



Enunciative responsibility and ideological stance in polarized discourses about same-sex marriage

Responsabilidade enunciativa e posição ideológica em discursos polarizadores sobre o casamento homoafetivo

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Abstract: Never has it been so easy to publicly express opinions, as well as to judge others' opinions and lifestyles as it is nowadays. We are currently experiencing a reality of constant technological innovations where discourses can be disseminated with greater reach and speed, given the variety and good functionality of different media resources, social networks and so many other forms of online interaction. Considering this scenario as conducive to the emergence of polarizing, conflicting discourses expressive of hate speech and, therefore, intolerant of differences, we have investigated how

enunciative responsibility is processed in discourses about same-sex marriage, seeking to understand the textual-discursive strategies that signal the voices management and ideological position taken by the speakers-enunciators. To this end, we have mobilized the phenomena of autonimic modality as an analytical category, specifically exploring the non-coincidences of speech. The corpus consists of 08 comments registered on the G1 news portal on Facebook, about a story on the marriage between two women. Theoretically, we use the postulates of Textual Discourse Analysis (TDA), according to Adam (2011), in dialogue with the studies of Authier-Revuz (1998), Bakhtin (2002, 2011), Volochinov (2017), Rabatel (2016, 2013, 2009) and others. In the analyzed material we perceive the clash of voices, the “I” crossed by the “other,” in contexts of assumption and imputation of points of view, this being signaled by interlocutive non-coincidence, by non-coincidence of the discourse with itself, and also, in contexts where there is the subject’s dialogue with the discourse itself, by non-coincidence between words and things, and non-coincidence of words with themselves.

Keywords: Enunciative responsibility; ideological position; polarizing speeches; same-sex marriage.

Resumo: Nunca foi tão fácil emitir publicamente opiniões, bem como julgar a opinião, a conduta e a vida alheias. Vivenciamos, atualmente, uma realidade de constantes inovações tecnológicas em que é possível a disseminação de discursos com maior alcance e rapidez, dada a variedade e a boa funcionalidade dos diferentes recursos midiáticos, das redes sociais e de tantas outras formas de interação *online*. Considerando esse cenário como propício à emergência de discursos polarizadores, conflitantes, expressivos de ódio e, portanto, intolerantes às diferenças, investigamos como se processa a responsabilidade enunciativa em discursos sobre o casamento homoafetivo, buscando depreender as estratégias textuais-discursivas sinalizadoras do gerenciamento de vozes e da posição ideológica assumida pelos locutores-enunciadores. Para tanto, mobilizamos como categoria analítica os fenômenos de modalização autonímica, explorando especificamente as não-coincidências do dizer. O *corpus* constitui-se de 08 comentários inscritos no Portal de notícias G1, no *Facebook*, acerca de uma notícia sobre o casamento entre duas mulheres. Teoricamente, utilizamos os postulados da Análise Textual dos Discursos (ATD), conforme Adam (2011), em diálogo com os estudos de Authier-Revuz (1998), Bakhtin (2002, 2011), Volochinov (2017), Rabatel (2016, 2013, 2009) e outros. No material analisado, percebemos o embate de vozes, o “eu” atravessado pelo “outro”, em contextos de assunção e de imputação de pontos de vista, sendo isso sinalizado pela não-coincidência interlocutiva, pela não-coincidência do discurso consigo mesmo e, ainda, em contextos em que há o diálogo do sujeito com o próprio discurso, pela não-coincidência entre as palavras e as coisas e a não-coincidência das palavras consigo mesmas.

Palavras-chave: responsabilidade enunciativa; posição ideológica; discursos polarizadores; casamento homoafetivo.

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1 Introduction

“A couple is a man and a woman.” This statement, among many others, was emphatically evoked in comments on the news published by the G1 news portal on Facebook, about the marriage of singer Ludmila and model Brunna Gonçalves. It is, in this context, a way of speaking that dialogically challenges another type of meaning relationship between the word and the thing, i.e., it denies the possibility of the word couple referring to the effective union between two women. A controversy ensues from this saying: after all, what does the lexeme couple mean? Understanding the functioning of this type of discourse in online interactions is the most general purpose of this work. With this intent, we shall dwell on the enunciative dimension of the text, adopting the theoretical postulate that this empirical object, concrete and unique, materializes voices or points of view, according to the interactional context where it is produced and the regulations of a certain discourse genre. Thus, we seek to investigate how enunciative responsibility and the ideological position in polarizing discourses are processed, materialized in the form of comments by Internet users in response to the said news. Following the theoretical-methodological direction proposed by Adam (2011) in the context of Textual Discourse Analysis (TDA), we have mobilized the phenomena of autonimic modality as an analytical category, specifically exploring the non-coincidences of speech as linguistic marks of enunciative responsibility.

Adam (2011) places enunciative responsibility as one of the eight levels or planes of analysis of concrete texts and proposes a list of linguistic categories and marks that allows us to understand the polyphonic unfolding of utterances. Through the examination of various marks (verbal tenses, spatial and temporal deixis, modalizers, types of speech representation, autonimic modality phenomena, among others), it is possible to determine when the first speaker-enunciator assumes for himself the propositional content of a point of view and when he imputes it to a second speaker. Considering that the texts (oral and written) are produced in real situations of social interaction, through a

given genre, aiming to reach certain objectives, we understand that the strategies to signal engagement or enunciative distance in relation to the points of view are varied. Thus, in the case of comments produced in response to the news about same-sex marriage, it seems pertinent to examine the management of voices, the movements of assumption and imputation of viewpoints, and the underlying ideological position, so as to strengthen the ongoing research focused on the phenomenon of enunciative responsibility, within the scope of TDA.

The strong repercussion of the news, signaled by the large number of comments registered on the G1 Portal page on Facebook, justifies our interest in seeking to answer the following questions: What voices are raised in the polarizing speeches about same-sex marriage and how does the dialogue between them take place? Which textual-discursive strategies are mobilized by the speakers-enunciators to point out enunciative responsibility? What are the ideological positions assumed by the speakers-enunciators in these discourses?

In addition to the theoretical basis on TDA, another postulate dear to this work is that each word expressed in a discourse, whether oral or written, is constitutively dialogical, because it happens in social interaction with discourses already produced historically and is always susceptible to obtain an answer, a counter word. And inseparable from this postulate lies the ideological character of the statements, since, anchored in Volochínov (2017), we consider that the word is imbued with an ideological value, therefore it marks an axiological position, after all it comes from subjects who are intertwined in a world full of ideological forces that materialize in different ways, in and through language.

With this theoretical understanding, we start from the assumption that, in the current context, given the variety of online interactions provided by the advancement of digital technologies, social networks, for example, are environments in which very easily, and with enormous speed, one can share all kinds of content, from the most trivial to the most specialized. Not without surprise, we see that pages, communities, groups and profiles are spaces or supports full of ideological positions on various themes, and in them we can observe the constant spread of polarizing hate speech, which seem to have gained strength in recent years and are also seen everyday in several other media manifestations, e.g., on TV, in magazines and blogs.

Different media, especially social networks, have become an arena for the dissemination of ideas and attacks, often motivated by the supposed guarantee of physical distance and anonymity that they themselves provide. However, there are several instances in which hate speech is explicit, so that it is possible to identify the group or individual who practiced verbal aggression. In several journalistic reports in the world of football, for example, many are the instances of black players being victims of racial prejudice while participating in a football match. They are ideological representations marked by discourses that cross time and remain intertwined in the thinking of a society that has not yet overcome prejudice.

In addition to the discourses that reproduce racial prejudice, among many others, those who perpetrate sexuality-related prejudice are also facilitated by the new contexts of online interaction. In fact, this type of prejudice has increased in proportion and is carried out through verbal and physical violence. Everyday the media report cases of people who are victims of prejudice due to sexual orientation, and even homicide cases have already occurred.

Such discourses, often mediated by religious principles, have taken their toll in the lives of many people, who, despite being openly gay, continue to be targets of intolerant comments. By taking into account the dimension of this problem, we have here selected some comments that make up the discussion around same-sex marriage for analysis. We know that questions about sexual orientation are still a big taboo for society, after all many people have not yet managed to overcome prejudice discourses rooted in the social environment.

Considering this context of polarizing discourses, for and against same-sex relationships, we propose, in line with the issues raised previously, to meet the following specific objectives in the analysis of the *corpus*: i) to identify the voices that anchor polarizing discourses about same-sex marriage; ii) describe the non-coincidences of speech, as a means to understand the textual-discursive strategies that signal the management of voices and (non)assumption for the expressed propositional content; iii) to interpret the ideological positions of speakers-enunciators about same-sex marriage.

Along these lines, this work raises a debate on a current theme of social, political and academic relevance. It is unquestionably necessary to take prejudiced, radical, intolerant discourses as an object of analysis

and reflect on their dissemination through various media devices, such as newspapers, news programs, magazines, TV shows, social networks, forums, blogs and other forms of online interaction. In addition, our work highlights how ideological positions interfere and continue to interfere with people's lives, contributing to the construction of positive or negative images of those who engage in a same-sex relationship.

Another relevant aspect of this work is the possibility of establishing a dialogue between the studies of text, discourse and enunciative approaches, since the central focus of the analysis falls on the phenomena of autonimic modality as a category for the study of enunciative responsibility and on the notions of dialogism and ideology. In this direction, to support the analysis, we follow the theoretical reflections of Adam (2011), Bakhtin (2002, 2011), Volochinov (2017), Miotello (2010), Authier-Revuz (1998), Rabatel (2016, 2015, 2013, 2009) and other authors.

As for the organization of the text plan, in addition to this introductory section, we bring a section of a methodological nature, with information on the nature of the research, the *corpus* and the presentation of data analysis procedures; next, we present three theoretical sections, the first a brief summary of language, ideology and dialogism, the second about DTA, and the third about the enunciative responsibility phenomenon; next we have data analysis, final considerations and references.

2 Methodological procedures

The present work is the result of a research of a descriptive and interpretative character, with a view to understanding how enunciative responsibility is processed, focusing on the management of voices through the analysis of the phenomena of autonimic modality, also seeking to know the ideological position taken by the speakers-enunciators in discourses about same-sex marriage.

As for the nature of the research, we adopted the qualitative approach, as our concern is to seek to understand the phenomenon studied from a textual-discursive analysis, interpreting the ways the subjects produce meanings in their language practices in online interactions. According to Guerra (2014, p. 76),

In the qualitative approach, the scientists aim to deepen the understanding of the phenomena they study – actions of individuals, groups or organizations in their environment or social context –, interpreting them according to the perspective of the very subjects who participate in the situation [...].

The type of research that supports us is documentary, since we analyze and interpret comments posted in a news item published on the G1 Portal on Facebook; these are texts that have not yet been analyzed under the perspective proposed here. As stated by Severino (2007, p. 123), in documentary research, “[...] the contents of the texts have not yet had any analytical treatment, they are still raw material, from which the researchers will develop their investigation and analysis.”

For interpreting the data we adopted the mixed analysis process, which, according to Moraes (2003), combines the deductive and inductive methods. Thus, in the deductive method we start from the general to the particular, i.e., we start from categories defined *a priori* from the previously chosen theory to identify how they are manifested in the material under analysis. In induction, on the other hand, we start from the *corpus* and the verified data, inferring “truths” from them, considering that the texts/discourses are taken in this work as singular communicative events, therefore unpredictable as to the production of meanings. Thus, induction can allow the researcher, for example, to define “emerging categories” from the analyzed material.

For the constitution of the *corpus*, we have selected comments from Facebook users, published in reaction to the content of news posted by the G1 News Portal. The news, therefore, is freely accessible¹ and reports the same-sex civil marriage between two famous women in Brazil, the singer Ludmila and the model Brunna Gonçalves, held on December 16, 2019. The news story had great repercussion in the media for referring to a same-sex marriage, still taboo for many, and because they are two famous, nationally known people. More precisely, we selected eight comments, four of which were from Internet users who presented a supportive and defensive position in relation to the marriage and four who were positioned negatively and against it.

¹ News item available at <https://g1.globo.com/pop-arte/noticia/2019/12/17/ludmilla-se-casa-com-brunna-goncalves-com-festa-surpresa.ghtml>. Accessed on: Dec 28, 2019.

On the news of the marriage, G1 reproduces the words of the singer's mother, who published pictures of the wedding on her social networks with the following statement: "May God bless your life, may this union overcome any barriers and prejudice, may your love be resistance. Together we are stronger I love your love." Such words were the subject of many comments by Facebook users, taking a positive and negative stance about Ludmila and Brunna's marriage and the mother's words.

With regard to data analysis procedures, we established the following steps: (i) reading the *corpus* to select the comments of internet users according to the reaction expressed in relation to the news, positive or negative; (ii) identification of the voices or points of view evidenced in the comments; (iii) description of the linguistic marks that signal the phenomena of autonimic modality, focusing on the four types of non-coincidences of speaking, through which we stop to analyze the management of voices, observing who is the enunciative source of these voices, that is, which speakers-enunciators take responsibility for the propositional content expressed in the comments; and (iv) textual-discursive analysis of comments and interpretation of the ideological position taken by Internet users.

In line with the theoretical postulates that anchor this work, our analysis rests on enunciative responsibility, since we look at the category named by Adam (2011, p. 120) as "phenomena of autonimic modality," examining the linguistic marks shown in the body of the text, the non-coincidences of speaking, as means to understand how the speakers-enunciators in question signal the play of voices, and, therefore, the engagement or distance in relation to the content given about same-sex marriage. In a more comprehensive way, the analysis rests on enunciative heterogeneity, constitutive to all discourse, along the lines as Adam (2011) guides, when directing us to the works of Authier-Revuz (1984, 1994, 1995).

In the data analysis section, which comes right after our theoretical synthesis, the comments are reproduced from screen captures and arranged inside a text box. To resume the statements that make up the comments, we have concealed the real name of the Internet users and use only the initial letters of the first and last name, so as to make it impossible to identify them. The comments were listed sequentially and coded as C-01, C-02... through C-08.

3 Language, ideology and dialogism

Considering the purpose of this work to identify the voices that constitute the polarizing discourse on same-sex marriage and the ideological stance taken in these discourses, we situate, in shorter words, the language view that supports our analysis.

Supported by the understanding of Volochínov (2017, p. 98), we consider that language is the clearest and most complex place for the materialization of the ideological phenomenon, “the word is the ideological phenomenon par excellence.” Therefore, it is through the word, as a sign, that social groups characterize the meanings of their interests, so that “in societies that present social class contradictions, ideologies respond to diverse and contrasting interests [...] (MIOTELLO, 2010, p. 171). So, ideological behaviors are interwoven with language, and social subjects use it as a vehicle to highlight different values and stances.

Understanding language, in this perspective, requires understanding the nature of the sign as being essentially ideological. Here, the notion of ideology is taken as a construction of social order, it is always linked to reality, and it is not something stuck in itself. And as a way of reinforcing this positioning, we bring again the words of Volochínov (2017, p. 94), when he states that: “any ideological sign is not only a reflection, a shadow of reality, but also a material part of that reality. Any ideological sign phenomenon is given in some material [...].” In this way, the subjects’ ideological stances reflect and refract a reality in the external world.

Signs are always reflecting and refracting the dynamics of social reality, the ideological positions of different social classes. For Seidel and Silva (2017, p. 8),

Every sign also refracts both the reality it designates and the being that uses it due to the intersection of social interests oriented in different ways. This phenomenon of class struggle, which leads to the refraction of opinions, evaluations and points of view, is what makes the sign alive and mobile, since it is sensitive to social clashes, which constantly change throughout history.

In addition to adopting this understanding that the word is the material par excellence of the manifestation of ideologies, we also consider the principle that every discourse is constitutively dialogical.

We return to this principle only briefly, considering that this dialogical conception of language and utterances is already at the basis of many of the concepts and postulates of TDA, as is the case of the notion of enunciative responsibility, to be dealt with later.

For what interests us most directly in our work, we return to the following passages from the Bakhtinian writings and the Circle, as shown by Bernardino (2015, p. 53):

A concrete enunciation (and not a linguistic abstraction) is born, lives and dies in the process of social interaction and the enunciation participants. (VOLOCHÍNOV/ BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 165).

Every statement is a link in the chain of discursive communication. It is the speaker's active position in this or that field of object and meaning. (BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 289).

Every word serves as an expression of one in relation to the other. Through words, I define myself in relation to the other, that is, ultimately, in relation to the collectivity. (BAKHTIN/ VOLOCHÍNOV, 2006, p. 117).

For every concrete discourse (enunciation) finds that object to which it is always directed, so to speak, already discredited, contested, evaluated, surrounded by its dark fog or, on the contrary, illuminated by the discourses of others who have already spoken about it. The object is tied up and penetrated by general ideas, viewpoints, appreciation of others, and intonations. Oriented towards its object, the discourse penetrates this dialogically disturbed and tense environment of someone else's discourses, judgments and intonations [...]. (BAKHTIN, 2002, p. 86).

We observe, in the first quoted passage, the principle of social interaction that accompanies the entire work of the Circle and influences modern currents of Linguistics after the 1960s, including Textual Linguistics, as well as TDA itself. In the other quotes, the concept of dialogism is thought inseparably from that of interaction and is placed at the base of the production process of discourses, senses and language in a broader way (SOBRAL, 2009).

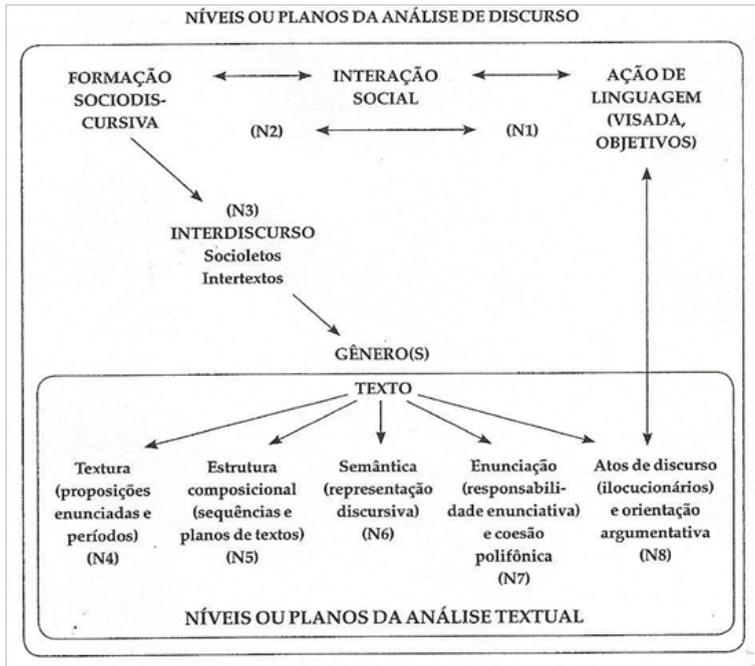
Understanding this ideological and interactional/dialogical perspective of language is understanding that utterances are related to social reality, establish a link with many other utterances and are always directed to a given historically situated interlocutor. This interlocutor, in turn, is always able to interpret, respond and take a position actively, manifesting a “social evaluation” or “the judgment of the situation that directly interferes with the organization of the utterance and that, precisely for that reason, leaves in the enunciated product the marks of the enunciation process” (BRAIT, 2005, p. 93).

4 Textual Discourse Analysis

As we have already indicated, we have chosen Discourse Textual Analysis (DTA) as the main theoretical basis in this work, outlined by Jean-Michel Adam as a new approach to Textual Linguistics, which is due to his vast experience as a researcher in the field of linguistic studies of text and discourse. In his work “Textual Linguistics: introduction to Textual Discourse Analysis,” Adam (2011) proposes a set of new categories for us to think about text and discourse in an articulated way, in a type of analysis that also takes into account the relationship with genres.

In this perspective, Adam (2011) comes close to the theoretical assumptions advocated by Maingueneau (1995), thus proposing a separation and at the same time a complementarity for the tasks of Textual Linguistics and Discourse Analysis. This new approach to the text object places Textual Linguistics as a subdomain of the analysis of discursive practices. Figure 1 shows more clearly how the relationship between the objects of these two fields of investigation takes place.

FIGURE 1 – Levels and planes of discourse analysis and textual analysis



Source: Adam (2011, p. 61.)

The upper part of the scheme shows the levels referring to the discourse, according to the understanding that every act of language presents a targeted action or objective, that is, a purpose to be achieved in a given situation of social interaction or context, in which the interlocutors, in their discourses, are regulated by the sociodiscursive formation and by the language or sociolects, and establish a relationship with other sayings, which means being permeated by interdiscourse and intertexts.

At the base of the scheme we have elements focused on the text, which concern the texture (enunciated propositions and periods), the compositional structure (text sequences and planes), the semantic dimension (discursive representation), the enunciative dimension (enunciative responsibility and polyphonic cohesion) and, finally, discourse acts (illocutionary and argumentative orientation).

Considering the two levels or planes, scheme 4 allows the understanding that discourses are materialized through concrete texts

(oral and written) and genre is the mediating element of this relationship, since it acts as a regulator of discourse actions over the text.

In the theoretical reflections of Adam (2011), the enunciated-proposition is a relevant notion for textual analysis, presenting itself as the minimum textual unit of analysis, and this marks a theoretical-methodological position that moves away from the notion of a sentence along the lines of the grammatical tradition. Thus, for the segmentation of texts and the parts that constitute them (text planes, sequences, periods, for example), the enunciated proposition acts as a syntactic-semantic micro-unit and differs from the sentence because it is produced in real communicative interactions, therefore it is an element of concrete utterances/discourse genres. In the words of the author, “when choosing to speak of *enunciated-proposition* we do not define a unit as virtual as the proposition of logicians or grammarians, but a basic textual unit, effectively realized and produced by an act of enunciation, therefore, as a minimum statement” (ADAM, 2011, p. 106).

To summarize what Adam (2011) says about this notion that is so dear to textual analysis, we reproduce the table designed by Bernardino (2015), to then proceed to deal with the three dimensions that characterize it.

TABLE 1 – Defining features of the proposition-statement as a minimum textual unit

The enunciated-proposition	It is a minimal textual unit;
	It is the product of an act of enunciation, since it is given by an enunciator and supposes a co-enunciator;
	It is, at the same time, a syntactic micro-unit and a sense micro-unit;
	Like the classical proposition, it links an object of discourse to what is said about it by means of a verbal or nominal predicate, or even a monorheme;
	It is linked to one or more other elementary statements; it summons one or more other statements in response to them or as a simple continuation;
	It presents three complementary dimensions: an enunciative dimension, an argumentative potential, and an illocutionary value;
	It is subject to a condition of truth (true or false/untrue) and fictionality (neither true nor false).

Source: Bernardino (2015, p. 48)

highlighting one of its forms of manifestation, in this case, the phenomena of autonimic modality.

5 Point of view, enunciative responsibility, and the phenomena of autonimic modality

Speaker and enunciator are the enunciative instances of the point of view. In this way, we understand the speaker as the “instance of phonic or graphic production of the statement” (RABATEL, 2015, p. 126). That is, the person responsible for producing the statement and bringing into their text the views of second enunciators, “[...] according to a deictic position or an independent position of the *ego, hic et nunc*” (RABATEL, 2016, p. 82). The enunciator, on the other hand, is the “[...] instance of taking responsibility for the content of the propositions, the source of deictic and modal updates” (RABATEL, 2015, p. 126). In other words, it is the source at the origin of the point of view, therefore, this instance takes the enunciative responsibility.

Thus, every speaker can be an enunciator, because the speaker can echo several sources; however, not every enunciator is a speaker, since the enunciator is not necessarily the instance in the factual, phonic and structural dimensions. As a way of exemplifying these instances of the point of view (PoV²), we bring, below, an excerpt from an essay³ produced in the context of the National High School Exam (ENEM).

- (1) **[PoV 01]** Brás Cubas, Machado de Assis’ deceased-author, says in his “Posthumous Memoirs” that he had no children and hasn’t transmitted the legacy of our misery to any creature. **[PoV 02]** Perhaps today he would perceive his decision as correct: the attitude of many Brazilians

² Rabatel (2013) uses the abbreviation of point of view with capital letters (POV), whereas Adam (2011) uses PoV. In our research, we used the abbreviation proposed by Adam, but without distancing ourselves from Rabatel’s postulations.

³ The excerpt of the essay presented is part of the *corpus* of the Work Plan developed by Daliane Nascimento, in the project *Gerenciamento de vozes, responsabilidade enunciativa e construção do ponto de vista do autor em redações do ENEM*, linked to the Institutional Scientific Initiation Scholarship Program (PIBIC - 2017/2018), under the coordination of professor Rosângela Bernardino.

towards religious intolerance is one of the most perverse faces of a developing society.⁴

In the excerpt, we call the speaker-enunciator first (hereinafter S1/E1), according to Rabatel (2016), the instance that delivers the PoV and takes its propositional content or imputes it to a second enunciator (e2). In this case, we have an S1/E1 that refers to the PoV of e2, the deceased author Brás Cubas, a character from the book *Memórias Póstumas de Brás Cubas* by author Machado de Assis. Then, S1/E1 presents his own point of view (the highlighted PoV 02) based on the point of view of e2.

Thus, we understand the PoV as the propositional content referred to an e2 or taken by S1/E1. According to Rabatel (2013, p. 33), the definition of PoV is syntactic and enunciative, because “[...] a point of view is the *modus ~ dictum* combination, and, in the enunciative plane, it refers to an enunciator who is not a speaker [...].” That is, the PoV is present both in the *modus*, in the stance-taking of S1/E1, and in the *dictum*, in the propositional content.

Rabatel (2016) also discusses the implicit PoV, that is, the enunciator’s PoV emerges in the voice of a speaker-enunciator, without the latter using the forms of structured and identifiable discourses. The theorist states that every statement denotes a PoV, even if in the absence of an “I.” Therefore, any PoV always denotes an instance that takes the enunciative responsibility for the propositional content, either directly by S1/E1 or indirectly by e2.

In this way, the enunciative responsibility, as proposed by Adam (2011), concerns the phenomenon that covers the voices in a text, linking, therefore, to the principle that the points of view can be taken by the speaker-enunciator first or imputed to second enunciators. In other words, the taking is marked by textual marks that point, in the string of the saying, the responsibility of the speaker-enunciator first for what was said. The statements can also, according to Adam (2011), not be taken by the speaker-enunciator, it is the context in which there is a textual zone under the dependence of a second source.

According to the theoretical reflections of Rabatel (2009), in an article published in the magazine *Langue Française* – issue 162,

⁴ Available at <http://g1.globo.com/educacao/noticia/leia-redacoes-nota-mil-do-enem-2016.ghtml>. Accessed on: Jul 22, 2017.

dedicated entirely to discussing *la notion de "prise en charge" en linguistique* –, there are varieties of *prise en charge (PEC)*, depending on the instances. Thus, this author distinguishes, on the one hand, the enunciative responsibility (or accountability), when S1/E1 takes on the propositional contents from the point of view that he judges to be true, and, on the other hand, the imputation, which consists of attributing the propositional contents to a second enunciator (e2). The author also defends the hypothesis of a quasi-accountability, for cases of imputation of the point of view of an e2, with a favorable stance of S1/E1. In that sense, engagement occurs based on the agreement in relation to the imputed point of view. According to the author's words, "it is this almost PEC, attributed to e2, which then allows S1/E1 to take a stance in relation to the enunciative position of e2."⁵ (RABATEL, 2009, p. 73). According to this understanding, second enunciators are also involved with enunciative responsibility (ER), via imputation.

In his presentation of the general problem of the point of view, Rabatel (2016, p. 94) reiterates postulates introduced in that article and highlights that:

The non-ER is not the counterpart of ER, because it is the imputation that plays this role. It is within the pragmatic exploration of the imputations that S1/E1 specifies if he disagrees with the imputed POV, if he explicitly considers it, without taking sides (what we call "neutrality," or zero ER), or if he agrees with the POV.

In the context of imputation, it appears, therefore, that it is possible to speak of movements of agreement, disagreement and neutrality. Therefore, at the pragmatic level of imputation, S1/E1 can present a position of **agreement**, that is, he takes sides and shares the PoV of e2 – in the case of agreement, Rabatel (2009) speaks of a shared responsibility, being the same as co-enunciation, according to the theoretical reflection made in Rabatel (2016); or a position of **disagreement**, when he shows he does not share the PoV assigned to e2; or he can manifest a certain **neutrality** in the face of the PoV imputed to e2, without taking explicit sides regarding the content given.

⁵ *C'est cette quasi PEC, imputée à e2, qui permet ensuite à LI/E1 de se positionner par rapport à la position énonciative de e2* (RABATEL, 2009, p. 73).

According to Adam (2011), the degree of enunciative responsibility of a stated proposition is likely to be marked by various units of the language and, in this sense, he enumerates eight categories capable of signaling the (non)taking of enunciative responsibility, namely: indexes of people, spatial and temporal deictics, verbal tenses, modalities, different types of speech representation, indications of mediating frames, phenomena of autonimic modality, indications of a support for reported perceptions and thoughts (ADAM, 2011). For methodological reasons, here we deal specifically with the phenomena of autonimic modality, a category delimited to fulfill the objective proposed in this work.

Adam (2011), when presenting the category of autonimic modalization phenomena, specifies the basis in Authier-Revuz studies (1984, 1994, 1995). In the words of Adam (2011, p. 120), autonimic modality is “every metaenunciative statement that, in a reflexive look at what is said about saying, manifests the non-transparency and non-evidence of the words [...]” Thus, it is in the autonimic modality that the non-coincidences of saying are inserted, because, as stated by Cavalcante and Brito (2017), to paraphrase Lacan (1999), it is in the second intention of the discourse as discourse, of the discourse that questions things in relation to oneself, that a sudden cut in the linear order of discourse appears to insert a non-coincidence, that is, a need for expression, naming, a search for the appropriate word.

Authier-Revuz (1998) proposes four types of non-coincidence of saying, which we list in a summarized way, as follows.

- i) **Interlocutive non-coincidence** is supported, according to Authier-Revuz (1998, p. 22), “[...] in a post-Freudian conception of the subject, not coincident with oneself due to the fact of the unconscious, as fundamental and irreducible between two ‘non-symmetrical’ subjects, referring to [...] ‘communication’ conceived as the production of ‘one’ among the enunciators.” The enunciators use strategies that portray that a certain word, expression, meaning was not entirely or absolutely shared between the enunciators. For example: *say X; X, allow me to say; X, if you know what I mean*. There is an attempt by the enunciator to restore a co-enunciation link that seems threatened. Or you can even mark that the words are not yours: *X, as you do not say; X, I know you don't like those words*, etc. (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1998).

- ii) **Non-coincidence of the discourse with itself** is seen as constitutive, “[...] in reference to the Bakhtinian dialogism – considering that it is every word that, because it is produced in the ‘middle’ of the already-said of other discourses, is enabled by the other discourse – and to the theorization of interdiscourse [...]” (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1998, p. 22). These are glosses that point out that in any discourse there is the presence of another’s discourse. For example: *According to X; As stated by X; In the sense used by X*, etc.
- iii) **Non-coincidence between words and things** is manifested through glosses in which the enunciator seeks the appropriate word, that is, he seeks to better direct the meaning of the discourse itself. In language, “[...] it inscribes an inevitable ‘game’ in the naming, and, on the other hand, in Lacanian terms, of the real as radically heterogeneous to the symbolic order, that is, of the lack (constitutive of the subject as flawed) of ‘capture of the object by the letter’, which leads to the ‘loss’ inherent in language [...]” (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1998, p. 23). Thus, in this search for the “right” word, the enunciator produces statements like: *X, better said; X is the exact, just word that is appropriate; X proper*, etc.
- iv) Finally, **non-coincidence of words with themselves** is manifested through glosses in which there is a mistake in saying in relation to the meaning of the words. The enunciators construct statements as: *X, in the sense of p; X, not in the sense of q, I failed by saying X; X, also in the sense of q, in every sense of the word*, etc. (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1998).

That said, we observe that the non-coincidences of saying come in contexts where the enunciators reflect on the discourse itself, attesting to the metaenunciative and constitutively dialogical character of language. As Cavalcante and Brito (2017) state, from the non-coincidences of saying, we perceive marks produced by a subject who thinks he owns what he says and these marks appear as a seam in the thread of saying, in its linguistic surface, just as we turn to demonstrate in the data under analysis.

6 Non-coincidences of saying and ideological stance in polarizing discourses about same-sex marriage

As if they were staged in a kind of “warlike” context, the discourses that bring up themes of collective interest (the so-called controversial themes) take opposite fronts, each side with its “armament” potential, and obtain, as a result, argumentative force. This is the case with discourses about same-sex marriage that we have selected for analysis in this section. The textual-discursive strategies and the linguistic resources mobilized are the “weapons” used by the speakers/enunciators to take a point of view and mark an ideological stance.

As exposed in the methodological section, we analyzed comments published by Facebook users in a news item published by the G1 News Portal about the surprise civil wedding between singer Ludmila and model Brunna Gonçalves. Below, we present a print of the news posted:



Image source: G1 news portal on Facebook.

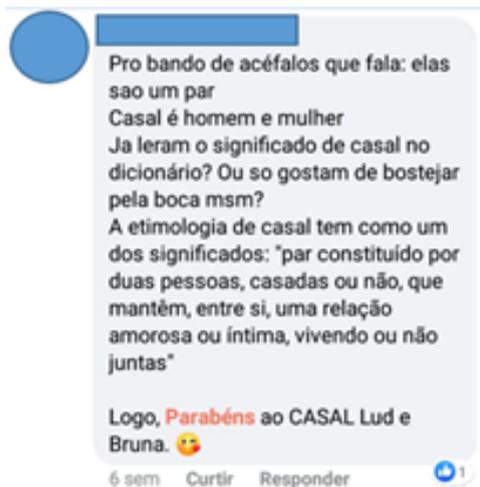
A first observation is that the news had a lot of repercussions, generating more than 10,000 reactions and over 5,000 comments. The second, and most relevant observation for the purpose of this work, concerns the nature of the comments. A careful reading showed that

the comments on the news content are, in large part, homophobic and prejudiced stances in relation to the marriage of Ludmila and Brunna, as well as against the words of the singer's mother, reproduced through direct speech in the news text.

Next, we direct our attention precisely to the nature of the comments, highlighting their possible effects of meaning. For this, we first have mobilized the category of enunciative responsibility named by Adam (2011) as phenomena of autonimic modality, focusing on their corresponding linguistic marks, which are the four types of non-coincidences of saying: 1) interlocutive non-coincidence; 2) non-coincidence of the discourse with itself; 3) non-coincidence between words and things; and 4) non-coincidence of words with themselves. From the analysis of these linguistic marks, we then highlight the play of voices and the ideological stance that are evident in the comments. With that, it becomes evident the social place or sociodiscursive formation from which the speakers-enunciators make their discourses.

In the first example, which we reproduce below (C-01), we notice the clash in the “negotiation” of meanings with the other, marked mainly by interlocutive non-coincidence.

C-01



Negotiating the meanings supposes summoning the other to whom the saying is directed, which is exactly what happens in the

interlocutive non-coincidence between two co-enunciators, since the saying manifests returns in which the *you* is explicitly summoned. It means, then, that words and meanings are not completely shared (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1998). Given the effort to obtain adherence to the content of what is said, in this type of non-coincidence there can be a minimum of empathy, signaled by the adjustment of the way of saying and the meaning to the other (*As you like to say; If you know what I mean*, etc.). Also, it is when S1/E1 asks for permission or appeals to his interlocutor's goodwill (*Allow me to say*).

In another direction, as shown by the data under analysis, the way of saying and the meaning can be completely distanced, indicating that S1/E1 places his interlocutor in a clashing position, imposing on them ONE understanding of the word(s). In this case, irony, cursing and debauchery may appear as evidence of interlocutive non-coincidence. As we observed in C-01, the conflict lies in the distancing as to the meaning of the lexemes "pair" and "couple." We noticed that S1/E1 constructs his comment in a critical response to enunciators (a "bunch of brainless people") who defend the point of view that two same-sex people who have a romantic relationship are not a couple, but a pair. In his reply, S1/E1 presents the following PoV: "A couple is a man and a woman have you looked up the meaning of couple in the dictionary? Or do you just like to talk nonsense?" Therefore, there is no transparency between the meanings of the word "couple" for the interlocutors. Strategically, S1/E1 uses a more authorized place of speech (dictionary, etymology) and, thus, supports the disagreement in relation to the words of others taken up in their own speech (the PoV of the brainless).

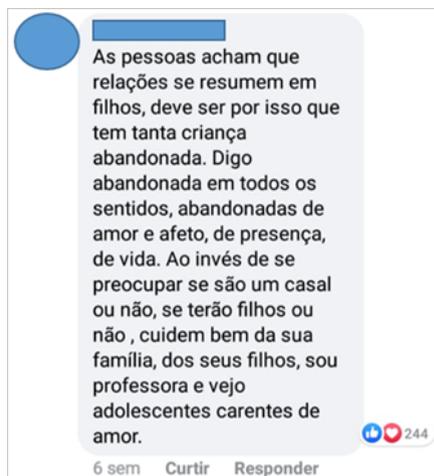
In order to express the disagreement with the Internet users' discourse reconsidered in the comment, S1/E1 resorts to etymology about what constitutes a couple. In the excerpt where this is evident, the colon and the use of quotation marks typographically signal the direct discourse, indicating that S1/E1 is not the enunciative source of this PoV, although he engages with it. The conclusion reached by S1/E1 after this consideration of others' discourse, in "Therefore, congratulations to the couple Lud and Brunna [...]," clearly shows his adherence to the content given, as it is about a position of agreement with the PoV of others (RABATEL, 2009) or a co-enunciation posture (RABATEL, 2016).

We also observed, in this excerpt, the non-coincidence between words and things, precisely when S1/E1 reaffirms that two women are,

In C-02, using the verb in the first person, signaling a perceptual focus (see), S1/E1 assumes her saying, i.e., her PoV, in the interaction with other dissonant sayings, whose enunciators were not explicit in the text (in a generalizing way, she says they are “a bunch of straight people that are unloved, envious and repressed”). In the materialization of her speech, several appreciative expressions are presented, with a negative tone, about the second enunciators evoked, representing those who are against same-sex marriage. Standing up for the couple reported in the news, Internet user JO levels criticism at straight people, stating that they seem to be unloved, would be envious of the couple and, therefore, make statements marked by prejudice. In this sense, the S1/E1 discourse fits heterosexual couples into a situation of amorous frustration as compared to gay couples.

Knowing that every saying is inhabited by the speech of the other, i.e. it has a dialogical nature (BAKHTIN, 2011), we observe that C-02 shows non-coincidence of the discourse with itself, in the passage in which S1/E1 reproduces in capital letters the verse of a song by Lulu Santos, which brings the following ideological position: “we consider fair, every form of love.” Thus, we see that S1/E1 appropriates somebody else’s discourse, and therefore co-enunciates, to join in the support of the couple, making the mentioned discourse legitimize the point of view taken in the comment.

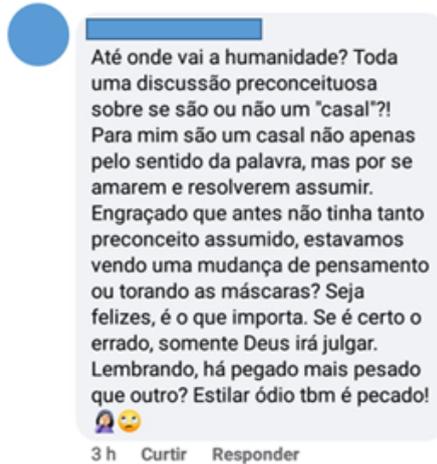
C-03



In C-03, S1/E1, Internet user AP, presents a PoV founded in a direction contrary to common sense, to what “People think.” This PoV is based on evidential sources, stating that people think that the relationship is summarized in children and that must be why there are so many abandoned children. After this PoV, the internet user returns to the adjective “abandoned,” mentioned earlier in her discourse, and builds the following PoV: “I mean abandoned in every sense.” We observe, in this case, a reflexive launch in which the statement, more precisely, the adjective “abandoned” becomes the object of the statement itself. It is the non-coincidence of the words with themselves, characterized by the type of *responses of fixation of a sense – X, in the sense of p* (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 1998). In the passage under analysis, there is a gloss that points to an integration of meaning to the word “abandoned,” as stated by S1/E1: “[...] abandoned by love, affection, presence, life.” For S1/E1, the word “abandoned,” in this context, does not refer only to, for example, children who are left, donated by their parents, but refers to abandonment in a broader sense: love, affection, presence and life.

The Internet user, as we can see, expresses her ideology discursively by taking a stand against previous comments by enunciators who criticized the fact that, through marriage between two women, the generation of a child is not possible, and she writes: “Instead of worrying about whether they are a couple or not, whether they will have children or not, take good care of your family, your children, I am a teacher and I see teenagers in need of love.” In other words, for this speaker-enunciator, people must be concerned with the love to be offered to their children and not only with generating them, because the relationship is not limited to this. There we see an attempt to link the same-sex couple to a possibility of redefining the way of taking care of children and, also, of the way of loving them.

C-04



In this comment, S1/E1 starts by asking “How far is humanity going? A full prejudiced discussion about whether or not they are a ‘couple’?!,” and then he takes a stand: “For me, they are a couple not only because of the word, but because they love each other and decided to make their relationship public.” In this excerpt from internet user RT’s PoV, we perceive non-coincidence of the words with themselves, because it proposes that the meaning be extended in the non-one (*X*, also in the sense of *q*, in the sense of *p* in the sense of *q* [...]), according to Authier-Revuz (1998). Thus, in C-04, the term couple is proposed not in the sense of two people forming a pair, but in the sense of loving and accepting the feeling.

The comment under analysis allows us to affirm that the Internet user is against the “prejudiced discussion” as she points out: “Funny that there used not to be so much prejudice, were we seeing a change in thinking or taking off the masks? Be happy, that’s what matters. If wrong is right, only God will judge. Remember, is there a sin worse than others? To exude hatred is also a sin!” It can be seen that S1/E1 says that the open prejudice is gaining recurrence nowadays, referring to 2019, the year of publication of the news.

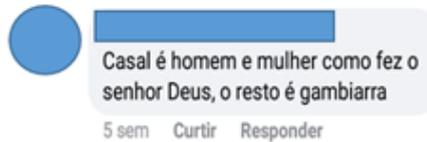
In this context of online interaction, other comments highlight the occurrence and adoption of a prejudiced discourse currently in Brazil. In addition, there are comments in which Internet users emphasize that

such hate speeches result from the encouragement of a government represented by a “homophobic president,” as homophobic statements and encouragement of violence by the then president, Jair Bolsonaro, are publicly seen.

In C-04, different voices echo, the enunciator explicitly brings up the discourse of users/followers of the G1 Portal page who also commented on the news and supported the biblical discourse. As he recalls what the scriptures say, i.e., that there is no sin worse than another, S1/E1 admits the possibility of homosexuality being a sin (“if wrong is right”), however, if it is wrong, only God would have the right to judge it as such. In this direction, all people who have prejudiced views and exude hatred would be disallowed to enter into the merit of judging whether the two women form a couple or not.

Considering the social, historical, political and cultural circumstances in which these statements are made, the resistance to prejudice regarding people’s sexual orientation is what clearly comes up in the comments from C-01 to C-04. However, this resistance faces the content of the statements that follow, which are representative of the evaluative tone of the more than 5,000 comments on the news.

C-05



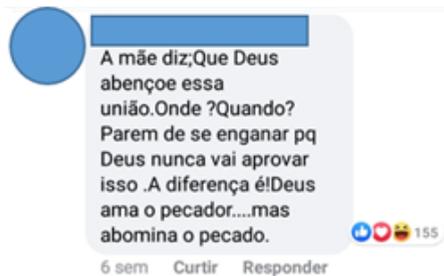
In the example above, S1/E1 makes explicit his unfavorable position in relation to the definition of a couple in the terms presented by the news, going in the same direction as most other comments posted against the content in question, on the G1 Portal page. The linguistic mark “as,” in “[...] as the Lord has done,” inscribes the ideological position taken by S1/E1 in the religious sphere, signaling the non-coincidence of the discourse with itself, since the comment evidences clearly a boundary between oneself and the other through the cited element, God.

Founding his PoV on this place of speech, S1/E1 emphasizes that anything that escapes the sign of religious order with regard to couples, according to God, cannot be considered, since “the rest is improvisation.”

In this case, the evaluative tone expressed in the comment is characterized as radical and intolerant in terms of the acceptance of same-sex marriage.

It is interesting to note that the lexeme “rest” can encompass not only the other ways of composing a couple in the civil sense of the term (marriage), but also all forms of same-sex relationship. Now, the offensive stands against same-sex marriage only make sense because, in the society we live, love relationships between same-sex people still remain a target of prejudice, which is sustained above all in the religious precepts, as it is also perceived in C-06, C-07 and subtly in C-08.

C-06

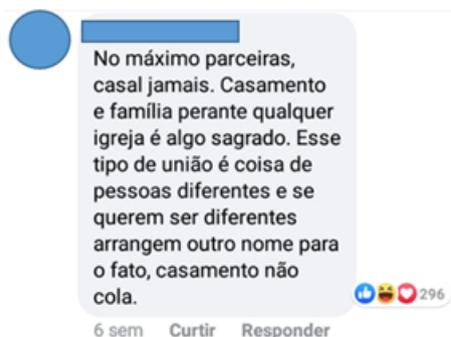


S1/E1 starts the comment by resuming the PoV presented by G1 when publishing the news, which says “The mother says; may God bless this union. Where? When?” In this excerpt we observe non-coincidence of the discourse with itself, as the Internet user SM represents someone else’s saying, as shown by the verb *dicendi* “says.” So, in this comment, someone else’s discourse has a “presence” marked/shown in the thread of saying, through a linguistic mark that signs the imputation of the propositional content for the second enunciator – the mother, who, in turn, calls the voice of God. We observed, then, dialogical relations where two voices explicitly clash, the voice of the Internet user and the voice of the other, the singer’s mother.

According to the theoretical orientation mobilized here, no saying is naive or disassociated from an ideological value, and the speech in C-06 explicitly reveals a position against marriage between the two women, when S1/E1 states that God does not bless this union and, ironically, she asks: “Where? When?,” projecting next: “God will never approve of this. The difference is! God loves the sinner... but hates the sin.”

In response to the words of the singer's mother, the Internet user reveals her position and seeks support from religious sources, assuming her PoV when stating that God will never approve of this union, called "that." There is a strong ideological conviction as to what God said and practically the same evaluative tone of "rest," as we have seen in C-05, that is, everything that departs from the word of God is denied, invalidated, excluded. Thus, if God does not approve, people are the ones who seem to transgress the ideal precepts for the good life. The final statement further marks S1/E1's engagement with the imputed PoV, by highlighting the difference between sinner and sin. According to the PoV resumed in the comment, the possibility of loving gay people is admitted, but not the "sin" they practiced. It is someone else's statement mobilized to express the effects of authority and strength in the words of S1/E1, which occurs very often in speeches against homosexuality.

C-07

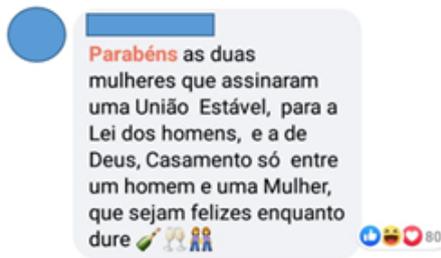


In this commentary, S1/E1, the internet user CB, presents a PoV questioning the word couple, a term that, in his view, cannot be used to refer to the union between the two women, the term "partners" being more viable. At the same level as the interpretation of the two previous comments, we observe an intolerant and radical ideological stance on same-sex marriage, this time based on the argument that "This type of union," because it is "a thing of different people," hurts the sacredness of family and marriage, according to what the church says. In this case, the two women, when considered a couple, would be breaking a religious precept already strongly consolidated in society.

That said, we identified non-coincidence between words and things, for there is in C-07 a kind of command directed to the interlocutors to search for the right word to designate the union between the two women (“[...] and if they want to be different, find another name for the fact, marriage will not stick”), and S1/E1 summons religious aspects to support such a PoV. Therefore, assuming an inflexible discourse, S1/E1 criticizes anyone who wants to be different, claiming that it is necessary to create a different name for the “fact.” It is clear that the word marriage is not accepted by the Internet user as adequate to what it represents in this context (same-sex marriage), since he uses slang (“will not stick”) to demonstrate this inadequacy and, therefore, to signal his disagreement.

Taking stock of the ideological positions contrary to same-sex marriage, we observe that the lexemes “rest,” “that,” “thing” and “fact” indicate enunciative distancing and, in the context they were used, deny the possibility of accepting relationships and same-sex marriage. They are, visibly, terms that, in this context of online interaction, serve to disqualify, reduce these relationships and, for that very reason, accentuate/disseminate prejudice.

C-08



In this example, non-coincidence between words and things also stands out as linguistic marks that allow us to verify who assumes the propositional content of the PoV (ADAM, 2011), specifically when S1/E1 does some questioning and seeks a right definition of what marriage is. Assuming a less radical tone in the way of speaking, the Internet user GN expresses a PoV in line with that of other speakers-enunciators who approve of the union between the two women, by directing compliments through “congratulations.” In the case under discussion, there is a resumption of the definition of what marriage is, because, according

to S1/E1, the union between the two women marks a “common-law marriage,” in the legal/judicial sense, but it does not at any time represent a marriage in the religious sense.

In this perspective, it is claimed that the term marriage can only be used to refer to the union between a man and a woman. Thus, any situation that deviates from this concept is not well regarded by those who follow the Law of God. Therefore, we have religious discourse as a way to standardize certain behaviors in society, and marriage (between people of different sex) continues to be understood as a device that still represents a manifestation of power (FOUCAULT, 1979).

In these data, which we analyze from linguistic marks that signal the phenomena of autonimic modality, as proposed by Adam (2011) for the study of enunciative responsibility, we verify different ideological positions in relation to the news of the same-sex marriage of two famous women. We saw that, to build their stances, the enunciators resort to other enunciators, such as: God, science, common sense. In the analysis carried out, we highlighted the textual-discursive strategies that demonstrate which PoV is taken in the comments, the voices with which they dialogue, and the ideological position of each Internet user, to be against or in favor of same-sex marriage and, by extension, gay relationships in general. So we have identified the game of voices, the “I” crossed by the “other,” through interlocutive non-coincidences, non-coincidence of the discourse with itself and, also, in contexts where there is the subject’s dialogue with the discourse itself, through the non-coincidence between words and things and the non-coincidence of words with themselves.

Final considerations

In this work, the four points of non-coincidences of saying were mobilized as linguistic marks of enunciative responsibility and devices for the analysis of the various utterances made around the news discursivized on the social network Facebook, more specifically, on the G1 news portal page.

In the unfolding of the analysis, we have shown that the comments stage a sort of duel, in which, on the one hand, the position favorable to the content of the news is manifested, and on the other hand, with a more prominent and radical force, the opposite position. The voices that support both positions about same-sex marriage are almost always from

the religious sphere and specifically anchored in the word of God, this being signaled by the linguistic strategy of imputation of PoV, followed by agreement.

From an ideological point of view, it was clear that the divine figure, in our culture, still shows itself as an authority to govern the best way of living, with regard to romantic relationships. We saw that, by relying on respectful sources (the Church and God), some comments echo more subtle criticisms, while others, perhaps because they feel more free to express themselves in this type of online interaction, materialized statements with pejorative terms, making use of irony, debauchery and swearing-type disqualifications.

Hopefully the proposed work will strengthen and boost research that is interested in linking different theoretical places and analytical devices. In this sense, we focus on enunciative responsibility, specifically the category of autonimic modalization phenomena, according to Adam (2011), in an articulation with Rabatel's theoretical reflections (2009, 2016), in his enunciative and pragmatic approach to the points of view, and in dialogue with Bakhtinian studies, when referring to the notion of ideology. We aim, mainly, that it can support reflections on the functioning of polarizing discourses in different online interactions, and thereby help build a more vigilant look at all forms of denial, exclusion, and prejudice.

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Contribution of the Authors

I, Rosângela Alves dos Santos Bernardino, declare that I have prepared this scientific article based on research carried out together with my graduate students in the Postgraduate Program in Languages (PPGL), of Universidade do Estado do Rio Grande do Norte (UERN) – student Daliane Pereira do Nascimento, from the Master's program, and student Raimundo Romão Batista, from the Doctorate program. As the author of the text, I contributed in the design of the research proposal, thinking together with the co-authors about the delimitation of the following

aspects: problem, theme, research questions/objectives, selection of the analyzed textual/discursive material, delimitation of analytical categories, theoretical concepts and postulates, among other points relevant to the exercise of research. First, I led the process of writing the initial version of the manuscript, then I worked on deepening it, in all sections (introduction, methodology, theoretical support, analysis and interpretation of results), in addition to doing a textual, grammatical and technical revision. Finally, I declare that the co-authors and I participated in the final revision of the article, after it was accepted for publication. I, Daliane Pereira do Nascimento, a Master's student at the Postgraduate Program in Languages (PPGL), at UERN – Campus Pau dos Ferros, contributed in all stages of the manuscript production, from planning to writing, as well as in the final revision. Specifically, I contributed in the initial draft of the text, taking into account the first author's notes on the need for adjustments, I made the initial selection of the *corpus*, contributed in the contextualization of the problem-situation, in the writing of the theoretical section, and in the descriptive analysis of the data.

I, Raimundo Romão Batista, a doctoral student at the Postgraduate Program in Languages (PPGL), at UERN – Campus Pau dos Ferros, contributed in every stage of manuscript production, from planning to writing, as well as in the final revision. Specifically, I contributed in the making of the theoretical section and attended to the notes of the first author regarding the need for adjustments. In addition, I also contributed in the *corpus* selection stage, in the context of the research problem-situation, and in the descriptive data analysis stage.

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