# PSEUDONYMITY AS A DEMOCRATIC PRACTICE FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EXTIMACY DISCOURSE IN FAVOR OF THE VACCINATION AGAINST COVID-19

**O PSEUDONIMATO COMO PRÁTICA DEMOCRÁTICA PARA A CONSTRUÇÃO DO DISCURSO DE EXTIMIDADE COM CONTEÚDO A FAVOR DA VACINAÇÃO CONTRA A COVID-19**

EL PSEUDONIMATO COMO PRÁCTICA DEMOCRÁTICA PARA LA CONSTRUCCIÓN DEL DISCURSO DE EXTIMIDAD CON CONTENIDO A FAVOR DE LA VACUNACIÓN CONTRA LA COVID-19

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ABSTRACT: This research seeks to identify in which way the technodiscursive pseudonymity phenomenon materializes itself in the Twitter profile "Haddad Debochado" for the construction of the extimacy discourse encouraging the vaccination against Covid-19. For this to be possible, our research is based in the assumptions of the Digital Discourse Analysis, by Marie-Anne Paveau (2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2021), that describes pseudonymity and presents the notion of extimacy in the native discourse of the web. We qualitatively analyzed the profile and one tweet of each week of June 2021, among those that were most representative according to the practice of pseudonymity for the creation of extimal tweets. The results show that the pseudonym "Haddad Debochado" reveals an "I" that encourages vaccination and is contrary to the ideas of the government of Jair Bolsonaro. We conclude that pseudonymity is a democratic and constitutive strategy of the extimacy discourse.
KEYWORDS: Pseudonymity. Extimacy. Digital Discourse Analysis. Twitter.

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RESUMO: Esta pesquisa tem como objetivo identificar de que modo o fenômeno tecnodiscursivo pseudonimato se materializa no perfil do Twitter "Haddad Debochado" para a construção do discurso de extimidade de incentivo à vacinação contra a Covid-19. Para isso, ancora-se nos pressupostos da Análise do Discurso Digital, de Marie-Anne Paveau (2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2021), que descreve o pseudonimato e apresenta a noção de extimidade no discurso nativo da web. Analisamos qualitativamente o perfil e um tuíte de cada semana do mês de junho de 2021, entre os que tiveram maior representatividade em relação à prática do pseudonimato para a criação de tuítes êxtimos. Os resultados mostram que o pseudônimo "Haddad Debochado" desvela um "eu" incentivador da vacinação e contrário às ideias do governo de Jair Bolsonaro. Concluímos que o pseudonimato é uma estratégia democrática e constitutiva do discurso de extimidade.
PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Pseudonimato. Extimidade. Análise do Discurso Digital. Twitter.

RESUMEN: Esta investigación tiene como objetivo identificar cómo se materializa el fenómeno tecno-discursivo del pseudonimato en el perfil de Twitter "Haddad Debochado" para la construcción del discurso de extimidad para el incentivo de la vacunación contra la Covid-19. Para ello, se basa en los supuestos del Análisis del Discurso Digital, de Marie-Anne Paveau (2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2021), que describe el pseudonimato y presenta la noción de extimidad en el discurso nativo de la web. Analizamos cualitativamente el perfil y un "twitte" cada semana, en junio de 2021, entre los que fueron más representativos en relación a la práctica del pseudonimato para la creación de twittes extimos. Los resultados muestran que el pseudónimo "Haddad Debochado" revela una "yo" que incentiva la vacunación y es contrario a las ideas del gobierno de Jair Bolsonaro. Concluimos que el pseudonimato es una estrategia democrática y constitutiva del discurso de la extimidad.
PALABRAS CLAVE: Pseudonimato. Extimidad. Análisis del Discurso Digital. Twitter.

# 1 INTRODUCTION

Web 2.0, also known as participative web, allows a fruitful interaction among its users and provides unique writing environments. Social media are privileged digital ecosystems[1] for communication and present intrinsic reading and writing characteristics considering their possibilities and restrictions.

Consequently, the exposition of extimate content, namely that one in which users externalize their intimacy in order to validate their self-image, has been taking a large proportion due to the main purposes of social media: sociability and interactivity. Thus, the dualism public life *versus* private life has been modified, once it is not possible anymore to set boundaries between the off-line and the on-line discourses. Trying to keep themselves "anonymous"[2] for uncovering the self-image in extimacy discourses, many users create a pseudonym in web - this experience has been strengthened in a large scale especially on Twitter. The pseudonymity phenomenon as a way of hiding official name, intending to guarantee the protection of the civil register identity, meets the previous observation.

In this sense, we seek to identity and analyze how the technodiscursive phenomenon of psedonymity is materialized on the Twitter profile "Haddad Debochado" for the construction of the extimacy discourse encouraging the vaccination against Covid-19. In specific terms, we intend to: build a historic-politic background that gave origin to the Twitter profile "Haddad Debochado"; identify the graphic, morphologic, enunciative and semantic features of the digital pseudonym "Haddad Debochado", as well as linguistic marks mobilized by the extimacy discourse (personal pronouns, possessives, verbal endings for first and second person); and, finally, to make considerations about the phenomenon of pseudonymity on the Twitter profile "Haddad Debochado" as a democratic practice for the self-externalization on Twitter.

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[1] Paveau (2013) believes that the verbal texts are inserted in an ecosystem. The digital discourse genres, for example, are elaborated inside the Internet ecosystem, presenting their own characteristics.

[2] The anonymity described here is, according to Paveau (2021, p. 295), "[...] a general notion that corresponds to the possibility of hiding one's official identity, and not of using services without identification."

We chose to analyze this phenomenon on Twitter because it is the digital social media where important contemporaneous discussions occur with immediate speed. Moreover, due to the historic context of Covid-19 pandemic and to Bolsonaro's government negligence on the acquisition of vaccines, we selected the extimate tweets by "Haddad Debochado" that emphasize the defense for vaccination and the opposition to the denialism fostered by members of Federal Government.

Given this scenario, the description and analysis of the phenomena raised in the digital context need a theoretical-methodological device modeled to analyze digital-native productions, created with the tools offered by Internet. For this purpose, we bring concepts from Digital Discourse Theory, by Marie-Anne Paveau (2013, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2021), that exposes the characteristics of the digital discourse analysis, describes and categorizes the pseudonymity on Internet, as well as presents the notion of extimacy in the web native discourse.

This paper is organized into six sections. This first one presents the introduction; the second one describes the main characteristics of Digital Discourse Theory; the third section is dedicated to the pseudonymity in the extimacy discourse on Twitter; the fourth and fifth sections present the methodological frame of this investigation and the analysis of the observables pointed in the objectives; finally, the sixth and last section brings some remarks on the analysis findings.

## 2 DIGITAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

Researches about internet-native discourses[3] have so far demonstrated a great effort in order to deal with their technical dimension, once there is a computer programming that structure digital environments. Considering this, Marie-Anne Paveau (2021), pioneer on Digital Discourse Theory, proposes an ecological conception for linguistic-discursive studies, in which she attaches the same level of importance both to the internal and the external, the linguistic and the non-linguistic. This epistemological perspective is based on the notion of symmetry[4] and comes from a composite conception of language and discourse. The "extralinguistic", according to Paveau (2021), must be understood as an ecosystem, starting from the principle that discourse is developed in/with/by means of technology. Therefore, the analysis does not concern only discourse anymore, but all the environment elements - "linguistic and technological from computational nature" (PAVEAU, 2021, p. 58); in the same way, the enunciative agency is no longer the source of verbal production, but instead participates in that ecosystem and assumes an equality position in relation with the other elements. Thus, there isn't room for the "extralinguistic" idea, once all the unities are interwoven and are considered analysis objects, and not only the linguistic material.

In this sense, following a post-dualist view of language in which the "[…] statements produced in on-line environments by means of a discursive technology have a composite nature: they are no longer only linguistic, but blended with technology" (PAVEAU, 2015, p. 3 - our translation), we can assume that linguistic productions are no longer elaborated by means of technological tools, but co-constructed in and by digital ecosystems.

The digital discourse analysis, according to Paveau (2021, p. 57), "[…] creates methodological and theoretical devices that might deal with the specific functioning of internet-native discourses". Those discourses have linguistic characteristics which are not methodologically considered by the traditional discourse analysis and, for this reason, compel us to rethink theoretical-methodological instruments. The linguist (PAVEAU, 2021) presents six features of digital-native discourses:

- Composition: they are constituted by the connection between the linguistic and the technological from computational nature, both in a manifest way by the use of composition marks (such as the hashtag and the pseudonym on Twitter) and in a non-manifest way (all the digital-native discourses, namely all the linguistic production that depends on computer programs).

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[3] Paveau (2021, p. 57) calls as native discourses "[…] productions elaborated on-line, in the writing spaces and with the tools offered by Internet, and not those ones transferred to the on-line digital context after the digitalization from pre-digital writing and editorial contexts."

[4] The word "symmetric", proposed by Bruno Latour (2021), advocates the same status and attention to human and non-human actors and defines a post-dualist approach for linguistic phenomena.

- Non-linear reading: in contrast to pre-digital theories, digital-native discourses are not necessarily conceived in a "[…] specific syntagmatic axis of the discourse thread" (p. 58); they can be made non-linear by hypertextual links, that allow the readwriter[5] to leave the source-text and go into another discourse, in a new browser window, and, later, to return to the source-text.

- Amplification: they show an enunciation amplified by comments and sharing on digital social media, as well as by collaborative writing tools with enunciators' identification.

- Relationality: they are intrinsically related to: other discourses due to web network effect; technological devices, once the utterances are co-produced with the machine; writers and readwriters, by the subjectivity of writing and reading interfaces.

- Searchability: they are inscribed in a place of search and re-documentation tools; they are, therefore, locatable and searchable for mentions and uses due to the internal metadata.

- Unpredictability: they are partly produced by programs and algorithms, becoming unpredictable for human enunciations both in form and in content.

The peculiarities listed above are considered fundamental in digital discourse analysis and clearly show an ecological and integrative approach to discourse, that transforms the dominant episteme in language sciences and requires from the user-researcher, according to Paveau (2016, p. 14 - our translation), to look at "new observables" and

> [...] to think about the place and the effects of the digital in language theories (PAVEAU, 2021), and to be supplied with a theory that be able to understand its technical dimension: this is what digital discourse analysis (from now on DDA) proposes, asking for an ecological analysis, i.e., starting from the digital ecosystems themselves and taking as research object not linguistic segments extracted from their environments anymore, but digital environments as a whole. (PAVEAU, 2013b)

Therefore, it is not possible anymore to carry out digital-native discourse analyses without considering technical and linguistic elements that characterize different digital ecosystems. In this sense, different technodiscursive phenomena susceptible to be analyzed in digital environments, such as the extimate discourse on the digital social media (from now on DSM) Twitter by means of the pseudonymity practice, need to be based on a methodological device that is able to deal with observables in an on-line context.

## 3 (SOCIO)TECHNODISCURSIVE PRACTICES ON TWITER

Twitter, stemming from Web 2.0 or participative web, is a digital social media with international coverage, which allows its users to communicate using their own languages.

Each DSM - the apple of Web 2.0 eyes (SANTAELLA, 2013) - is created with specific purposes, differing from each other in their functions and target public, and, despite of this heterogeneity, all of them have interactivity as their main goal. In this sense, Twitter is an open platform that testifies, according to Paveau (2021), a social configuration of technology. It makes possible a range of technodiscursive practices: creating social profiles and connecting to other profiles, tweeting and retweeting, liking, commenting, live tweeting.

When came up in 2006, Twitter had one single way of tweet, but now, more than fifteen years later, it evolutionarily offers writing possibilities, once some of them regularly arise and other disappear, according to Paveau (2021). The tweet may be originated in its

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[5] Textualization in web is understood by Paveau (2021) as an operation constituted by a technical and material gesture (readwriting = combination of two activities of reading and writing implied by the technical device based on the use of hyperlink), with both hand and machine, clicking, scrolling, dragging.

simple model, without illustration and sharing, or with images, screenshots, videos, hashtags, gifs and even an URL[6], materialized according to the ecosystem layout shared by a window and not counting on the allowed characters.

Besides of the most basic and common format - tweeting a message -, this technodiscursive ecosystem gives to the user the possibility of answering other user's tweet, being this answer started by marking the interlocutor's pseudonym without counting the number of characters. Twitter editorial enunciation[7] allows the reading of the tweet in the timeline only to the tweet author and to the answer addressees. The retweet is also a much used technodiscursive action, once it authorizes the user to share a tweet marked by the abbreviation RT (retweet) with or without adding a comment. As this DSM delimits the space of 280 characters per tweet, its users have found an alternative to outline this constraint using the thread, which enables the writing of long messages by means of the option "answer".

A simple tweet, according to the author (PAVEAU, 2021, p. 370, author's emphasis), is composed of:

> […] user's profile picture; username; user's pseudonym; tweet date, relative or absolute; tweet text inscribed in the specific window […]; list of possible actions indicated by icons positioned below the text (formerly followed by consigned-words): answer, retweet, like, tweets activities; button of down arrow with the functions of copying the tweet link, incorporating tweet, masking, blocking, signaling tweet, "I don't like this tweet", "adding in another moment" (if there isn't a moment in the user's account) and "adding the moment without title", adding to another moment (if there is a moment or a moment without title); therefore, the tweet link constitutes per se a determinant element; if this is the case, if the tweet is in a language that is different from the one of the consulted platform, there is the mention "originally in [language]", which opens an automatic translation by a click.

These clickable elements foster different behaviors, actions and reactions from the users, such as the choice for a pseudonym to, due to different reasons, obscure their official identities and create an extimacy discourse for self-validation.

## 3.1 THE EXTIMACY DISCOURSE

The notion of private life, initially understood as a right for protection against the self-unveiling, changed its meaning in the post-digital era, in which intimate information is made public and quickly shared in Web 2.0. In this sense, it is coherent to understand that there are no more limits between the public and the private inside digital ecosystems, because they are in a close and inextricable relation. According to Maingueneau (2015, p. 175 – author's emphasis), that thing which "[…] exceeds any simple distinction between public and private: the 'extimacy' subverts the boundaries between the public and the private".

In accordance with Paveau (2021), extimacy on internet is a practice of users' intimacy externalization in a digital social media, in order to validate self-image and acquire appreciation from other users. This expression, unlike morphological description indicates, is defined as the intimacy exteriority, therefore the synonym of intimate.

The practice of extimate is based on the exposition of intimacy on social media, on the desire of validation and appreciation from other users and on self-appropriation and self-enhancement. In this sense, the digital discourse analysis has parameters that allow the observation and analysis of the extimate discourses: in the linguistic level, by the identification of linguistic markers; in the technolinguistic level, by means of composite marks that blend technological and linguistic; and in the technogeneric level, through digital-native discourse genres (PAVEAU, 2021).

For the construction of extimacy discourse, there are technodiscursive elements that materialize the process of self-exteriorization. The first one is the user's choice for a name, according to his/her desire of validation and construction of his/her *ethos* on DSM. There are several possibilities, such as: complete social name (first name and last name); part of the social name (first name and

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[6] *Uniform Resource Locator"* is the link that appears in the browser and refers to a specific web address.

[7] According to Jeanneret and Souchier (2005), editorial enunciation is what makes the text to exist for the reader's eyes; it is the elaboration of formats technically prescribed by programming interfaces, which gives structure to the text.

modified last name, or the opposite); ludic or illustrative pseudonyms (PAVEAU, 2021); and pseudonyms of public personalities or famous characters. The second way is through the definition and publication of an avatar placed in the space reserved to the user's photo, both in a fixed iconic representation (jpg./png. image) or in a moving one (gif). Another way of constitution of extimacy discourse, in accordance with Paveau (2021), consists of tagging or hashtagging, namely by the production of utterances followed by hashtags and tags, once they are capable of determining subjective positions, raising flags and engaging topics.

Likewise, the deictic marks, such as personal pronouns and possessives, verbal endings of first and second person, are mobilized by extimacy discourse with the aim of ensuring the exteriorization of content. In this sense, the deixis system works on the construction of a discourse, in which the speaker seeks to expose a self-image in order to get approval and appreciation. Paveau (2021) clarifies that the validation of extimacy discourse occurs by means of technosigns - such as the likes. They enable the identification of sociotechnical gestures that validate by number (quantification made by algorithms and visible by users) and, as the author claims, "[…] constitute a social and psychological benefit" (PAVEAU, p. 221). In the same way, validation and valuation may occur by content (addressees' or public's answers or sharing of the self-intimate discourse).

Based on that, Twitter is a privileged room for exhibiting a "self" exteriorized by the speaker, because it is an ecosystem full of interactivity and technodiscursive functions, due to its technological, social and democratic status. In this scenario, we consider digital identity as something essential for ensuring social validation of oneself in the digital context; and the pseudonym use, constitutive of a culture of pseudonymity and democratization, is a possibility of assuring the socialization of extimate content.

3.2 PSEUDONYMITY AS A TECHNODISCURSIVE PHENOMENON

Pseudonymity is a very common practice in digital culture and stems from the choice for a pseudonym on social media. This activity is motivated by different reasons and serves to several purposes but expresses the same desire: protecting one's official identity. However, pseudonymity in digital environments occurs on Surface Web[8] only as a method of name occultation, once, according to Paveau (2021, p. 295), "[…] every connection requires an identification" and may be traced by an identifier, such as IP address. Therefore, in this paper we deal with pseudonymity present on Surface Web - social media space, in which users can hide official identity.

Paveau (2021) describes specific features that constitute pseudonym, stemming from different levels of linguistic analysis. These features are graphic and morphologic as well as enunciative and semantic.

The technical constraint of homography in graphic and morphologic features demystifies the paradoxical conception of anonymity, because numbers, underlines and symbols in pseudonyms are unique and unrepeatable, making them less anonymous than the common names of civil register, as Paveau (2021) claims. Pseudonym gets away from patterns of proper and common names and is conceived as "an unprecedented lexeme" (PAVEAU, 2021, p. 296), composed of singular and defining combinations.

These graphic, morphologic and syntactic characteristics are part of a "technodiscursive memory of creation of pseudonyms on internet" (PAVEAU, 2021, p. 297) and are related to different periods of internet, since web 1.0, with the forums of one-way system, until web 2.0, known as social or participative web. Following this historical inscription of on-line spelling, Paveau (2021) presents a morphographic typology of digital pseudonyms, divided into six types.

The first type consists of variants of the Civil Register model. Pseudonyms can be created with a) name; b) last name or famous nickname, original or modified; c) name and last name with typographic, ludic, … modifications; d) name, last name + nickname, in a wordplay; e) name, last name + form of treatment; and f) name and last name abbreviation or abbreviated name and last name. The second type of pseudonym is defined by the choice for common names with lexical meaning (nouns and adjectives), such as existent words, neographies and words made under a phonetization principle. Another possibility is pseudowords, namely words that have a morphologic formation according to language rules and could exist. They can be automatically generated (without lexical

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[8] According to Bergman (2001), Surface Web is the one that is accessible and visible to users, i. e., it is the web that everyone can see and use.

meaning registered), or deriving from constructions with portmanteau word, as well as constructed with a semantic signal. The fourth type presented by Paveau (2021) is a pseudonym composed of alphabetic and non-alphabetic characters, which vary in a formation of alphabetic characters and numbers, alphabetic characters and typographic signals, alphabetic characters and ASCII characters or symbols, characters and isolated symbols, initial letters and consonantic frames, besides of alphabetic uses of non-alphabetic characters. There is also the alternative of creating pseudonyms with groups, sentences and long segments; this type can alternate between nominal groups and sentences. Finally, the sixth and last type emerges of interlinguistic composites.

Internet users have, in front of those possibilities, a large freedom of choice in relation with their digital identity, what does not occur with names and last names officially and civically registered. The definition of a pseudonym involves, therefore, a set of rules present in digital culture, as showed by some guidelines for this practice. Although there are automatic generators of aliases by anagrams, the majority presents features of strong identification with the user; this is the case of those ones that expose information about user's preferences, likes and opinions - ex. Neymar27. They also have the peculiarity of being memorable and seek to facilitate acknowledgement (PAVEAU, 2021).

Besides of the graphic-morphologic specificities presented, the enunciative and semantic features are very present in this practice, as in the example above, which shows a semantic-enunciative feature. This self-naming process made by the user reveals an experience of private life and a self-definition as a social person, because, in accordance with Paveau (2021, p. 301), "pseudonym is the place of an on-line rich semantic elaboration of oneself." Therefore, it is reasonable to think that pseudonym in a digital culture quits a fictitious or inauthentic character, due to the fact that it is a most true and self-revealing name than the civil official one.

In the enunciative level, these features enable us to think about the existence of an enunciative signature made by a speaker, being this one inserted in real interactions. Thus, he/she can exteriorize his/her "selves" in different ecosystems and assume multiple identities and roles on self-construction. Meeting this, Paveau (2021, p. 304) asserts: "[…] my pseudonym is me and another me at the same time; it is what I say and see, as well as what other people say and see"; it is another true name, or rather a heteronym.

Although there is a metadiscourse that devalues the pseudonym, arguing that this practice violates social and legal rules about identity, we understand that our identity is related to different contexts and it is not defined only by an official name. Moreover, pseudonymity protects individuals from exposing their private lives e, as Maître Eolas (2010) asserts, any democracy that deserves this name not only tolerates anonymity, but protects it, in order to guarantee people's freedom to leave themselves without justifying their official identity.

## 4 METHODOLOGY

As we have already postulated, the methodological tools in digital discourse analysis scope are constituted by a set of observables, presented on the DSM Twitter and selected by us, being researchers and Twitter users, through the identification of the technodiscursive phenomenon of pseudonymity in the construction of extimacy discourse, in tweets that defend vaccination against Covid-19 tweeted by "Haddad Debochado's" profile. We chose this profile for analysis because, among the ones which use pseudonymity in the publication of extimate content, it is the one which have the highest number of followers and an expressive engagement on Twitter, besides of a great reach on other social media, such as Facebook and Instagram, in which the profile usually shares screenshots of its tweets.

In this sense, the analysis carried out in this paper is based on Digital Discourse Theory (2021) and adopts an ecological and post-dualist perspective, considering both linguistic and non-linguistic elements in a composite relation. We dismiss the dualism objectivity *versus* subjectivity, once the corpus was selected by the researchers, who, besides of being analysts, are also internet users with practical experience on Twitter. We say that because each user has a specific screen and visualizes content highly contextualized by web's relationality, both by browsing formats and by algorithmic calculations. Thus, our corpus is composed of specific and subjective data.

Dealing with a relational corpus, inscribed in a relation with other discourses, according to Paveau (2021), the researcher has the role of defining the amount of productions to be analyzed, due to data inumberability and to the continuous amplification through likes, comments, retweets. Therefore, as corpus selection criteria, we chose for selecting all the tweets (77) about vaccination against Covid-19, published in June 2021, on the profile "Haddad Debochado". Among these, we qualitatively analyze four tweets - one of each week - which had greater representativeness in relation to psedonymity practice for the creation of extimate tweets about Covid-19 vaccine, besides of the profile presentation plan.

The screenshots were taken on June 23rd and 24th and on July 1st, by an Android smartphone and directly from the application installed in the device; therefore, the technodiscursive marks and gestures present in the screenshots reflect those specific dates, once "[…] all observables are unstable, none of them can be provided with a fix form" (PAVEAU, 2021, p. 136).

We emphasize that, although we have found several technodiscursive phenomena inside that ecosystem, which manifest characteristics of digital-native discourses (composition, non-linear reading, amplification, relationality, searchability and unpredictability), we turn our glance to observables that correspond to the aims of this research.

In order to better organize this paper, we follow this analysis order: a) historical-political contextualization of the origin of "Haddad Debochado" in Twitter; b) identification of graphic, morphologic, enunciative and semantic features of the digital pseudonym "Haddad Debochado"; c) identification of linguistic marks mobilized by the extimacy discourse (personal pronouns, possessives, verbal endings for first and second person); d) consideration on the phenomenon of pseudonymity in the profile "Haddad Debochado" as a democratic practice for self-exteriorization on Twitter.

## 5 PSEUDONYMITY IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF EXTIMACY DISCOURSE: A BRIEF ANALYSIS

The profile "Haddad Debochado" was created in October 2018 on the DSM Twitter, Facebook and Instagram, during the electoral period in Brazil. That period was characterized by polemics, fake news and a strong political polarization. On one side, there was the extreme right ex-candidate and actual president Jair Messias Bolsonaro, then member of Liberal Social Party (Brazilian abbreviation: PSL) and actually without a party, who had the slogan "Brazil above everything, God above everyone". On the other side, the ex-candidate to the president chair Fernando Haddad, representing the left wing and member of Workers Party (Brazilian abbreviation: PT), with the slogan "The people happy again".

Fernando Haddad was born on January 25th, 1963, in São Paulo and has a wide academic and political curriculum. According to the text informed in Lattes Platform (Brazilian repository of academic professors and researchers' curricula), Fernando Haddad

> […] is graduated in Law by São Paulo University (1985), master in Economics by São Paulo University (1990) and PhD in Philosophy by São Paulo University (1996). He is PhD professor of the Political Science Department of the Faculty of Philosophy, Arts and Human Sciences of São Paulo University and professor of Insper. He was Sub-Secretary of Finances of the City of São Paulo (2001-2003), Special Adviser of the Planning, Budget and Management Minister (2003-2004), Executive Secretary of the Education Ministry (2004-2005) and Education Minister (2005-2012). He was the Mayor of the City of São Paulo (2013-2016).

Haddad became a political personality acknowledged in Brazil, due to his trajectory defending the Education area. After the result from the elections in October 2018, paraphrasing the Brazilian National Anthem, he said: "You will see that a teacher does not run away from a battle". In that same month, the humoristic profile "Haddad Debochado" was created, making clear in its biography that "Haddad Debochado" is not Fernando Haddad, ex-candidate to presidency; two months later, the profile was already counting on 22 thousand followers on Twitter. The fixed sentence at that time remains the same until now: "A mockery in face to political chaos is always welcome".

**Figure 1:** Profile "Haddad Debochado" on DSM Twitter

**Source:** @haddaddebochado, Twitter (2021)

In this screenshot, firstly, we can identify some tracks of one of the researchers through some icons at the top part of the screen, such as the type of connection used (Wi-Fi), the battery level of the device used, the telephone signal, the exact time of the screenshot, notification icons of other DSMs, as well as the technical affordance in blue (standard theme of this ecosystem) "Following", which evidences that the researcher follows the profile analyzed.

The profile "Haddad Debochado", after three years of existence, had an increasing of 189 thousand followers, from 22 thousand in December 2018 to 211 thousand in June 2021; this amount represents almost 900%, evidencing the growth and representativeness of this profile on Twitter, which follows only 1432 users. Some of its followers are, according to their identification names on Twitter: Lula (Brazil ex-president), Fernando Haddad and Guilherme Boulos, the last two were candidates from left wing to the presidency in 2018. In the profile's presentation, there is information about the place where the creator-user lives, which exteriorizes part of his/her private life; the month and year when the account was created on Twitter, indicating the historical-political context that led the creator-user to do so; as well as a non-linear reading mark, through a hypertextual link that drives users, by making the technoenunciative gesture (clicking), to the profile "Haddad Debochado" on Instagram.

In this sense, it is possible to visualize writing spaces pre-defined by Twitter editorial enunciation, which drives the user of this ecosystem to create text and to make technodiscursive gestures based on the forms and structures offered.

We drive our attention, thus, to the cover image with colors from LGBTQIA+ Movement, once in June, month when the corpus was selected, it is worldly celebrated the Month of LGBTQIA+ Pride. Besides of the colors that represent a visual symbol in defense of a social agenda about gender identity, there is the stick "O Brasil tá lascado" (in English, something like "Brazil is splintered"), said by an LGBTQIA+ ex-participant of a Brazilian reality show, known as Gil do Vigor. These observables indicate a self-representation as someone who defends an important social agenda and who have watched that Brazilian reality show.

At the right top part of the image, we find a technosign (three dots in vertical position), which allows the user to make the following technodiscursive gestures, in this order: sharing, deactivating retweets, viewing topics, adding/removing from lists, viewing lists, lists you are in, viewing moments, muting, blocking and reporting.

The avatar chosen by the user is a fixed iconic representation of Fernando Haddad, wearing the president strip with the color of the Brazilian flag, positioning his hand near his chin (like he is posing for the photo) and wearing *Thug Life* sunglasses (those glasses are present in the most popular memes in order to transmit the idea of someone who deserves being praised). This image constitutes an extimacy marker (PAVEAU, 2021), because it exteriorizes the user's intimacy, once he/she publishes the photo of a public personality for representing him/herself both in an ideological and in a political positioning field.

The pseudonym "Haddad Debochado", in its graphic and morphologic features, is characterized by the type "variants of the Civil Register model" (PAVEAU, 2021), with the composition of famous last name + ludic modification, once we notice the last name of the ex-candidate to presidency Fernando Haddad and the adjective "Debochado" (in English, it means someone who mocks at someone or something) – word used as part of the pseudonym of several profiles related to Brazilian left wing politicians, created between 2018 and 2019, such as Dino Debochado, Freixo Debochado, Lula Debochado etc.

The self-naming process made by the profile owner reveals a strong semantic-enunciative feature, because it is not configured by a random choice for a pseudonym, but by a choice that defines him/herself as a social and political person. The pseudonym "Haddad Debochado" gives clues for the social experience of choosing a candidate for the president chair in 2018 elections and shows how this practice can ensure, according to Paveau (2021, p. 295), "[…] two important functions of sociability in digital contexts: identity and identification".

As we can notice, through the practice of pseudonymity, the extimacy of the profile "Haddad Debochado" owner is already exteriorized when we enter the page. We have a person who seeks to expose a self-image as a defender of important agenda and with a revealed political positioning; when uncovering this image on this ecosystem, he seeks to be validated and appreciated by other users (PAVEAU, 2021). In the same way, the construction of extimacy discourse through the pseudonymity phenomenon is extended by the tweets published under the pseudonym "Haddad Debochado".

Following the same reasoning externalized by "Haddad Debochado", his tweets deal with several topics from the Brazilian political-social reality. Due to Covid-19 pandemic context, most of the tweets are published to take a position, as a social person and a Brazilian citizen, about the actual government negligence on combating the disease.

In the first week of June, on the 4th, at 7:57 a.m., "Haddad Debochado" published through an iPhone device the tweet reproduced in Figure 2.

**Figure 2:** First week tweet
**Source:** @haddaddebochado, Twitter (2021)

Figure 2 was selected because, besides of the vaccine, it deals with other agenda already clearly defended by "Haddad Debochado" through his choice for the pseudonym, the avatar, the biography sentence and the cover.

As we can see, the tweet is in a simple format, constituted by, according to Paveau (2021), user's profile photo, user's pseudonym, tweet date, text written in the specific space and observing the constraint of 280 characters, list of possible actions indicated by technosigns below the text, lateral blue bar that scrolls and swipes for the comments, as well as bottom bar for the researcher, as user, to interact in "Tweet your answer", with the option of inserting an iconic element.

At the editorial enunciation plan, we find the validation of extimate discourse below the tweet, by means of technosigns that emerge from Twitter surface, such as the 993 likes, the 136 retweets; and, at the discourse thread plan, the text is extended by 11 tweets with comments.

In "Meu delírio comunista de hoje" ("My today's communist delirium"), the speaker mobilizes the deixis by using the possessive adjective "my", for alluding to the statement "extreme left wing's communist deliriums", originally made on June 2nd by the Brazilian actress Juliana Paes, on the DSM Instagram, when defending a third way for the actual political scenario. This expression, as a memory mark, circled on DSMs and went through a semantic-axiological redefinition process, whose consequence was an answer with semantic inversion (PAVEAU; COSTA; BARONAS, 2021); "communist delirium", originally delivered as something bad, gains strength on Twitter by users who argue against the actress, defending humanitarian, social and public health agenda by using the expression "communist delirium".

"Haddad Debochado" made, therefore, a wish list from the expression "communist delirium", whishing the impeachment of the actual president, defined as "genocidal", in order to blame him for his government negligence on the pandemic combat; "Haddad Debochado" also claims vaccine and home for everyone, the end of massive imprisonment, strengthening of the Unified Health System (Brazilian abbreviation: SUS), good public schools and valuation for Brazilian researchers.

Through this tweet, we notice the extimacy discourse uncovered by agenda supported not only by a politically left-positioned person, but by a citizen who is living the pandemic and feeling the actual social problems in Brazil. That criticism to Jair Bolsonaro's government exteriorizes a self who seeks for validation and appreciation for his resistance discourse.

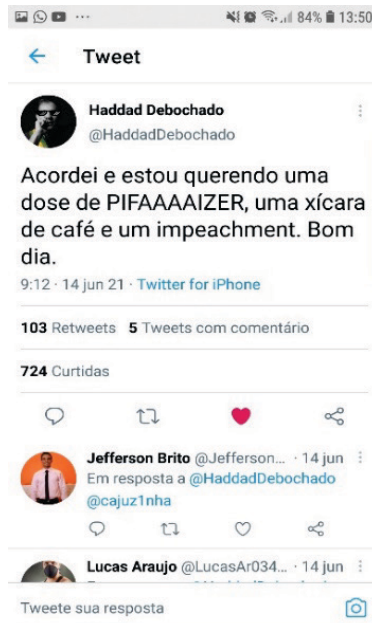In June second week, on the 14th, at 9:12 a.m., the following tweet was published, according to Figure 3.



**Figure 3:** Second week tweet
**Source:** @haddaddebochado, Twitter (2021)

This tweet also has a simple format, with the features previously described, and was also published through an iPhone device. It counts on 724 likes, 103 retweets and 5 tweets with comments, which validate, according to Paveau (2021), the extimacy discourse exposed.

Similarly to the first week tweet, this one is also marked by a deitic element that ensures the exteriority of content. The verbal ending of singular first person in the verb "acord**ei**" (in English, "I woke") and in the verbal phrase "est**ou** querendo" (in English, "I want") indicate the self-construction made by the user, by exposing his wishes already in the morning. The first wish is about vaccination, when he writes "dose da PIFAAAAIZER" (in English, "a PFAAAIZER shot"), with Pfizer's vaccine name in caps lock, emphasizing the word sounding, in order to make reference to a video-meme, published on June 9th by the Instragram profile "essemenino", in which the owner criticizes Bolsonaro's government for not answering the e-mail with vaccine offer from Pfizer still in 2020.

In his second wish, "uma xícara de café" (in English, "a cup of coffee"), there is a search for exteriorizing his self-image as someone real and who likes coffee; moreover, inserting "uma xícara de café" after "dose da PIFAAAAIZER" and before "impeachment", he exposes his extimate view of achieving, in this wishes interlacing, the three things at the same easiness degree. The greeting "Bom dia." (in English, "Good morning.") highlights the attempt of signaling the wish list end and indicates self-image appropriation as someone accessible and who seeks to interact with other users.

The third week also counted on several tweets about vaccination against Covid-19. The tweet (Figure 4) published on June 16th, at 3:18 p.m., quotes a discourse just to refute it.
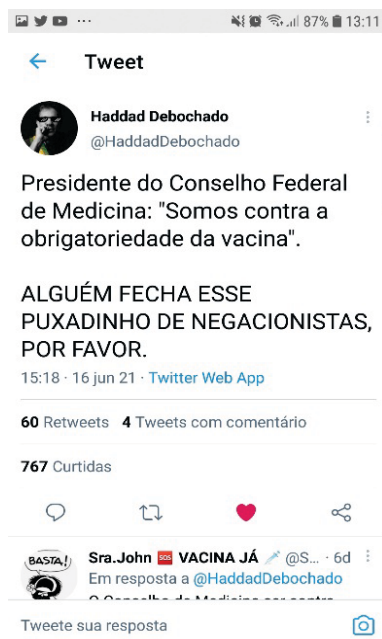
**Figure 4:** Third week tweet

**Source:** @haddaddebochado, Twitter (2021)

The tweet in Figure 4 has simple format and a text that observes the characters constraint. However, in publication terms, it differs from the other tweets analyzed about the device used: it is a PC, with access to the ecosystem through Web, as we can see through the clickable and relational discursive segment. We have found, until the screenshot date, 767 likes, 60 retweets and 4 comments, revealing technodiscursive gestures of validation and appreciation (PAVEAU, 2021) of the content published.

In this tweet, extimacy construction occurs when it quotes a speech of the President of the Federal Council of Medicine, made on June 15th during an interview for the Brazilian radio station Jovem Pan. The fact that the text begins with the credentials of the quoted person already shows the exteriorization of a self-image, which next refutes the quoted discourse "Somos contra a obrigatoriedade da vacina" (in English, "we are against the vaccine obligation"), said by a doctor who is the highest authority of the Federal Council of Medicine.

The use of the indefinite pronoun "alguém" (in English, "someone") and of the adverbial phrase "por favor" (in English, "please"), in the extimate discourse of refutation presented in caps lock, implies addressing the other users, with a wish revealed by the request for "fechar o puxadinho de negacionistas" (in English, "closing the revisionist outbuilding"). Using the qualifier expression, "Haddad Debochado" externalizes his self-image as someone who defends Science and vaccine obligation.

Following the same pattern of publishing extimate content, in the fourth and final week, on June 23rd, at 8:13 a.m., in an iPhone device, "Haddad Debochado" published on Twitter (Figure 5).

**Figure 5:** Fourth week tweet
**Source:** @haddaddebochado, Twitter (2021)

The tweet in Figure 5 presents a simple configuration, with the adding of a syringe emoji, which makes the statement non-linear in a visual way. Published in an iPhone device, observing the 280 characters constraint, it shows some validation and appreciation marks (PAVEAU, 2021) through the observable technodiscursive gestures (548 likes and 29 retweets) and the extension of the discourse thread (2 comment tweets).

Extimacy is exteriorized in this tweet in a movement of reported dialog. Before that, a "self" is uncovered by the use of the expression "me deixou feliz" (in English, "[it] has made me happy"), showing satisfaction and approval with the transcribed dialog. The content of the quoted discourse, as we can notice, is a conversation between two old men, who have been vaccinated against Covid-19 under the argument of desiring to live for many years. At the end of the text, "é isso, se vacinem" (in English, "that's it, get vaccinated") followed by the syringe emoji ratifies the initial approval of the dialog reported on the technodiscursive ecosystem.

Therefore, the third-party discourse, found in all the text extension, is assumed and taken for himself in the extimate content pro-vaccination. The speaker, in the fragments of his intimacy, reveals his delight for the way that the two old men look at vaccine as a social benefit and trust it as a method for Covid-19 prevention. We emphasize that the extimacy discourse analyzed is made in a moment of vaccine denial by a part of the Brazilian population, stemming from a crisis of confidence in science mainly encouraged by the Federal Government. Thus, in that publication, the Twitter user seeks to build an image of himself as a vaccination encourager and as an opponent to Jair Bolsonaro's government.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The aim of this paper was to investigate how the technodiscursive phenomenon of pseudonymity is materialized on the Twitter profile "Haddad Debochado" for the construction of an extimacy discourse with the aim of encouraging vaccination against Covid-19. For this purpose, we sought to present the historical-political context that originated the profile "Haddad Debochado"; to identify the graphic, morphologic, enunciative and semantic features of the digital pseudonym "Haddad Debochado"; and to analyze linguistic marks mobilized by the extimacy discourse.

In this sense, based on the ecological and post-dualist analysis carried out, considering the linguistic and non-linguistic elements in a composite relation, we verified that the investigated profile took the pseudonym "Haddad Debochado", in the month when the

elections occurred and in a context of high political polarization in Brazil, as a democratic necessity of taking position in relation to some events.

Such positioning, still adopted nowadays in "Haddad Debochado", is ensured by the phenomenon of pseudonymity, once the speaker may be divided into several "selves", on different digital ecosystems, in order to interact and socialize without fear of exposing his opinions and defending the agenda pertinent to him. In this case, the pseudonym is, therefore, an artifice that constitutes extimacy.

The exteriorization of intimacy fragments daily occurs on digital social media. The profile "Haddad Debochado", on Twitter, uses the Web strategy of anonymity in order to resist to the actual government (Jair Messias Bolsonaro's one), and, mainly, to assume humanitarian, scientific and social flags. This self-uncovering, in the tweets analyzed, reveals the search for validation and appreciation from the profile followers and from the ecosystem users.

Thus, we found in "Haddad Debochado" a speaker involved in authentic and realistic interactions. The identity chosen is not fictional, because it allows a deeper identification of extimacy than the maintenance of the official name from the civil register could do.

Pseudonymity, besides of being a democratic necessity, is a strategy of resistance to "political chaos", as the biography of the profile investigated says. Considering the content of the tweets analyzed, going beyond the resistance and the protest to revisionist ideas and to Bolsonaro's government negligence in the acquisition of vaccines against Covid-19, "Haddad Debochado" plays an important social role of digital influencer in a context of political, economic and public health crisis.

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