

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

A Representação dos Atores Sociais nos tuítes de Jair Messias Bolsonaro

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Abstract

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

Keywords

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

Resumo

Os discursos via redes sociais têm sido muito utilizados por políticos, que muitas vezes aplicam o viés ideológico de formas diferentes conforme seus interesses. Diante disso, este estudo visa a analisar a representação dos atores sociais (Fairclough 2003) no discurso de Jair Messias Bolsonaro, e verificar se ocorrem mudanças nessas representações nos períodos antes e depois de eleito. Utiliza-se como *corpus* os tuítes do atual presidente, sendo o primeiro *corpus* deste estudo composto por 111 tuítes publicados no Twitter oficial de Bolsonaro, entre 8 a 27 de outubro de 2018, período da pré-campanha para o segundo turno das eleições. Já o segundo é composto por 83 tuítes, de 8 a 27 de agosto de 2019, período que o candidato já ocupava

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o cargo de Presidente da República. O aporte teórico é constituído, principalmente, pelos estudos de Fairclough dentro da Análise Crítica do Discurso, complementada por Foucault (2012) e Charaudeau (2010). Resultados apontam para mudanças no discurso do presidente na maioria das ocorrências analisadas.

Palavras-chave

Discurso político. Jair Messias Bolsonaro. Twitter. Representação de atores sociais. *Corpus*.

Introduction

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

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

Sérgio Abranches (2019) states that the relationship between social networks and politics is a defense tool against the old political oligarchy, which legitimizes mechanisms and keeps the spotlight focused on itself, restricting media spaces for the “new” party and “new” politics. In view of this, the author states that: "It is an issue that still requires research, but it was, in part, an unforeseen side effect of the decision of the parties' oligarchies to offset the ban on corporate campaign financing." (ABRANCHES, 2019, p. 18, our translation)¹.

¹ “É uma questão que ainda demanda pesquisa mas foi, em parte, um efeito colateral imprevisto da decisão das oligarquias dos grandes partidos de compensar a proibição do financiamento empresarial de campanhas” (ABRANCHES, 2019, p. 18)

Candidates for the Presidency of the Republic and their followers used social networks as a tool to express their ideals, bringing to light, during the presidential campaign, several social and moral clashes.

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

Therefore, inevitably, his discourse² and texts on social networks became the subject of studies. There is already some research focused on Bolsonaro's discourse: one of them is the article *Bolsonaro Zuero 3.0: A study on the new articulations of the discourse of the Brazilian right-wing through social networks*, by Luís Guilherme Marques Ribeiro, Cristina Lasaitis and Lígia Gurgel, from 2016, in which an analysis is made of the relationship of social networks with the construction of a public opinion about Bolsonaro. Another study is *Arms, hatred, fear and spectacle in Jair Bolsonaro*, by Deysi Cioccarri and Simonetta Persichetti, from 2018. In this study, the researchers seek to analyze the parts that form the image of the presidential candidate. Oliveira (2019) analyzes the volition modality of the inaugural speech of the current president of Brazil, using the Functional Discourse Grammar, and concludes that his discourse uses resources such as the the Simple Present (among others) to establish a relationship of inclusion of the intended audience in the promises of future government actions.

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

² We use the definition of Discourse provided by Fairclough (2012, p. 11): "meaning-making as an element of the social process; [...] concerned with various 'semiotic modalities', of which language is only one (others are visual images and 'body language')."

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

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

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

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

Political discourse

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

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

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

Foucault (2012, p. 10), in his inaugural class at the Cóllege de France, in 1970, relates discourse to power, stating that: "Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but the reason for what we fight, the power that we want to seize"⁴.

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

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

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

⁴ "O discurso não é simplesmente aquilo que traduz as lutas ou os sistemas de dominação, mas aquilo por que, pelo que se luta, o poder do qual nos queremos apoderar" (FOUCAULT, 2012, p. 10).

Fairclough and the representation of social actors

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Material Processes regard doings and activities which involve a change in the material world (as well as more abstract, metaphorical processes which adopt the grammatical framework of physical activities). Mental Processes relate to the goings

on human consciousness – thinking, feeling and sensing. Verbal Processes are the ones indicating some communication of meaning. Finally, Relational Processes main function are identifying entities, attributing qualities or features to entities, indicating possession or ownership (HALLIDAY; MATTHIESSEN, 2004)

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

Methodology and corpora

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

step was to load the texts into the software and make a list of words for each *corpus* separately using the *wordlist tool*.

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

Table 1 – Lexical items occurring in both *corpora*

Amazônia	
Bolsonaro	
brasileiro(s)	<i>Brazilian(s)</i>
chefe	<i>chief</i>
criminosos	<i>criminals</i>
Dilma	
ela(s)	<i>she / they</i>
ele(s)	<i>he / they</i>
empregados	<i>employees</i>
esquerda	<i>leftist</i>
família(s)	<i>family (ies)</i>
governo	<i>government</i>
Guedes	
imprensa	<i>press</i>
instituição(s)	<i>institution(s)</i>
João	
líder	<i>leader</i>
ministro(s)	<i>minister(s)</i>
nordeste	<i>northeast</i>
nós	<i>we</i>
pai	<i>father</i>
país(es)	<i>country (ies)</i>
parlamentares	<i>parliamentarians</i>
Paulo	
policiais	<i>police officers</i>
população	<i>population</i>
povo	<i>people</i>
Presidente	<i>President</i>
profissionais	<i>professionals</i>
PT	
Rio	

sequestrador	<i>kidnapper</i>
sul	<i>south</i>
território	<i>territory</i>
trabalhadores	<i>workers</i>
turma	<i>gang</i>
Venezuela	
você	<i>you</i>

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).

Due to space reasons, the analysis in this article will include the items that, when generating the wordlist, were more frequent, and appeared in both corpora, as shown on table 2. In this study, the concordances presented by the AntConc tool were used for the analysis of the Representation of Social Actors. A *corpus* itself cannot be read, like a text, with a beginning, middle and end; it must be read in a hypertextual way, for example, through concordances (SARDINHA, 2009, p. 12). The concordances are how words combine to form meanings in a text (SCARAMUCCI, 2007).

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

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

Source: elaborated by the authors (2020).

Bolsonaro's Twitter discourse and the representation of social actors

In this subsection, we carry out with the analysis of the social actors presented on table 2, in descending order, from the highest frequency of occurrence to the lowest, listing them from one to eleven. In the figures, on the right margin, we identify the occurrences as *tuítes governo* for *government tweets* or with numbers for campaign tweets. The figures are in Portuguese, since the research was carried out in this language⁵.

Country / countries

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

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

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

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

⁵ In case the reader wishes to check out a translation of the corpora, it is available at the following links:

https://drive.google.com/file/d/1lic7oT_Cb17EwVtyTsuCulaxlSqyppAW/view?usp=sharing
<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Us2wAlbBm0eZDe0wixvRCJS-ZNqEe6Y4/view?usp=sharing>

solidarity, developed, saving, sovereignties, which have a positive semantic prosody; now as an affected liability, with the following verbal processes involved, which are negative: shelter, criminals, terrorists, personal political gains. The occurrence of *country* is linked to Brazil with positive semantic prosody such as *friend, recovers, prays to other countries* (see Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1 – Country/Countries

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

Source: Antconc (2020).

Figure 2 – Country/Countries

Concordance Hits 19		
Hit	KWIC	File
1	imperar há anos e que destrói nosso país!	121020184.
2	da história do Brasil. Juntos resgataremos nosso país!	181020187.
3	Países com mais liberdade econômica no mundo possuem	251020182.
4	verdadeiro desenvolvimento social e econômico do país. Com uma presidência, o Congresso e demais	221020181.
5	da sua atenção. O Brasil é um país cristão. O candidato do PT, Fernando Haddad,	261020185.
6	nossa nova independência; o 1º passo rumo ao país da justiça, do emprego, segurança e da	261020187.
7	ditaduras socialistas pelo mundo à fora. Um país devastado pelos maiores escândalos de corrupção d	231020183.
8	e renda da família. Todo e qualquer país do mundo busca sua segurança alimentar. Aí	241020181.
9	forma é que nos pretendemos governar o país, e dessa forma pretendemos, é, construir o	08102018.t
10	é papo furado, estivemos em Israel, um país localizado no deserto e sabemos o que	181020184.
11	que assaltou os brasileiros e colocou o país na lama. Canalha!	091020185.
12	stição, desrespeitaram as famílias e mergulharam o país na violência e no caos. Os brasileiros	181020188.
13	o modelo do PT, que afundou nosso país no mar da corrupção e violência, ou	091020186.
14	de crimes desta natureza espalhados por todo país nos últimos anos. O PT e o	101020186.
15	na roubalheira do PT! Lembrem-se: nosso país não é uma facção criminosa para ser	251020185.
16	emos promover uma transformação cultural em nosso país, onde a impunidade, a corrupção, o crime	131020181.
17	o Brasil que juntos podemos construir. Um país que respeita seus cidadãos e que é	131020181.
18	atitudes, o plano de governo e os países que se inspiram! Nada além da simples	191020181.
19	violência e trazendo para perto de nós, países que somarão conosco! Vamos juntos mudar os	201020182.

Source: Antconc (2020).

We

The lexeme *we* is one of the most frequent in the corpora (see Figures 3 and 4), occurring 31 times in the campaign speech and only 2 times in the government speech. In the tweets of the electoral period, the pronoun is sometimes used as reference to Bolsonaro and his team, sometimes associating them with the idea of Brazilians in

general. The placement of mental processes related to an emotional appeal (*believe, love, trust, win, deserve*) is very present.

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

Figure 3 – We

Brasil é um só! E de todos nós!	241020185
rginais vermelhos serão banidos de nossa pátria. Nós acreditamos no futuro do nosso Brasil. E	211020184
a democracia e queremos viver em paz. Nós amamos as nossas famílias, nós respeitamos as	211020184
certeza. Vocês podem confiar em nós, porque nós confiamos em vocês. O Brasil será respeitado	211020184
íssimas de desemprego. Nós seguiremos este rumo. Nós criaremos emprego como nunca! O Norte e	251020182
não tem preço. Juntos, eu disse juntos, nós faremos um Brasil diferente. Meu muito obrigado	211020184
fake news, sem Folha de S. Paulo. Nós ganharemos esta guerra. Queremos a imprensa livre	211020184
úblicos atendendo a demandas da população, todos nós ganharíamos! A violência no Brasil já passou	221020181
va classe política construir realmente aquilo que nós merecemos. Estou aqui porque acredito em vocês,	211020184
juntos, em equipe, construiremos o futuro que nós merecemos. Temos o melhor povo do mundo,	211020184
, corrupção e crise, tudo herança do PT. Nós mudaremos esse quadro. Seremos o governo do	251020181
Obviamente não tive mais por fakenews, mentiras. Nós não pretendemos acabar com o bolsa família.	08102018.1
as crianças, nós respeitamos todas as religiões, nós não queremos socialismo, nós queremos distância d	211020184
dio, irresponsavelmente e sem provas associaram a nós os casos de pichações e "agressões" nazistas,	241020184
se colocar sob a lei de todos nós. Ou vão pra fora ou vão pra	211020184
a violência e trazendo para perto de nós, países que somarão conosco! Vamos juntos mudar	201020182
. Podem ter certeza. Vocês podem confiar em nós, porque nós confiamos em vocês. O Brasil	211020184
ao PR brasileiro como "mentiroso". Não somos nós que divulgamos fotos do século passado para	tuites gove
todas as religiões, nós não queremos socialismo, nós queremos distância de ditaduras do mundo todo.	211020184
em paz. Nós amamos as nossas famílias, nós respeitamos as crianças, nós respeitamos todas as	211020184

Source: Antconc (2020).

Figure 4 – We

na justiça, a grande maioria por corrupção. Nós sabemos, que uma vez eleito, Haddad considerará	261020185:
no mundo possuem taxas baixíssimas de desemprego. Nós seguiremos este rumo. Nós criaremos emprego como	251020182:
prisão de menores que estupram e matam. Nós sempre fomos a favor!	101020186:
. Paulista. Mensagem dedicada a todo o Brasil! "Nós somos a maioria. Nós somos o Brasil	211020184:
todo o Brasil! "Nós somos a maioria. Nós somos o Brasil de verdade. Juntos com	211020184:
sinaliza mudar o plano de governo. Já nós somos os mesmos desde o começo. Quem	161020183:
nossa garganta, que simboliza tudo o que nós somos, seja posto pra fora. Brasil acima	211020184:
custo. Isso é possível com independência e nós temos!	111020184:
Brasil diferente, um Brasil novamente para todos nós, um Brasil de união, de pacificação, vamos	271020188:
. -Vamos acabar com o ... no Brasil! "E nós vamos acabar com o "cocô" no Brasil!!!	tuites govern
promoveu mais a violência do que eles. Nós vamos combatê-la duramente e lutar para	181020186:
NÓS VAMOS FAZER DO BRASIL UMA GRANDE NAÇÃO!	251020184:
insistente do que nunca numa batalha contra nós! Vamos vencer e quebrar a engrenagem que	101020184:

Source: Antconc (2020).

PT

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

Figure 5 – PT

sobre o perigoso Plano de Governo do PT.	111020187.1
na vida as consequências da corrupção do PT.	161020187.1
na vida as consequências da corrupção do PT.	171020183.1
e mentiras que estão sendo difundidas pelo PT a meu respeito! Até logo!	241020186.1
e mentiras que estão sendo difundidas pelo PT a meu respeito! Até logo!	241020187.1
O PT agora tenta jogar católicos e evangélicos uns	121020184.1
houve uma grande histeria por parte do PT. Ao que parece a carapuça serviu mais	231020184.1
o sistema falido e corrupto que o PT construiu!	111020186.1
Apoio voluntário é algo que o PT desconhece e não aceita. Sempre fizeram política	181020187.1
por todo país nos últimos anos. O PT e o PCdoB, incluindo suas parlamentares, votaram	101020186.1
eu usasse caixa dois, seria candidato pelo PT, eles privilegiam quem tem envolvimento com o	1810201810.1
combatendo, COM A VERDADE, as mentiras do PT! Eu peço, nessa reta final das eleições,	261020185.1
americano em 1969, Ministro das comunicações do PT favorável ao controle da mídia, que fez	191020184.1
é um país cristão. O candidato do PT, Fernando Haddad, após receber de presente uma	261020185.1
Vamos colocar um fim na roubalheira do PT! Lembrem-se: nosso país não é uma	251020185.1
um antigo militante do PSOL, braço do PT, mas confiamos e escutamos o Brasil! LEMBREM-	271020184.1
Ninguém mentiu mais que o PT nesta eleição. São mestres em enganar. Mudaram	261020183.1
todos os grupos possíveis cresceu na era PT. Ninguém promoveu mais a violência do que	181020186.1
mim um falso ataque contra eleitora do PT no Rio Grande do Sul desmascarado pela	251020183.1
O PT não está sendo prejudicado por fake news,	181020188.1

Source: Antconc (2020).

Figure 6 – PT

U	PT	nao esta sendo	prejudicado por take news,	181020188.1
			em cima de absurdos. Será que o	261020185.1
			PT não sabe fazer outra coisa a não	191020185.1
			Para o	251020181.1
			PT não se trata só de uma eleição,	091020186.1
			, burocracia, corrupção e crise, tudo herança do	271020183.1
			PT. Nós mudaremos esse quadro. Seremos o governo	09102018.tx
			o brasileiro escolherá entre o modelo do	131020183.1
			PT, que afundou nosso país no mar da	tuites govern
			ao meu gabinete, e a demagogia do	08102018.tx
			PT, que sempre disse representar a classe, mas	
			isenção a quem ganha até R\$ 5.000. O	
			PT quer roubar até essa proposta.	
			são exemplos, e todos estão presentes no	
			PT. Repudiamos tudo isso!	
			" que tinha com o governo na era	
			PT. Sinal de que estamos no caminho certo.	
			lá, nunca alguém que fez oposição ao	
			PT, teve uma votação tão expressiva como eu	

Source: Antconc (2020).

Amazônia

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

Figure 7 – Amazônia

Hit	KWIC
1	iblico, tenho profundo amor e respeito pela Amazônia . A proteção da floresta é nosso dever.
2	, às 10h, em reunião com governadores da Amazônia , a verdade sobre o que os outros
3	nos preocuparmos com a rica e cobiçada Amazônia . - Academia Militar das Agulhas Negras. Humild
4	no combate aos focos de incêndio na Amazônia . Aceitamos o envio , por parte de Israel,
5	tom sensacionalista com que se refere à Amazônia (apelando até p/ fotos falsas) não contribui
6	é o da nossa soberania sobre a Amazônia . Assista, comente e COMPARTILHE. Lamento a posi
7	ara 10 31 em 11 26 na 12 26 no 13 25 Amazônia 14 24 Brasil 15 20 nossa 16 20 não 17 20
8	a distância. Um absurdo! Iria desmatar a Amazônia . Cobraría mensalidades de alunos de universidades
9	" dos países do G-7 para "salvar" a Amazônia , como se fôssemos uma colônia ou uma
10	llas Boas, o real interesse internacional pela Amazônia . Dói na alma ver brasileiros não enxergando
11	e para o mundo sobre a nossa Amazônia e a campanha de desinformação fabricada contra
12	e para o mundo sobre a nossa Amazônia e a campanha de desinformação fabricada contra
13	disposição para nos ajudar na proteção da Amazônia e no combate às queimadas, se assim
14	tividades criminosas que coloquem a nossa Amazônia em risco . É preciso lembrar que naquela
15	reunião. Macron afirma que debate sobre a Amazônia está 'em aberto' . Presidente francês reafirma que
16	om Ministros de Estado e Governadores da Amazônia Legal .
17	, oferecemos ajuda a todos os estados da Amazônia Legal . Com relação a aqueles que a
18	a maioria dos países que integram a Amazônia , na garantia de nossa soberania e riquezas
19	n, dispare ataques descabidos e gratuitos à Amazônia , nem que disfarce suas intenções atrás da
20	às riquezas ali existentes. Para proteger a Amazônia não bastam operações de fiscalização, comando e

Source: Antconc (2020).

Figure 8 – Amazônia

20	às riquezas ali existentes. Para proteger a Amazônia não bastam operações de fiscalização, comando e
21	, no combate aos focos de incêndio na Amazônia , partindo de Porto Velho (RO)! via @DefesaGovBr
22	ajudar-nos no combate aos incêndios na Amazônia . - Pelas palavras do General Villas Boas, o
23	-me a todos para tratar da nossa Amazônia que, nas últimas semanas, tem atraído crescente
24	do Presidente da República Tudo sobre a Amazônia : queimada, ONGs, Fundo , soberania, interesses ext
25	aria me acusando, falsamente, de destruir a Amazônia . Soberania da região e suas riquezas é
26	reforçam ações de combate a incêndios na Amazônia . // Via @DefesaGovBr - Confira a ação das aero
27	r fortemente para controlar os incêndios na Amazônia . É preciso, por outro lado, ter serenidade

Source: Antconc (2020).

Brazilian(s)

The lexeme *Brazilian(s)* is included in campaign tweets more often than in government tweets (see Figure 9). In campaign tweets, it is possible to note that *Brazilians (s)* appear mostly as active agents, as people who overflow feelings like pride and indignation at the country's ailments. In other instances, Brazilians are active in their voting process and in deciding what to do with tax money. In government tweets, the lexeme *Brazilian(s)* is more passively characterized as people who are affected by feelings when accompanied by relational processes (HALLIDAY;

MATTHIESSEN; 2004) - which characterize or describe the people (*healthy character, honesty, patriotism, miscegenated, sold off*). In other cases, the word refers to the government, alerting the people to “foreign enemies” and the government's attempt to invest in undeveloped territories, in addition to maintaining a rapprochement with its voters by informing its agenda. The government is responsible for favoring economic freedom, for leveraging positive changes for Brazilian people, who remain passivized.

Figure 9 – Brazilian(s)

Brasil do vermelho e devolvê-lo aos brasileiros!	221020182.1
é necessário reunir Forças. Há muito mais brasileiros com inclinações de caráter sadio, que mentes	tuites govern
o da França, se dirigir ao PR brasileiro como "mentiroso". Não somos nós que divulgamos	tuites govern
Brasil de verdade. Juntos com esse povo brasileiro construiremos uma nova nação. Não têm preço	211020184.1
compromisso que está no coração de todo brasileiro de bem.	171020182.1
e da Constituição! Devolveremos o Brasil aos brasileiros de bem!	271020186.1
faz parte da quadrilha que assaltou os brasileiros e colocou o país na lama. Canalha!	091020185.1
momento tão importante e decisivo onde o brasileiro escolherá entre o modelo do PT, que	091020186.1
Trazemos mais verdades: O brasileiro está esgotado de pagar impostos e não	231020183.1
uma iniciativa de simplificação e agilidade aos brasileiros gerando uma economia anual de cerca de	tuites govern
Emocionante sentir a esperança dos brasileiros! Lamento não estar mais perto por conta	271020184.1
país. Uma grave ofensa contra todos os brasileiros. Lamentável! - Grande medida para combater o de	tuites govern
, honestidade e patriotismo, a marca do povo brasileiro. - Logo mais, às 20 hs, estarei em Barretos/	tuites govern
de tudo que nos faz sentir ser brasileiro. Nossas riquezas são incalculáveis, tanto em maté	tuites govern
internacional pela Amazônia. Dói na alma ver brasileiros não enxergando a campanha fabricada contra a	tuites govern
o meu veto e o dinheiro dos brasileiros não financiará ONGs que promovem esta prática.	121020183.1
Lei! Qualquer forma de diferenciação entre os brasileiros não pode ser admitida. Todo cidadão terá	271020181.1
Lei! Qualquer forma de diferenciação entre os brasileiros não pode ser omitida. Todo cidadão terá	271020187.1
ordens de dentro da cadeia. Transborda no brasileiro o sentimento angustiante de mudança. #PTnão	181020181.1
cadeia, mesmo preso por corrupção. Transborda no brasileiro o sentimento angustiante de mudança.	231020183.1

Source: Antcon (2020).

Government

The campaign tweets feature 10 occurrences of the lexeme government (against 8 occurrences in the tweets from the government period), as shown in Figure 10; in most instances, the word government is used to expose the opponent candidate's campaign in contrast to the proposals made by Bolsonaro's party. The rival party government, in this case PT, is characterized as *dangerous, totalitarian, and contrary to the facilitation of job creation*. The future Bolsonaro government presents itself as a *job creator, intolerant of criminals, and a reformer*. The material process *change* presents a characteristic that stands out for the variation of its semantic prosody: while *change* in the opponent's government plan is treated as something negative and undesirable, in Bolsonaro's government it appears as something positive. The tweets from the government period publicize the work and ideological orientations of Bolsonaro's government, which features, in the *corpora*, the government as an

active agent. The lexeme *government* appears alongside semantically positive words, such as *work*, *advances*, *achievements*. It also criticizes the press for not showing these achievements. Another occurrence is related to the leftists, stating that PT, when governing, was in dialogue with criminal factions. The verbal processes associated with the government are relational, describing it positively: *being right and good (as opposed to evil)*, *having zero tolerance for crime*, *being open to dialogue*.

Figure 10 – Government

podem se considerar fora de qualquer possível governo.	261020181:
estão desesperados! NÃO TERÃO SOSSEGO EM MEU GOVERNO!	261020184:
(15/08/2019). Assista as realizações da semana do Governo Bolsonaro. Link no YouTube: presidente e mais	tuites govern
de Janeiro. Veja mais alguns avanços do Governo Bolsonaro que infelizmente o senhor(a) não	tuites govern
todos. vídeo dele e padre manchete globo Governo Bolsonaro suspende edital com séries LGBT para	tuites govern
nada para a solução do problema. - O Governo brasileiro segue aberto ao diálogo, com base	tuites govern
bolso. É isso que queremos impedir. Um governo corrupto estimula o crime em todas as	091020182:
todos os órgãos do governo. Somos um governo de tolerância zero com a criminalidade. E	tuites govern
mestres em enganar. Mudaram o plano de governo diversas vezes após expormos seu viés totalitário	261020183:
PT. Nós mudaremos esse quadro. Seremos o governo do emprego!	251020181:
tratarmos brevemente sobre o perigoso Plano de Governo do PT.	111020187:
diferente. Basta analisar atitudes, o plano de governo e os países que se inspiram! Nada	191020181:
, totalizando 47 Km. - Repórter: "por que o seu Governo está dando certo, entregando obras?" Vídeo repór	tuites govern
. Vocês não terão mais verba publicitária do governo. Imprensa livre, parabéns. Imprensa vendida, meus	211020184:
, e agora sinaliza mudar o plano de governo. Já nós somos os mesmos desde o	161020183:
do "diálogo cabuloso" que tinha com o governo na era PT. Sinal de que estamos	tuites govern
retendemos realizar uma REFORMA ADMINISTRATIVA no governo, reduzindo e remanejando gastos desnecessários, d	111020184:
sentido que trabalham todos os órgãos do governo. Somos um governo de tolerância zero com	tuites govern

Source: Antconc (2020).

President

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

able to choose, one may have, inciting the action of the Brazilian people to elect him, thus implying that the improvement of the country is on people's hands.

Figure 11 – President

<p>Unidos. Live de quinta-feira com o Presidente (15/08/2019). Assista as realizações da semana do xemplar instituição é de competência exclusiva do Presidente da República Tudo sobre a Amazônia: queimada, semana do Governo Bolsonaro. Link no YouTube: presidente e mais uns 1h17min - Assinei Decreto 9.971 e no respeito mútuo. A sugestão do presidente francês, de que assuntos amazônicos sejam discuti debate sobre a Amazônia está 'em aberto'. Presidente francês reafirma que não assinará acordo comercia conosco nessa operação. - Em conversa com o Presidente Iván Duque, da Colômbia, falamos da necessidade XXI. Live de quinta-feira com o Presidente (22/08/2019). Link no YouTube: live Continuum de R\$6 bilhões. @govbr - Lamento que o presidente Macron busque instrumentalizar uma questão intern riquezas naturais. - Não podemos aceitar que um presidente, Macron, dispare ataques descabidos e gratuitos à , se você estava esperando o Haddad ser presidente pra assinar o decreto de indulto, eu finalmente tem a chance de eleger um presidente que carrega verdadeiramente os valores dos Brasil vez terá a opção de escolher um Presidente que pegue firme contra a bandidagem; Contra . Por fim, o Brasil poderá ter um presidente que seja honesto, patriota e que tenha ! - Tive hoje uma excelente conversa com o Presidente @realDonaldTrump. As relações entre o Brasil e regra para governar. Por isso estão presos presidente, tesoureiros, ministros marketeiros, etc, além de ; apoio às ditaduras venezuelana e cubana; ex-presidente, tesoureiros, ministros, parlamentares, marketeir promover a prosperidade dos nossos povos. - O Presidente Trump também se colocou à disposição para da nossa nação! Vamos votar Jair Bolsonaro presidente 17! Um forte abraço a todos e até</p>	<p>tuites govern tuites govern tuites govern tuites govern tuites govern tuites govern tuites govern tuites govern tuites govern 211020184: 271020188: 151020181: 151020181: tuites govern 161020184: 191020183: tuites govern 271020188:</p>
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Source: Antconc (2020).

Family(ies)

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

to. Here, the meaning of *family* becomes more vague, using an indefinite article as in *the family of an innocent*, or mentioning the family in general.

Figure 12 – Family(ies)

seu viés totalitário. Agora dizem respeitar a família, a democracia e a justiça, mas sabemos	261020183.1
litares, integrantes das forças armadas. Obrigada família brasileira que tanto clama para que seus	08102018.tx
? Esse candidato Fernando Haddad é inimigo da família brasileira. Queriam sim, lá em 2010, implementar o	261020185.1
aumentar imposto pra pobre, acabar com bolsa-família, com licença maternidade, 13° salário e mais um	191020186.1
nenhum refém ferido. Hoje não chora a família de um inocente. - A Caixa Econômica Federal	tuites govern
alunos de universidades; acabaria com o Bolsa Família e décimo terceiro salário. Mataria gays e	261020185.1
m presos, afrontaram a justiça, desrespeitaram as famílias e mergulharam o país na violência e	181020188.1
falar. Assinamos um compromisso em defesa da família, em defesa da inocência da criança na	171020182.1
aumentar imposto pra pobre, acabar com bolsa-família, escolas e o 13° salário, que iria armar	231020186.1
pouco maior. Homens e mulheres do bolsa família, fiquem tranquilos, não pretendemos criar ou aume	08102018.tx
queles que merecem continuarão recebendo o Bolsa Família. Juntos mudaremos o destino dessa nossa nação.	201020182.1
. Nós não pretendemos acabar com o bolsa família. Muito pelo contrário, devemos combater a fraude	08102018.tx
FILHOS esse NOSSO DIA. DEUS ABENÇOE nossas FAMÍLIAS. No vídeo, PAIS desfilam com seus FILHOS	tuites govern
viver em paz. Nós amamos as nossas famílias, nós respeitamos as crianças, nós respeitamos tod	211020184.1
contra os outros. Essa divisão ofende várias famílias que, assim como a minha, são formadas	121020184.1
lá. Olhando nos seus olhos: o Bolsa Família terá o décimo terceiro salário. Esses recursos	201020182.1
garantir a própria alimentação e renda da família. Todo e qualquer país do mundo busca	241020181.1

Source: Antconc (2020).

Povo

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

does not seem to include so many mentions of people because the distancing from Bolsonaro to the people continues to be demonstrated.

Figure 13 – Povo

respeito. Admiramos e respeitamos Israel e seu povo!	101020188.;
o Brasil de verdade. Juntos com esse povo brasileiro construiremos uma nova nação. Não têm	211020184.;
Humildade, honestidade e patriotismo, a marca do povo brasileiro. - Logo mais, às 20 hs, estarei em	tuites govern
é uma grande burrice! É desconhecer o povo brasileiro, que é miscigenado.	161020182.;
. Vai deixar de fazer demagogia junto ao povo brasileiro. Vocês verão as instituições sendo rec	211020184.;
futuro que nós merecemos. Temos o melhor povo do mundo, a melhor terra do planeta,	211020184.;
Brasil é grande graças a seu gigante povo e resgatará a confiabilidade aos olhos do	131020181.;
BRASIL: Um povo esgotado de pagar impostos e não ter	181020181.;
meu respeito. Quem está a favor do povo faz política com a verdade, não trabalha	091020185.;
das maiores democracias do mundo, desejo ao povo francês paz e felicidades! - Concluímos hoje as	tuites govern
querem fornecer tecnologia, de modo que o povo nordestino do semiárido tenha também uma agricult	201020182.;
que realmente atenderá às necessidades do nosso povo. Podem ter certeza. Vocês podem confiar em	211020184.;
de uma região do que seu próprio povo, por isso vamos descentralizar os recursos e	171020181.;
de São Paulo na Argentina, agora o povo saca, em massa, seu dinheiro dos bancos.	tuites govern
tava tudo dominado? Não tava não. Esse povo sempre se levantou, nos momentos mais difíceis	211020184.;
. Porque lugar de bandido que rouba o povo é atrás das grades. Você achava que	211020184.;

Source: Antconc (2020).

Bolsonaro

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

Figure 14 – Bolsonaro

Hit	KWIC	File
1	o peixe e meu pai, Percy Geraldo Bolsonaro, ao lado. Um ótimo domingo a todos! -	tuites govern
2	ões Exteriores, presidida pelo Dep. Eduardo Bolsonaro, aprovou o acordo de salvaguardas tecnológicas p/	tuites govern
3	grafia 474 1 blogspot 475 1 Boas 476 1 bolsonaro 477 1 Boris 478 1 BorrachinhaMMA 479 1 BRAS	wordlist tuit
4	queimadas 58 6 ser 59 5 ambiental 60 5 Bolsonaro 61 5 campanha 62 5 dia 63 5 diálogo 64 5	wordlist tuit
5	is analisando nossos planos em http://www.bolsonaro.com.br	231020182:
6	ssista as realizações da semana do Governo Bolsonaro. Link no YouTube: presidente e mais uns 1	tuites govern
7	rumos da nossa nação! Vamos votar Jair Bolsonaro presidente 17! Um forte abraço a todos e	271020188:
8	iro. Veja mais alguns avanços do Governo Bolsonaro que infelizmente o senhor(a) não verá	tuites govern
9	certo, entregando obras?" Vídeio repórter e bolsonaro - Resumo de nossa ida a Pelotas/RS	tuites govern
10	eo dele e padre manchete globo Governo Bolsonaro suspende edital com séries LGBT para TVs	tuites govern
11	Jair Bolsonaro visita @domoranijoao, Cardeal e Arcebispo do Rio	171020182:
12	A perseguição aos apoiadores de Bolsonaro é algo em escala absurda e ignorada	171020183:

Source: Antconc (2020).

Press

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

Figure 15 – Press

aguardo o mea-culpa de parte da imprensa e adversários que por dias associaram a	251020183:
compromisso SEMPRE foi com a liberdade de imprensa e internet. Hoje está claro como água	191020181:
Defendemos a liberdade de imprensa e internet pois trata-se de livre	201020184:
o senhor(a) não verá na grande imprensa. http://familiaibolsonaro.blogspot.com.br - DA S	tuites govern
. Paulo. Nós ganharemos esta guerra. Queremos a imprensa livre, mas com responsabilidade. A Folha de	211020184:
não terão mais verba publicitária do governo. Imprensa livre, parabéns. Imprensa vendida, meus pêsames.	211020184:
Sabemos da importância da liberdade de imprensa. Quando cobre os fatos, sem ativismo político	111020182:
eles conferi total autonomia. Aos setores da imprensa que me acusam de interferir na PF,	tuites govern
publicitária do governo. Imprensa livre, parabéns. Imprensa vendida, meus pêsames. Somos amantes da liberdad	211020184:

Source: Antconc (2020).

Discussion

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

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

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

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

The lexeme *Amazônia* appears only once in the pre-campaign speech. This may be an indication that, during the campaigns, there was no concern / proposals for forest preservation. The 26 occurrences of Bolsonaro's already elected speech are related to the time of the fires in the Amazon Forest. Their use is collocated with semantically positive words related to preservation. The contradiction is that in the pre-campaign there was no discourse aimed at protecting the Amazon.

Brazilian(s) appears more often in the pre-campaign tweets. This may be evidence of attitudes adopted by the government to charm the people, a characteristic of political discourse: in the pre-campaign tweets, *Brazilian(s)* is featured as active, as the one responsible for changing the direction of Brazil; in the government tweets, it appears as passive, as affected.

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

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

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

Final Remarks

Taking into account the use of social networks as a communication tool between voters and candidates for political office as well as the use of speech as a tool to gather supporters, the article identified social actors in the pre-campaign and government tweets of Jair Messias Bolsonaro, noting that the relationship between social actors in the pre-campaign and in the government fulfills narrative functions of publicizing the enemies of the president and, consequently, of the Brazilian nation via social media. Knowing that social platforms are a cyber space for sharing information that do not require the inclusion of context and truthfulness of facts, the current president of the

republic enhances, together with his supporters and voters, an intense polarization in which different enemies circulate, that is, any segment that disagrees with government policy decisions. It was possible to identify that the social actors in most cases are represented according to the ideological issues of the president, both in a positive and negative perspective, and that the frequency of lexemes in pre-campaign and government tweets is variable, with some carrying an emotional charge with a clear intention to bring voters closer by common goals. In conclusion, Bolsonaro's tweets fulfill an important function of ideological rapprochement between supporters and himself, impacting his popularity in a positive and negative way.

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