

# *"In Brazil it's a sin, you can't grow old!": axiological positions in the constitution of controversy in online comments*

Rosângela Alves dos Santos **BERNARDINO\***

Jacicleide Alves **FALCÃO\*\***

Francisca Ticiany Barbosa Lopes de **OLIVEIRA\*\*\***

\*PhD in Language Studies from the UFRN (Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte (2015). Adjunct Professor IV at UERN/Campus of Pau dos Ferros. Contact: [rosangelabernardino@uern.br](mailto:rosangelabernardino@uern.br)

\*\*Master's degree in Literature from UERN. Technical-administrative assistant at UERN/Campus of Pau dos Ferros. Contact: [jacicleidefalcao@uern.br](mailto:jacicleidefalcao@uern.br)

\*\*\*Specialist in Teaching Portuguese Language and Literature at Faculdade Ateneu. Senior administrative technician at UERN/Campus of Pau dos Ferros. Contact: [ticianyoliveira@uern.br](mailto:ticianyoliveira@uern.br)

## **Abstract**

Aging in Brazilian society is a topic that arouses multiple perspectives and controversial positions, especially when it comes to female aging. Even though a growing number of public women over the age of 60 are showing that they are continuing to lead active lives, conquering new spaces and changing the stereotype of mature women who look after the home and grandchildren, there are still many questions surrounding etharism. Aware of the seriousness and breadth of this issue, we propose an analysis of the axiological positions found in the discursive genre online commentary and their contribution to establishing controversy. The corpus is made up of comments collected on the Instagram platform, on a post from the @grupocidadão190 page, from the Alto Oeste Potiguar/Rio Grande do Norte region, which broadcasts news of daily life and public utility. Theoretically, the work is based on postulations from Bakhtin's Circle and the Theory of Argumentation in Discourse. The analysis shows that the comments are imbued with dissonant axiological positions, perceptible in the textual materiality, from linguistic and semiotic resources, such as figures of speech, exclamations, emojis. Situated in disputes of meaning about "growing old", the positions manifest argumentativeness and contribute to the construction of a polemical discourse.

**Keywords:** polemical discourse; axiology; argumentation; online commentary; etharism.

### **Resumo**

Envelhecer na sociedade brasileira é tema que desperta múltiplos olhares e suscita posicionamentos polêmicos, especialmente quando se trata do envelhecimento feminino. Mesmo que um crescente número de mulheres públicas, acima de 60 anos de idade, demonstre a continuação de uma vida ativa, manifestando a conquista de novos espaços e mudando o conceito estereótipo de mulher madura, cuidadora da casa e dos netos, muitas questões são imbricadas em torno do etarismo. Cientes da seriedade e amplitude dessa temática, propomos uma análise dos posicionamentos axiológicos encontrados no gênero discursivo comentário online e de sua contribuição para o estabelecimento da polêmica. O corpus constitui-se de comentários coletados na plataforma Instagram, em uma postagem da página @grupocidadão190, da Região do Alto Oeste Potiguar/Rio Grande do Norte, que veicula notícias do cotidiano e de utilidade pública. Teoricamente, o trabalho ancora-se em postulações do Círculo de Bakhtin e da Teoria da Argumentação no Discurso. A análise evidencia que os comentários estão imbuídos de posicionamentos axiológicos dissonantes, perceptíveis na materialidade textual, a partir de recursos linguísticos e semióticos, tais como figuras de linguagem, exclamações, emojis. Situando-se em disputas de sentido sobre “envelhecer”, os posicionamentos manifestam a argumentatividade e contribuem para a construção do discurso polêmico.

**Palavras-chave:** Discurso polêmico; Axiologia; Argumentação; Comentário online; Etarismo.

*Signum: Estudos da Linguagem, Londrina, v.27, i.3, p.101-119, december. 2024*

*Received on: 10/07/2024*

*Accepted on: 08/10/2024*

# “In Brazil it's a sin, you can't grow old!": axiological positions in the constitution of controversy in online comments<sup>1</sup>

---

Rosângela Alves dos Santos Bernardino  
Jacicleide Alves Falcão  
Francisca Ticiany Barbosa Lopes de Oliveira

## INTRODUCTION

Statistical data shows that the Brazilian population is getting older. In 2021, Brazil had 14.7% of the population aged 60 or over, representing, in absolute numbers, 31.23 million people, according to IBGE data<sup>2</sup>. In the midst of this process, various discourses, polemics and axiological values have been constructed, as evidenced by posts and comments on digital social networks, especially Instagram. This stands out particularly in relation to prejudice against older people, known as etharism.

A recent article in National Geographic Brazil magazine presents two interesting pieces of data: (i) according to the World Health Organization (WHO), ageism is the set of stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination directed at people based on their age; (ii) it is estimated that, globally, one in two people are prejudiced against older people, according to the United Nations (UN) report.<sup>3</sup>

We often see headlines, interviews, podcasts and other discursive genres addressing this issue in the media in general, and especially in digital media. For example, we can mention the controversy surrounding the Estação Primeira de Mangueira and Unidos de Vila Isabel samba schools after they announced age limits for registering members for the 2025 parade<sup>4</sup>, as well as the countless discussions around aesthetic pressure, the dictatorship of beauty and the focus that the digital media gives to the culture of the “perfect” body. Among many other examples, the attacks by internet users on actress Paola Oliveira's body<sup>5</sup> and the various news stories, posts and comments about the veins on actress Angelina Jolie's<sup>6</sup> arms during her appearance at the Venice Film Festival in 2024 illustrate this scenario.

Recently, a video circulated on the internet and caused quite a stir: in it, three younger students mocked a classmate for being over 40 and studying Biomedicine<sup>7</sup>. The incident took place at a private university in Bauru, São Paulo, and caused a variety of reactions and comments on social media.

Another scene that caught the attention of many was the Oscars, in the best actress category. Michelle Yeoh, 60, winner of the statuette, addressed her speech to women in her age group: “Ladies, don't let anyone tell you that you're past your prime”<sup>8</sup>. This position of the actress confronts discourses that question the dignity, potential and value of older people, especially

---

<sup>1</sup> Translated by: Francisco das Chagas Santos.

<sup>2</sup> Cabral (2022).

<sup>3</sup> Etarismo (2023).

<sup>4</sup> Escolas [...] (2023).

<sup>5</sup> Casemiro (2023).

<sup>6</sup> Veias [...] (2024).

<sup>7</sup> Video (2023).

<sup>8</sup> Silva (2023).

women. We can see, then, that it is possible to identify discourses, in Brazil and around the world, that seek to combat ageism and take a stand in defense of the “process of accepting ageing”.

According to Amossy (2017), it is in the circulation of discourses that controversy is built. In this way, the dynamization of the internet, with digital social networks, favors the expression of opinion, the manifestation of thought and, consequently, the dissemination of controversial discourse. Therefore, in a multifaceted and immediate society, where opinions are debated instantaneously, there is interaction between different positions, which contributes to the manifestation of controversy. As an example, we have the online comment, a genre of discourse through which people issue opinions, often heated and conflicting, on the most varied topics of posts circulating on digital social networks such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, among others. We have chosen online commentary as the corpus of analysis in this work because we believe it is essential to take an analytical look at how controversial discourses are established in online interactions. As an example, we have online commentary, a genre of discourse through which people issue opinions, often heated and conflicting, on the most varied topics of posts circulating on digital social networks, such as Facebook, YouTube, Instagram, among others. We chose online commentary as the corpus of analysis in this work because we consider it essential to take an analytical look at how polemical discourses are established in online interactions.

A news story on a media such as Instagram is quickly accessed by thousands of people, as well as making it possible to share and express opinions in the form of online comments. All these discursive manifestations express positions on posts from different profiles that share individual experiences, as well as those that promote debate on the various spheres of human activity, such as journalism, politics, entertainment, among others.

Controversy as an argumentative modality has been studied by different researchers, under the theoretical framework of the Theory of Argumentation in Discourse or from other approaches, such as Textual Linguistics and Dialogical Discourse Analysis, in interfaces with this area. By way of illustration, Cavalcante, Brito and Pinto (2018) study the argumentative construction of polemical discourse in online comments; Pereira and Santos (2023) analyze how dialogical relations are manifested in the speech of internet users in this same genre; Pereira and Brito (2020) investigate the contribution of textual marks to the construction of argumentation and polemical interaction in comments. In addition to these works, we intend to focus on axiological positions and their influence on the establishment of polemical discourse. To do this, we chose as our corpus of analysis a set of online comments on the social network Instagram, referring to a post entitled “Suzana Vieira threatens to sue anyone who calls her old: ‘I think it's prejudice’”, published on the social profile @grupocidadã0190.

In this sense, we justify the choice to explore the universe of digital social networks, since they function as a kind of 21st century public square (Amossy, 2017) and have also become a space for ideological positions, since a comment can manifest axiological elements that trigger similar ideas, but also antagonistic thoughts related to an initial post. This discursive movement and reconfiguration highlights the complex and dynamic nature of language.

In this way, we understand, along with Bakhtin (2016) and his followers, that language is concrete, dynamic and dialogical and, therefore, is constructed in interaction with the other, in multiple situations of use. Thus, every utterance is susceptible to a response from the interlocutor, since the latter always occupies an active and responsive position in the process of interaction. The topic of the utterance, which is unique and updated with each new interaction, can give rise to a variety of axiological positions, convergent and antagonistic opinions, which highlights the living nature of language. Considering this character of the utterance, Bakhtin (2016) and Amossy (2017) were taken as the theoretical basis for our discussions on how the same utterance provides different developments and, consequently, understandings about the construction of the polemical discourse related to ageism.

In view of the relevance and the different axiological positions that the subject of aging arouses in contemporary society, and understanding that controversial discourse is increasingly being evoked and provoked by the media, especially on Instagram, a social network that has become very widespread in recent years, we justify this research. Furthermore, we believe it is important for language studies to reflect on the possibilities of analyzing the multiplicity of voices that influence a controversial issue and the construction of controversial discourse. With this in mind, we are guided by the following questions: what axiological positions are present in the comments on the post about Suzana Vieira's speech? What linguistic and semiotic resources are used? How do axiological choices influence the establishment of the polemic?

With this in mind, this study aims to identify and analyze axiological positions in the construction of polemical discourse, present in online comments on the subject of ageism, collected on the social network Instagram, referring to a post about the speech of 82-year-old Brazilian actress Suzana Vieira, who said she found it prejudiced to be called old and that she would sue anyone who called her that.

After this introduction, in the first part of the article, we present the theoretical bases that underpin the discussion undertaken; in the second, we point out the methodological path of the research; in the third, we analyze the corpus and, finally, we summarize the results, with our final interpretative comments.

## **1 BACKGROUND**

In this section, we summarize the basic theoretical concepts of the research, in order to base our view of the discursive genre online commentary. In the first part, we articulate some notions from Bakhtin's Circle, such as dialogism, genre and style, evaluative (axiological) positioning; in the second, we take up the notion of public polemic from Amossy's studies (2017), within the scope of his Theory of Argumentation in Discourse.

### **1.1 Dialogism, discourse genres, style and axiological positioning**

Considering the research developed by Bakhtin and his Circle, a Russian philosopher who is a reference in genre studies, having influenced several researchers who have developed important postulates in modern linguistics, we understand language as a phenomenon of social interaction, constructed in a constant dialog between the interlocutors.

In this direction, we follow the dialogic conception of language defended by the Circle, understanding that: "The whole life of language, whatever its field of employment (everyday language, practical language, scientific language, artistic language, etc.) is impregnated with dialogical relations" (Bakhtin, 2013, p. 209). As a product of this interaction, utterances emerge, units of discursive communication, in which each utterance constitutes a singular, unrepeatable event (Bakhtin, 2016).

From a Bakhtinian perspective, discourse genres are relatively stable forms of utterances, concrete and unique, oral and written, defined by their thematic content, verbal style and compositional construction. Genres are developed according to the specific conditions of each field of human activity, which is why they are so variable and heterogeneous. Each genre is linked to a cultural origin, with social aspects related to space and time; therefore, it is linked to ideological creation (Bakhtin, 2016). In this way, discursive genres are closely linked to our social interactions. We use them, for example, to talk about a particular topic that is evoked in a given communicative situation in which we are inserted, and we imprint our individual style on them.

In addition to the theme and compositional structure, style is inseparable from the utterance. In Bakhtin's own words (2016, p. 17), "Every style is inextricably linked to the utterance and to the

typical forms of utterances, in other words, to the genres of discourse”. The author points out that every utterance is individual and can therefore reflect the individuality of the speaker, but in the vast majority of discourse genres, style is not part of the utterance plan. This means that there are genres that are less conducive to the expression of individual style, reflecting only the style of the language.

One of the consequences of style being inseparable from the utterance is the perception that it carries axiological aspects, expressing unique, intentional and evaluative meanings. We know that axiology is a theory or specialty of philosophy that focuses on the analysis of values<sup>9</sup> according to the authors Lins and Marlow (2021), to conceptualize value is to understand that: (i) value is the same as establishing “value judgments” and (ii) evaluating a reality or content can cause attraction or repulsion. (Lins; Marlow, 2021).

Based on Bakhtinian theoretical assumptions, we realize that, depending on the genre of discourse, some axiological aspects become more evident and contribute to the establishment of controversy around a theme, in which the enunciator takes an attractive or repulsive stance to the theme debated in each communicative context in which he is inserted. With regard to this evaluative aspect, Volóchinov states that:

There is no such thing as a statement without evaluation. Every utterance is first and foremost an evaluative orientation. Therefore, in a living utterance, each element not only signifies but also evaluates. Only an abstract element, perceived in the language system and not in the structure of the utterance, appears deprived of evaluation (Volóchinov, 2018, p. 236).

This leads us to understand that valuation is intrinsically present in statements and can be seen when we analyze the stylistic elements used in each linguistic construction.

According to Fiorin (2006, p. 62), style is a selection of certain lexical, phraseological and grammatical means according to the image of the interlocutor, who assumes an active responsive understanding of the utterance and presumes it. Style encompasses everything from the selection of the chosen genre, motivated by the communicative purpose, to the existing and/or possible relationships between the communication partners, including the presence of the extraverbal - that is, what is implicit in the materiality of the utterances -, the evaluative intonation, which establishes a firm link between the verbal discourse and the extraverbal context, and the value judgment, which is manifested through the ideological positioning of the interlocutors involved in the discourse.

According to Menegassi and Cavalcanti (2013), it is up to the interlocutor to identify the characteristics present in the social environment so that understanding of the utterance is qualified, allowing interaction to take place and thus generating the communicative act. The extraverbal lies precisely in the social, historical and discursive interactions in which individuals live, and is not explicitly demarcated in the textual materiality.

The concepts of evaluative intonation and value judgment need to be articulated in order to have a clear understanding of the dynamic nature of utterances. As Menegassi and Cavalcanti (2013) state, intonation is the speaker's personal mark, their presence and their values in the utterance. However, it is intrinsically related to the interpretation of the other, the one who will evaluate, judge and value the utterance based on it.

The discursive genre chosen for this work, online commentary, is an example of a genre that favors the presence of individual style in a more explicit, more easily perceptible way, corroborating to highlight axiological positions. In it, various themes are evoked and brought into focus, sparked by the posts that serve as the base text, motivating the debate that is established and observed with each comment inserted into the interactive environment.

---

<sup>9</sup> The etymology of axiology leads us to the French word “axiologie”, which in turn is linked to the Greek term “áxios” (whose meaning refers to what “has value”) (Axiologia, 2023).



Furthermore, in the construction of the online comment, various semiosis can be articulated, making it multimodal. According to Nascimento,

[...] multimodal genres are social actions that use resources other than the verbal sign. The existence of these genres is not recent, however, in recent years, as a result of technological advances, especially with regard to virtual media, there have been significant changes in the ways in which texts are represented. Images, sounds and words have established an increasingly interconnected relationship, and society has developed more and more texts with verbal, visual and sound resources (Nascimento, 2017, p. 439).

Considering the online comment as a multimodal genre, due to the presence of various resources that are available to the enunciator on virtual communication platforms, we realize the dynamism that constitutes it and that we need to consider these multiple semiosis for a more complete understanding of the communicative purpose evoked.

According to Alves Filho and Santos (2013), the online comment comes directly as a response to the news event and, above all, to other commentators. It may have an immediate interlocutor, who may be another commentator, but its social audience is the collective readership. For the authors, this specificity of the speaker can guide the way commentators evaluate and respond to events in this genre.

This constant evaluation of the other's discourse is the driving force behind the frequent insertion of new statements in a constant dialog. Santos states that

The relations of interaction in this genre reveal a great intensity of dialogic relations inside and outside the discursive chain. Interaction and internal dialogism are characterized by the compositional nature of the online comment, which constituted as part of a communicative chain in which each comment is textually marked by the alterity of the speaking subjects. (Santos, 2018, p. 28)

We therefore understand that the online comment is an explicitly dialogical genre, since the interlocution is not presupposed, but evident. In this sense, the comment is a direct response to other statements (mainly to the post, but also to other comments), which provides an open dialog on the social network. Many examples show value judgments and other axiological positions on a wide variety of topics.

The subject observed for the development of this article, ageism, arouses multiple views and controversial positions, especially when it comes to female ageing, considering the Brazilian context. Even with the growing number of public women over the age of 60, who have the possibility of continuing to live by remaining in the workforce, many issues are intertwined, arousing interest and debate.

Promoting the discussion of issues of this nature, which highlight real problems in society, is of fundamental importance, because although we know that there are different opinions and different ways of seeing reality, it is for this very reason that we should not be afraid of controversy. According to Amossy (2017), controversy fulfills important functions, from the possibility of public confrontation within unresolvable conflicts to the formation of communities of protest and public action. We therefore need to know a little more about the manifestations, the linguistic strategies, of this type of discourse.

## **1. 2 Polemic as an argumentative modality**

In Amossy's (2008) theoretical reflections, within the scope of her Theory of Argumentation in Discourse, the author lists 6 (six) argumentative modalities, understood as “types of argumentative exchanges which, crossing the genres of discourse, shape the way argumentation

works in both a dialogic and a dialogical framework” (Amossy, 2008, p. 232). These modalities, according to the author, are only possibilities, but not an exhaustive or closed list. Below, we briefly reproduce each one, paying more attention to the polemical modality, due to the objectives set out in this work.

- 1) demonstrative mode - based on rational demonstration, it seeks the interlocutor's support;
- 2) pathetic mode - appeals to the audience, trying to “touch” them in order to get them to agree;
- 3) pedagogical modality - focuses on the transmission of knowledge, with the aim of reaching a learner, which is why it highlights the hierarchy between the participants.
- 4) co-construction mode - the participants get involved in the search for answers to a problem raised together;
- 5) negotiated mode - the participants, having signed a compromise, try to reach a consensus on divergent and divisive issues;
- 6) polemical mode - the participants are involved “in a violent confrontation between antagonistic theses, two instances in total disagreement try to convince the other, or the third party listening to them, attacking the opposing theses and discrediting the opponent” (Amossy, 2008, p. 237).

We often associate the term “controversy” with negative connotations, with situations that, in general, people don't want to be connected to, because, since childhood, sayings like “Don't get into trouble...” and “Don't get involved with controversial people...” have been internalized and, consequently, these meanings are activated when controversy is mentioned on a daily basis. Common sense recommends that we avoid, as much as possible, being promoters or being involved in situations of this nature.

There is no consensus among theoretical currents either. Various definitions have been studied and each has an approach related to its area of knowledge. Amossy (2017) goes into this discussion and relates another discursive configuration to polemics. According to the author, if we look at our surroundings, we can see that controversy is not just a pejorative term, harmful to society, nor is it an insignificant, secondary issue. One of the aspects that highlights the relevance of controversy in the social context is the space it occupies in the media and its persistent invasion of the public domain.

In the words of Amossy (2017, p. 12): “polemic fulfills important social functions, precisely because of what is generally criticized about it: a verbal management of conflict carried out under the mode of dissent”. From this perspective, a topic of public interest can generate antagonistic opinions and positions among individuals linked to the same culture, which will enable choices of arguments, linguistic articulations and different discursive formations in the debate on the same topic. This dissension in perceptions and discursive choices can culminate in the establishment of a polemic.

For Cavalcante, Brito and Pinto (2018), polemic is characterized by multiple textual manifestations of adversity, which is in line with Amossy's (2017) perspective, when she argues that polemic is constituted from polyphony, the circulation of discourses and their intertwining in the public space. In this context, Amossy (2017) characterizes polemic as an argumentative modality of the irreconcilable, which is why it is constructed by what she calls the “rhetoric of dissent”. For this reason, it is important to look at discursive materiality and argumentative configuration, since every discourse carries certain axiological values and positions related to it.



Reflecting on the possible outcomes of a polemical discourse, we realize that it can take place between two groups of individuals marked by different interests and worldviews, with each group sharing its own values and identities, hence the characteristic of polarization. In the debate on a topic of public interest, these groups defend antagonistic theses, supporting them by disqualifying the other, either by attacking their arguments or, directly, the person of the opponent, or by resorting to verbal violence. But it is true that not every personal disagreement can be considered a polemic. According to Amossy (2017), the discourse in interaction needs to disseminate antagonistic thoughts and be of collective interest, rather than a dispute of particular interests. In this sense, a heated interaction between two individuals expressing different opinions on a topic, even if staged in the open space of digital social networks, for example, may not be considered a controversy.

When polemics function as an argumentative modality, the proponent and the opponent seek to stand out from each other, while also trying to win the support of a third party (other individuals), and thus make the opponent look ridiculous to society. In this way, a banal, private fact can take on greater proportions and trigger a controversy, as this issue highlights common interests and divergent positions, leading to fervent discussions in the public arena. By way of illustration, the author refers to the case called “Exclusion of women”, which took place in Israel in 2011, when a young woman refused to sit at the back of a bus used exclusively by the ultra-Orthodox, known as *haredim* (“those who fear God”). Even though it was public transport, culturally there was a subdivision: the women sat at the back and the men at the front of the bus, so that the men wouldn't stare at the women. The young woman's vehement refusal to obey this culture caused a public controversy about Orthodox customs, especially with regard to the space socially granted to women and consequently the controversial issue of gender equality.

According to the author, there are three specific movements that characterize polemical discourse: dichotomization, polarization and disqualification. Dichotomization would be one of the movements most intrinsic to polemical discourse, since, as Amossy (2017) states, polemic is a clash of antagonistic opinions. In this case, we have the existence of two or more conflicting and opposing positions on the same subject, where there is no winner, not even a verbal conciliation, because ideological positions are expressed and arguments constructed, without, however, one of the concepts finally being defined as the right one, or the superior one.

In the second movement, polarization, the central axis is in the same group of principles and field of converging opinions. There is a kind of familiarity and identity around the same subject. As Amossy (2017, p. 57) mentions, polarization “is about presenting things in such a way that those who initially feel solidarity with a given group mobilize in favor of the thesis it reinforces”.

The third movement, disqualification, is one of the most defining elements of polemics, since it is through it that the enunciator will always try to disqualify the opponent and, in order to do so, will use linguistic expressions of a derogatory nature in relation to the other, sometimes going as far as verbal violence. It should be noted, however, that verbal violence, although very present in interactions, is not an intrinsic characteristic of polemics, since the common denominator of all polemical speech is conflict. In the words of Amossy (2017, p. 53), “the conflictual is not only within the polemic: it lies outside it and constitutes its source”. It is in this sense, therefore, that the author defines polemic as “a discursive manifestation in the form of a clash, a brutal confrontation, of contradictory opinions circulating in the public space. As verbal interaction, it emerges as a particular way of managing conflict.” (Amossy, 2017, p. 53, emphasis added). In democratic societies, polemics fulfill important functions, such as denouncing, protesting, inciting action, uniting identities or simply guaranteeing the coexistence of dissent.

In view of the above, we believe that polemic as an argumentative modality, discussed by Amossy (2017), will serve as a basis for the analysis undertaken in this study, since the speech of a renowned Brazilian actress, a particular manifestation related to the meaning of the term “old”, caused a collective discussion, regarding etharism, arousing antagonistic opinions on the subject.

## 2 METHODOLOGY

We would like to point out that the research carried out is descriptive and interpretive, according to Godoy (1995), since we sought to analyze the axiological positions in the discursive genre of online commentary, verifying how these positions contribute to the establishment of controversy about aging.

With regard to the nature of the research, we have adopted a qualitative approach, since the focus of our work is on seeking to understand the phenomenon studied from a discursive perspective, analyzing the forms, discursive and linguistic strategies produced by the subjects in the use of language, in interactions that manifest the online configuration.

The corpus of analysis is made up of eight comments collected on the Instagram platform, a medium created in 2010 and which currently has more than a billion active users<sup>10</sup>, providing a variety of discursive manifestations. The profile selected was @grupocidadã0190, from the Alto Oeste Potiguar/Rio Grande do Norte region, which has a significant number of followers (89.6 thousand) and broadcasts news of daily life and public utility. The post was chosen because it had a big impact on social media, as well as discussing a controversial and stereotyped topic in Brazilian society, namely ageing.

This is a statement made by Brazilian actress Suzana Vieira, who was 80 years old at the time, and who, in an interview with Rede Globo's "Encontro" program on May 29, 2023, threatened to sue anyone who called her "old", saying that she was prejudiced and felt offended by such a statement.

The eight comments analyzed, out of a total of eighty-one comments on the post, were selected based on key lexical choices, such as "prejudice"; "ageism"; "old" and its synonyms: "elderly", "old woman". In addition to the lexicon, we chose comments whose value judgment was more explicit in the statements, marked mainly by the presence of certain figures of speech, such as irony, metaphor and euphemism. We also used some extraverbal graphic items typical of multimodal statements as a strategy for selecting comments, such as the presence of emojis, repetition of punctuation and the use of capital letters.

With regard to the data analysis procedures, we established the following stages: (i) reading the corpus, with the aim of selecting the internet users' comments, according to their reaction to the news post (for or against); (ii) describing the linguistic marks that signal the axiological positions and the construction of arguments that support the thesis of the comments, focusing on value judgments and evaluative intonation; as well as the movements that, according to Amossy (2017), characterize polemical discourse: dichotomization; polarization and disqualification of the other (the opponent); and (iii) discursive analysis of the comments and interpretation of the socio-ideological position assumed by internet users.

## 3 AXIOLOGY AND POLEMICS: AN ANALYSIS OF ONLINE COMMENTS IN THE DEBATE ON ETHARISM

The different media, especially social networks, have become a space for the proliferation of ideas, instant interactions and the expression of positions that often manifest verbal aggression, motivated largely by the "freedom" that the discursive genres of the different platforms offer, especially online commentary. In the meantime, a reconfiguration of social practices has been established.

---

<sup>10</sup> Dean (2023).

On the social network Instagram, people tend to follow profiles with which they identify, post content in stories that they believe to be interesting, make posts in the feed and receive interactions through likes and comments, thus bringing together profiles that share similar socio-ideological values. It is true that, as the space is free, different positions can be expressed, which can lead to dissenting opinions and, in turn, contribute to a controversy.

This movement of language comprehension can be seen in statements like: “I want to say that I'm going to sue anyone who calls me old!”. This was one of the statements that caused great repercussions in the media and led to many virtual comments. Internet users expressed evaluative opinions and polemicized issues related to ageing with their positions and their linguistic-discursive “weaponry”.

As mentioned in the methodological section, we are interested in analyzing comments made by followers of the social profile @grupocidadao190 on Instagram, in a post about the interview with actress Suzana Vieira, given to the program “Encontro”, on Rede Globo de Televisão, on May 29, 2023. Below is a screenshot of the post:

**Picture 1** - Screenshot of the post linked on the @grupocidadao190 Instagram page



Source: Susana [...] (2023).

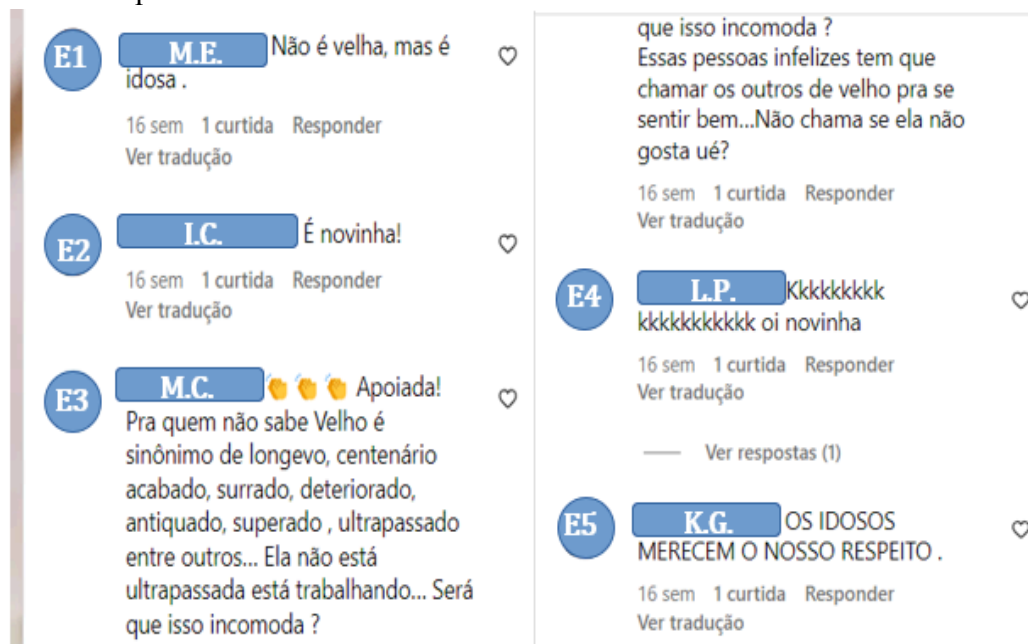
One of the first things to note is that this article had a wide repercussion on social networks and, in particular, on a social profile aimed at the public in the interior of Alto Oeste Potiguar, a region where the subject of etharism is still shyly discussed. This can be seen in the number of publications circulating in the region's media outlets, publishing articles on the subject. On the @grupocidadao190 profile itself, which calls itself a personal public service news blog for the Upper West of Potiguar, we hardly found any posts about etharism.

Another point concerns the nature of the comments. We noticed that there were conflicting views in the comments regarding the fact that actress Suzana Vieira treated it as a prejudiced act to be called “old”, saying that she felt offended by such an expression. We noticed two poles: one supporting the actress's speech, with favorable positions, and the other totally opposed, with many marks of disapproval of the decision to prosecute anyone who classifies her as “old”.

In this sense, we now turn our attention to specific enunciative situations, paying attention to discursive choices and axiological positions, as well as the traces of polemic present in the comments. To do this, we mobilize the ideas of Bakhtin and the Circle on the stylistic aspects observed in the statements: (a) value judgment, (b) extraverbal dimension and (c) evaluative

intonation; as well as the three movements presented by Amossy (2017) that characterize polemical discourse: (i) dichotomization; (ii) polarization and (iii) disqualification of the other.

**Picture 2** - Sequence of comments no. 1



Source: Susana [...] (2023).

In the sequence of comments in picture 2, we can see a dialogic relationship, with convergent and dichotomous positions among Internet users. The first two comments express their positions and respond to a discourse that has already been said, which addresses the use of the term “old” as prejudice, in this case, a responsive response to the statement made by actress Suzana Vieira and which manifests yet another voice in the controversy related to etharism.

In (M.E.)'s comment, we can see that enunciator 1 (E1) is directing an enunciation/response to someone, as he begins his speech with the statement “She's not old”. This is followed by an adversative clause “...but she is old”. This type of linguistic construction, prototypical of an adversative sentence, combined with extraverbal knowledge, allows the term elderly to be associated with respect and formality, making it possible to make a reference to the Statute of the Elderly Person, which guarantees protection to people over 60. We understand that E1's comment is an irony, valuing a tone of debauchery in the speech of actress Suzana Vieira.

In turn, it highlights a dichotomy, promoting a kind of antagonistic group. On the one hand, there are those who support the modern, contemporary discourse, which does not classify people over 50 as old, in view of their aesthetic preservation and vitality; and on the other, a group of conservative voices who try to disqualify and define what can and cannot be done, based on the chronological age factor. Taking on this more conservative nuance, E1, in a subtle way, articulates a polarization, which, according to Amossy (2017), is an attempt to consolidate his ideology and, on the other hand, disqualify the other in a pejorative way.

In a similar line of argument, E2 (I. C.) establishes a dialogical relationship with E1, when he also criticizes the actress's posture in an ironic valuation, “She's young!”. The lexical choice of “novinha”, together with the exclamations, in this specific situation, emphasizes E2's tone of debauchery, since it almost invites the interlocutors to laugh, since conventionally, according to the Online Portuguese Dictionary<sup>11</sup>, the adjective “novinha” means: “Something or someone young,

<sup>11</sup> Novinha (2022).

with little age”; in this case, the actress Suzana Vieira would be in her 80s. This evaluative nature of the use of the word “novinha” is constructed in a space of negotiation, tinting it with the impressions and memories of the enunciator, because, according to Bakhtin (2012, p. 187-188), the living word is guaranteed by expressive intonation, since to live is “to assume axiological positions at every moment of life or to position oneself in relation to values”.

Therefore, understanding E2's comment is only possible if we take into account the extraverbal context of enunciation, i.e. the non-linguistic circumstances known to the interlocutors; in this case, the notion that the expression “It's the new thing!” is commonly used in situations where something outdated is disapproved of.

In another ideological strand, we have E3 (M.C.), which shows support for actress Suzana Vieira's speech by using applause emojis at the beginning of the comment, followed by the expression “Apoiada!” We also understand this to be an active response to the disapproving intonation seen in the first two comments of this sequence, confirming actress Suzana Vieira's statement that the use of the lexeme “old” has a pejorative and prejudiced meaning. In order to convince the interlocutors of this premise, the commentator constructs a definition of “old” and, to do so, uses the initial capital letter, focusing on the word and synonymous words and expressions “For those who don't know, old is synonymous with long-lived, centenary, finished, shabby, deteriorated, old-fashioned, outdated, among others ...”. All the words used by E3 to configure the meaning of “old” convey the sense of something or someone that has reduced physical limitations or is outdated in the contemporary world.

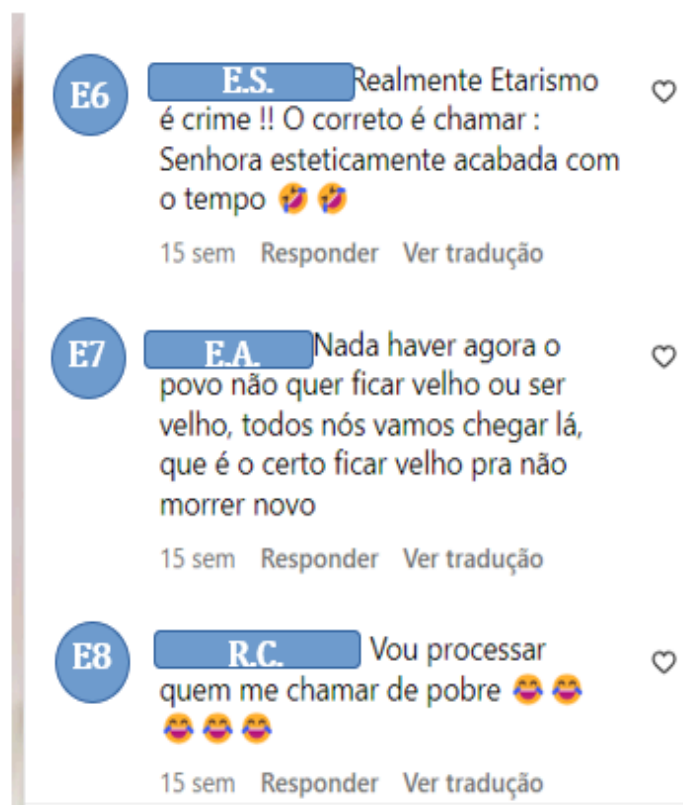
We notice that eight lexemes are used as synonyms to conceptualize “old”, followed by the expression “among others”, and the use of ellipsis (...). In other words, E3 leads us to understand that several other lexemes of the same nature could still be used to emphasize the discursively negative meaning of calling someone like actress Suzana Vieira “old”. With this, E3 gives an appreciative value of revolt, by positioning itself against those who use this word to address the actress. We can thus see a trace of polemical discourse, since the comment clearly expresses a dichotomy.

In the next two comments, E4 (L.P.), by repeating the letter “k”, which in virtual language means laugh, and E5 (K.G.), by using capital letters in the statement “THE ELDERLY DESERVE OUR RESPECT”, present a rejoinder and take up the position of the first comments in the sequence in picture 2, thus reinforcing the established dichotomization: a considerable part of the commentators disapproves of the actress's stance, while another part shows their support. Dichotomization is therefore, as Pereira and Brito (2020) state, an updating of radically opposing discourses, a space where opinions clash, one wanting to exclude the other.

Continuing our analysis of the comments, we chose another sequence of statements that show a dialogical relationship with each other, expressing evaluative positions of irony and disapproval of actress Suzana Vieira's speech, also dialoguing with the interlocutors who consider it normal, obvious and correct to call a person over 60 “old”.



**Figure 3** - Sequence of comments no. 2



Source: Susana ... (2023).

The process of achieving language takes place through interactions. Therefore, in order to construct the meaning of a discursive manifestation, we need to establish some discursive aspects, including the social environment, because depending on the concrete situation of use, the same word can acquire different meanings. As Volóchinov (2018, p. 123) mentions, “every word has two faces”. In this way, each utterance acquires a unique meaning, even if the verbal materialization is repeated, the axiological positioning, the historical context, the place of the one who is uttering the speech, as well as the one who receives it. All these elements differ and take on complex and determining roles in the construction of meaning.

In this context, the comments in picture 3 are a kind of social evaluation, mobilized to respond to a speech that has already been said, in this case, Suzana Vieira's speech, which, in turn, made it possible to construct other utterances. When we read the actress's speech, we realize that the evaluative nuance of the word “old”, expressed by Suzana Vieira, expresses a language practice that goes against the voice of prejudice, rooted in society, camouflaged in the guise of a natural process, or in more popular language, the famous “Aceita que dói menos!” This way of putting it shows a discrepancy in positioning with the enunciators in picture 3.

In comment 1 of this sequence, E6 dialogues with the text of the article, taking on a tone of irony and debauchery. At the start of his speech, he says that “Etarism really is a crime!”, and then



goes on to make another reference to etharism: “Lady aesthetically finished with time”. This discursive strategy highlights the veiled prejudice that old people are seen as useless or unimportant. As Volóchinov and Bakhtin (1976) and Bakhtin (2016) argue, it is the values that surround the participants in the discourse that give meaning to the utterance. In this way, we are led to the understanding that discursive interactions cannot be analyzed outside of the concrete, specific situation of use.

From this perspective, we see an interdiscursive confrontation between the article published by the @grupocidadã0190 profile and the comments of its followers, noting that the ideological positions are shown as opposing, dichotomous poles, demonstrating that it is in the intertextual relations that the polemic breaks out, as proposed by Cavalcante, Brito and Pinto (2018). In (E.S)'s comment, E6 defends the thesis that anyone over the age of 60 is finished and defends it from the beginning to the end of the comment. This disqualification is noticeable through the categorization of the term “old” by “lady aesthetically finished with time”, a clear derogatory content is perceived and, as a result, we can identify an implicit value judgment in that statement. As Volóchinov (2018) points out, every utterance is primarily an evaluative action, which is why each linguistic component has an intention.

The dichotomy and critical tone are made more evident through the use of multimodal linguistic resources, such as the repetition of exclamation marks, emojis, the spelling of the lexeme “Etharism” with a capital letter, giving emphasis, empowerment and personality to the concept. These resources accentuate the axiological valuation and, consequently, the polemical content of the discourse.

In E7's comment, from sequence no. 2, (E.A.) also takes a stand against the idea defended by actress Suzana Vieira, creating a confrontation of meanings with the statements in the article. Through expressions such as “it's right to get old, so as not to die young”, the enunciator establishes a dialogical relationship with the religious discourse contained in the Bible, in the book of Ecclesiastes, chapter 3, verses 2-3: “For everything there is a right time; there is a right time for every purpose under heaven: a time to be born and a time to die, a time to plant and a time to uproot what has been planted”. This dialogical relationship between the statements leads us to understand that anyone who doesn't accept themselves as old is going against the Word of God.

The argumentative strategies chosen by E7 show a disagreement with actress Suzana Vieira's discourse, thus configuring it as a controversial discourse, since, in view of Amossy's (2017) postulates, the comment is a reaction to a position taken. Thus, when uttering discourse, the enunciator is responsible for their positions, knowing, consciously and/or unconsciously, that their enunciation will lead to other interactions, new comments. In Bakhtin's (2016) view, this process is called responsiveness, which is why the participants in discursive interaction can alternate positions, sometimes speaker, sometimes interlocutor, since these positions oscillate in the active responsiveness that constitutes language practices.

E8's comment, which concludes this sequence, highlights the verbal action mentioned by the enunciator of the base text, the actress Suzana Vieira: the act of suing someone legally because she feels aggrieved by the qualitative speech made about her. E8 jokes about the action of the verb “sue”, ironizing that he will do the same thing to anyone who calls him “poor”. And he ends with the imagery of emoji faces laughing. The intention to disqualify the actress's stance is clear, as she evokes the idea that “nobody wants to be poor”, but as the context makes clear, this is a reality that cannot be omitted, or even escaped, just as old age is naturally instituted as age advances.

The polemical discourse is woven throughout each comment, in a dialogical and evaluative chain, through the enunciative intonation, the presence of the extraverbal and the value judgment imbued in the statements, which sometimes directly disqualify, sometimes are subtle and are perceived through the use of imagery and non-verbal resources, typical of digital interaction.

## CONCLUSION

In this article, we analyze statements about etharism from a discursive perspective, by means of an interpretive study. Some of the points considered in the discussion throughout the text were axiological positions, dialogism and the constitution of polemics as an argumentative modality. The following questions guided the analysis: what axiological positions are present in the comments on the post about Suzana Vieira's speech? What linguistic and semiotic resources are used? How do axiological choices influence the establishment of polemics?

The selected comments allowed us to analyze the enunciations constructed around etharism and identify how the enunciators discursively use their “weapons” to disqualify their opponents, using various linguistic resources. In the construction of the comments, we highlight elements such as: spelling words entirely in capital letters, repeating letters to reproduce laughter, using exclamations, emojis, among others.

Thus, based on the analysis of the online comments on the post published on the @grupocidação190 Instagram profile, we were able to identify a difference of opinion on the subject of ageing. One part of the enunciators supports actress Suzana Vieira's discourse and considers the term “old” to be pejorative, dialoguing with discourses already said related to age prejudice, especially female age prejudice. Another part of the enunciators expresses axiological positions of criticism and irony towards the actress' speech. At the same time, these positions dialog with statements that reinforce conservative, religious and sometimes sexist ideologies in Brazilian society.

In turn, the evaluative intonation, the use of the other person's discourse, as well as the linguistic resources used by the enunciators, contributed argumentatively to the establishment of the polemic. In this clash of opinions, we identify neither winners nor losers, but a struggle of conflicting opinions, sometimes ironic and offensive, debating a topic of collective interest, which shows us the dynamism of language.

In this perspective, we have come to understand that the coexistence of dissent in discursive spaces, especially on digital social networks, in the midst of such plural cultural contexts in our country, is favorable, as it can lead to a mutual understanding that it is important to take a stand, to occupy discursive spaces. But we also understand that expressing a position should not simply mean an offensive and disrespectful attack on the opposing discourse, nor on the person themselves, belittling their image and hurting their dignity. Divergent opinions, as long as they are committed to serious debate, can coexist in a democratic space and are useful for bringing significant issues to light and promoting the expansion of individual rights.

We therefore hope that this article will arouse interest in the production of other works, exploring new nuances about evaluative intonation and polemical discourse, because the utterance is a complex object, permeated by many voices, and in order to understand it, dialog between theoretical approaches becomes important.

## REFERENCES

ALVES FILHO, Francisco; SANTOS, Eliane P. O tema da enunciação e o tema do gênero no comentário online. *Fórum Linguístico*, Florianópolis, SC, v. 10, n. 2, p. 79-80, 2013. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/forum/article/view/1984-8412.2013v10n2p78>. Acesso em: 3 set. 2023.

AMOSSY, Ruth. *Apologia da polêmica*. Tradução de Rosalice Botelho Wakim Souza Pinto *et al.* São Paulo: Editora Contexto, 2017.

AMOSSY, Ruth. As modalidades argumentativas do discurso. In: LARA, Gláucia Muniz Proença; MACHADO, Ida Lúcia; EMEDIATO, Wander (org.). *Análises do discurso hoje*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2008. v. 1, p. 231-254.

AXIOLOGIA. In: CONCEITO de. Disponível em: <https://conceito.de/axiologia>. Acesso em: 27 set. 2023.

BAKHTIN, Mikhail. O discurso em Dostoiévski. In: BAKHTIN, Mikhail. *Problemas da poética de Dostoiévski*. Tradução de Paulo Bezerra. 5. ed. Rio de Janeiro: Forense Universitária, 2013. p. 207-211.

BAKHTIN, Mikhail. *Os gêneros do discurso*. Organização e tradução de Paulo Bezerra. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2016.

BAKHTIN, Mikhail. *Para uma filosofia do ato responsável*. Tradução de Valdemir Miotello e Carlos Alberto Faraco. 2. ed. São Carlos: Pedro & João Editores, 2012.

CABRAL, Umberlândia. População cresce, mas número de pessoas com menos de 30 anos cai 5,4% de 2012 a 2021. *Agência de Notícias - IBGE*, Rio de Janeiro, 22 jul. 2022. Disponível em: <https://agenciadenoticias.ibge.gov.br/agencia-noticias/2012-agencia-de-noticias/noticias/34438-populacao-cresce-mas-numero-de-pessoas-com-menos-de-30-anos-cai-5-4-de-2012-a-2021>. Acesso em: 18 ago. 2023.

CASEMIRO, Poliana. Pressão estética, ditadura da beleza e ataques virtuais: o que as críticas ao corpo de Paolla Oliveira - e a reação em defesa da atriz – revelam. *GI*, Rio de Janeiro, 29 dez. 2023. Disponível em: <https://g1.globo.com/saude/noticia/2023/12/29/pressao-estetica-ditadura-da-beleza-e-ataques-virtuais-o-que-as-criticas-ao-corpo-de-paolla-oliveira-e-a-reacao-em-defesa-da-atriz-revelam.ghtml>. Acesso em: 13 out. 2024.

CAVALCANTE, Mônica M.; BRITO, Mariza A. P.; PINTO, Rosalice. Polêmica e argumentação: interfaces possíveis em textos midiáticos de natureza política. *Diacrítica*, Braga, PT, v. 32, p. 5-24, 2018. Disponível em: [https://research.unl.pt/ws/portalfiles/portal/12217411/POL\\_MICA\\_E\\_ARGUMENTA\\_O.pdf](https://research.unl.pt/ws/portalfiles/portal/12217411/POL_MICA_E_ARGUMENTA_O.pdf). Acesso em: 3 set. 2023.

DEAN, Brian. *Principais estatísticas sobre o Instagram: quantas pessoas usam e mais!* In: *SEMRUSH Blog*. Boston, 20 jan. 2023. Disponível em: <https://pt.semrush.com/blog/estatisticas-instagram/>. Acesso em: 5 set. 2023.

Disponível em: <https://g1.globo.com/sp/bauru-marilia/noticia/2023/03/14/discurso-antietarista-de-vencedora-do-oscar-vira-inspiracao-para-estudante-hostilizada-por-ter-mais-de-40-anos-exemplo-para-mim.ghtml>. Acesso em: 18 ago. 2023.

ESCOLAS de samba limitam idade para composição de alas e dividem opiniões na web. *GI*, Rio de Janeiro, 22 ago. 2024. Disponível em: <https://g1.globo.com/rj/rio-de-janeiro/carnaval/2025/noticia/2024/08/22/escolas-de-samba-idade-alas.ghtml>. Acesso em: 13 out. 2024.

ETARISMO: o que é e como isso afeta a vida das pessoas? *National Geographic*: Brasil, Nova Iorque, 15 mar. 2023. Disponível em:

<https://www.nationalgeographicbrasil.com/cultura/2023/03/etarismo-o-que-e-e-como-isso-afeta-a-vida-das-pessoas>. Acesso em: 18 ago. 2023.

FIORIN, José Luiz. *Os gêneros do discurso*. In: FIORIN, José Luiz. Introdução ao pensamento de Bakhtin. São Paulo: Ática, 2006. p. 60-76.

GODOY, Arilda S. Pesquisa qualitativa: tipos fundamentais. *Revista de Administração de Empresas (RAE)*, São Paulo, SP, v. 35, n. 3, p. 20-29, 1995. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0034-75901995000300004>

LINS, Maria da Penha Pereira; MARLOW, Rosani Muniz. Axiologia e linguística: uma reflexão sobre os valores sociais e a mentira no currículo de políticos. *PERcursos Linguísticos*, Vitória, ES, v. 11, n. 29, p. 147-167, 2021. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.ufes.br/percursos/article/view/36789>. Acesso em: 2 set. 2023.

MENEGASSI, Renilson José; CAVALCANTI, Rosilene S. M. Conceitos axiológicos Bakhtinianos em propaganda impressa. *Alfa: Revista de Linguística*, São José Rio Preto, v. 57, n. 2, 2013. Disponível em: <https://www.scielo.br/j/alfa/a/YkXtMWyVxQbTfjTy6nKQC4L/>. Acesso em: 2 set. 2023.

NASCIMENTO, Marcela Regina Vasconcelos da Silva. Multimodalidade e hipertexto: uma análise do site Hora do ENEM. *Entrepalavras*, Fortaleza, CE, v. 7, n. 1, p. 434-448, 2017. Disponível em: <http://www.entrepalavras.ufc.br/revista/index.php/Revista/article/view/816/426>. Acesso em: 2 set. 2023.

NOVINHA. In: DICIO dicionário online de português. Disponível em: <https://www.dicio.com.br/pesquisa.php?q=novinha>. Acesso em: 22 set. 2023.

PEREIRA, Danielle Ketley de Souza; BRITO, Mariza Angélica Paiva. Interação polêmica nos comentários da página do facebook “Quebrando o Tabu”. *Entrepalavras*, Fortaleza, CE, v. 10, n. 2, p. 1-22, maio/ago. 2020. DOI: 10.22168/2237-6321-21849

PEREIRA, Maiara Amorin; SANTOS, Eliane Pereira dos. O discurso outro na construção do gênero comentário online. *Diálogo das Letras*, Pau dos Ferros, RN, v. 12, p. e02318, 2023. DOI: 10.22297/2316-17952023v12e02318

SANTOS, Eliane Pereira dos. *Gênero comentário online: um enfoque axiológicodialógico do estilo*. 2018. Tese (Doutorado em Letras - Linguística) – Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Recife, PE, 2018.

SILVA, Luís Ricardo. Discurso antietarista de vencedora do Oscar vira inspiração para estudante hostilizada por ter mais de 40 anos: ‘exemplo pra mim’. *G1*, São Paulo, 14 mar. 2023. Disponível em: <https://g1.globo.com/sp/bauru-marilia/noticia/2023/03/14/discurso-antietarista-de-vencedora-do-oscar-vira-inspiracao-para-estudante-hostilizada-por-ter-mais-de-40-anos-exemplo-para-mim.ghtml>. Acesso em: 13 out. 2024.

SUSANA Vieira ameaça processar quem chamá-la de velha: “acho preconceito”. Instagram: @grupocidadao190. Brasil, 29 maio 2023.

VEIAS saltadas no braço de Angelina Jolie chamam atenção; especialista explica a possível causa. *O Globo*, Rio de Janeiro, 1 set. 2024. Saúde. Disponível em:

<https://oglobo.globo.com/saude/noticia/2024/09/01/veias-saltadas-no-braco-de-angelina-jolie-chamam-atencao-especialista-explica-a-possivel-caoa.ghtml>. Acesso em: 13 out. 2024.

VÍDEO de universitárias debochando de colega de 40 anos gera indignação: live CNN. São Paulo [s. n.], 2023. 1 vídeo (2 min.03). CNN Brasil. Disponível em: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DmQ3NtKG3GU>. Acesso em: 18 ago. 2023.

VOLÓCHINOV, Valentin N. *Marxismo e filosofia da linguagem: problemas fundamentais do método sociológico na ciência da linguagem* [Círculo de Bakhtin]. Tradução, notas e glossário de Sheila Grillo e Ekaterina Vólkova Américo. Ensaio introdutório de Sheila Grillo. 2. ed. São Paulo: Editora 34, 2018.

VOLÓCHINOV, Valentin N.; BAKHTIN, Mikhail. *Discurso na vida e discurso na arte: (sobre poética sociológica)*. Tradução de Carlos Alberto Faraco e Cristóvão Tezza [para uso didático]. New York: Academic Press, 1976. Versão inglesa de I. R. Titunik do original russo.