding that the parliamentarian committed an error in approaching the reporter, moved beyond the limits of coexistence in a professional relationship between source and reporter, as was the case, and clearly does not have the aforementioned emotional intelligence.

This option reinforces the understanding of Baronas and Cox (2012), for which mediatic detachments go beyond the circulation of enunciation, and coat themselves in machines of production of simulacra, of ideologies. It is latent, in the option of *O Estado de Minas*, for example, when it presents the passage in which Bolsonaro mocks the reporter and mocks the legislation that holds deputies accountable – “are you satisfied now? Do you want me to give ‘continhas’ (‘little accounts’)” – that there is an invitation to mobilize interpretive strategies that suffice of presenting the parliamentarian as someone

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<sup>7</sup> Bolsonaro used the word *satisfeita* which is the feminine word for *satisfied* in Portuguese.

<sup>8</sup> More information about the results of the research can be accessed on the website of *Carta Capital* magazine, in the text “In Brazil, misogyny is the most prevalent prejudice.” (CARTA CAPITAL, 12018).

without credit, unable to become President. The photo only corroborates the meaning, considering that it pretends to believe that the speech – “I used housing aid money to fuck people” – as unbelievable as it may sound, it is really his.

Here we can also deal with the issue of collective aphorists, proposed by Maingueneau (2011). When it is said that the reporter acts as an aphorist, but the latter chooses excerpts from the interviewee’s speech and detach them in quotation marks, choosing an image to be published jointly, we can understand that we are facing two aphorists, with the deputy himself was also raised to this condition. Aphorization institutes a speech scene in which there is no interaction between protagonist and audience, says Maingueneau (2011). Here, we are faced with reporters who pass on an interview in which they did not participated. They choose excerpts from the protagonist’s speech and favor an understanding that he is affirming his truth, without negotiation, elevating it to the position of aphorist as well, when we know that they are also responsible for this enunciative maneuver of cutting and detachment.

*Diário Catarinense* followed options very similar to the other vehicles listed in this analysis. The difference is that the newspaper detached in its title the previous sentence said by the parliamentarian, presenting his marital status at the time: **“Since I was single, I used this housing aid money to fuck people”** says Bolsonaro. There is no support line in the news. The title was detached by the following excerpt: “In interview, Bolsonaro defended the reception of housing aid even though he owns housing property in Brasilia, denied irregularities and fired criticism at the press.” “Since I was single, I used this housing aid money to fuck people. Are you satisfied now or not? Are you satisfied now?”, he said, when asked if he had used the benefit to buy his own apartment. (DIÁRIO CATARINENSE, 2018, online).

Maingueneau (2008) affirms in his works that the aphorization implies a figure of enunciator who not only says, but shows that he says what he says. That is, the statement needs to show the strength of an enunciator that encompasses a position. We can understand, from the analysis of the interview of Bolsonaro to Folha and from four other statements resonate in other media vehicles, that they all serve this purpose of presenting clues of the interpretative course that they want their readers to mobilize, clues that are duly marked with quotation marks and, in two of the cases cited, with an illustrative image. The aphorist, in this case the reporters who produced and started circulating these statements, promoted detached excerpts of speech from deputy Jair Bolsonaro and, from the clippings, readers were mobilized to interpret these detachments. The movement proposed also lifted Bolsonaro as an aphorist, as editorial options of reporters were made looking for the readers to (re)construct the proposed meanings for them. Maingueneau (2008) points out the problematic that emerges from this responsabilization, since, in a first instance, the overassertion, in a way, takes responsibility away from the journalist, and the responsibility of the statements falls on the figure of the enunciator. It occurs that, in the excerpts analyzed, apparently the intention of the



politician in enunciating coincided with the intention of the press in detach, since his speech has a disreputable character to the press, and, ultimately, with society, which has access to his speech through the communication vehicle.

In a society where audiovisual media dominate the production of meanings, the main aphorization exposed by the vehicles circulating the interview – “I used this housing aid money to fuck people” – presents the fundamental characteristics highlighted by Maingueneau (2014): it is generalizing, it condenses a message of the person evoked; draws the public’s attention, even if by means of a text issued by a controversial character and a problematic speech. Yet, it is an emphatic statement that engages in a strong positioning, and which is conducive to the spectacularization of the media.

The *corpus* analyzed urges the reader to perform an interpretation, and goes further, proposing an interpretation course. It is possible to determine that some subjective thoughts emerge from reading the statements: for example, to vote for this candidate or not?

## NOTES IN THE FORM OF CONCLUSION

This work sought to describe and analyze the discursive operations of the media detachments from an interview by deputy Jair Bolsonaro to *Folha de S. Paulo* and the interpretative routes produced when the interview circulated in other vehicles. In the light of concepts of detachability, overassertion and aphorization proposed by Maingueneau (2008, 2011 and 2014), we sought to investigate the movement of untextualization of the original context from the interview and the effects of representation that the maneuvers of overassertion provoked.

It was possible to verify that the detachments made by the communication vehicles, in the condition of themselves of aphorists, or sometimes placing Bolsonaro as overassertor and, therefore, aphorist not only invite the reader to perform an interpretation of the detachable texts, by means of the enunciative maneuvers they impose, but also present an interpretative course of statements. Scattered between the lines, the misogynist and prejudiced speech is caught by an invitation to readers to recover information already circulated about the parliamentarian, and manage to frame him in the condition of a man whose practice does not accord with the discourse of morality he preaches. The way of presenting the contents invites a mobilization of interpretative strategies that frame the parliamentarian as someone without credit, unable to become President.

We understand that the analysis undertaken is a small cut and, therefore, limited in its conclusions. However, we believe that it provides subsidies for, perhaps, to question the enunciative maneuvering operators of meanings. It is necessary to problematize and to stress the clipping movement operated by the communication vehicles when operating detachments and aphorists enunciations, precisely in order to understand the press as a

machine of production of meanings in addition to publishing facts. Communication vehicles have interests and put into practice discursive strategies that make sure to base its editorial lines; journalists, in general, follow the editorial lines of vehicles where they work; the selection of events to be publicized is part of the vehicle strategies; the option for some interviewees is fundamental for the practice of discursive strategy; and, lastly, the way in which this text is presented and its detachments, which are the end result of this logic and the starting point of a circulating of meaning process, is also intentional. All these elements need to be looked and discussed from the discursive point of view, as this work proposed.

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