

PRAGMATICS AND DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: A DIALOGUE ON THE CONCEPT OF APHORIZATION IN MEDIA TEXTS¹

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Abstract

In this article, which is part of a larger postdoctoral research, we examine, in the light of the dialogue between Pragmatics and French Discourse Analysis, the notion of aphorization, as proposed by Dominique Maingueneau (2006, 2008, 2010, 2012). We have tried to observe its use in Brazilian and French magazines, as a resource to manipulate the readers, especially through the changes that this kind of utterance undergoes in the process of highlighting.

Keywords: Aphorization; Highlighting; Printed media; Manipulation.

1. Introduction:

Taking the linguistic use as object, Pragmatics has opened a vast field in language studies, allowing engagement with other disciplines / theories, such as French Discourse Analysis, or rather with what has more recently been called “French tendencies of discourse analysis”. It is characterized, among other things, for being concerned not only with the discursive function of the units, but also with their properties as units of language, as well as for reflecting upon the ways in which the Subject is inscribed in his own discourse, keeping, in that sense, a privileged relationship with the linguistic theories of enunciation (Maingueneau 2004: 202).

In the articulation between these two fields, *aphorization*², a notion proposed by D. Maingueneau (see especially the book *Les phrases sans texte*, published in 2012), is

¹ This article is part of a postdoctoral research – *Over-asseveration and aphorization in Brazilian and French media: A comparative study in the light of Discourse Analysis* – partly developed in Brazil (UNICAMP), partly in France (Université Paris IV / Sorbonne), made possible by a scholarship awarded by CAPES (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Ensino Superior). We emphasize that, in the period spent in Paris, France (6 months), this research was supervised by Dominique Maingueneau himself.

² To explain the creation of the term – not so satisfactory, in his view – Maingueneau (2012: 22) claims that *aphorizo*, in ancient Greek, would be an operation of determination, and *aphorisma*, a definition. The author, however, admits to having been inspired by the contemporary usage, which takes the aphorism as a sententious phrase that summarizes, in some way, a fundamental truth, with the caveat

a topic that has received our attention lately. It can be broadly defined as an utterance enhanced from a text that, in the case of printed media – a domain that concerns us here –, is transformed into a title, an intertitle or a photo caption, with the ultimate goal of drawing the reader's attention, so that he feels inclined (or even compelled) to read the full text.

This observation leads us to hypothesize that aphorization in mediatic texts is, from the pragmatic point of view, a device to influence or even to manipulate the reader, since journalists, in the process of highlighting, can – and often do – change what was actually said in the original text. Our primary goal is therefore to investigate the use that printed media (more specifically, Brazilian and French magazines of wide circulation) make of aphorization in some genres, such as interviews and reports, seeking to understand the various types of changes that occur in the process of highlighting. First, however, we need to more closely reflect on the role that the media in general play in a society like ours.

2. Media and citizens: A complex relationship

According to Charaudeau (2006: 251-277), since sociologist Pierre Bourdieu “has dissected” information conveyed on/by television, the arguments brought by scholars point out, as a rule, the harmful effects of media on the audience. However, in asking whether the media are indeed manipulative, the author admits that we cannot say that things happen exactly like that between the media and citizens (Charaudeau 2006: 252). In his opinion, *manipulating* implies that someone (an instance) intends to make another (another instance) believe in something (not necessarily true), making him think or act, without realizing it, in a way that brings profit to the first one. Thus all manipulations involve deception, whose victim would be the manipulated party.

This “movement”, of course, does not address the relationship between media and citizens: We cannot say that the former is willing to cheat, or that the latter “swallows” everything presented to them without any dose of criticism. In fact, if the media manipulate in a way that is not always purposeful, often they are also victims of manipulations from higher authorities (Charaudeau 2006: 252-253). In other words: If the media manipulate, they are also manipulated, either by external factors (such as competition / commercial profitability or political power), or by internal elements (the representations of what might interest or excite the public, for example).

Charaudeau (2006: 256) argues that, regardless of the criticisms that can be made of the media, they play a key role in the context of democracy: To inform the public about facts and events that occur in the world, by making explanations about them circulate and making room for debate. On the other hand, considering that citizens always come in contact with an event as it is filtered by the media – since they never have access to the “raw event” – one cannot lose sight that the media choose what (and – we add – how) they want to be made visible, which leads Charaudeau to conclude that the media inform by deforming, although not always with a truly manipulative intention.

that an aphorization, as he understands it, goes beyond the sententious statements, applying to the set of sentences without text.

From this perspective, if the producer of a given piece has to be devoted to the intention³ of information, which consists of making the citizen know what happened or is happening in the world, he cannot, however, dispense with the intention of drawing the other's (the recipient's) attention, since we are, ultimately, faced with a business object that follows the logic of the market: To capture the largest possible number of consumers so as to survive the competition with other companies. Therefore it is necessary, at the same time, to inform and persuade, by influencing the target audience in order to mobilize their feelings and beliefs and eventually by awakening their interest in the information transmitted. From this perspective, media reports build their own real feature by trading with our imaginaries, as Charaudeau (2006: 273) points out.

In other words, the media hold considerable "leeway" on selecting information to be conveyed – after all, choosing to report a piece of news is making it exist – by performing "cuts" in the material (deciding what will or will not be excluded, the "voices" that will be broadcast or silenced) and by organizing it in a specific way, chosen from other possible ones.

This shows that the media, still wishing to provide a coherent and intelligible view of the world, eventually convey a fragmented view of things, which proves the impossibility of aiming at a transparent, neutral or purely factual piece of information, because its significance is always subjected to the filters of the mediatic contract of communication, as well as to the different expectations of those involved in the act of informing (journalist, editor, agency director etc).

As already stated, aphorization, as a highlighted statement, takes part in this "game" described by Charaudeau (2006). An example that illustrates this point is the following: The Brazilian magazine *Isto É* (year 35, n. 2188, dated 10/19/2011), brings an interview with Matt Damon. One of the intertitles/legends, highlighted from the American actor's words, is:

"I've already worked with Angelina Jolie in a movie and I saw firsthand what she faces. Brad Pitt and Angelina together are pure dynamite."⁴

This statement appears next to a picture of the young Hollywood "Couple 20" in full regalia. Well, a reader who assesses his interest in reading (or not) the piece may interpret the quoted excerpt – by the way, in quotation marks to show that it is a reproduction (in direct speech) of Damon's words – as: "Angelina Jolie and Brad Pitt fight too much (in an explosive way)" or "The couple has a bombastic sexual relationship", among other possible interpretations. This can then manipulate readers by making them interested in reading the interview with Damon in order to support their conjecture(s). However, let us examine the original context from which the excerpt was extracted.

On commenting, in a previous statement, that "Brad Pitt has nothing to offer to the publications of sex and scandal", but that he "is the target of what is worst in this business", the respondent (Damon) is asked whether this would not be the price one

³ Free translation of the French word *visée*.

⁴ Translation of: "Eu já trabalhei em um filme com Angelina Jolie e vi de perto o que ela enfrenta. Brad Pitt e Angelina juntos são pura dinamite".

pays for being famous and married to an equally famous woman. The answer that follows is:

“Yes. I've worked with Angelina and I saw firsthand what she faces. It was easy to know what day she was filming because, upon arriving at six in the morning, about 40 photographers were already on duty at the entrance to the set. All this just to take a picture of Angelina coming. Brad and Angelina together are pure dynamite.”⁵

“Pure dynamite”, now contextualized, is nothing more than a burst of flashes of photographers who want, at any and all costs, to get an exclusive photo of the couple Pitt / Jolie, having nothing to do with fighting or sexual relationship. Here is a clear example of mediatic manipulation: The deletion of the central part of Damon’s statement (and the addition of “in a movie”), creates an effect of gossip, which attracts readers interested in, for example, celebrity scandals, leading them to buy the magazine to read the article and get to know how the expression “pure dynamite” is used to refer to the famous couple of movie stars.

Examples like this proliferate in printed media, motivating us to research the phenomenon of aphorization in order to grasp its functioning, which immediately raises a number of questions: 1) when quoting another person’s words, what strategies do the printed media make use of?; 2) is there a hierarchy or a larger recurrence of one strategy over another/other(s)?; 3) have the highlighted utterances already been shown as detachable from the origin?, 4) if we take different types of publications in two distinct countries, such as Brazil and France, will the differences be more significant in relation to the country or to the type of publication?; 5) and what do such differences convey, in a broad sense, about the self-image (the *ethos*) that each magazine conveys?

Such questions are at the heart of this article, and the answers we can give will surely help to reveal how the media or, more specifically, the printed media manipulate readers, seeking to account for the paradox summarized by Charaudeau (1997: 73) of the formula: “To be as credible as possible, attracting, at the same time, as many receivers as possible.”⁶.

3. Discussing aphorization: A brief review of Maingueneau’s theory

Since aphorization is a very recent topic in the field of French Discourse Analysis – Maingueneau’s book that deals with it in a deeper way dates from 2012 –, we think it is important to briefly present it, so that the reader who is not familiar with this notion can follow our discussion and, further on, our analyses.

On addressing the issue of highlighting, Maingueneau (2006: 72-73) initially points out the large number of utterances circulating in society that could generically be

⁵ Translation of: “Sim. Eu já trabalhei com Angelina e vi de perto o que ela enfrenta. Era fácil saber o dia em que ela estaria filmando porque, ao chegar às seis da manhã, cerca de 40 fotógrafos já estavam de plantão na entrada do set. Tudo isso só para tirar uma foto de Angelina chegando. Brad e Angelina juntos são pura dinamite.”

⁶ Translation of: “Être le plus crédible possible tout en attirant le plus grand nombre possible de récepteurs”.

called citations or formulas. These citations refer to two different types of operations: Those originally working as autonomous utterances (proverbs, slogans, adages, etc.); and those cited to mark a specific position as opposed to others (e.g., a given aesthetic position, a certain conception, historically dated, of the relationship among meaning, language and subjectivity). It is, in this case, what one could label “notorious citation”.

In the media, the highlighted utterances arise, as a rule, as “short sentences”, i.e., short utterances likely to be resumed later. In this case, Maingueneau (2006: 80-81) explains that it is not possible to determine whether these “short phrases” are so because the original speakers wanted them to be detachable, intended for resumption by the media, or whether journalists say them that way to legitimize their saying. In other words, media professionals would fabricate such statements, depending on how the latter would be re-employed, according to the “anticipation game” of the reception modes. Thus, nothing prevents a journalist from converting, in a sovereign-like way, any string of text into “short sentences”, thanks to proper manipulation.

According to Maingueneau (2006: 86), the comparison between the highlighted utterances and their counterpart (the text of which they were retrieved) shows that, in most cases, the utterance is altered, which may be more or less important. From this reasoning, he makes some important distinctions. The first issue is that one should not confuse *detachable* utterances (over-asseverations) with detached (highlighted) utterances (aphorizations), since the latter does not necessarily come from detachable sequences. The second point is the opposition he establishes between aphorization by *strong* highlighting⁷, in which the detached utterances break with the source text – that is, from the viewpoint of the media consumer, this text does not exist – and aphorization by *weak* highlighting, in which the highlighted utterances come close to the source text (as we saw in Matt Damon’s interview). Therefore, in *weak* highlighting, the utterances maintain a link with the source text, although this does not entail absolute fidelity.

The proposed distinction between detachable and detached leads to two very different notions as to their functioning: The logic of *over-asseveration* – which brings up a sequence over a textual background – and a logic of *aphorization*⁸ – a totally different kind of enunciation (Maingueneau, 2006: 90), a concept that he will endeavor to develop in two other articles (2008, 2010) and especially in the book released in 2012.

We can say, in general, that over-asseverating is to anticipate a detachment. According to Maingueneau (2012: 16), in both printed texts and Web sites, over-asseverations appear as natural candidates to highlighting, and thus are “upgraded” to the condition of aphorizations. However, nothing prevents the possibility of highlighting/aphorizing a sequence that has not been previously over-asseverated. Furthermore, over-asseverated or not, an aphorization in media texts may undergo – and it often does – deformations, misunderstandings and slips of meanings, as we have tried to show in Damon’s aforementioned interview. This shows that the passage of a text

⁷ An example of *strong* highlighting can be found in sections named, for instance, “Point of view”, in which famous people’s opinions on various subjects are put together, but the reader does not have access to the texts the detached utterances were taken from.

⁸ According to Maingueneau (2012: 23), there are two types of aphorization: Primary aphorizations (the ones that are autonomous, like proverbs, maxims, adages, etc), and secondary aphorizations (the ones detached from a text, as the example presented in Section 2, concerning Matt Damon’s interview). Our study is concerned with the latter because, unlike primary aphorizations, the secondary ones have not yet been sufficiently studied, as Maingueneau himself points out.

fragment to aphorization profoundly modifies its pragmatic status and, by extension, its interpretation.

Without intending to be exhaustive, Maingueneau (2012: 58) lists some indices that help the reader to diagnose aphorization, pointing out, however, that they are very heterogeneous and do not occur necessarily all at the same time. They are, among others:

- Textual indices: Preference for statements reduced to a single sentence.
- Lexical indices: Presence of verbs such as *to repeat* and *to hammer*, that enhance the “know-by-heart” feature of aphorization.
- Aspectual indices: Generic character of the utterance.
- Syntactic and prosodic indices (symmetrical arrangement in chiasmas...).
- Semantic indices (presence of tropes: Metaphors, paradoxes...).

Two of these indices may be seen, for example, in the following title detached from an interview with French economist Michel Volle (*L'Express*, n. 3216 – dated 20 to 26/02/2013): “We live the third industrial revolution”⁹, which is a statement reduced to a single sentence with a generic character.

But, ultimately, how should we understand the title of Maingueneau’s book that calls aphorization “a sentence without text”? Does it not contradict the definitions provided previously in this article? In order to answer these questions, we will resort to Maingueneau himself. According to him, from a more immediate point of view, being a “sentence without text” means that aphorization is neither preceded nor followed by other sentences with which it would be linked by relations of cohesion so as to form a textual unit, anchored in a discourse genre. What characterizes aphorization is therefore a refusal to enter into the logic of the text and the discourse genre, which does not mean, on the other hand, that it is devoid of context. This “contextualization”, though, is different depending on whether it is a primary aphorization (the one devoid of a source text, as in the case of proverbs and maxims) or a secondary aphorization (the one detached from a text, the type that interests us more closely, as already said). The latter is, in fact, taken in two effective contexts: The source context and the context of reception, the distance between them being responsible, as a rule, for the changes that the context of reception would submit the highlighted statement, activating even other semantic potentialities beyond those present in the original context: The source text (Maingueneau 2012: 25-27).

Such situation would lead to a disagreement between the speaker-origin, responsible for what is said, and this same speaker taken as the aphorizer of an utterance that was highlighted by a third party (in our case, the media). Thus many speakers become aphorizers against their will. They are then aphorizers produced by the very work of citation (that, therefore, do not coincide with the speakers of the source texts). This is a recurrent phenomenon in the press today, both in France and in Brazil, as it has been emphasized previously. Indeed, in this respect, Maingueneau (2012: 20) points that, in terms of fidelity to the source text, the contemporary press is ostensibly careless and that the modifications call more attention when there is weak highlighting, i.e., when the reader has access to the source text.

⁹ Translation of: “Nous vivons la troisième révolution industrielle”.

It was this advantage of the (secondary) aphorization by weak highlighting that led us to choose it as our object of study. As we intend to examine the changes an utterance undergoes in the passage from the source text to aphorization and to what extent aphorizations are a result of prior over-asseverations, the proximity of the source text greatly facilitates the interpretative work (contrary to what happens in the case of aphorization by strong highlighting, as the source text is absent).

4. An analysis of Brazilian and French magazines

In the light of Maingueneau's contributions presented in Section 3, we developed a *corpus* based research that includes Brazilian and French magazines belonging to two different categories: The informative ones (news and update magazines) and those on celebrities (*presse people* magazines), totaling eight magazines. For the selection of French magazines, we have relied on Charon (2008). As for Brazilian magazines, in the absence of a study as consistent as the one published by the latter, we have sought, as far as possible, to apply the same criteria used for the choice of French magazines. In general, they are widely circulated publications (with significant sales numbers) today. As for the categories, they are placed among those that, according to Charon (2008: 11), have been largely responsible for the renewed development of the printed magazine after World War II. Table 1, below, specifies the magazines analyzed:

Table 1

Magazine	Category	Country	Publishing House
<i>France Dimanche</i>	CM	France	Hachette
<i>Voici</i>	CM	France	Prisma
<i>L'Express</i>	IM	France	Express-Roularta
<i>Le Nouvel Observateur</i>	IM	France	Perdriel
<i>Caras</i>	CM	Brazil	Abril
<i>Conta Mais</i>	CM	Brazil	Escala
<i>Veja</i>	IM	Brazil	Abril
<i>Carta Capital</i>	IM	Brazil	Confiança

CM = celebrity magazines (*presse people*); **IM**= informative magazines (news and updates)

Before turning to the examination of aphorization in the magazines, we want to make it clear that our study focuses on the qualitative aspect, because, from the point of view of discourse analysis, the most important thing are not figures (though occasionally one can turn to them), but the interpretation of the collected data (in our case, linguistic-discursive facts) in the attempt to understand a particular issue (in our case, the secondary aphorization by weak highlighting).

To streamline the exposition, firstly we will make some general comments about the selected magazines, which were analyzed during four months – the Brazilian magazines from September to December 2012, and the French ones from February to May 2013 – already trying to enhance the similarities and differences between them (by category and by country), with regard to the five questions posed in section 2. Then, trying to build a representative sample of the *corpus*, we will present nine highlighted

utterances (each followed by a brief analysis) and then enhance the most significant changes they undergo in the passage from the source text to aphorization. In this case, we will be restricted to what we call “hetero-aphorizations”: Those that have to do with the other-speaker (a famous person, an expert, a witness) to whom the journalist-speaker gives the word in the text.

4.1. *General aspects*

The first finding is that, in both Brazil and France, *presse people* magazines prove more lavish in aphorizations than do news magazines. This result, which matched our expectations, can be explained by the attempt made by the former to create an image (an *ethos*) of proximity to the universe of the famous: They are able not only to enter the intimacy of stars, disclosing their lifestyle, their tastes, their beliefs and even the scandals surrounding them, but also to reproduce their opinions on various subjects. Another possible explanation is that such magazines are more to be flipped through than to be read, which may justify their emphasis on aphorization. The Brazilian *Caras*, for example, uses over-highlighting: Almost all the texts in the magazine (usually reports about celebrities) present one or more highlighted utterances. On the other hand, the French *Voici*, despite being classified as *presse people*, makes very little use of aphorization, resembling, in this sense, ladies’ magazines – more concerned with giving the modern woman tips and suggestions for fashion, beauty, sex, among other themes, which may be related to an “*ethos* of advisor”.

In the case of news and update magazines, there is an important difference between the two countries: In Brazil, it is *Veja* (a slightly rightwing magazine) that uses aphorization to a lesser extent than *Carta Capital* (a leftwing magazine, therefore endowed with a more critical bias), perhaps in an attempt to preserve the reputation (the *ethos*) of objectivity that makes it the third best-selling informative magazine in the world – according to Portela (2009), *Veja* is surpassed in numbers only by American *Time* and *Newsweek*. In France exactly the opposite occurs: Aphorization is more productive in *L'Express* (rightwing) than in *Le Nouvel Observateur* (leftwing). This shows that the relationship among objectivity, criticism and aphorization is differently constructed in the two countries¹⁰, with obvious repercussions on the image (the *ethos*) of each magazine.

News magazines are close, however, in the way of highlighting. Whereas in *presse people* magazines aphorization is usually taken from a famous person’s speech (usually appearing in quotation marks, although it does not guarantee absolute fidelity to what was actually said in the source text, as seen in the example discussed in Section 2), in news magazines, on the opposite, there are usually two types of aphorization: Those that summarize the words of an other-speaker (a famous person, an expert, a witness), and, in this case, they come in quotation marks; and those that reproduce the speaker-journalist’s words (the person who signs the text), being highlighted in some other way: By size and / or color of the font, for example. This suggests two types of aphorizations: Hetero- and self-aphorization.

¹⁰ Since our data was not conclusive regarding to this aspect, it remains open for further investigation.

On the other hand, when we examine all the magazines together (i.e., both informative and *presse people*), we find a common aspect: Weak-highlighting aphorizations are rarely the product of over-asseveration. In other words, journalists generally highlight what they believe can catch the reader's attention, regardless of the utterance position in the text or the existence of other utterances that would be more conducive to highlighting (e.g., those appearing at the beginning or the end of a text). Therefore, in most cases, detachment is not prepared / anticipated in the source text.

Another similarity: Regardless of the country or category, the intertitles (and in some magazines like Brazilian *Conta Mais!* and French *L'Express*, the subtitles of sections) predominate over the titles and photo captions (prototypical aphorizations). This appears to explain the extent of the highlighted utterances (that ranges from one to two periods), since the logic related to each category varies: Titles, for example, tend toward brevity, becoming thereby optimized aphorizations. In this sense, Brazilian *Veja* presents quite a peculiar situation: Its highlighted utterances can be of three or more sentences, most closely resembling briefs or arguments.¹¹ They are, in this case, “aphorization limit”, if one can speak of aphorization. In this aspect, the highlighted utterances in French magazines are closer to prototypical aphorizations, at least with regard to their extension: They rarely exceed two sentences.

The Brazilian and French magazines, altogether, do not have many generalized or judgmental statements (another characteristic of prototypical aphorizations). Even if they sometimes occur, there is a tendency for the aphorizations to be linked to a position-taking on a given subject (not always controversial), which explains the presence of many statements in the 1st. person singular and others that, despite being in the 3rd. person, present other marks of subjectivity (such as the presence of evaluation indexes and modality markers).

Another common feature among the magazines is the choice of the most productive genres for aphorization: Interviews, opinion pieces (articles of opinions / chronicles, more present in news magazines) and reports (especially those that include testimonials and opinions of the famous or experts). One difference between Brazilian and French news magazines is that the latter also present highlighted utterances in the editorial genre.

An aspect that should be emphasized – perhaps the most important for our purposes – is that, regardless of the country or category, the highlighted utterance is rarely identical to the corresponding sequence in the source text. With this, there are more or less important changes in meaning, depending on what is modified (deleted, replaced etc). In the process of highlighting, even the fabrication of utterances occurs sometimes. They are, however, placed in quotation marks as if they had in fact been

¹¹ This can be seen, for example, in the aphorization (intertitle) taken from the interview with Mitchell Baker, the Executive Chairwoman of the Mozilla Foundation and Mozilla Corporation (*Veja*, ed. 2296, year 45, n. 47, dated 11/21/2012, p. 17-21): “We must understand that society believes that much should even be shared for free on the web. It is always better to get away from radicalism. Extreme laws only bring more harm to all involved.” [“Precisamos entender que a sociedade acredita que muito mais deveria ser partilhado gratuitamente na rede. É sempre melhor fugir do radicalismo. Leis extremas apenas trazem mais prejuízo para todos os envolvidos.”]. About this statement, we cannot deny that it is a highlighted utterance (after all, it was detached from a text and “transformed into” an intertitle), but, at the same time, it is longer than a prototypical aphorization. A possible solution is to consider that such cases are in a borderline situation regarding aphorization, which allows us to call them “aphorization limit”, an expression suggested by Maingueneau himself when we consulted him on this matter.

said by someone in the text, which corroborates the characteristic of carelessness of the contemporary mediatic communication, emphasized by Maingueneau (2012).

The most frequent changes are the reformulations with synthesizing content: Deletion of textual cohesion markers, suppression of modality markers (such as “I think...”, with an obvious effect of generalization), deletion of words and expressions that indicate evaluation or express circumstances of time, manner and / or space, removal of markers of presupposition, etc. This type of change is explained by the fact that the highlighted utterance (aphorization) implies, at least in theory, a pause in reading, which means that it cannot be excessively long. Thus, everything that is regarded as superfluous is usually eliminated. But there are also a considerable number of substitutions (for “equivalent” words or phrases) and additions that substantially modify the meaning of the utterance. Another device that, though less frequent, has drawn our attention is what we term “technique of *bricolage*”. More typical of some magazines (like Brazilian *Carta Capital*), this resource consists in gathering phrases / sentences coming from different parts of the text in the same utterance, as if they had been put together that way in the original text.¹²

Finally, we must not lose sight of the more or less free paraphrases and the fabrication of utterances (or parts of utterances). They are, in short, different ways to catch / manipulate the reader, as we have had the opportunity to emphasize. In the next section, for the sake of illustration, we will examine some aphorizations, seeking to understand the modifications of meaning afforded by the changes that the utterance goes through in the process of highlighting.

Beforehand, however, it is worth noting that if there are, among the magazines, significant differences that appear to be linked to the category (the type of magazine) like, for example, greater or lesser productivity of aphorization, one cannot disregard those that also distinguish the publications of the two countries (like the relationship among objectivity / criticism / aphorization, typical of news and update magazines) and the many points in common that make these publications closer to each other, regardless of country or category, like the presence of few detachable aphorizations in the original (over-asseverated).

According to Charon (2008: 4), “the pace of the magazine [...] is slower than that of other media. It allows the retreat. [...] The fact of having time allows, moreover, making and remaking until the content and form are satisfactory.”¹³ Thus, the constraints of the magazine are different from those of other publications. If we take the characteristics of prototypical aphorizations in newspapers, such as what was formulated by Maingueneau (2012) (see Section 3), and apply them to magazines, we have, in general, the following indexes that guide us to a diagnosis of aphorization:

- Textual indices : Utterances more often made of one or two periods.
- Lexical indices: The “say” verbs, when used, are not decisive regarding the presence (or not) of aphorization.

¹² Examples of these changes will be seen in Section 4.2.

¹³ Translation of: “Le rythme du magazine [...] est plus lent que celui des autres médias. Il permet de prendre du recul. [...] Le fait de disposer de temps permet par ailleurs de faire et refaire tant que le contenu et la forme ne sont pas satisfaisants”.

- Aspectual indices: The so-called “trivial” utterances overlap the more generic ones. “Trivial” utterances generally indicate an opinion, a position-taking in relation to a subject.
- Lack of syntactic and prosodic indices (symmetrical constructions etc); the semantic ones (presence of tropes: Metaphor, paradox ...) do appear, but in a small number.

In spite of the differences between Maingueneau’s indices and the ones we found in our research, we can say that what we find in the magazines is the same phenomenon of aphorization, though adapted to the constraints specific to this type of publication, which are evidently distinct from those that occur, for example, in newspapers or Web sites, pressed by the need for agility in information. Now that general considerations have been made, let us turn to illustrations.

4.2. Aphorizations in magazines: Some examples

We will seek to present some examples of the different modifications we have previously listed, contemplating, as far as possible, the various magazines selected and making a brief analysis of the effect(s) of meaning obtained with the modification.

Brazilian *presse people* magazine *Conta Mais!* (n. 618, dated 10/19/2012) presents, on reporting the story of actor Rodolfo Valente (“Conforto Básico”, p. 50-51), the following utterance that comes in quotation marks (direct speech) and is put as a photo caption: “I appreciate elegance”¹⁴. This aphorization (in this case, prototypical both for its brevity and for being a photo caption – although it shows more than the aphorizer’s face) was taken from the following excerpt: “I appreciate elegance, but I like basic clothes”¹⁵.

The deletion of the second part of the sentence (introduced by the connector **but**) not only precludes the oppositional movement that, in the original text, is established between the two sentences, but also shows to be inconsistent with the picture for which it serves as caption: The actor is dressed informally, with jeans and sneakers, which, therefore, has nothing to do with the “elegance” (if we think in terms of expensive, sophisticated, formal clothes) suggested by the utterance. This is the typical case in which there is incompatibility between what was said (verbal) and what was displayed (non-verbal), at least at first glance. What is most serious, however, from the discursive point of view, is the clear “deformation” of what the actor says, leading the reader to turn to the possible conclusion **R** (which applies only to the highlighted utterance **p** = “I appreciate elegance”), if we take the scheme of **but** proposed by Ducrot (1984) in the frame of his “semantic pragmatics” or “linguistic pragmatics”¹⁶.

¹⁴ Translation of: “Prezo a elegância.”

¹⁵ Translation of: “Prezo a elegância, mas gosto de roupas básicas.”

¹⁶ Ducrot (1984) proposes, in general, the following scheme: From **p** make the possible conclusion **R** (e.g.: “Elegance implies fancy, expensive clothes, etc.”); from **q** make the possible conclusion **non-R** (in the case, something like “Elegance also accounts for basic clothing”); from **p but q** make the possible conclusion **non-R**. That is, the conclusion that is true for the set is **non-R** (it invalidates **R**), which, of course, is not contemplated in this aphorization.

In turn, *Caras* (ed. 989, year 19, n. 42, dated 10/19/2012)¹⁷, also belonging to the *presse people* segment, brings, in a report about actors Deborah Secco and Du Moscovis who star in the series “Louco por Elas”, broadcast by Brazilian network TV Globo, the intertitle: “I see no problem in being surrounded by women. My universe is feminine.” (Du Moscovis)¹⁸. Without reading the text, someone who is not aware of the aforementioned series may think the actor is talking about his personal life, when he actually refers exclusively to his work on television, as shown by the wording of the original text: “There is no problem being surrounded by women in the studios. I am harder to handle than them! All four are partners. It was a very harmonious meeting”.¹⁹

The effect of the aphorization, which in fact does not correspond to what the actor says in the source text, is constructed from a strategic set of changes: The replacement of “there is not” for “I see no (problem)” (a more subjective feature), the deletion of the circumstances of place (in the studio) and the addition of the fabricated statement: “My universe is feminine” (in a way replacing all of the actor’s last words, which were systematically eliminated). Therefore, even in quotation marks, the highlighted utterance (aphorization) does not appear in the source text, thus clearly manipulating the reader.

Our next example also comes from *Caras* (ed. 989, year 19, n. 42, dated 10/19/2012), and it is taken from a report about actor Marcello Novaes. In this case, through the resource of substitution, what is expressed as desire turns, as if by magic, into reality, as shown by the aphorized intertitle: “I have an open dialogue with my children. I am not only a father but also a best friend.” and its counterpart in the source text: “I wish my children to look upon me not only as a father but as a best friend ...”²⁰. The comparison between the two statements needs no further comment.

In the case of French *presse people* magazines, the example from *Voici* (n. 1323, dated March 16-22, 2013) is particularly intriguing. The aphorization, taken from an interview with chef Florent and presented as title of the article is: “The real couple is Jean-Philippe and me”²¹. In times of *Mariage pour Tous*²², it may make the reader believe that this is a homosexual relationship, when, in fact, the interviewee is talking about a partnership on a television programme (*Top Chef*), as shown in the original words from which the utterance was highlighted:

Voici: Is there no room for love on Top Chef?

¹⁷ *Caras* brings no page numbering. Therefore, such information will not be given in the case of statements taken from this magazine.

¹⁸ Translation of: “Não vejo problema por estar rodeado de mulheres. Meu universo é feminino.”

¹⁹ Translation of: “Não há problema algum estar rodeado de mulheres nos estúdios. Dou mais trabalho do que elas! Todas as quatro são parceiras. Foi um encontro bastante harmonioso.”

²⁰ Translation of: “Tenho diálogo aberto com meus filhos. Não sou apenas pai, mas melhor amigo.” // “Desejo que meus filhos me encarem não só como pai, mas como melhor amigo...”.

²¹ Translation of: “Le vrai couple, c'est Jean-Philippe et moi”.

²² This law, passed on April 23, 2013, placed France on the 9th rank of European countries and the 14th. in the world to admit the legal marriage between persons of the same sex and child adoption by such couples.

Florent: In all cases, not this year. On the other hand, there is room for friendship. Because the real couple that was created is Jean-Philippe and me... (p. 22)²³

The cuts made in the passage to aphorization (especially the suppression of “there is place for friendship”) completely change the meaning of Florent’s speech. This shows, as in the Brazilian cases analyzed, that the presence of quotation marks does not guarantee fidelity to the original utterance, skillfully deceiving the reader who thinks he is, in fact, before a full citation in direct style.

There are also cases in which deletions are not justified only by space constraints (for example, the fact that a title has to be short): Ambiguity is intentionally left as a “hook” to lure the reader’s curiosity. Next example is a case in point, taken from an article about actress Mimi Mathy, published in *France Dimanche* (n. 3472, dated March 15-21, 2013: 8-9). The aphorization, which comes as the cover story and title of the article is: “This does a lot of harm”²⁴. This is part of a much longer speech that was so “amputated” and decontextualized that gives the reader no choice but to read the full text (or a good part of it) to retrieve the referent of the anaphoric pronoun **this (ça)**, which is the fact the actress consults the internet to know the opinion of people who watched “Joséphine, Ange Gardien”, a TV series starred by her.

The examples mentioned so far, all of them collected from *presse people* magazines, could lead us to think that the news and update magazines would be more reliable because of the *ethos* of seriousness and neutrality they seek to pass on to the reader. However, even though there are highlighted utterances equal to their counterparts in the original text (which is also observed, although to a lesser degree, in celebrity magazines), aphorizations, in general, are not exempt from deformations and deviations of meaning, as we have been analyzing. The following example, taken from an interview published by *Veja* (ed. 2291, year 45, n. 42, dated 10/17/2012) illustrates this point. The highlighted utterance, which lies halfway between an intertitle and a photo caption of the respondent – the Swiss specialist in recruitment, Egon Zehnder (“A praga da incompetência”, p. 17-21) says: “No appointment of minister and of state-run company or autarky director should be 100% political”²⁵.

When comparing this aphorization with the specialist’s words in the original text, the utterance is slightly different: “No appointment of state-run company or autarky director should be 100% political”²⁶. It can be seen that the word “minister” was subtly included in the highlighted utterance. One possible explanation for this is the fact that, in Brazil, where the report is being conveyed, the situation described also applies to ministers (who are appointed according to purely political criteria, without regard to their technical skills, for example). Apparently, the utterance was changed by the magazine to serve as an indirect message to Brazilian rulers.

²³ Translation of: “**Voici** : Il n’y a pas de place pour l’amour à *Top Chef* ? // **Florent** : Pas cette année, en tout cas. En revanche, il y a de la place pour l’amitié. Parce que le vrai couple qui s’est créé, c’est Jean-Philippe et moi...”

²⁴ Translation of: “Ça fait très mal”.

²⁵ Translation of: “Nenhuma nomeação de ministro e de diretor de estatal ou autarquia deve ser 100% política”.

²⁶ Translation of: “Nenhuma nomeação de diretor de estatal ou autarquia deve ser 100% política”.

As for what we call “technique of bricolage”, here is an example taken from an interview with the Minister of Social Development, Tereza Campello, (“A real reforma do Estado”), published in *Carta Capital* (year XVIII, n. 720, dated 10/24/2012: 52-55). The highlighted intertitle is: “The school attendance of those who receive the benefit is 95.5%. The dropout rate, 50% lower than the average”. This utterance, however, was (re)constructed by merging the beginning and the end of the Minister’s words, as seen in the full excerpt of the interview:

In the case of those who receive the grant (Bolsa Família), *attendance reaches 95.5%*. Among the less than 5% whose attendance is not regular, nearly 30% have reasons: Often the children were sick for a period or the family changed address and failed to find a vacancy at school. In the remaining cases in which there is no justification, we try to make the children go back to the classroom. Look: The Bolsa Família beneficiaries come from extremely poor families, with indicators infinitely worse than those of the rest of the population. Another fact: *The dropout rate of those who get the grant is 50% lower than the average.* (p. 53, emphasis added).²⁷

It could be argued that there was no distortion of the Minister’s speech. In fact, there was not, but presenting such an aphorization in quotation marks as if it already existed in the original text constitutes, at least, the manipulation of data.

The French *Le Nouvel Observateur* and *L'Express* do not have a very different attitude, as shown below. From the former we have selected an interview with Emmanuel Todd, a demographer at the *Institut d'études démographiques* (*Le Nouvelle Observateur*, n. 2524, Mars 21-27: 2013): “France has changed more between 1980 and 2010 than during the thirty preceding years: An increase in educational level and life expectancy, the end of traditional marriages, the empowerment of women, post-industrial mutation...”²⁸. The original utterance, however, is slightly different: “France has changed more between 1980 and 2010 than during the thirty preceding years: An increase in educational level and life expectancy, the end of traditional marriages, the empowerment of women, post-industrial mutation, the disappearance of the extreme leftwing and the emergence of the extreme rightwing.”²⁹

Besides deleting connector **well** and adjective **massive** (with obvious loss of intensity), two factors included in the original are summarily eliminated: The

²⁷ Translation of: “No caso de quem recebe o Bolsa, a frequência atinge os 95,5%. Dos menos de 5% cuja frequência não é regular, perto de 30% têm motivos: geralmente as crianças ficaram doentes por um período ou a família mudou de endereço e não conseguiu vaga na escola. No restante dos casos em que não há justificativa, trabalhamos para que as crianças voltem a frequentar a sala de aula. Perceba: os beneficiários do Bolsa Família vivem em famílias extremamente pobres, com indicadores infinitamente piores do que aqueles do restante da população. Outro dado: a evasão escolar entre quem recebe o benefício é 50% menor que a média.”

²⁸ Translation of: “La France a plus changé entre 1980 et 2010 que durant les trentes années précédentes: hausse du niveau éducatif et de l’espérance de vie, fin du mariage classique, émancipation des femmes, mutation posindustrielle...”

²⁹ Translation of: “Or, la France a plus changé entre 1980 et 2010 que durant les trentes années précédentes: hausse massive du niveau éducatif et de l’espérance de vie, fin du mariage classique, émancipation des femmes, mutation postindustrielle, disparition de l’extrême-gauche, émergence de l’extrême-droite.”

disappearance of the extreme leftwing and the emergence of the extreme rightwing. It could be argued that they were deleted only because they are the last items on the list and that, after all, the magazine acts ethically on signaling the deletion through ellipsis. However, we cannot forget that they also represent negative issues in the history of France. After all, extreme positions, either rightwing or leftwing, always pose a danger due to radicalism and intolerance associated with them. With the elimination of these two factors of the highlighted utterance, the reader is led (“manipulated”) to build only a positive image of the change experienced by the country between 1980 and 2010.

The last example comes from *L'Express* (n. 3230, March 20-26, 2013). The aphorization that appears as the title of an interview with Julien Assange, founder of WikiLeaks (p. 54-57), is: “Obama is a cyberterrorist”.³⁰ The title immediately impacts the reader as it sounds like an accusation against the president of the United States, who generally has a positive reputation both abroad and in his own country. However, when we read Assange’s speech, from where the title was taken, what we have is: “Joe Biden and Barack Obama are cyberterrorists. Not me”.³¹ We can then see that the charge in the source text is divided between Biden and Obama and is actually a response to the accusation against Assange of being a cyberterrorist. The deletion of “pas moi” (“not me”) and the replacement of the compound subject (Joe Biden and Barack Obama) by the simple subject Obama (of course, the most well known and famous), distort Assange’s words and contributes to a “deviation” of meaning that the reader can construct when he does not go beyond aphorization. Nevertheless, quotation marks were used, simulating fidelity to what was said.

5. Final remarks

With the data presented in section 4.2., we believe we have been able to show that, in fact, aphorizations work in printed media as a resource to influence / to manipulate the readers. After all, those who work on highlighting (journalists, in this case) need to make the utterance more “surprising”; they also have to “grab” the reader at all costs in order to win the fierce battle of market competitiveness. One way to do so is not only by choosing what they should give visibility to, via highlighting, but also by operating the changes (deletions, additions, substitutions etc.) necessary to activate diverse semantic potentialities that may interest the reader.

On the other hand, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the logic of aphorization in our object of study – magazines – tends to be different from what is seen in newspapers or on the Web. We have no doubt, however, that we are facing the same phenomenon, just adapted to the specificities of the different “vehicles”, as we have already had the opportunity to emphasize. According to Maingueneau (2012: 49-50), it is impossible to determine *a priori* what are the necessary and sufficient conditions for aphorization to take place, which forces us to think in terms of more or less prototypical aphorizations. In the author’s view, “pure” aphorization does not exist, as each instance

³⁰ Translation of: “Obama est un cyberterrorist.”

³¹ Translation of: “Barack Obama et Joe Biden sont des cyberterrorists. Pas moi.”

of aphorization is necessarily of a particular kind and, as such, is affected by the type to which it belongs.³²

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³² This article was presented in the *13th International Pragmatics Conference*, which was held from 8 to 13 September, 2013 in New Delhi, India. It was translated into English by Regina Célia Vieira and reviewed by Gláucia Renate Gonçalves.

