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## 6 “Don’t expect me to repair in four years what you have destroyed in four hundred years”: On the *ethos* in (inter)action of Lula and Alckmin in an election TV debate<sup>1</sup>

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This paper analyzes the discursive strategies employed by Inácio Lula da Silva and Geraldo Alckmin during the first presidential election TV debate in Brazilian history between a president in office (Lula) and an opposition candidate (Alckmin) in 2006. Special attention is paid to those discursive strategies which were used by the candidates in their attempts to create a positive image of themselves (i.e., the *discursive ethos*). The paper shows that the social divisions in Brazilian society, which are rooted in the colonial period, are extremely relevant for the construction of the discursive *ethos* despite nearly two hundred years of Brazilian independence.

Key words: political communication, discourse analysis, discursive *ethos*, TV debates in Brazil, the 2006 Lula-Alckmin presidential elections debate

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Este artigo analisa as estratégias discursivas usadas pelos candidatos Inácio Lula da Silva e Geraldo Alckmin no primeiro debate televisivo do segundo turno das eleições presidenciais brasileiras de 2006 que foi o primeiro debate televisivo na história do Brasil, onde um presidente no cargo e candidato a re-eleição (Lula) debate com um candidato da oposição (Alckmin). No foco deste artigo estão as estratégias discursivas com as quais os candidatos procuram criar uma imagem positiva de si mesmo (*ethos* discursivo). Mostrar-se-á que as divisões sociais na sociedade brasileira, que têm suas raízes no passado colonial, continuam possuindo mesmo duzentos anos depois da independência, uma relevância forte para a construção do *ethos* discursivo.

Palavras-chave: comunicação política, análise de discurso, *ethos* discursivo, debates televisivos no Brasil, debate Lula – Alckmin das eleições presidenciais de 2006

## Introduction

As Charaudeau (2008 [2005]: 46-47) points out in his summary of the state of research, most of the analyses of political discourse focus more on the contents of its propositions than on the manner of its *mise-en-scène*, more on the arguments and underlying belief systems than on the strategies of persuasion, or – with other words by recourse to the notions of the antique rhetorics – most of the analysis of political discourse focus more on the *logos* than on the *ethos* or the *pathos*. Charaudeau (id.) identifies, however, a dislocation within the political discourse from *logos* to *ethos* and *pathos*, i.e. from the arguments to the *mise-en-scène*, particularly in the mass media. Finally he goes as far as saying that the values of *ethos* and *pathos* have taken the place of the truth values of the arguments. Even if it might be questionable that in earlier times the persuasive strategies were less important (and Charaudeau (id.) doesn't deny this), the mass media developed during the 20th century has without any doubt turned the *mise-en-scène* more important in political discourse. This is the reason why we consider it worthy to focus on this aspect in analyzing TV election debates. In the debate analyzed in this paper, it will be shown that even nearly two hundred years after the end of the colonial status of Brazil, the colonial past continues to be part of the symbolic struggle between the two candidates without being explicitly talked about.

As the discussion about *ethos* in discourse analysis has been restricted more to the francophone research literature with some reception in other Romance speaking countries<sup>2</sup>, we will briefly present the notion of *ethos* such as it has been established during the last decennia within the francophone discourse analysis, before entering into the analysis of the debate. Then we will present a short reflection on the relationship between *discursive ethos* and election campaigns. After that a summary of the political context of the debate analyzed in this paper will follow. The next part focuses on the *previous ethos* of the two candidates, the last part will analyze the *ethos in (inter-)action*.

### ***Discursive ethos, previous ethos, ethos in (inter)action, showed ethos, said ethos: some distinctions***

The notion of *ethos* isn't new, it has a long tradition: from the classic rhetoric's in the antiquity to contemporary linguistics. Its importance for a speaker within the triad of *logos*, *ethos* and *pathos* was discussed for the first time in the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC by Aristotle in his *τεχνή ρητορική* (cf. Aristóteles 1951). Aristotle broke with the tradition defined by the contemporary rhetorics which considered that the *ethos* doesn't contribute to persuasion (Eggs, 2008: 28). It was Ducrot (1984: 200-201) in his theory of polyphony who rediscovered and introduced the notion of *ethos* into contemporary linguistics. Ducrot himself did not theoretically elaborate the notion very much. This occurred in the discourse analysis approach developed by Maingueneau. Now the notion of *ethos* became

applicable to a larger field of genres and was no longer restricted to the field of oratory.<sup>3</sup> But *ethos* continues to be a very useful notion for the analysis of political discourse, i.e. such discourse genres which are close to those which were the starting point for the development of the notion in the antique rhetorics. There is however a crucial difference between the use of the notion of *ethos* in rhetorics and linguistics. In linguistics *ethos* is an analytical and descriptive notion. This illustrates the definition of oratory *ethos* given by Auchlin (2000) which is merely descriptive: "(...) by the manner the speaker constructs his discourse, an image of himself in order to convince the hearers by winning their trust" (Auchlin, 2000: 82; my translation). This image constructed by the way the speaker constructs her or his discourse isn't, however, a purely intra-discursive construction. It is not constructed from a point zero without any external influences. The *discursive ethos* is, on the contrary, a construction on the base of the speaker's image the moment he or she articulates her or his discourse. This pre-existing image is called *previous ethos*<sup>4</sup>. This is particularly true for TV debates in between two rounds of presidential elections, as the candidates have worked on the construction of their image during the campaign and have received a lot of attention in the mass media. So it is necessary to distinguish between *previous ethos* and *discursive ethos*.

Both interact. The speaker activates the *previous ethos* at the moment she or he takes part in the debate. Kerbrat – Orecchioni and Constantin de Chanay (2007) define this activation as *ethos in action*:

By "*ethos in action*" it is possible to understand first the *ethos* as ongoing work: if the speaker enters in the interaction provided with a more or less rich *previous ethos*, it is during the interaction that he activates (or "performs") his *ethos* by the production of certain markers ("ethic" signifier). These markers will be associated to others ("ethic" signifiés) (Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Constantin de Chanay, 2007: 311; my translation).

Maingueneau (2008: 19) calls the *ethos*, which is the result of the *previous ethos* and the *discursive ethos*, the *effective ethos*. However, the image the speakers present of themselves to the audience may not coincide with the image that their communication partner (i.e. the adversary) attributes to them, and this is normally the case in election campaigns. So we can follow the proposal of Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Constantin de Chanay (2007: 311) and call this case *ethos in interaction*, because processes of negotiation of the *ethos* are necessary. During the dialogical and interactional process of the creation of sense by the negotiation "each of the participants of the interaction brings in his vision and his plan – partially divergent, partially convergent" (Fant, 1999: 1-2; my translation). In analogy to this process, the *ethos in interaction* may be

considered as a dynamic and collective construction. In the case of a political debate, it is important for the speaker to impose a positive image of himself and to destabilize the positive image of the adversary by attributing to him negative features (Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Constantin de Chanay, 2007: 311).

In the concept developed by Ducrot (1984), the *ethos* is shown during the act of uttering without being mentioned in the utterance:

*Ethos* is not about flattering affirmations the speaker can utter about his own person within the content of his speech. Those affirmations could on the contrary shock the audience. It is about the appearance he gets by his velocity of speech, his friendly or strong intonation, his word choice, and his arguments (If he selects or neglects a certain argument, this may appear to be symptomatic for a given quality or given lack of moral) (Ducrot, 1984: 201; my translation).

But if we look to the real discourses, the image constructed by the procedures as described in the citation above and the image which is constructed by the speaker's own affirmations about her- or himself co-occur in the same discourse. In addition to this, these two images can be either coherent or incoherent. This is the reason why the distinction presented by Maingueneau (2008: 18-19) between *shown ethos* and *said ethos* has to be seen as the two extremes in a continuum without clear-cut divisions.

### ***Discursive ethos and election campaign discourses***

On behalf of the genre of election campaign discourse, Charaudeau (2008: 9) points out four key elements:

- a) the attitude towards values
- b) the construction of a self-image (i.e. the *discursive ethos*)
- c) procedures of disqualification of the adversary
- d) the manner how the electorate is addressed.

Charaudeau (2008: 47) highlights that the construction of the self-image in the case of an election campaign isn't a strategy of secondary importance, but on the contrary it is the image which confers credibility to the words. Charaudeau (id.) even points out that without this image the message could neither be received, nor understood. The constructed image may be considered as a support for identification and adherence for the electorate – on the condition that it is perceived as sincere and natural.

It seems to us that even the three other characteristics mentioned by Charaudeau (2008) contribute to the construction of the image. There is, however, a more immediate mutual influence between the image construction and the procedures of disqualification of the adversary. As it will be shown in this paper, the target of these disqualification procedures is generally the *previous ethos* of the adversary. In this sense, the disqualification procedures are part of the *ethos in interaction*. In addition to this, they contribute to the construction of the speaker's *shown ethos*.

### **The political context of the debate**

The debate, which will be analyzed in this paper, took place on October 8th, 2006 at 20h30 and was transmitted by the Brazilian TV and broadcasting corporation *BandNews*.<sup>5</sup> It was the first presidential election TV debate in Brazilian history with the participation of a president in office being candidate for re-election. The candidates for this election were the president at that time, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, candidate for the Worker's Party (PT), and as the candidate for the Brazilian Social Democracy Party (PSDB) the former Governor of the State of São Paulo, Geraldo José Rodrigues Alckmin Filho.

During the 2006 presidential election campaign, three debates of the first turn were organized by the TV stations *TV Bandeirantes*, *TV Gazeta* and *Rede Globo*. In these debates President Lula didn't participate (Gonçalves, 2008: 56-57). *Rede Globo* presented in its first turn debate an empty chair representing Lula (Gonçalves, 2008: 67-108), and asked the other candidates to ask their questions to Lula speaking to the empty chair. In stead of Lula's answer the camera showed the empty chair and a time of silence (Weber, 2006: 15-16). Given the context of the political scandals which were dominating the Brazilian politics in 2005 and 2006 - as the postal service scandal, the *mensalão* scandal (the alleged buying of votes of members of the parliament), the *sanguessuga* scandal (excessive invoicing for ambulances)<sup>6</sup> and the Vedoin Dossier (Gonçalves, 2008: 39-40) - Lula's absence in the debates has been interpreted as an escape (Gonçalves, 2008: 102-103). The spontaneous vote intention index of Lula diminished after the "Empty Chair Debate" from 49% to 46%, the index of Alckmin increased from 33% to 39% (Machado, 2006: 9). Lula didn't win the elections in the first turn. He received only 48,608% of the votes, Alckmin 41,635% (Tribunal Superior Electoral 2009). In this context, one of Lula's election strategies became to show presence in the media (Carreirão, 2007: 95). The participation in debates was part of this strategy.

### **The *previous ethos* of the candidates and their representations in the media**

The *ethos* and the representations of politicians in the media are in a continuous interaction. Therefore it is necessary to analyze each candidate separately as a first step.

#### a) Lula:

Lula was elected president for the first time in 2002. Before the 2002 presidential elections he had suffered defeats in the 1989, 1994 and 1998 presidential elections. Lula's public life began as a trade union leader during the military dictatorship, more precisely during the strikes between 1978 and 1982 in the ABC-region of the agglomeration of São Paulo. The ABC-Region is formed by the cities Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo and São Caetano and is characterised by its industries, particularly automobile and other metal industries, and a strong working class environment with a large migrant population from the poor Northeast of Brazil.

Lula himself came with his family from Northeastern Brazil to the State of São Paulo at the age of seven. He started working at the age of twelve in different jobs such as a laundry worker, shoe shiner and errand boy. At fourteen, he began as metalworker. Lula became his nickname from his time as trade union leader, but it later was officially integrated into his last names in order to make it possible to appear on the voting papers (Betto, 2001: 7).

Lula's *previous ethos* has been constructed during all these years through his trade-union and political militancy. The different studies which analyse Lula's image in the media and virtual communities converge particularly on the elements of his regional origin and his (social) class membership as key elements of his public image. During his presidency, Lula contributed with symbolic acts to the strengthening of this image. So he visited, for instance, the poorest places of Brazil together with a group of ministers with the aim that the ministers could come to know about the life conditions of the poorest (Manhanelli and Gondo, 2007: 7). As well as in his media discourse, and in his 2006 election campaign (Carvalho, 2006: 11; Perin, 2009), his *previous ethos* as a member of the working class is activated. For example, the Brazilian magazine *Carta Capital* in its edition from October 31st, 2006 shows on its cover page a collage of the famous painting *Operários* (Workers) by the modernist artist Tarsila do Amaral in which Lula's portrait had been integrated as one of the workers, representing him so as the president who comes from the poor majority and continues to be one of them (cf. the more detailed analysis by Frazão, 2007: 12).

Not all of Brazilian public sees Lula's humble origin with positive eyes. His language is often criticized. Those people see the features of the vernacular Brazilian Portuguese in Lula's speech with its deviations from the normative

grammar as a sign of a lack of competency for the presidency (Miqueletti, 2002: 66-72; Leite, 2008: 31-41; Simm and Storto, 2009). Before his election as President in 2002, the media in Brazil drew an image of Lula as someone who lacks the competences needed by a president (Luna, 2007: 12-14). Even during the 2006 election campaign, Lula's image created by the Brazilian media was mostly negative (Rubim and Colling, 2007).

#### b) Alckmin

Alckmin is a physician from the town Pindamonhangaba, situated in the hinterland of the State of São Paulo. His political militancy began during his studies at the *Faculdade de Medicina de Tabauté* during the military dictatorship. At that time, he was affiliated to the unique legal opposition party, the Brazilian Democratic Movement (MDB). Later he was elected mayor of his hometown. When he became first Vice-Governor (1995-2001), then Governor (2011-2006) of the State of São Paulo, i.e. of the economically speaking most important state of Brazil (and if it were independent: the strongest economy of whole South America), Alckmin became known nationwide.

In contrast to Lula, Alckmin's representation in the Brazilian media was predominantly positive (Rubim and Rolling, 2007). In virtual anti-Alckmin Orkut communities<sup>7</sup>, analyzed by Rocha (2007: 75-82), however, representations of Alckmin as a candidate of the middle and upper class with an elitist orientation and without sensibility for the problems of the poor prevail. His political orientation is seen as conservative with connections to the right wing. Others represent him as bad, corrupt and incompetent. Others allege that he is linked to the Catholic Church and especially to the Opus Dei.

The virtual pro-Alckmin Orkut communities represent Alckmin as someone who has experience, capacity, as someone who is serious and honest, lead by ethic principles and as someone who will renew politics. Alckmin's election campaign, previous to the debate analysed in this paper, was centred on his positive personal characteristics, and particularly his achievements in the State of São Paulo. He began quite late to criticize Lula and his administration (Carreirão, 2007: 95).

#### c) Comparison of the *previous ethos* of the two candidates before the first TV debate of the second round

In their analysis of Lula's political career from his beginnings as a trade union leader onward, Manhanelli and Gondo (2007: 1) point out that the central aspect of the image that Lula has created about himself is that of an unaffected, ordinary, humble man. His biography, his posture, his clothes, his language, tone of voice and way of speaking, his habits as a citizen, all these elements have



contributed according to Manhanelli and Gondo (2007) to the coherence of his public image.

Perin (2009: 16-17) compares the self-image created by Lula and Alckmin in the 2006 TV election propaganda. In this comparison, the author emphasizes the manner how the two candidates present their relationship to the population, and he sees crucial differences between Lula and Alckmin. According to this analysis, Lula sees the poorer part of the population as the main constituent of the people. Alckmin's orientation is directed to electors who are angry about the corruption and to those who are the greatest tax payers. Lula presents himself as someone who is a part of the poor majority of the Brazilian population, Alckmin presents himself according to Perin (2009: 16) as someone who takes care of the people and helps them, and as someone who has the intelligence and capacity to do so. Both candidates present themselves as unaffected, ordinary, humble persons, as Lula has done his whole public life. But the difference between them is that Alckmin displays these qualities showing him among the ordinary people, whereas Lula is part of the ordinary people.

The strategies of destabilization of the *ethos* of the adversary that Perin (2009: 17) describes are different, too, for both candidates. Alckmin tries to destabilize the positive aspects of Lula's *ethos*, e.g. his honesty (by linking him to corruption). Alckmin also attacks Lula's image as someone under whose administration the poorer part of the population is the protagonist of its own emerging process. He does it by accusing Lula of promoting assistencialist politics. Lula, on the other hand, benefits from the incoherence of Alckmin's image as someone who has as his target group particularly the middle and upper classes on the one hand, but who on the other hand shows himself as someone who is humble among the poor, aiming to promote a politic which favours them (the poor). So Lula is able to present Alckmin as the candidate of the rich without difficulty.

The following analysis will show how the *ethos in (inter-)action* activates the *previous ethos* interacting with the representations by the media described in this chapter.

### **The analysis of the *ethos in (inter)action* of the two candidates during the debate**

#### a) Alckmin

During the debate Alckmin endeavours to activate his *ethos* as former Governor of the State of São Paulo, i.e. as an experienced and competent politician, to activate his *ethos* as someone who is concerned by the problems of the population and as someone who is honest. But in the greatest part of his speech he tries to

destabilize the *previous ethos* of Lula as an honest politician. This attitude of Alckmin strengthens his own image as someone who is concerned by ethics in politics and his *ethos* as someone who is honest.

In example (1) Alckmin activates his *ethos* as a competent politician by enumerating lists with concrete and detailed numbers about the beneficiaries of his politics as Governor of the State of São Paulo. In example (2) Alckmin presents himself as a person with high analytical competences by inserting an explanation why there are federal hospitals in Rio de Janeiro – an aspect he seems not to consider being a part of the stock of knowledge of the spectators:

- (1) ALCKMIN: aqui no estado de são paulo como (institeui) a ação jovem que são perto de *cento e trinta mil jovens* que recebem seu dinheirinho pra poder estudar . como o programa do leite que são *sete centas* [sic] e *vinte mil famílias* só num estado recebendo leite em casa . *oitenta mil idosos* . *leite vitaminado* . *leite com ferro*.

Translation: ALCKMIN: here in the state of são paulo as I (introduced) the youth action which means that *hundred and thirty thousand young people* receive their money [+ diminutive suffix with an emotional signification] to be able to study . as the milk programme which are *seven hundred and twenty thousand families* only in one state receiving milk at home . *eighty thousand elderly people* . *milk with vitamins added* . *milk with iron*.

- (2) ALCKMIN: agora em relação a a saúde não explicou . a saúde no rio de janeiro . foi abandonada . o rio de janeiro . *como é a ex-capital* . tem uma rede de hospitais federais enorme.

Translation: ALCKMIN: now what concerns the health system he didn't explain . the health system in rio de janeiro . has been abandoned . *rio de janeiro* . *as the former capital* . has an enormous federal hospital network.

The appendix *leite vitaminado* . *leite com ferro* 'milk with vitamins added . milk with iron' activates Alckmin's image as a physician who not only is concerned by the need of the population, but also as someone who knows what is good for the population, specially for public health. In example (3) Alckmin endeavours to show that he knows the life conditions of the poorest part of the population which lives only with a minimum wage:

- (3) ALCKMIN: um milhão sete centos cinqüenta mil . dá para um trabalhador que ganha salário-mínimo de viver quatro centos anos . uma fortuna.

Translation: ALCKMIN: one million seven hundred fifty thousand . it is sufficient for a worker who gains a minimum wage to live four hundred years . a fortune.

The perspective of this comparison is however vertical patronizing, from above, and not from the point of view of someone who actually knows the life conditions of the poor classes through his own experience, because Alckmin doesn't question how those with a minimum wage should survive in Brazil (Lagôa, 1984). Instead he affirms only that a person who gains a minimum wage could live with the cited sum for four hundred years.

Example (4) is one of the occasions that Alckmin presents himself as the advocate of the Brazilian people. He shows himself scandalized about a denouncement of corruption involving a big sum of money:

- (4) ALCKMIN: [...] . *olhe nos olhos do povo brasileiro candidato lula* e responda de onde veio o dinheiro.

Translation: ALCKMIN: [...] ... look into the eyes of the brazilian people candidate lula and answer where did the money come from .

The nominal address form *candidato Lula* 'candidate Lula' chosen by Alckmin to address Lula evokes on the one hand the competency of the electors to decide if they want the person addressed by *candidato* 'candidate' as their President, but on the other hand it may be understood as a refutation by Alckmin to recognize that someone with Lula's social origin could be worthy to become president. This may be reinforced by the fact that Alckmin uses mainly the address form *candidato* 'candidate' to address Lula whereas Lula uses mostly the address form *governador* 'Governor', even if at the moment of the debate Alckmin no longer was the Governor of the State of São Paulo (for a more detailed analysis of the address forms used in this debate see Johnen, 2008 and Johnen, 2011).

## b) Lula

Lula presents himself like Alckmin as an advocate of the Brazilian people who defends the truth. Doing this he tries to destabilize Alckmin's *ethos* as an honest politician on the one side, and to activate his own *previous ethos* as a politician with ethical principles on the other. In example (5), this is supported

also by the *said ethos*. Lula points out that under his administration there is a different attitude with respect to denouncements of corruption, that under his administration there were no attempts to silence such denouncements, contrary to the practice of the former governments (including those under the leadership of Alckmin's party):

- (5) LULA: *parece que: o governador . deve: olhar para a cara do povo e dizer um pouco a verdade*, sessenta e nove pedidos de cpi foram engavetados . a que preço não sei . eu sei que a maioria do governo não permitiu (que nenhuma) . ao contrário do meu governo . que eu não movimetei nenhum dedo para impedir nenhuma cpi e se quiserem fazer mais podem fazer: porque eu sou de uma formação pobre mas de uma formação de quem não deve não (teme) a verdade.

Translation: LULA: it seems that you should look at the face of the people and tell a little bit the truth . sixty nine requests for the establishment of a parliamentary investigation commission have been denied . at what price I don't know . I know that the majority of the government didn't permit a single one . contrary to my government . that I didn't move a finger to impede any parliamentary investigation commission and if they want to establish more they can do it because I have a poor education but a education that those who aren't in debt with nothing aren't afraid of the truth.

On several occasions Lula combines his *ethos* of honesty with his humble origin. In example (6) this humble origin is presented as the guarantee of Lula's ethical coherence, and his answer becomes a counter-attack endeavouring the destabilization of Alckmin's honesty *ethos*. (6) is as many other examples not a direct attack against Alckmin's honesty *ethos*, but an indirect one. Lula includes Alckmin in the group of former governors. In this way, Lula succeeds in creating the image that he, Lula, incorporates the overcoming of those political traditions in Brazil, which always have been concerned with the interests of the own social class and not those of the whole population:

- (6) LULA: *antigamente o que se fazia neste país . era levantar o tapete jogar toda sujeira em baixo do tapete . e eu desde pequeno ajudava a minha mãe a limpar a casa . e a gente levantava o sofá para varrer . no governo de vocês não lembr/ não não faziam isso [...]*.

Translation: LULA: in former days it was a practice in this country . to lift up the carpet and to throw the dust under the carpet . I helped my mother to clean the house from my earliest childhood on . and we lifted up the couch to sweep the floor . during the government of your party I don't rememb/ you [plural] doing this.

Example (7) is interesting because Lula succeeds in inserting Alckmin into the tradition line of the colonizers and the rich upper class. At the same time, Lula identifies this class as being the main source of the problems of Brazil and creates an image of himself that shows him as a person on the side of the poor, as someone who interrupts and puts behind him this tradition. In his reply, Alckmin answers only on the level of the propositional content, saying that his party, the PSDB, hadn't yet reached the age of 400 years:

(7) LULA: então governador não queira que em quatro anos eu con[s]jert(o)<sup>8</sup> o que vocês destruíram em quatro séculos é bom ir devagar com isso é bom ir devagar com isso e permitir que eu possa fazer muito mais do que já foi feito em qualquer outro momento da história deste país.

BOECHAT <sup>9</sup>: candidato .. agora só um minuto para a réplica do candidato alckmin.

ALCKMIN: *olha o psdb não tem quatro séculos não chegou ainda a tanto* . agora em relação a a saúde não explicou . a saúde no rio de janeiro . foi abandonada.

Translation: LULA: well, governor, don't expect me to repair in four years what you [plural] have destroyed in four centuries it is good to advance slowly with it it is good to advance slowly with it and allow that I can do much more than has been done at any time in the history of this country.

BOECHAT [moderator]: candidate ... now only one minute for the reply of the candidate alckmin

ALCKMIN: look the psdb is not four hundred years it didn't yet arrive at so much . now with respect to the the health system he didn't explain . the health system in rio de janeiro . has been abandoned.

This example shows that even 200 hundred years after the independence of Brazil the heritage of the colonial epoch is still alive, and it makes sense for a candidate in an election campaign to link the social division of the contemporary Brazilian society to this colonial heritage and to choose his side.

## Conclusions

The examples cited above show that both candidates endeavour to activate central elements of their *previous ethos* and that by doing so, they are coherent with their own electoral campaign: the profession as a physician, competence, honesty and the image of a leader who knows how to deal with the needs of the population, in the case of Alckmin, and the humble origin and honesty in the case of Lula.

The activation of certain elements of the *previous ethos* strengthens others. In the case of Alckmin, the activation of the *previous ethos* as physician strengthens the image of being a leader who knows how to deal with the needs of the population. In the case of Lula, his humble origin strengthens the image of honesty and also the image of being for the first time in the history of Brazil a leader whose politics are orientated towards the historically disfavoured and marginalized part of the population.

Honesty is the battlefield of this debate. This is where negotiation occurs. Alckmin tries to destabilize Lula's image as an honest politician and to thereby strengthen his own honest image. Lula proceeds in a different way. He doesn't attack Alckmin's honesty image directly, but by affiliating him to his political party, which governed Brazil between 1994 and 2002, as the examples (5) and (6) show. Another procedure is the following: by linking his humble origin to honesty, Lula evokes the conclusion that persons without that origin don't follow the same ethical principles (cf. example 6). On the contrary, as it is insinuated in example (7) those without the same origin continue a politic that from the beginning of the colonization of Brazil has been directed according to the interests of the Brazilian rich upper class.

Alckmin's attempts to present himself as someone who knows the reality and life conditions of the disfavoured part of the population (as in example 3) didn't succeed in destabilizing this perspective introduced by Lula. The reason for this may be that Alckmin's perspective is condescending and begins at the top of the social pyramid. From this perspective the improvement of the population's life conditions depends on the decisions of a leading elite who knows what is good for the people.

Lula's position is coherent to other discourses in Brazil like the Pedagogy of the Oppressed (Freire, 1985) and the Theology of Liberation (cf. among others Pixley and Boff, 1986). Alckmin's position is coherent to the discourse of the first president of Alckmin's party, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, for whom the

development of Brazil can only be improved by a "projeto burguês" (Reis, 2007: 254-255), i.e. a project lead by the middle class elite.

## Notes

- 1 I would like to thank the Swedish Foundation for International Cooperation in Research and Higher Education (STINT) for the support of the Project *Afro-Latin Linguistics: Language Contact in Intercultural Settings* which organized the section about *Language and (In-) dependence* at the Symposium *Independencia y Dependencia en América Latina, 200 años después*, where a previous version of this paper was presented. In addition to this, I would like to thank Sonja Carlson for the language revision of this text. All errors remain my own responsibility.
- 2 For the research in Brazil see Motta and Salgado (2008), in Italy see Anselmi (2011).
- 3 For an overview on the linguistic reception of the notion of *ethos* see Amossy (2008: 9-20). For a retrospective of the development of the notion of *ethos* within the discourse analysis, see Maingueneau (2008).
- 4 There are other terms used to design the *previous ethos* (term preferred by Haddad, 2008 and Kerbrat-Orecchioni and Constantin de Chanay, 2007). Maingueneau (2008) uses the term *pre-discursive ethos*. We prefer for our aims the term *previous ethos*, because it seems to us that the term *pre-discursive ethos* may be misunderstood in the way that it would refer to a construction of the *ethos* before any discourse, but even the *previous ethos* is constructed by discourses, which occurred before the actually analyzed discourse.
- 5 The debate has been transcribed by the author of this paper, based on the digitalized version in five parts which had been republished on the internet (<http://video.google.com> (correct on 02 DEC 2007)). The overall transcription norms used in the transcription are those defined by the NURC-Project (Castilho and Preti, 1987: 1-17). However, non-standard pronunciations as the non-standard diphthongization *nóis* 'we' (in stead of *nós* 'we') have been noted. All citations of this debate are taken from our own transcription. Therefore there is no source indicated after the citations. The symbols used in the examples of this article are:  

.	short pause
..	medium pause
(hipótese)	hypothesis about what has been heard
MAJUSCULES	emphatic intonation
que:	vocal lengthening
- 6 The Federal Senate (cf. Senado Federal, 2010) offers an online search engine to localize all the digitalized documents of the Congressional Investigation Committees (CPI / CPMI): "CPI dos Correios" (Postal service scandal), "CPMI ambulâncias" (*Sanguessuga* scandal), "CPMI compra de votos" (*Mensalão* scandal).
- 7 Orkut ([www.orkut.com](http://www.orkut.com)) is an online relationship service comparable to Facebook, founded in 2004 and owned by Google (cf. Rocha, 2007: 14). In Brazil it is very popular (cf. for example the online review [www.orkut.etc.br](http://www.orkut.etc.br)).
- 8 We opt here for the phonetic transcription [s], because the oral form is ambiguous between *consertar* 'repair' and *concertar* 'harmonize'. Both verbs can be understood in this context, because both design actions carried out with the objective to get from an undesired state of affairs to a desired one.
- 9 Boechat is a famous Brazilian journalist who was the moderator in this debate.

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