

**Bolsonarian discourse in multimodal metaphors about the flexibilization of gun ownership laws: a dialectical analysis-in relational cartoon / *O discurso bolsonarista em metáforas multimodais sobre a flexibilização da posse de armas: uma análise dialético-relacional no gênero charge***

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**ABSTRACT**

In this study, we seek to critically check which discourses of ideological domination, in the application of the stages of dialectic-relational analysis (CHOULIARAKI; FAIRCLOUGH, 1999; FAIRCLOUGH, 2009), in multimodal metaphors (FORCEVILLE, 2009; SPERANDIO, 2014; 2015) are not just a matter of language, but of thought and action, thus occurring in ways other than verbal. In this sense, we are guided by the understanding that multimodal metaphors are operated by verbal-visual representation in cartoons about the flexibilization of possession of weapons in the Bolsonaro Government, transmitted and replicated in social networks in 2018 to 2019 and made available on specialized websites and Journalism blogs, including *Humor Político*, *Tijolaço* and *A Charge Online*. Based on the categories of interdiscursivity and hybridism with a focus on the studies of Critical Discourse Analysis, we analyzed the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices (FAIRCLOUGH, 2012), in the discursive materiality of the five cartoons collected. The results of the analysis of the discourses of ideological domination present in this hybrid genre allowed us to understand the semioses inserted in social practices, acting, above all, in the reflexive representations resulting from the activities of the social actors (BESSA, SATO, 2018). Thus, new relations of power, discourses and practices that became naturalized and spread during and after the elections of 2018, helped us to understand the metaphoric processes embodied in language, thought and action.

**KEYWORDS:** Bolsonarian discourse; Flexibility of arms possession; Interdiscursividade; Hybridism; Dialectic-relational analysis.

**RESUMO**

*Buscamos, neste estudo, verificar criticamente quais os discursos de dominação ideológica, a partir da aplicação dos estágios da análise dialético-relacional (CHOULIARAKI; FAIRCLOUGH, 1999; FAIRCLOUGH, 2009), em metáforas multimodais (FORCEVILLE, 2009; SPERANDIO, 2014; 2015) que, atualmente, não são apenas uma questão de língua(gem), mas de pensamento e ação, ocorrendo, dessa forma, em outros modos além do verbal. Nesse sentido, pautamo-nos na compreensão de que as metáforas multimodais são operadas pela representação verbo-visual em charges sobre a flexibilização da posse de armas no Governo Bolsonaro, veiculadas e replicadas nas redes sociais em 2018 a 2019 e disponibilizadas em sites especializados e blogs jornalísticos: *Humor Político*, *Tijolaço* e *A Charge Online*. Com base nas categorias de interdiscursividade e hibridismo com enfoque nos estudos da ADC, analisamos as relações dialéticas entre semioses (inclusive a língua) e outros elementos das práticas sociais (FAIRCLOUGH, 2012), na materialidade discursiva das cinco charges coletadas. Os resultados da análise dos discursos de dominação ideológica incidentes nesse gênero híbrido, nos fez compreender as semioses inseridas em práticas sociais, atuando, sobretudo, nas representações reflexivas resultado*

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*das atividades dos atores sociais (BESSA; SATO, 2018). Evidenciamos, portanto, novas relações de poder, discursos e práticas que se naturalizaram e se alastraram durante e após as eleições de 2018, ajudando-nos na compreensão dos processos metafóricos incorporados na linguagem, no pensamento e na ação.*

*PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Discurso bolsonarista; Flexibilização da posse de armas; Interdiscursividade; Hibridismo; Análise dialético-relacional.*

## **1 Weaving some initial sense wires**

"[...] all kinds of metaphor necessarily emphasize or cover up certain aspects of what is represented."  
Norman Fairclough (2001: 241).

From a faircloughian perspective, a general question that arises when analyzing genres is to ask which semiotic modalities are outlined and how they combine (FAIRCLOUGH, 2003). In this article, we describe and critically analyze discourses of ideological domination, using the stages of dialectic-relational analysis (CHOULIARAKI; FAIRCLOUGH, 1999; FAIRCLOUGH, 2009) in multimodal metaphors (FORCEVILLE, 2009; SPERANDIO, 2014; 2015), materialized in the cartoon genre, making it possible to understand the various relations of power and ideological domination naturalized by the Bolsonarist discourse of possession of arms in Brazil.

We understand, in principle, that the multisemiotic constitution of these multimodal metaphors are operated through the verbal-visual representation in cartoons about the flexibility of possession of arms in the Bolsonaro Government, transmitted and replicated in social networks in 2018 to 2019 and made available in specialized websites and Journalism blogs, including *Humor Político*<sup>1</sup>, *Tijolaço*<sup>2</sup> and *A Charge Online*<sup>3</sup>. Our corpus was constituted of 5 cartoons randomly chosen in the previously mentioned sites.

It is now evident that the last two decades have led to a wide-ranging change in media and modes of communication (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, [1996] 2006), mainly due to the emergence of some studies anchored in the Social Semiotic Theory of Multimodality that have dealt with multisemiotic constructions in which meaning and

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<sup>1</sup> Disponível em: <https://www.humorpolitico.com.br/tag/armas/>

<sup>2</sup> Disponível em: <http://www.tijolaco.net/blog/adelio-nao-vai-mais-precisar-da-faca/>

<sup>3</sup> Disponível em: <http://www.chargeonline.com.br/doano.htm>

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form appear as an integrated whole, a sign, so the signs are always newly produced according to the interests of their producers in specific situations. All signs are metaphors, and metaphors as signs are always newly produced in specific environments for audiences with specific objectives (KRESS, 2010).

We adopt the theoretical-methodological perspective of critical discourse studies, because we understand that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA or ADC) is not only a theoretical field, but a qualitative research method capable of producing social criticism (MAGALHÃES; MARTINS, 2017). In this sense, Izabel Magalhães (2005: 3) explains:

The ADC is, as I have already indicated, a discipline recognized internationally by the systematic work of several scholars: Fairclough, in a series of works (Fairclough, 1989, 1992, 1995a, 1995b, 2000, 2003; Wodak 1996; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; van Dijk 1985, 1986, 1998). Fairclough's main contribution was the creation of a method for the study of discourse and its extraordinary effort to explain why social scientists and media scholars need linguists (FAIRCLOUGH, 1989, 2001, CHOULIARAKI and FAIRCLOUGH, 1999).

Following this epistemological logic, we agree that the ADC has, in fact, a crucial role in investigating the meanings constructed during action and/or attitude through language in specific contexts. We also assume from the Faircloughian point of view, a transdisciplinary basis in interlocution with the social sciences, specifically with the aim of "deepening the study of the role of language in the articulations of social practices, especially in the current context of the globalization of communication and commerce, known as globalization" (BATISTA JR; SATO; MELO, 2018: 12).

This dialectical-relational analysis (CHOULIARAKI; FAIRCLOUGH, 1999; FAIRCLOUGH, 2009) of the materiality of multimodal metaphors in cartoons about the flexibilization of possession of replicated weapons in social networks is anchored by cognitive linguistic approach. In line with Forceville (2009), we agree that "The widespread use of verbal metaphor by human beings reflects the fact that they think largely metaphorically [...]. However, the non-verbal and multimodal metaphor has been much less studied than its verbal sisters" (FORCEVILLE, 2009: 34). It is worth mentioning that epistemologically,

[...] multimodal metaphors in spoken language are products of the process of creating metaphoricity (by a speaker / manager and ideally also by a listener / observer), which is essentially independent of mode and expressive form (MÜLLER; CIENKI. 2009: 312, *translation and our italics*).

Finally, when we apply the dialectic-relational approach, we find that the multimodal metaphors<sup>4</sup> selected in five political cartoon can reveal the metaphoricity of the senses produced (FORCEVILLE, 2009). ADC does not only lend itself to analyzing the articulation between words, lexical choices, and structures charged with ideology and motivated by preconceptions, domination or relations of power, but it also reveals the grammatical construction of which the discourses are found in the text (BATISTA JR; SATO; MELO, 2018).

It should be mentioned that the discourses also constitute "a focus of struggle to overcome situations of domination and the disarticulation of hegemonies" (RESENDE, RAMALHO, 2006: 143). That is, the discourses are thus stages of "hegemonic struggle, according to the dialectic between structure and action, between the hegemonic force for the maintenance of dominant structures and the counter-hegemonic action for its disarticulation and rearticulation" (RESENDE; RAMALHO, 2006: 143).

Finally, in this article, we share the idea that the ADC is not only about theoretical questions but about a particular social problem, approaching it a priori from a semiotic perspective in tune with a critical inter- and transdisciplinary analysis of relations of discourses of discourse with the context of conjuncture, social practices and materiality (SEIXAS, 2013; PAIVA, 2019).

## **2 Analytical-methodological per(course) in the multimodal understanding of metaphors in the genre cartoon**

Using the theoretical-methodological approach, based on a conjunctural analysis of the relations of power and domination (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001; 2003), Paiva (2019)

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<sup>4</sup> According to Lima (2017: 232), in a more punctual way, "metaphor is defined in this model as a systematic mapping between two conceptual domains: the source domain and the target domain. Thus, for example, the conceptual metaphor LOVE is a JOURNEY licensed metaphorical expression of the type We are *at a crossroads* and This relationship is *foundering*" (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 1980: 44-45).

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evaluates Chouliaraki and Fairclough's (1999) and determined that their approach was based on Bhaskar's (1989) observation of a problem and the analysis of its conjuncture, which demonstrates the importance of the approach of the practices in this framework for ADC. In broad analyzes that consider conjunctures and structures, one can perceive the construction of networks of integrated practices (RESENDE; RAMALHO, 2006: 42).

Thus, by applying the Dialectic-Relational Approach (ADR)<sup>5</sup> by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999) and Fairclough ([1992] 2001, 2003, 2009), we uncover social representations, power relations, and ideologically legitimized/dominant discourses in multimodal metaphors that are part of the cartoon genre and produced in the social and political conjuncture of the Bolsonaro Government. Based on Fairclough (2009), we find that semiosis as an element of the social process is dialectically related to others - hence a "dialectic-relational" approach. In addition, we recognize that “[...] semiosis as part of social activity constitutes genres. [...] genres are different ways of acting, of producing social life, in the semiotic mode” (FAIRCLOUGH, 2002 *apud* WODAK, 2002: 123).

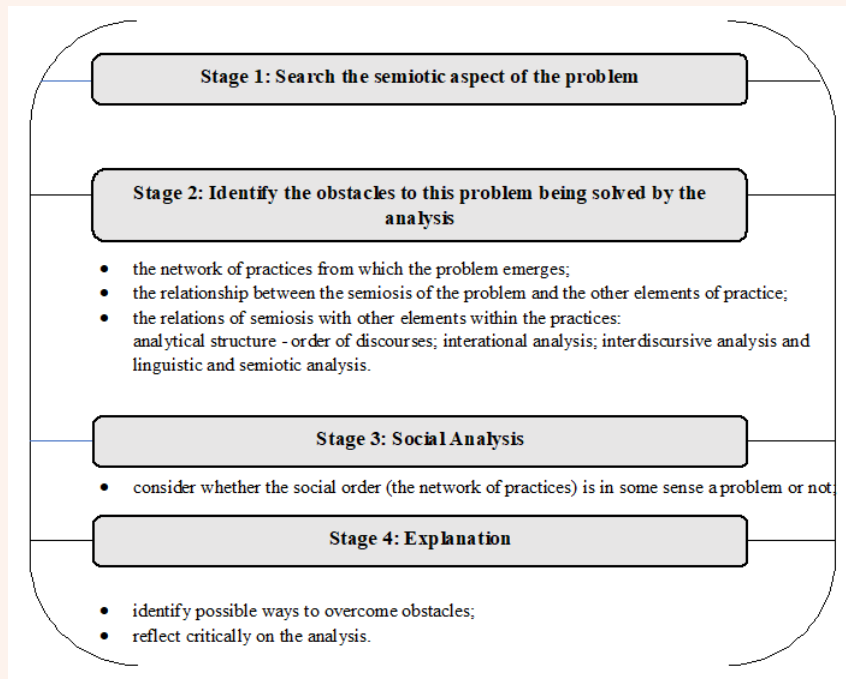
In this way, the relations between the elements are dialectical in the sense of being different, but not "discrete", that is, not totally separate. We can say that each one "internalizes" others without being reducible to them (HARVEY, 1996), and social relations, power, institutions, beliefs and cultural values are partly semiotic; they "internalize" semiosis without being reducible to it (FAIRCLOUGH, 2002, *apud* WODAK, 2002: 123). Consider the stages of ADR:

Figure 1 - Stages of Dialectic-Relational Analysis, by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999)

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<sup>5</sup> Araujo and Turolo-Silva (2014: 176) explain that "the Dialectic-Relational Approach proposed by Fairclough (2003) helps to study social practices in their dialectical relationship with social structures and events, especially with regard to speeches and representations.

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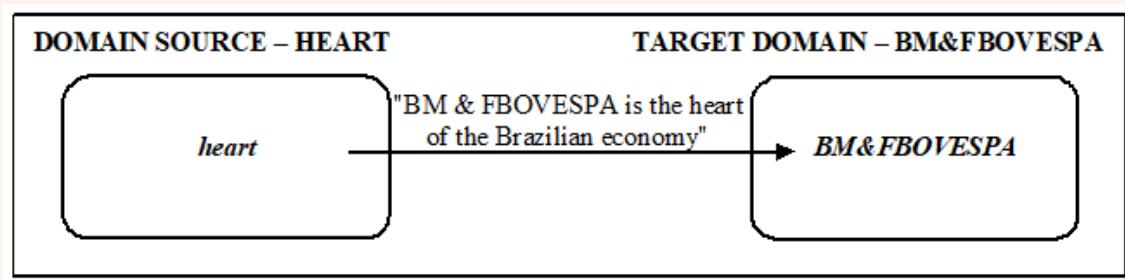


Source: Adapted from (BESSA, SATO, 2018: 129).

Such stages, in general within the Faircloughian approach, are based on the accomplishment of a full analysis in semiotic and discursive aspects of argumentative sustentation with emphasis in analysis of practices, which, therefore, construct a new sense for the naturalized ideologies and reveal manifestations of power (BESSA; SATO, 2018).

For this purpose, for the description and analysis of the multimodal metaphors and the relations of ideological domination in five randomly chosen cartoons about the flexibilization of possession of arms in the Bolsonaro Government from specialized websites and journalistic blogs, including *Humor Político*, *Tijolaço* and *A Charge Online*, we have replicated the Medeiros (2019) analysis scheme based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 1980 [2002]) and the Multimodal Approach of Metaphor (FORCEVILLE, 2009; SPERANDIO, 2014, 2015). Figure 2 below provides an overview of the scheme:

Figure 2: Multimodal Metaphor Analysis Scheme



Source: Adapted from (MEDEIROS, 2019: 68).

Medeiros (2019) studied metaphors in cartoons about economics, multimodality and argumentation and found that metaphors as cognitive mechanisms are present in the most various modes of communication, which gives them a multimodal and often argumentative character. In this sense, the researcher underscores the following point:

one of the classic examples that illustrates this proposal, the conceptual metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, can be found in The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor (LAKOFF, 1992). From the statement "our relationship has hit the dead end street", which we translated as "our relationship has reached a dead end," Lakoff draws attention to the fact that the emerging relationship metaphor among these linguistic indexers presents a set of ontological correspondences that characterize a mapping (MEDEIROS, 2019: 67).

In this same perspective of multimodal analysis of metaphors, Silva (2019a: 57) points out that Forceville (2009) conceives "multimodal metaphor as mappings in which the target domain and the source domain are each represented exclusively or predominantly by different modes". Following this theoretical-methodological conception of the ideological use of metaphors in cartoons, we agree that

[...] All discourse is persuasive in the sense of aiming for some sort of cognitive, emotional or aesthetic effect, or all three together, in its envisaged audience. But purely verbal messages and texts in (mass) communication are nowadays often complemented, or even superseded, by information in other signifying systems. Printed material (advertisements, manuals, instruction books, maps, graphics, cartoons, etc.) usually combine, and establish interactions between, verbal and pictorial information, while most films and TV programs in addition draw on music and non-verbal sound" (FORCEVILLE; URIUS-APARISI, 2009: 18).

Linking this ideological use of metaphoricity to the ADC perspective, we consider that multimodal metaphors are those that have their source and target domains

constructed exclusively or predominantly in different ways (SPERANDIO, 2014, 2015). Thus, we assume that ideology<sup>6</sup> is an analytical dimension of the study of discourse as a social practice, alongside hegemony.

Therefore, Fairclough (2001) clarifies that ideology is constructed and materialized in discursive practices, since it is conceived as a category of social practice, and its investigation has the general objective of specifying the "nature of the social practice of which discursive practice is a part, and constitutes the basis for explaining why discursive practice is what it is, and its effects on social practice" (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001: 289).

It is worth mentioning that Resende and Ramalho (2006), citing Fairclough (2001), understand that

Ideologies are significations / constructions of reality (the physical world, social relations, social identities) that are constructed in various dimensions of the forms / senses of discursive practices and that contribute to the production, reproduction or transformation of the relations of domination (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001: 117 *apud* RESENDE; RAMALHO, 2006: 47).

In other words, in Eagleton's (1997) understanding, the discursive context is very important, therefore, one can not analyze a statement, whether it is ideological or not, without observing the discursive context. And he concludes by suggesting that "ideology has more to do with the question of who is speaking what with whom and for what purpose than with the inherent linguistic properties of a pronouncement" (EAGLETON 1997: 22).

### **3 Categorizing representational meanings in multimodal metaphors in cartoons**

Applying theoretically-methodologically the scheme of Medeiros (2019) allied to the assumptions we adopt from the Theory of Conceptual Metaphor (LAKOFF, JOHNSON, 1980 [2002]) and the Multimodal Approach of Metaphor (FORCEVILLE, 2009; SPERANDIO, 2014), we achieve a priori to categorize the multimodal metaphors present in the cartoons collected at random on this subject.

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<sup>6</sup> For a better understanding of the 16 conceptions of ideologies, see Eagleton (1997).

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We can state from a pilot analysis that "when we mean something through one metaphor and not another, we are constructing our reality in one way and not another, which suggests affiliation with a particular way of representing aspects of the world and of to identify it" (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001: 261 apud RESENDE, RAMALHO, 2006: 111).

In relation to this political context from 2018 to 2019, especially regarding the flexibilization of the possession of weapons, we observe an ideological legitimization through the "[...] naturalization of both the representation that privileges certain actors and voices as well as the metaphors that instill negative senses" in the dominant discourses of possession of arms by the Bolsonaro political group (RESENDE; RAMALHO, 2006: 113); that is, those representations and voices enable the action of ideology through symbolic violence, "from the power to impose - and even to inculcate - arbitrary instruments of knowledge and expression, although ignored as such - of social reality" (BOURDIEU, 2003: 12 apud RESENDE; RAMALHO, 2006: 113).

Now, for the analysis of the corpus, we agree that the genre cartoon, in view of the many attributes related to it, appears as a comprehensible text to society, explaining "in a critical, humorous and sarcastic manner the most diverse subjects, since the politics until the technological advances" (NASCIMENTO, 2011: 2).

In other words, Flôres (2002) conceptualizes that

The cartoon is a text usually published in newspapers and is usually made up of a single frame. The illustration shows characterizing details of characters, situations, environments, objects. Comments on the situation represented appear in writing. Writing / illustration are integrated in such a way that sometimes it is difficult, if not impossible to read a cartoon and understand it, without considering the two codes complementarily, associating them with the consideration of interdiscourse that is present as memory, giving a meaning in a given context - that and not any other (FLÔRES, 2002: 14, *emphasis added*).

Let us now see a critical multimodal analysis and the consequences of the dominant ideology resulting from the flexibilization of possession of weapons in chargin texts.

In cartoon 1 - *Signature of the decree*, we see a semiotic-visual reading from the perspective of the Theory of Conceptual Metaphor (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, 1980

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[2002]) and the Multimodal Approach of Metaphor (FORCEVILLE, 2009; SPERANDIO, 2014) and it allows us to understand the discursive and material fulfillment of Bolsonaro's governmental plan, in which he undertook to reformulate the Disarmament Statute (which includes the rules for possession and possession of arms in the country); that is to say, the performance of bolsonarization of the possession of arms was due to the fact that he defended the possession of firearms in order to guarantee the right to self-defense for whom he classifies as "citizen of good"; consequently, the flexibilization of gun ownership will result in a more violent scenario: "people will die as a result of this signature" (BASILIO, 2019)<sup>7</sup>.

Multimodal Metaphor: SIGNATURE OF THE DECREE IS A GUN FOR SALE. Domain-source: ARMAMENTISTA TRADE / INDUSTRY / FLEXIBILIZATION Target domain: FLEXIBILIZATION OF WEAPONS FOR THE POPULATION Mapping: BOLSONARO → PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC → POSTURE / EYES GUN → TO SIGN DECREE WEAPON FLEXIBILIZATION OF POSSESSION → VIOLENCE / HATE / TRADE Carrying: FLEXIBILIZATION OF WEAPONS IS VIOLENCE
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Considering the above analysis, it is verified that the process of metaphoricity is evidenced by the materialization of a dominant ideological discourse instilled by the "legitimate defense team"<sup>8</sup>, or rather, by the group that advocates the flexibilization of possession, which is "bullet" (CALEIRO, CERIONE, 2019)<sup>9</sup>, based on the mercantile interests of the capital in the sale of arms to the Brazilian population as a consequence of the campaign proposals of a president defending the possession of weapons by the "citizen of good". This group of Bolsonists or the like aim to maintain their relations of domination through the implementation of their power project, seeking to make this flexibility of arms increasingly legitimized by the use of force of law.

However, it is necessary to take into account that "from the point of view of the power relations that are rampant in any class society, constructions of the collective

<sup>7</sup> For more information, see: Basilio (2019).

<sup>8</sup> Expression used by Bolsonaro, to replace the term bullet legitimacy that the possession of weapons to the Brazilian population is necessary due to the increasing violence and the "good citizen" owns a weapon.

<sup>9</sup> To see: Caleiro e Cerioni (2019).

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memory become instruments of manipulation of the facts by which it holds the power of decision in society" (SILVA, 2019: 97).

With respect to problems of the arms issue, Costa and Silveira (2018: 25) argue that "[...] The issue of population arms, in turn, is not seen as a commercial issue worthy of note, but as a matter of public safety - for the good of the population - which, in turn, ends up warming the Brazilian economy". The authors give us an example of this paradoxical question of possession of weapons, replicated in social networks by a woman: "with a gun I kill or die, without a weapon I only die", that is, we can understand that

The statement made by a woman reveals some fundamental assertions: 1. The weapon is a protection that can mean the life or death of the victim, there is a last chance of defense; 2. The necessity of the weapon demonstrates silently the political inefficiency - ineffectiveness which will not find support in a management system or something similar, but in an armament of the population that, in theory, will act in accordance with the purposes in the fight against crime, with a possible death of the criminal; 3 There will be a substantial sale, an extremely heated market for firearms; and this 'commercial' choice is connected to the interest in public safety, in a way that evidences the candidate's 'strong hand' (COSTA; SILVEIRA, 2018: 25-26).

The multimodal articulations in the charginistic text (both the aggressive look, the color of the suit/black and the use of a weapon as a pen) reinforce the dimension that the presidible acts have been causing in the life of the people through the legitimization of the use of arms as an instrument of self-defense, aggravating, consequently, the indices of violence in Brazil. In this sense, "the Bolsonaro effect, therefore, is realized politically when, paradoxically, the political discourse is weakened so that authoritarian bias can gain space (COSTA; SILVEIRA, 2018: 27). Observe the construction of this ideological arrangement of political discourse in cartoon 2<sup>10</sup> - *baby playing with mobile weapons*, in which we learn that during the elections the speech of representation of arms possession by Bolsonarian was marked with the act of making a sign of "arminha" with the hands, not only by him and his political group, but by many people ideologically adept at this military/arms speech.

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<sup>10</sup> Available at: <http://www.chargeonline.com.br/doano.htm>. Accessed on: february 21, 2019.

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In fact, the most shocking was the stimulation and naturalization of these discourses in the media and social relations in which children naturally reproduced them. In their view, Bolsonarist, to make the sign of arms means "courage, honesty, being patriotic" (FERNANDES, 2018)<sup>11</sup>. In short, this effect of the Bolsonarist discourse aims to establish authoritarianism "that makes antidemocratic solutions be democratically proposed" (COSTA; SILVEIRA, 2018: 33).

It is important to point out that "political agents act in the regulation of power in society, whether coercive (to ensure coexistence and to prevent the disintegration of society) or physical (that occurs through the use of force)" (PEIXOTO, 2018: 94). Considering this, we observed that during the elections the Bolsonarist political platform praised the use of the weapon as a hegemonic militarist discourse capable of garnering large numbers of votes from ordinary people, many of whom politically alienated from the true purposes of economic and political power by part of the Bolsonaros clan.

Multimodal Metaphor: GUNS ARE UNFORESEEN CHILD TOYS
Domain-source: ARMAMENTISTA TRADE / INDUSTRY / FLEXIBILIZATION
Target domain: FLEXIBILIZATION OF WEAPONS
Mapping:
CHILDREN $\longrightarrow$ NATURALIZATION / ACULTURATION OF WEAPONS
WEAPONS $\longrightarrow$ TOYS / CULTURAL INSTRUMENT OF POWER
FLEXIBILIZATION OF POSSE $\longrightarrow$ VIOLENCE / HATE / TRADING DISCOURSE
Carrying:
FLEXIBILIZATION OF WEAPONS IS CULTURALLY CLEAR.

Referring to the analysis above, we understand that the Bolsonarist group acted strategically in order to misrepresent the negative and violent significance that arms represent, "an the symbolic power to constitute the given by the enunciation, to confirm or to transform the world view, is only exercised if it is ignored as arbitrary (BOURDIEU, 2003: 113 apud RESENDE, RAMALHO, 2006: 113).

For this, the reproduction of the hegemonic world view in the media discourses makes the great media an institution potentially capable of endorsing ignorance, as well as confirming the creation of reality in the image of hegemonic discourse (RESENDE, RAMALHO, 2006: 113). Analyzing cartoon 3 - *citizen defender of the home*, we find

<sup>11</sup> To see: Fernandes (2018).

semiotic-visual elements that reinforce the Bolsonaroist discourse of use of arms materialized by practices of authoritarianism.

In this cartoon 3, the authoritarian and moral discourse spread by the Bolsonites conceives that "good bandit is a dead bandit," because "authoritarianism ... is not only a question of silencing itself in the sense of censoring, but also in the sense of to make subjects, in different discursive spheres (religious, political, military discourse), unite to validate a common point: the desire to make certain interpretations, be postulated authoritarily" (COSTA, SILVEIRA, 2018: 32).

Multimodal Metaphor: GUN POSSIBILITY IS PARTICULAR SAFETY  
Domain-source: ARMAMENTISTA TRADE / INDUSTRY / FLEXIBILIZATION  
Target domain: FACILITATION OF WEAPONS IN DOMESTIC ENVIRONMENT  
Mapping:  
HUSBAND  $\rightleftarrows$  DEFENDER OF THE LAR/MARITAL  $\rightleftarrows$  WIFE SATIRE (MACHINING)  
GUNS  $\rightleftarrows$  CULTURAL INSTRUMENT OF POWER / SAFETY  
FACILITATION OF POSSE  $\rightleftarrows$  VIOLENCE / HATE / TRADING DISCOURSE  
Carrying:  
FACILITATION OF WEAPONS IS THE SECURITY OF HOME / FAMILY / WIFE.

We consider that "[...] political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms. Like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality" (LAKOFF; JOHNSON, [1980] 2002: 236). Although "in the area of politics and economics, metaphors matter more, for they direct our lives" (LAKOFF and JOHNSON, [1980] 2002: 236).

In this sense, we understand that the Bolsonaroist discourse of arming the population as a way of combating crime, defending property and home security is nothing more than an authoritarian political strategy to implement the conservative neoliberal right-wing power project. In addition, "for authoritarianism to occur, it is necessary that, in addition to someone who exercises it, there is an echo of these senses in other discourses" (COSTA; SILVEIRA, 2018: 28).

Observe the materialization of this authoritarian discourse in cartoon 4<sup>12</sup> - *armed baby* that resumes the dialectic-relational discussion of the arms discourse that has been naturalized in Brazilian society, instilling this need even in the minds of Brazilian children and young people to possess a weapon. Consequently, this is associated with

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<sup>12</sup> Available at: <https://www.humorpolitico.com.br/tag/armas/page/9/>. Accessed on: March 22, 2019.  
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the fact that Bolsonaro and the other followers adopted during the campaign to the presidency, "the gesture with the hands, imitating a weapon", becoming traditional in the Congress during meetings of the call bullet, of which Bolsonaro is proud to be one of the exponents" (FERNANDES, 2018).

Multimodal Metaphor: GUN POSSESSION IS SOMETHING COMMON / NATURAL EVEN FOR A CHILD  
Domain-source: ARMAMENTISTA TRADE / INDUSTRY / FLEXIBILIZATION  
Target domain: ARMED SOCIETY  
Mapping:  
HUSBAND → SURPRISE BY BABY ALREADY WALKING → NATURALIZATION OF WEAPON  
WEAPONS → VIOLENCE INSTRUMENT → SATIRE / MOTOR TARGETED  
NATURALIZATION OF POSSE → VIOLENCE / HATE / TRADING DISCOURSE  
Carrying:  
USE OF WEAPONS IS NATURAL FOR A CHILD.

It is worth mentioning that humor and irony are crossed multimodally in the charginist text precisely by the semiotic integration of verbal and nonverbal, which is evident in the natural way in which the father is surprised by the baby walking, but does not take into account that the child shot at her own mother, who is shot on the floor; the representation mocks the fact that the baby already uses a gun as if it were a toy.

In the political context, the authoritarianism of Bolsonarism was consolidated when the candidate "Bolsonaro appear[ed] doing his traditional gesture of imitating arms with the thumb and index finger" (CAMPOS, 2018)<sup>13</sup>, even when he was hospitalized due to an alleged stab. It is clear that the authoritarian bias has become "the modus operandi to combat crime, and not the bias of investigative intelligence, or educational structuring as weapons to fight the crimes themselves" (COSTA; SILVEIRA, 2018: 26).

In addition, the Bolsonarist discourse seeks to instill in the minds of people the need for an armed society capable of extirpating crime and giving more freedom to the so-called "good citizens". It is crucial to analyze the following: "triad: selling a weapon - a chance for the victim to defend himself - [which] brings up another question for the panoptic scheme of power, when applied to the analysis of the candidate on screen: the

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<sup>13</sup> To see: Campos (2018).

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belief that crime fighting is done with the gun fighting the criminal and not necessarily in its prevention "(COSTA, SILVEIRA, 2018, p.26).

When we come to the analysis of the last cartoon, we find that naturalization (when a social creation is treated as if it were natural, independent of human action) of the Bolsonarist discourse by the flexibilization of possession of weapons is a constant in the verbal-visual (multimodal) composition of the cartoons evaluated in the light of critical discourse studies and approaches to metaphor studies.

Multimodal Metaphor: WEAPON POSSESSION IS PERSONAL PROTECTION / DEFENSE OF THE "CITIZEN OF GOOD".				
Domain-source: ARMAMENTISTA TRADE / INDUSTRY / FLEXIBILIZATION				
Target domain: ARMED SOCIETY				
Mapping:				
MAN IN A RACK	→	FIGHT / GUN USE	→	MAN TARGETED ON THE GROUND
WEAPONS	→	VIOLENCE / PERSONAL DEFENSE INSTRUMENT		
NATURALIZATION OF POSSE	→	VIOLENCE / HATE / TRADING DISCOURSE		
Carrying:				
GUN IS AN INSTRUMENT OF LEGITIMATE DEFENSE.				

Cartoon 5<sup>14</sup> - "*citizen*" acting in self-defense, in which a discussion between men results in homicide, depicts the social conjuncture of the growth of violence for banal reasons in the speech propagated by Bolsonaro and his group. The discourse is justifiable because the good citizen needs to defend himself and protect his assets. We find that the multimodal composition of this cartoon is characterized by the dimension of semiotic systems, impelling the interpretation of the constitutive elements of a text towards the complexity of the articulations between verbal, nonverbal and multimodal (KRESS; VAN LEEUWEN, [1996] 2006).

Finally, we present the analysis of multimodal metaphors according to the materiality of the cartoons evaluated from a perspective of ADC dialectic-relational analysis:

Table 1: Analysis of multimodal metaphors in cartoons

MULTIMODAL	DOMAIN-SOURCE	DOMAIN-	SOURCE
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<sup>14</sup> Available at: <https://www.humorpolitico.com.br/tag/armas/page/9/>. Accessed on: March 23, 2019.

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METAPHORS		TARGET	
Signing of the decree is weapon for sale	Arms trade / Legalization	Flexibilization of the possession of weapons by the population	<a href="https://dabunjr.wordpress.com/tag/tirinha/">https://dabunjr.wordpress.com/tag/tirinha/</a>
Weapons are harmless child toys	Arms trade / Flexibilization	Flexibility of unrestricted access to firearms	<a href="http://www.chargeonline.com.br/doano.htm">http://www.chargeonline.com.br/doano.htm</a>
Possession of weapons is personal security	Private security / defense of the home	Facilitation of the use of weapons in domestic environment	<a href="http://blogdoaftm.web2419.uni5.net/charge-porte-de-armas/">http://blogdoaftm.web2419.uni5.net/charge-porte-de-armas/</a>
Possession of weapons is something common / natural even for a child	Population in general	Naturalization of the use of weapons	<a href="https://www.humorpolitico.com.br/tag/armas/page/9/">https://www.humorpolitico.com.br/tag/armas/page/9/</a>
The weapon is personal protection / defense of the "citizen of good"	Population in general	Population in general Naturalization of the use of weapons as an instrument of defense	<a href="https://www.humorpolitico.com.br/tag/armas/page/9/">https://www.humorpolitico.com.br/tag/armas/page/9/</a>

Source: Prepared by the authors based on (FORCEVILLE, 2008/2009, SPERANDIO, 2014, MEDEIROS, 2019, SILVA, 2019a).

With regard to the construction of metaphoricity, we therefore evidence a naturalization of the possession of weapons in discursive practices and in the social relations constructed during the 2018 elections that culminated in changes in the Statute of Disarmament in 2019, by means of a decree of law that he implanted another project of political power based on authoritarianism and the ideological subjugation of the other, due to the permanence of power-based articulations (CHOULIARAKI and FAIRCLOUGH, 1999; RESENDE and RAMALHO, 2006).

We point out, finally, based on Lima and Silva (2014), who cite Nascimento (2011) and Flôres (2002), the cartoon genre is a text construction of everyday life that addresses "clearly and at the same time loaded with irony, humor and sarcasm, of



themes related to situations experienced by social groups in daily life" (LIMA; SILVA, 2014: 128).

Thus, there is nothing more common than finding the presence of multimodal metaphors in the composition of this genre. Although we know that even the chargist text is loaded with the intentionality of the producer and ideological discourses, we can also verify from the studied examples that the categorized multimodal metaphors are capable of creating and (re)producing conceptual, educational, political, cultural insights embodied in discursive practices and in the relations of domination aimed at those who are in social disadvantage in Brazil.

## **Conclusions**

In this article, we analyze the multimodal metaphors in the construction of the cartoon genre in the light of critical discourse studies and the multimodal approach of the metaphor. In this way, we find that interdiscursivity as a category of analysis integrates with the representational meaning, regarding aspects of the world, ideologies, values, beliefs, etc.

The cognitive and multimodal mapping that we showed in the cartoons made it possible to show that the flexibilization of gun ownership in Brazil was operated by meanings constructed through multimodal metaphors reflected in both the arms and war discourse and in the materialization of other Bolsonist discourses linked to authoritarianism, violence, the game of interests of the financial capital for the sale of arms, the reduction of criminality, etc., all of which are controversial subjects treated and recurrent in the discursive practices of the bolsonaristas, or rather, of the political clan of the Bolsonaros that promote an ideological war in the relations of power and domination, especially in the digital media against educational segments and social movements, for example.

Considering that "to be able to read visual metaphors in multimodal texts in the globalized world is to possess the key of the world of the senses" (VIEIRA, 2015: 92), we come to believe that the multiple interdiscursive connections in the chargístico texts provide the different ways in which a certain aspect of the world can be represented, in

this case, the flexibilization of possession of weapons. Thus, we understand that interdiscursivity turns to "discourses articulated or not in texts, as well as [to] the ways in which they are articulated and blended with other discourses" (RAMALHO; RESENDE, 2011: 142).

There is no doubt that the apprehension of the multimodal composition of these metaphors was the theoretical-methodological course for the construction of the meanings of the cartoons analyzed, since discursive hybrids should not be considered only as a textual question because the generic categories of intertextuality may also constitute "strategies of hegemonic struggle"; that is, hybridism of genres can serve, in this perspective, for ideological purposes due to alluding not only linguistic issues, but also pertinent issues of maintaining power, hegemony and ideology (CHOULIARAKI; FAIRCLOUGH, 1999: 62).

The hybrid construction of language and the multimodal organization of metaphors in the cartoons about the flexibilization of arms possession refer to the production, reception and circulation of meanings in social practices in which the discourses of domination of a group/Bolsonarist materialize in a frightening way in the web of power relations in society, aiming to convince the population of the need to arm themselves in the fight against crime for the sake of a supposed personal defense, which opposes the legal postulate that public safety is the inalienable duty of the State.

The interdiscursive constructions of verbal and nonverbal in these cartoons, taken from the Brazilian political conjuncture of the 2018 elections, bring to the fore contexts, discourses and actions related to the population's arms to the detriment of a project of capitalist, cultural power and the instrumentalization of machismo by use of force/weapons in human daily life, since these multimodal metaphors had a target and source represented exclusively or predominantly over different modes (SPERANDIO, 2015); that is, it is crucial today to study these multimodal metaphors because their domains are materialized in diversified ways.

The application of the dialectical-relational approach in cartoons made it possible to demonstrate the process of constructing metaphoricity on the flexibilization of gun ownership in the Brazilian political context, as well as serving as an instrument of denunciation against the discourses of domination of an authoritarian group capable

of naturalizing violence to the detriment of individualistic interests and the armaments industry.

Finally, recalling the ideas of Flôres (2002) regarding the activity of reading cartoons, it is clear that this discursive genre has become "an interesting object of study for what it shows and says about ourselves and the world in which we live"; that is, the multimodal composition of the chargist text "contains a great potential for critical questioning and confrontation of opinions about social organization, political arrangements and the dispute for power" (FLÔRES, 2002: 11).

It is possible to observe, because the elements of ideological domination (legitimation/dissimulation) in cartoons were constructed and located by the manifestations of power (FAIRCLOUGH, 2001), by the naturalization of discourses (BESSA; SATO, 2018) on flexibilization of weapons before and during the 2018 elections, materializing in authoritarian discourses imbued with social practices to be legitimized by public policies aimed at public and private security, especially a frighteningly cruel and backward elite.

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