#StayAtHome: Active Responsiveness in Institutional Political Propaganda in View of the Covid-19 Pandemic / #FiqueEmCasa: *responsividade ativa na propaganda política institucional frente à pandemia da Covid-19*

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ABSTRACT

This research is in line with the postulates of the Bakhtin Circle regarding the dialogism of language, particularly, the active responsiveness assigned to any utterance in response to others. Within the scope of Dialogic Discourse Analysis, we propose an interface with some elements of the Functional Discourse Grammar for linguistic analysis of utterances. Our objective is to evaluate how the responsive attitude is established in the discourse of the Government of São Paulo in regard to statements by the Federal Government, in order to build an institutional policy in times of covid-19 pandemic. Through the analysis of two videos, we have found that the responsive attitude which the Government of the State São Paulo seeks to demonstrate does not necessarily configure attitudes of responsibility towards the less fortunate. However, it reaches its objective, which is to oppose to the Federal Government's discourse guiding the attitudes of the population in the pandemic scenario.

KEYWORDS: Dialogism; Active Responsiveness; Government Discourses; Pandemic

RESUMO

Esta pesquisa filia-se aos postulados do Círculo de Bakhtin no que se refere ao dialogismo da linguagem, em especial, à responsividade ativa atribuída a todo discurso que se faz em resposta a outros. Situada no âmbito da Análise Dialógica do Discurso, propomos uma interface com alguns elementos da Gramática Discursivo-Funcional para a análise linguística dos enunciados. Nosso objetivo é avaliar como a atitude responsiva se instaura no discurso do Governo do Estado de São Paulo em relação a declarações do governo federal, de modo a construir uma política institucional em tempos de pandemia da covid-19. Por meio da análise de dois vídeos, constatamos que a atitude responsiva que o Governo de São Paulo procura demonstrar não configura, necessariamente, atitudes de responsabilidades perante os menos favorecidos, entretanto, alcança seu objetivo, que é contrapor o discurso do governo federal para orientar as atitudes da população no cenário pandêmico.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Dialogismo; Responsividade ativa; Discursos governamentais; Pandemia

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Introduction

At the end of 2019, China announced the discovery of Sars-CoV-2, the new coronavirus, which causes the disease called covid-19. In March 2020, the World Health Organization confirmed the pandemic situation, which put the whole world on alert and indicated the only possible measure to control it: social isolation. In Brazil, the pandemic started in the midst of a turbulent political context experienced since the 2014 elections, which worsened in the 2018 electoral period: the polarization between the conservative / right-wing and the progressive / left-wing.

This polarization of Brazilian society was re-signified in the context of the pandemic, placing on one side those who, together with the World Health Organization, took into account the severity of the situation and, on the other, those who said that it was simply a "small flu." Thus, the former group defended the isolation of society as a whole, closing shops and schools, for example, to avoid any kind of agglomerations and faster proliferation of the virus, while the latter defended that only part of the population should be isolated, so as not to damage the country's economy. And it is in this context, whose thematic content focuses on facing a pandemic, that we outline our research, in order to assess how the responsive attitude in the discourse of the Government of São Paulo is established in relation to statements by the Federal Government to build an institutional policy in times of covid-19 pandemic.

Thus, from the Bakhtinian perspective of discourse (Bakhtin, 1986;[1] Vološinov, 1973)[2] we intend to analyze the elements indicating the active responsiveness established in the video *#StayAtHome* (hereinafter video 2 or second video), authored by Government of the State of São Paulo,[3] prepared and disseminated in response to the video *#BrazilCanNotStop* (hereinafter video 1 or first video),[4] whose authorship was denied by

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[1] BAKHTIN, M. The Problem of Speech Genres. *In*: BAKHTIN, M. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Edited by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist; translated by Vern W. McGee. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1986. pp.60-102.

[2] VOLOŠINOV, V. N. *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*. Translated by Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik. New York/London: Seminar Press, 1973.

[3] The #StayAtHome video can be accessed in the State Government of São Paulo channel on YouTube, available at link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D2zESBXbauA (Access in: 25 abr. 2020).

[4] For the sake of this article, we have translated the slogans on the videos into English. But the reader will have to keep in mind that those two slogans were produced and divulged in Portuguese originally as we see here: *#FiqueEmCasa* [#StayAtHome] and *#oBrasilNãoPodeParar* [#BrazilCanNotStop].

the Federal Government,[5] but which, according to the sources we shall present throughout the paper, we attribute to Bolsonaro's government. The utterances, which compose both institutional political propagandas within the context of the covid-19 pandemic, argue in favor of Government Guidelines which view opposite sides: the Federal Government video, released on social media on March 28, 2020, indicates measures for easing social isolation and resuming economic activities in the country amid actions to combat the spread of the coronavirus. The São Paulo State Government video, published two days later, explains the need of social isolation as a life preservation mode in the pandemic.

To carry out the linguistic analysis of the utterances, we have used some guidelines of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG) (Hengeveld; Mackenzie, 2008), especially as a way to reinforce and guide the analysis of selected multisemiotic discursive genres. The choice of FDG was due to the pragmatic orientation of this grammar model, whose starting point is the communicative intentions for the semantic and morphosyntactic structuring of the linguistic data. In addition to this theoretical choice, given that these are hypermedia texts, we have used semiotics (Santaella, 2007; 2012) to analyze the multisemiotic elements (Rojo, 2013; Rojo; Moura, 2012) which corroborate the attribution of meaning to the selected *corpus*.

Finally, this article is structured in three sections, in addition to the introduction, where we present the topic addressed in the selected discourse genres – the pandemic - and indicate the concrete situation of enunciation - antagonistic political positions regarding how to fight the pandemic, and the conclusion, namely: (i) we briefly present the theoretical foundation which guides our view of the discussion of active responsiveness in institutional discourses materialized in the two videos under analysis; (ii) we outline the theoretical-methodological path, based on the dialogical-discursive basis established for writing this article and (iii) we demonstrate the analysis of the videos, with attention to the theoretical foundation and the methodological path developed in this work.

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[5] Taking into account the uncertainty about the authorship of the video, you cannot access it from official channels of communication. However, it can be seen on YouTube, from the address: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hQQZE7LQIGk&t=1s (Acess in: 25 abr. 2020).

1 Theoretical Perspectives

The possibilities for expanding our views on language studies would certainly not be the same without the reflections disseminated by researchers such as Mikhail Bakhtin, Vološinov and Medvedev, who formed the Bakhtin Circle. From the second decade of the twentieth century, guided by theories based on philosophical approaches to both language and arts, researchers moved away from structuralist and formalist views, typical of Russian formalism, and introduced language studies beyond the structural elements of texts, valuing the relationship between language and society (Grillo, 2017), since, for them, "the utterance is a social phenomenon" (Vološinov, 1973, p.82).[6]

Among the subjects discussed in the works of the Circle, such as carnivalization, chronotope, polyphony, philosophy of language and objective psychology, we focus our discussions on issues which generally involve discourse genres and dialogism, and, specifically, on active responsiveness intrinsic to these elements of language. Thus, although we recognize the importance of other themes, and even refer to them at some points of the article, we have made this cut because we understand that it would enable us to better achieve our objective with this article.

Thus, we begin with the definition of discursive genres as "relatively stable types of these utterances" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.60).[7] For Bakhtin (1986, p.60),[8] "language is realized in the form of individual concrete utterances (oral and written), by participants in the various areas of human activity." On being used by real people, language materializes itself in utterances, in a dialogical relationship of language. This dialogical relationship is explained by the subject's immersion in the language. In other words, the speaker, when producing an utterance - a real unit of discursive communication - anchors the utterance in an interior frontier constituted by the interlocution of the external dialogue. It is the characteristic of responsiveness intrinsic to any utterance, a dialogism based on the discursive movement between the saying and the already said, which opens up to the possibility of other utterances, due to the principle of alternation, which entails another active responsive interlocutor in the functioning of the utterance. Thus, understanding an utterance presupposes a nature "[...] inherently responsive, although the

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[6] For reference, se footnote 3.
[7] For reference, se footnote 2.
[8] For reference, se footnote 2.

degree of this activity varies extremely. Any understanding is imbued with response and necessarily elicits it in one form or another: the listener becomes the speaker" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.68).[9]

In addition to the dialogic/responsive aspects concerning the materialization of an utterance, we find, in Vološinov (1973), what the author calls "methodologically based order of study of language" (Vološinov, 1973):

> (1) the forms and types of verbal interaction in connection with concrete conditions; (2) forms of particular utterances, of particular speech performances, as elements of a closely linked interacion – i.e., the genres of speech performance in human behavior and ideological creativity as determined by verbal interaction; (3) a reexamination, on this new basis, of language forms in their usual linguistics presentation (Vološinov, 1973, pp.95-96).[10]

Thus, in the dialogue with the discursive analysis of the genre itself, this work also deals with multisemiotic analysis and with linguistic analysis of utterances. In order to perform the latter, as we pointed out in the introduction of the article, we guide our view based on some assumptions of functionalism, especially in the proposal of the Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG), which enables us to explain the functioning of grammar of a language exploring the relationship between system and use, always bearing in mind the multifunctional character of linguistic constructions and, consequently, the interaction between its various components - pragmatic, semantic, morphosyntactic and phonological. The choice of a functional theory such as FDG is based on the essentially pragmatic approach of its architecture: by organizing its perspective in a descending way, motivated by the assumption that a grammar model will be more effective if its organization takes into consideration linguistic processing, FDG considers the Discursive Act as an analysis category, an interpersonal category (pragmatic, therefore) representing the smallest unit of discursive behavior, and thus maximizes the relationship between the linguistic system, communicative intention and discursive connections, being compatible with the discursively oriented analysis of this work.

In relation to multisemiotic analysis, we dialogue with the contributions of Santaella (2007; 2012), Rojo and Moura (2012) and Rojo (2013), given that:

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[9] For reference, se footnote 2.
[10] For reference, se footnote 3.

> [...] reading the written verbal text is no longer enough - it needs to be placed in relation to a set of signs of other language modalities (static image, moving image, sound, speech) that surround it, either surrounding, or intercalating or impregnating it. These *multisemiotic* texts even go beyond the limits of digital environments and have now invaded the printed papers (newspapers, magazines, textbooks) (Rojo, 2013, pp.20-21; emphasis added by the author).[11]

Thus, following our studies based on Bakhtinian Theory,[12] more precisely based on Dialogical Discourse Analysis, means to understand, as linguists / language teachers, the value of the linguistic elements which constitute the utterances, produced in real contexts, by means of discursive genres linked to the performance spheres of subjects, who are located in specific historical and socio-cultural contexts; so that "a study of the utterance as a *real unit of speech communication* will also make it possible to understand more correctly the *nature of the language units* (as a system): words and sentences" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.67).[13] Thus, among the possibilities given to language studies based on the epistemology in question, we center our discussions on dialogism, more precisely on "various kinds of responsive reactions to other utterances of the given sphere of speech communication" (Bakhtin, 1986, p.91).[14] In this case, this takes place through multimedia, characterized by the agglutination of media (hybridism), whose languages which form/transform it are configured as hypermedia (Santaella, 2007).

Therefore, when choosing two videos as a *corpus* of analysis, which represent utterances produced in the thematic context of the covid-19 pandemic, circulating in multimedia and using multiple languages, we are guided by the dialogical aspect of the language established by the second video *#StayAtHome* in response to the first *#BrazilCanNotStop*. Since these are texts / utterances of a multisemiotic nature, based on Rojo (2013), we expanded the perception of Bakhtinian theory for the analysis of texts / discourses, leading us to consider not only the theme, the compositional form and the

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[11] In Portuguese: "não basta mais a leitura do texto verbal escrito – é preciso colocá-lo em relação com um conjunto de signos de outras modalidades de linguagem (imagem estática, imagem em movimento, som, fala) que o cercam, ou cercam, ou intercalam ou impregnam. Inclusive, esses textos *multissemióticos* extrapolam os limites dos ambientes digitais e invadiram hoje também os impressos (jornais, revistas, livros didáticos)."

[12] By using the term "Bakhtinian Theory" and similar ones, throughout this article, we are referring to the productions of researchers from the Bakhtin Circle.

[13] For reference, se footnote 2.

[14] For reference, se footnote 2.

linguistic units which make up the discursive genres, but also multisemiotics (referring to the compositional form) and semiotic units (related to the style of the texts).

2 Theoretical-Methodological Path

In view of the objective to be achieved in this research - to evaluate how the responsive attitude is established in the discourse of the Government of the State f São Paulo, in relation to utterances by the Federal Government, in order to build an institutional policy in times of covid-19 pandemic - we have chosen to, in the introduction of the article, address the first step of analysis proposed by Vološinov (1973), which comprises "the forms and types of verbal interaction in connection with concrete conditions [for the production of utterances]" (Vološinov, 1973, p.95).[15] In addition to this framework, presented by us in the theoretical part of the article, we shall follow the two steps to be described below, which have been captured by Dialogic Discourse Analysis. We decided to present these concrete conditions in the introductory part of the article because we understand that, thereby, we would be allowing readers, right at the beginning of the text, to access the historical and socio-cultural context in which the *corpus* under analysis is located in order to near readers to the reality which crosses the discourses in question at the time of their constitution.

In the second step of analysis - "forms of particular utterances, of particular speech performances, as elements of a closely linked interaction – i.e., the genres of speech performance in human behavior and ideological creativity as determined by verbal interaction" (Vološinov, 1973, pp.95-96)[16] – we initially present the general characteristics of the videos and then turn our attention to discursive elements of the first video, such as the authorial question, in order to carry out the survey of utterances corroborating the statement that the video *#BrazilCanNotStop* is authored by the Federal Government. For this, we seek to rely on various sources such as web newspapers, statements from the presidential press office and the statement by President Jair Bolsonaro, on March 24, 2020 (four days before the "leak" of the video on social

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[15] For reference, se footnote 3.
[16] For reference, se footnote 3.

networks). Still in this step of the analysis, we will approach the active responsiveness / dialogism featured in both videos, regarding the discourses which permeate them.

The analysis of the language style, that is, of the linguistic / multisemiotic elements present in both videos, configured the third step of analysis - "a reexamination, on this new basis, of language forms in their usual linguistics presentation" (Vološinov, 1973, p.96).[17] Thus, this step comprises the analysis of the discursive genre in its entirety (thematic content, compositional form, linguistic analysis) according to the Dialogic Discourse Analysis, which, as we have presented earlier, also covers the multisemiotic elements which make up the videos in question. In this last step of the analysis, after collecting / generating the data, we observed which elements (linguistic and multisemiotic) were most relevant to highlight the nature of the responsive attitude in the *#StayAtHome* ideological position of the Government of the State of São Paulo, in response to *#BrazilCanNotStop*, by the Bolsonaro Government, so that, at a later time, we could organize the analyzed data, in order to select the most significant elements to achieve our objective.

Following these guidelines, we have included tables 2 and 3 in the analysis, which show the verbal text of the videos listed along with the running time of each group of images referring to the eight utterances of video 1, and the nine utterances of video 2. Thus, in relation to the video *#BrazilCanNotStop*, eight utterances and 25 scenes have been identified, with 1'27" (one minute and twenty-seven seconds) in length. The video *#StayAtHome* is one minute long and consists of nine utterances and 26 scenes. The purpose of presenting this configuration of the videos (utterances / scenes / length of time) is to enable the reader to follow, in a more didactic way, the cuts undertaken in the *corpus* in question. It also views at permitting the viewers, when accessing the videos in full, to verify the occurrences of multisemiotic elements in correlation with the linguistic utterances featured in them.

In the table below, we summarize the methodological path outlined in the article for data analysis.

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[17] For reference, se footnote 3.

Table 1 - Methodological Path of Data Analysis

PLACE OF DISCUSSION IN THE TEXT	MOVE / STEP OF THE ANALYSIS	CONTENT APPROACHED
Introduction and Item 3	1st step of analysis - thematic content and concrete situation of the enunciation of the selected videos.	The covid-19 pandemic theme and social, historical and cultural aspects which motivated the creation of the videos #BrazilCanNotStop and #StayAtHome.
Item 3	2nd step of analysis - compositional construction: structural and discursive characteristics of the videos	Aspects related to the structuring, authorship and target audience of the videos #BrazilCanNotStop and #StayAtHome; place of publication and dissemination of the videos.
Item 4	3rd step of analysis - language style present in the discursive genres in question (analysis of linguistic and multisemiotic elements).	Linguistic and multisemiotic aspects of the videos #BrazilCanNotStop and #StayAtHome, considering the elements of the second video in contrast with the first, in order to center the analysis on the active responsiveness observed in video 2 in response to video 1.

Source: Self-authored.

3 Historical and Socio-Cultural Contextualization: Discursive and Structural Characteristics of Videos

In relation to the concrete enunciation situation regarding the production of the *corpus* under analysis, the videos *#BrazilCanNotStop* and *#StayAtHome* result as responses to the ways of combating covid-19 in Brazil. The first is established as a response to the various discourses of pandemic coping with the coronavirus, for example, the World Health Organization, which instructs social isolation as a life protection measure, since the virus puts the population at risk in global scale. The second video, on the other hand, is a response from a position contrary to the video linked to the Federal Government. Both videos of institutional political propaganda were disseminated in the networks in March 2020, when the pandemic began to take on worrisome proportions in Brazil.

Regarding the first video, it is important to note that, according to information given by President Jair Bolsonaro, it was not made available by his government team, but would have been leaked (Sabino, 2020). In addition, although the president did not explain for what purpose this would have happened, nor who would have an interest in disclosing it without authorization, its authorship has been assumed by government

agencies. The Secretaria Especial de Comunicação Social [Special Secretariat for Social Communication] of the Presidency of the Republic (Secom), despite having posted the slogan *BrazilCanNotStop* on social networks, deleted the publications and denied the existence of a campaign in favor of this ideological positioning, claiming that the video was an experimental project, without government approval for disclosure (Secom, 2020). Still, on the night of March 26, the statement, in the form of a hashtag, *#BrazilCanNotStop* was also posted on social networks by people directly connected to the presidency, such as Senator Flávio Bolsonaro, son of the president (Bolsonaro, 2020). In addition, the video circulated on social networks of government-related agencies, especially via WhatsApp, and was mainly broadcast on Bolsonarists' networks.

The dissemination of the video was not positive in the press and in court.[18] In response to the request of the Federal Public Ministry, the Federal Justice of Rio de Janeiro prohibited its broadcasting on behalf of the federal government, on television networks, radio stations, newspapers, magazines and websites (Struck, 2020), because it formed part of a policy of disinformation, that is, fake news (a practice present in the daily lives of Brazilians, which resulted in the *Comissão Parlamentar de Inquérito sobre Fake News* [Fake News Joint Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry] (CPI).[19] Thus, if, on the one hand, the video appears as a piece discursively aligned with the Government of Brazil, on the other, its institutional validity is denied by the competent authorities. In this context of non-assumed authorship production, the video, which broke out and circulated on virtual platforms, seems to summarize the Presidency of the Republic's view of combating coronavirus, given that its content reflects various releases of the Brazilian Federal Government[20] and, although its authorship was not recognized, as already mentioned, this government was legally responsible for its dissemination and promotion.

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[18] It was not only in Brazil that campaigns against measures of social isolation as a way of controlling the spread of the disease were produced. In Milan, at the end of February, the city released the video "Milano NON si ferma." A month later, with a high number of cases and deaths in the Lombardy region, the mayor of Milan apologized and admitted to having made a mistake with the campaign, according to press reports (PREFECT, 2020).

[19] The Fake News Joint Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry (CPMI) aims to investigate (i) cyber attacks that attack democracy and public debate; (ii) the use of false profiles to influence the results of the 2018 elections; (iii) the practice of cyberbullying on the most vulnerable users of the computer network, as well as on public agents; and (iv) trimming and guiding children to commit hate crimes and suicide (BRASIL, 2020).

[20] The utterance by the President of the Republic, Jair Bolsonaro, in the Radio and Television Chain on March 24, 2020, makes this position explicit. The video with the pronouncement is available for viewing on YouTube, at the link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vl_DYb-XaAE (Accessed: 25 Apr. 2020).

In regard to the video *#StayAtHome*, it is configured as a response to the ideological positioning of the Federal Government, as it not only makes its authorship explicit, since it presents the interlocutors with the signature of the Government of the State of São Paulo but also brings utterances which refute the ideology disseminated discursively in the video *#BrazilCanNotStop*. This reading is corroborated by the interview of the State Governor, João Dória, at the launch of the campaign to fight the pandemic. On that occasion, he explicitly stated that people should comply with medical recommendations and not be guided by information disseminated on social networks, in addition to not following "the guidelines of the President of the Republic of Brazil" (São Paulo, 2020). [21]

Regarding the structural and discursive characteristics of the videos, we highlight that the first, *#BrazilCanNotStop*, was produced out of 24 static scenes, in color, organized in film format. The voice enunciating the words featured there has the deep sound of a male voice, spoken in a serene but at the same time firm tone; the quality and timbre of voice added to the narrator's intonation denote a tone of authority and also compassion for those figurative people represented there as the Brazilian working class. The second video, *#StayAtHome*, consists of 25 scenes in motion, shown in a succession of black and white images, sometimes showing empty public spaces in the city of São Paulo, sometimes featuring images of several people in domestic environments. The sequence of scenes ends with an urban image of the city's buildings in focus.

Since it is produced using simultaneous enunciation modes which involve sound, imagery and graphics, the compositional construction of the videos is similar, but the second has a particularity: the addition of the image of a Libras interpreter. Thus, the way in which the enunciators of the discourse genres under analysis "[...] select different semiotic resources and different possible combinations among them to achieve their goals and echo their themes [...]" (Rojo, 2013, p.29)[22] shows how they reflect / refract the reality into which they are inserted, explaining, in this case, greater or lesser engagement in regard to the social inclusion policy.

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[21] In Portuguese: "as orientações do presidente da República do Brasil."
[22] In Portuguese: "[...] selecionam diferentes recursos semióticos e diversas combinatórias possíveis entre eles para atingir suas finalidades e ecoar seus temas [...]."

4 Active Responsiveness of the Videos under Analysis

Moving on to the third analysis step, in the table below, we present the transcription of the verbal utterances (E1, E2, E3 ...) which make up the first video, along with the number of scenes (images) and the duration time to each of them.

Table 2 - Description of the video #BrazilCanNotStop

Scenes / Video time	Language transcription
1, 2 e 3 0"-06"	*E1 For* the nearly 40 million self-employed ones, #BrazilCanNotStop.[23]
4, 5, 6, 7 e 8 7"-19"	*E2 For* street vendors, engineers, marketers, architects, bricklayers, lawyers, private teachers and service providers in general, #BrazilCanNotStop.
9, 10 e 11 20"-29"	*E3 For* neighborhood merchants, downtown retailers, domestic employees, millions of Brazilians, #BrazilCanNotStop.
12, 13 e 14 30"-38"	*E4 For* all companies that are stopped and that will end up having to close their doors or fire employees, #BrazilCanNotStop.
15, 16 e 17 39"-49"	*E5 For* tens of millions of salaried Brazilians, and their families, their children and grandchildren, their parents and grandparents, *#BrazilCanNotStop*.
18, 19, 20, 21 e 22 50"-1'07"	*E6 For* the millions of patients with the most diverse diseases and the heroic health professionals who care for them, *for* the Brazilians infected with the Coronavirus, *for* all who depend on care and the arrival of medicines and equipment, *#BrazilCanNotStop*.
23 e 24 1'08"- 1'19"	*E7 For* those who defend both the lives of Brazilians and the conditions of quality, healthy and dignifying lives to anyone, *Brazil definitely cannot stop*.
25 1'20"- 1'27"	*E8* Beloved Fatherland Brazil. Federal Government

Source: Self-authored.

In the presented linguistic transcription, we emphasize in italics: (i) the structure *For x*, #BrazilCanNotStop in the first five utterances; (ii) the change of this structure configured as *For x, For y, For z*, *#BrazilCanNotStop* in utterance six; and (iii) the inclusion of the modalizer "definitely" in the middle of the hashtag *#BrazilCanNotStop*

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[23] From the original Portuguese version: *E1 Para* os quase 40 milhões de autônomos, #oBrasilNãoPodeParar. *E2 Para* os ambulantes, engenheiros, feirantes, arquitetos, pedreiros, advogados, professores particulares e prestadores de serviço em geral, #oBrasilNãoPodeParar. *E3 Para* os comerciantes do bairro, para os lojistas do centro, para os empregados domésticos, para milhões de brasileiros, #oBrasilNãoPodeParar. *E3 Para* os comerciantes do bairro, para os lojistas do centro, para os empregados domésticos, para milhões de brasileiros, #oBrasilNãoPodeParar. *E5 Para* dezenas de milhões de brasileiros assalariados, e suas famílias, seus filhos e seus netos, seus pais e seus avós*,* #oBrasilNãoPodeParar. *E5 Para* dezenas de milhões de brasileiros assalariados, e suas famílias, seus filhos e seus netos, seus pais e seus avós, *#oBrasilNãoPodeParar. E7 Para* quem defende a vida dos brasileiros e as condições para que todos vivam com qualidade, saúde e dignidade*, o Brasil definitivamente não pode parar. E8* Pátria Amada Brasil. Governo Federal.

in the seventh utterance, a modalizer which assigns greater argumentative weight to this statement as compared to the others.

In the discourse, this *For x* structure is shown in the spoken and written enunciation modes, simultaneously with the display of images of Brazilian workers. This procedure for composing the statement, in a process of dialogue, comes in addition to other discursive exteriorities shown in these images, such as, for example, the last seven seconds of the video, a closeup on a man with his back wrapped around the national flag, who hears the intensification of the chorus of voices from the propaganda soundtrack. At this point in the video, the interlocutor is faced with the last utterance of the Brazilian National Anthem *Pátria Amada Brasil* ["Beloved Fatherland Brazil"], which was re-signified by the current government as the *slogan* of Bolsonaro's presidential campaign. The appropriation of this utterance was to associate it with the "trademark" which promotes the government itself: *Pátria Amada Brasil / Governo Federal* ["Beloved Fatherland Brazil / Federal Government"]. These linguistic-discursive marks, together with other linguistic and multisemiotic elements which will be analyzed, reflect / refract (Vološinov, 1973) the ideological positioning of the Federal Government, which appropriates national symbols creating the illusion that all men and women, all Brazilians, agree with their ideologies.

Still about the *For x* structure, which permeates verbal statements, it is interesting to note its internal composition in each use, since its syntactic organization has relevant implications for the construction of the discursive meanings in question. This structure (*For x*) always appears in the first position of each linguistic expression and belongs, according to the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld; Mackenzie, 2008), to a discursive act, which operates at the Interpersonal Level. As it occupies the first position in the linguistic structure, such construction takes on the typical position of the elements in a pragmatic Topic,[24] that is, it takes the position of what is understood, in the interaction, as information of known status and shared by the interlocutors. In this sense, Pezatti (2012) highlights that the Topic, as a pragmatic function, marks information which can be inferred by the context or can be activated by the interlocutors' episodic memory. From a discursive point of view, the element in this position takes the place of

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[24] Taking into account the specific architecture and notation of the FDG, as it is a pragmatic function of the Interpersonal Level, the notation of the Topic category is always capitalized.

what has already been said. According to Pezatti (2012), the Portuguese language is a language oriented to the Topic, since it reserves the first position of categorical constructions for the Topic function.[25]

From this composition (*For x* in the initial position of the utterance has the function of establishing the known information among the interlocutors), we can still understand two implications for the meaning effects of the text. The first, most obvious and directly retrievable, is to direct the main subject of the message to certain socioeconomic segments and to the public institutions themselves (summarized, in this case, in the element introduced in utterance seven: *For those who defend both the lives of Brazilians and the conditions of quality, healthy and dignifying lives to anyone*). Thus, it is argued that *Brazil Can Not Stop* generating wealth, collecting taxes, creating jobs, making the opening of companies possible - *for street vendors, engineers, marketeers, architects, bricklayers, lawyers, private teachers and service providers, service in general* [...], that is, for the sectors responsible for the movement of the economy, which would be the main macroeconomic categories affected by social isolation and the consequent economic crisis. In the correlation between verbal and non-verbal text, we observe that, even though jobs of greater social prestige are listed, such as engineers, architects, lawyers and private teachers, the images highlighted are only those of people who have less purchasing power or who are performing their jobs as marketers, garbage collectors and construction workers. Such a selection of images leads us to affirm that the target audience of this institutional advertisement is the Brazilian working class with the lowest purchasing power; those who mostly rely on essential government services such as public security, medical assistance, and education. Needless to say, these sectors are the ones historically neglected by Brazilian Governments or, at least, they are the ones which have not received the investments they should have had.

The second implication for the meaning effects in the text of the *For x* structure, derived from the first, is to give voice to the listed segments. Thus, the use of *For x*, where

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[25] Pezatti (2012) explains that the various possibilities of attributing the topic pragmatic function to constituents of different grammatical categories - as referential sub-positions according to the subject, as in the child grew up, referential sub-levels without subject function, as in shaving mousse we also have, sub-strings that serve to indicate the evoked state-of-things scenario, as in the first day we visited, among other possibilities, they are solid evidence to consider the Portuguese language sensitive to this function. In addition, the author argues that all Portuguese sentences have a Topic constituent in the first position, with the exception of tethical and presentative content template sentences, which also justifies the orientation towards Topic in Portuguese.

x is a source of information, is a common construction of evidentiality in Portuguese language. Dall'Aglio-Hattnher (2018, p.99) explains that the theory of Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld; Mackenzie, 2008) understands evidentiality[26] as "the category responsible for indicating the source of the information conveyed by an utterance,"[27] and aligns with other categories such as time, aspect and modality, since evidentiality in Portuguese is often lexically expressed by verbs.

As a pragmatic-discursive effect of marking evidentiality, Vendrame (2010) highlights that this strategy of attributing the discourse to the voice of another while relieving oneself from the commitment with the content of the information is a way to achieve the credibility of the interlocutor. Carioca (2005) underlines that evidentiality builds an apparent neutrality in the discourse, since the locutor does not own and does not engage in its content.

Thus, the *For x* structure, in this perspective of construction of evidentiality, in which the discursive content is attributed to another, would be equivalent to the use of expressions such as *according to* or *regarding*. In this context the use of those expressions indicates that the sources of information (all working classes, business and public sectors) would declare that the coronavirus pandemic is no reason to close schools, trade companies, airports, etc., as the country needs to continue growing economically, collect taxes and generate income, even if that means the cost of lives of thousands of people.[28] Thus, following this direction, the speaker of those utterances would not be representing the voice of the government itself, which states that *Brazil Can Not Stop*, but the voice of all the listed categories which would state it. This perspective is only suggested as the listed categories act as affected sectors and sources of information in the discursive construction of the video.

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[26] As it is a complex subject, with a diversified typology, we will deal, in this text, only with the macro notion of *evidentiality*, which can be exemplified, according to Dall'Aglio-Hattnher (2018, p.101), in *studies carried out say* that *the product is not carcinogenic* (which explains the source); *in principle, it seems that the definition of income is very clear and precise* (which leaves the source implicit). For a more detailed discussion regarding evidentiality, see Dall'Aglio-Hattnher (2018), Vendrame (2005; 2010) and Carioca (2005).

[27] In Portuguese: "a categoria responsável pela indicação da fonte da informação veiculada por um enunciado."

[28] According to information made available on the World Health Organization website, on September 28, 2020, there were 33,034,598 confirmed cases worldwide, and 996,342 deaths; in Brazil, 4,717,991 cases and 141,406 deaths (World, 2020).
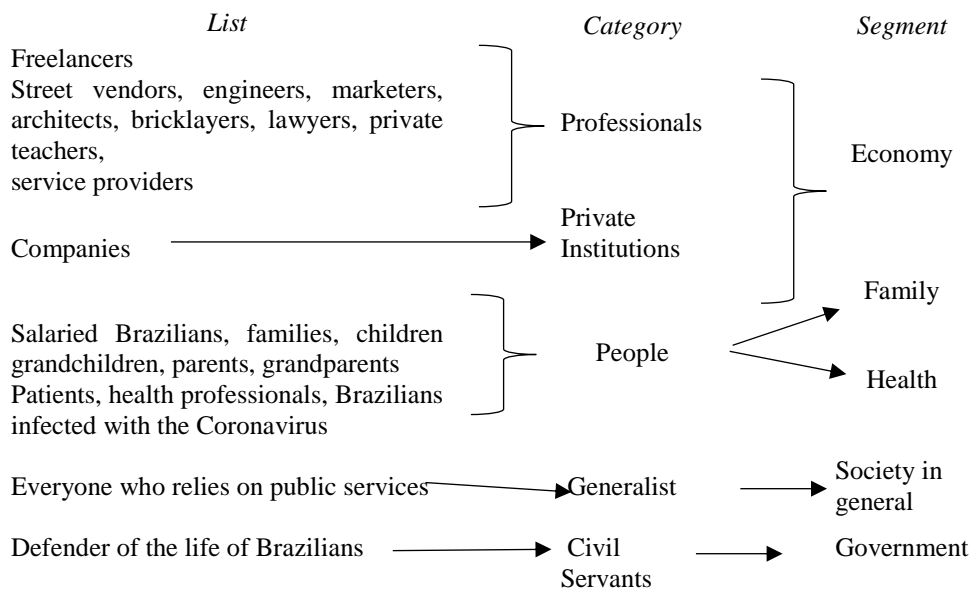
With the use of an evidential structure, which poses the responsibility for information on the other, we can infer by the government's discourse that they are seeking a way of turning the responsibility / anticipation to the other, in this case, the Brazilians themselves, for uncompromising attitudes towards health policies of (not) facing the coronavirus. At the same time, the use of this pragmatic-discursive strategy of voice composition in the utterances also allows us to infer the existence of an attempt to making people see the governmental discourse as neutral.

These two implications of effects of meaning recovered from the dialogue between the modes of verbal and non-verbal enunciations, in the elaboration of the discourse genre under analysis, illustrate the dialogical character of allusion to the other, configured in the "[...] incorporation of the other(s)'s voice(s) in the utterance by the enunciator," (Fiorin, 2016, p.37)[29] and so creating a responsive allusion of the other to the set of images it produces.

It is interesting to note, also regarding the linguistic composition of the video, the order of appearance of the elements which make up the listed categories, considering that the order of appearance of the elements in a text has pragmatic-discursive relevance. In the discourse of the video, a series of professionals, an institution, various specified individuals, a generalist category of social actors and, finally, the State itself, are summarized as shown in the following figure.

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[29] In Portuguese: "[...] incorporação pelo enunciador da(s) voz(es) de outro(s) no enunciado."

Figure 1 - Categories which occupy the position *x* in *"For x"*

List	Category	Segment

Freelancers
Street vendors, engineers, marketers, architects, bricklayers, lawyers, private teachers, service providers → Professionals

Companies → Private Institutions → Economy

Salaried Brazilians, families, children grandchildren, parents, grandparents
Patients, health professionals, Brazilians infected with the Coronavirus → People → Family / Health

Everyone who relies on public services → Generalist → Society in general

Defender of the life of Brazilians → Civil Servants → Government

Source: Self-authored.

Thus, in the display of the social actors, - along with the full meaning the interlocutor is able to attribute to this institutional video of political propaganda based on the set of linguistic elements and the multisemiotic elements discussed above - we highlight the emphasis on the light tone which the male voice narration intends to convey. In combination with this voice, there is the sound of sharp and spaced musical notes, emitted by a piano, which, at the beginning of the video, follows the changes in the photographic sequences. After the third image, there is a greater spacing between one tone and another, until, at around forty seconds of the video, the narrator states *"For tens of millions of salaried Brazilians and their families, their children and their grandchildren, their parents and grandparents #BrazilCanNotStop."* At that moment, the sounds of the piano cease and give way to voices of a choir, as in a sacred song, denoting an almost religious tone to the scenes that follow; perhaps with the intention of arousing in the interlocutors a generalized compassion for the other, for the working people who will lose / may lose their jobs or will have their gains dramatically affected by the economic crisis resulting from the actions of state governments in order to brake, or at least, prevent the rapid spread of the coronavirus. The chorus of voices, which

accompanies the narration until the end of the video (the remaining 47 seconds), in an ascending tone, increases as the narrative progresses and presents the seriousness of the problem, not the pandemic problem, but the eminent economic problem which would affect everybody.

To conclude the linguistic and multisemiotic analysis of the video #BrazilCanNotStop, we state that the language style, made up of verbal, sound and imagery aspects, dialogues with the compositional construction of the video, which reinforces the intended argument in the discourse produced. We can illustrate this fact by referring to the first enunciative image, which alludes to a discursive scene presented in Rio de Janeiro. It is a street vendor on a beach, wearing a T-shirt which reads "faith." Here we have the representation of one of the icons used by the current government, which is based not only on national symbols, such as the Brazilian flag, but also on the belief in a superior being who rules and sustains humanity in its fragile existence. This "faith," according to the positions and discourses of government members, does not show itself in an eclectic, ecumenical way, but, on the contrary, in a "terribly Christian" way - as declared by the Minister of Women, Family and Human Rights, Damares Alves (Vivas, 2019). Thus, the "faith" on the street vendor's shirt would be restricted to a single one, the Christian faith, discursively materialized in the slogan enunciation of the election campaign of Jair Messias Bolsonaro "*Brazil acima de tudo, Deus acima de todos*" ["Brazil above everything, God above all*"], in a discursive resumption which explicitly alludes to / recovers, in the subtlety of the image, this other in the ideological elaboration of the video.

In contrast with the *#BrazilCanNotStop* discourse, *#StayAtHome*, authored by the State of São Paulo, appears to be a response to the Federal Government on the actions taken as a result of the coronavirus pandemic in Brazilian society. As with the first video analyzed, we present, in table 3 below, the transcription of verbal utterances (E1, E2, E3 ...) correlated to video scenes / time of the video to which they refer.

Table 3 - Description and transcription of the video #Stay At Home[30]

Video Scenes/Video time	Language transcription
1, 2, 3, 4 e 5 01"-10"	*E1 AGAINST CORONAVIRUS, FOLLOW WHAT PANDEMIC EXPERTS SAY: STAY AT HOME.*[31]
6, 7, 8 e 9 11"-19"	*E2* WHAT THE EUROPEAN LEADERS *ARE SAYING,* WHO ARE FACING THE PANDEMIC: STAY AT HOME.
10, 11, 12 e 13 20"-29"	*E3* WHAT THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, *WHO USED TO TELL* EVERYONE TO GET TO WORK, NOW **SA**YS: STAY AT HOME.
14, 15 e 16 30"-37"	*E4* FOLLOW WHAT THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION SAYS: STAY AT HOME.
17, 18, 19 e 20 38"-48"	*E5 THEY SAY:* THE ECONOMY, WE WORK FOR AND RECOVER IT. THE LIFE OF WHOM WE LOVE CANNOT BE RECOVERED.
21, 22, 23 49"-50"	*E6* #Stay At Home
24 51"-54"	E7 #Stay At Home LEARN MORE AT: www.saopaulo.gov.br/coronavirus
25 55"-57"	E8 SÃO PAULO STATE GOVERNMENT Health Secretary
26 58"-01'	E9 SÃO PAULO STATE GOVERNMENT STATE OF RESPECT

Source: Self-authored.

The responsiveness of this speech lies in factual characteristics of its dissemination. There are two aspects of its composition reinforcing this perspective: the syntactic organization, in most of the statements, in binary items, as in the Federal Government video, and the explicit acceptance of the highlighted information sources, which echo the ideology to be defended. Thus, in the first aspect - the syntactic organization of the statements of the video *#StayAtHome* - we can notice that the verbal text of this propaganda follows, in part, the binary structure found in the previous analyzed video. In other words, while the previous video was guided by the dyad *For x, #Brazil Can Not Stop*, the video now analyzed is basically composed by the structure

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[30] The verbal text has been presented in capital letters, according to the graphic presentation provided in the caption of the video in question.

[31] From the original Portuguese version: *E1 CONTRA O CORONAVÍRUS, SIGA O QUE DIZEM* OS ESPECIALISTAS EM PANDEMIA: FIQUE EM CASA. *E2 O QUE DIZEM* OS GOVERNANTES EUROPEUS QUE ESTÃO ENFRENTANDO A PANDEMIA: FIQUE EM CASA. *E3 O QUE DIZ* O PRESIDENTE DOS ESTADOS UNIDOS, QUE ANTES DIZIA PARA TODOS IREM TRABALHAR: FIQUE EM CASA.
E4 SIGA *O QUE DIZ* A ORGANIZAÇÃO MUNDIAL DA SAÚDE: FIQUE EM CASA.
E5 A ECONOMIA A GENTE TRABALHA E RECUPERA. A VIDA DE QUEM A GENTE AMA NÃO DÁ PARA RECUPERAR. *E6* #FiqueEmCasa *E7* #FiqueEmCasa SAIBA MAIS EM WWW.SAOPAULO.GOV.BR/CORONAVIRUS *E8* SÃO PAULO GOVERNO DO ESTADO Secretaria de Saúde *E9* SÃO PAULO GOVERNO DO ESTADO ESTADO DE RESPEITO

Against the coronavirus, follow what x say(s): *# StayAtHome*, whereas *x* corresponds to four sources relating to authorities on the subject.

Compared to the first video, the style of the utterances in this second one is more emphatic in relation to the main subject. That is because the pandemic problem and the stay at home orientation appear before the binary structures, just in the beginning of the video. That is shown by the verbal utterance *Against Coronavirus*. Thus, on delimiting the problem against which one must act, the theme that permeats the discursive totality is stated. This, together with images of empty places, indicates the focus on social isolation as a way to lay emphasis on the defense of the ideological position stated.

Complementing the utterance *Against the coronavirus*, we have: "follow what the pandemic experts say: #StayAtHome," a structure oriented by the verb in the imperative *follow* (sometimes shown, sometimes implied in the utterances), which suggests an order to the target audience (all residents of the state of São Paulo). This structure made explicit by the enunciative act "What *x* say(s)" is presented in well-defined categories. In fact, *x* is composed of four agents, namely: *pandemic experts, European leaders, the President of the United States and the World Health Organization (WHO)*, who have a voice in the text - since they are the subjects of the verb "to say."
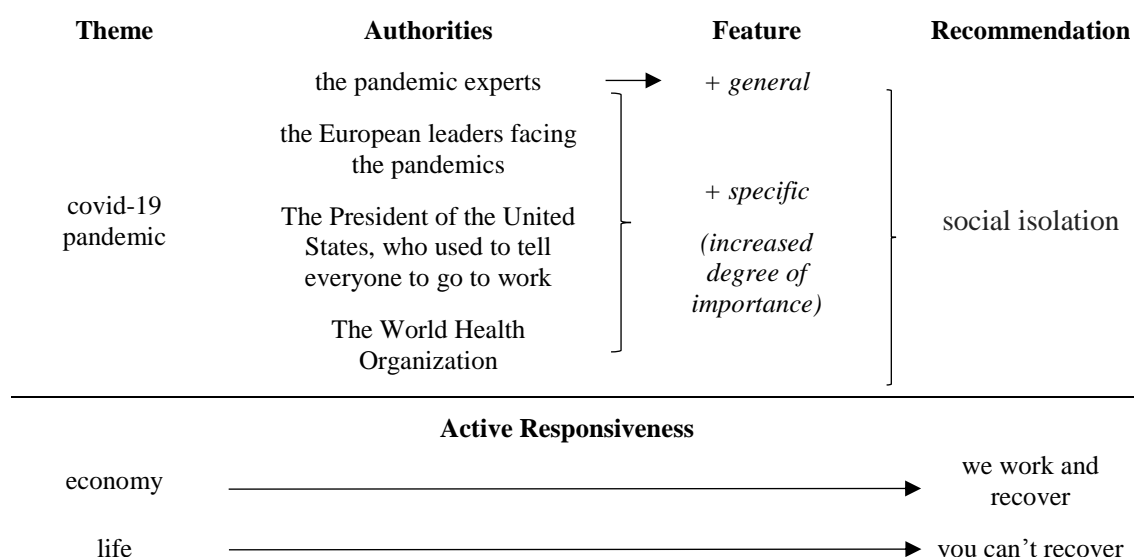
In the discourse under analysis, the order of appearance of these enunciators is not random, but rather composed of a more generalized locutor, pandemic specialists, in order to highlight these specialists as international actors - leaders of European and United States countries, and WHO, the largest health authority in the world.

Additionally, we notice that the order of appearance in the utterances also reflects a succession in time and an increase in the importance of such speakers: the European leaders, who first dealt with the coronavirus in the West; the President of the United States, who was infected with coronavirus after the chaos established in Italy, taking into account that the US is the most visible country in the Western world; the WHO, which produces and distributes health care protocols in the world and which gained attention after the first contamination in Brazil.

The explicit designation of such political agents and the act of *saying something* attributed to them also works as a response to the Federal Government video, which only provides a suggested source. When giving voice, enunciatively, to the four agents mentioned, the São Paulo video is placed in another discursive position: the position of

evidence-based argumentation, that is, of scientific discourse. Since the video attributed to the Federal Government puts itself in the place of doubt, rumor, speculation and fake news, one way of opposing (acting *against*, as the video remarks in its first utterance) is precisely the anchoring in its opposite: science, facts, data and discussions based on scientifically legitimate practices. The two videos behave, therefore, as antagonists, and the São Paulo video indicates that the video attributed to the Federal Government is positioned in *unfounded opinion*, while positioning itself in the *founded argumentative* side. Figure 2 below summarizes the arguments of the second video, showing the active responsiveness which opposes the Federal Government's discourse.

Figure 2. Argumentative organization of the video #StayAtHome

Theme	Authorities	Feature	Recommendation
covid-19 pandemic	the pandemic experts the European leaders facing the pandemics The President of the United States, who used to tell everyone to go to work The World Health Organization	*+ general* *+ specific* *(increased degree of importance)*	social isolation

Active Responsiveness

economy	⟶	we work and recover
life	⟶	you can't recover

Source: Self-authored.

Regarding the position of the Federal Government that social isolation in times of pandemic could destroy the Brazilian economic scenario, the state government states the following argument, aimed at defending life, as summarized in figure 2: "*The economy, we work for and recover. The lives of those we love cannot be recovered [therefore]: #StayAtHome,*" ending with this *hashtag,* which aims to promote an impact campaign on social networks to encourage the engagement of internet users in favor of this cause.

This "defense of life" argument is reinforced with multisemiotic aspects. In the enunciative scenes under analysis, we can observe characteristic spaces of the Greater São Paulo area (this is not representative of the state of São Paulo, which would be more

coherent, considering the signature of the person who takes the role as the locutor in the discourse). In fact, this is not the only problem with the video regarding the discrepancies between verbal text and non-verbal text, since the selection of images, both of people and places, portrays some very specific and homogenized interlocutors, very different from the multicultural reality of the metropolis of São Paulo. In fact, we see an example of exclusion of the peripheral classes and the valorization of the elite classes.

In this sense, although the campaign linguistically reinforces the need for social isolation for the State of São Paulo, in terms of imagery, many social segments have been put aside by the state government itself in the materialization of the discourse, such as the population of interior cities, peripheral neighborhoods, distant communities and, mainly, those who suffer most due to income inequality, the precariousness of the educational system and the lack of access to a quality health system. That is, those who have no time and have no voice, those who would be most affected by the consequences of the pandemic, are those who are also left out of the video.

Finally, considering the arguments presented, we emphasize that the first video defends the idea of making social isolation more flexible, due to the economic collapse resulting from this measure, while the second responds to the first, opposing its guidelines and indicating recommendations from pandemic experts, political authorities and WHO, who advocate social isolation as a protective measure for the population. Therefore, the two discourses, in the scenario of fighting the pandemic, demonstrate antagonistic ways of reflecting / refracting this reality, marked by the dialogism evidenced in video 2 in relation to video 1. This occurs due to the need of the Government of São Paulo to ensure active responsiveness in regard to an ideological position which exalts the economy and neglects human lives, released by the video of the Federal Government.

Conclusion

In reference to the objective of this article, which is to analyze the elements indicating the active responsiveness established in the video *#StayAtHome*, elaborated and disseminated in response to the video *#BrazilCanNotStop*, we highlight that the language styles used in these institutional political propaganda videos allude to a polarization of discursive positions to face the scenario established by covid-19.

According to the ideology shown in *#BrazilCanNotStop*, the isolation flexibility is necessary due to the economy. In addition, in relation to linguistic marks, there is a predominance of the third person in the discourse. This impersonal tone builds the argument through verbal and non-verbal images which implicitly intend the adherence / self-recognition of the less favored working class to the campaign. On the other hand, according to the ideology intended to be disseminated in the video *#StayAtHome*, social isolation is required. Elaborated through the repetition of the verb "stay" in the imperative mode, the video explicitly brings the interlocutor closer to the propaganda, since the speaker addresses the target audience directly, whom he wants to persuade to accept the propagated idea. It is an internal / external negotiation in which, "[...] the printed verbal performance [and multisemiotic verbal discourse that circulates in the various hypermedia] engages, as it were, in ideological colloquy of large scale: it responds to something, affirms something, anticipates possible responses and objections, seeks support, and so on" (Vološinov, 1973, p.95).[32]

These videos, antagonistic in their arguments regarding the confrontation of covid-19, demonstrate various other discourses with which they negotiate, but it is the one from the State of São Paulo, in an explicit active responsiveness that emerges as a discourse that dialogues with other utterances, the ones characterized as authoritative arguments (pandemic experts, European leaders facing the pandemic, the president of the United States and the World Health Organization). Such arguments work as discursive counterpoints to what is indicated in the video *#oBrasilNãoPodeParar*. The replica point of view assumed by the State of São Paulo, and evidenced in the *corpus* under analysis, already begins with a binary structure - "*what x say, stay at home*" - recovering an implicit order of not following other orientations than those of voices of knowledge authorized to speak about the pandemic situation, and refute the positions that oppose such voices. Therefore, this binary structure linguistically shows a responsible / responsive position in regard to the discourse it opposes, which also uses a binary structure - *For x, Brazil Can Not Stop* - in its composition.

Finally, regarding the way of approaching the pandemic theme in the discursive genres on the agenda, in the *#StayAtHome* utterances, when choosing *economics* and *people* as central argumentative categories proposed by the locutors, we could notice that

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[32] For reference, se footnote 3.

there is a stylistic alignment with the institutional political propaganda of the Federal Government, which also has as its argumentative centrality on *economy* and *people*. However, unlike the discourse produced by the Government of the State of São Paulo instructing people to stay at home, the speaker of the Federal Government video takes on the opposite position, that, in the midst of the pandemic, Brazil / Brazilians Can Not Stop.Therefore, despite the convergence of the theme and the compositional construction observed in the *#FiqueEmCasa* discourse in response to the *#OBrasilNãoPodeParar* discourse, there is an argumentative distance between them, evidenced by the language style they assume. Thus, this dialogic responsible / responsive relationship is evidenced by the linguistic analysis that composes both videos, which results in an almost antagonistic reflective / refractive situation in relation to the ways of combating covid-19 in Brazil.

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Statement of Authorship and Responsibility for Published Content

All authors of this article declare that:

a) They had access to the research *corpus*;

b) Participated actively in the discussion of the results;

c) Proceeded to review and approve the final version of the work.

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