ABSTRACT: According to Bakhtin (2011), speech genres are relatively stable types of utterances that circulate in different spheres of human activity. Over the years, especially after the popularization of certain technologies, such as the internet, new genres have emerged, from the transmutation/re-elaboration of pre-existing genres. The re-elaboration phenomenon also occurs when a genre transforms, with no arising of a new genre. This article presents a view about genre re-elaboration in tweets, a 280-character text published on the social network Twitter, to analyze which strategies are used for genre re-elaboration in a corpus of tweets posted by different users with diverse communicative purposes. The analysis showed a productivity of the re-elaboration phenomenon on tweets, in which genres from various spheres, such as journalistic, advertising, and day-to-day, besides the own tweet, are re-elaborated.

KEYWORDS: Genre re-elaboration. Tweet. Twitter.
RESUMO: Os gêneros do discurso são, segundo Bakhtin (2011), tipos relativamente estáveis de enunciados que circulam nos diferentes campos da atividade humana. Com o passar do tempo, especialmente após a popularização de determinadas tecnologias, como a internet, novos gêneros emergiram, a partir da transmutação/reelaboração de gêneros já existentes. O fenômeno de reelaboração ocorre, também, quando um gênero passa por transformações, sem que um novo gênero surja. Este artigo apresenta um olhar sobre a reelaboração de gêneros no tweet, texto de 280 caracteres publicado na rede social Twitter, visando analisar quais estratégias são utilizadas para reelaboração de gêneros em um corpus de tweets postados por diferentes usuários, com diversos propósitos comunicativos. A análise demonstrou que há uma produtividade do fenômeno de reelaboração nos tweets, nos quais gêneros de esferas diversas, como a jornalística, a publicitária e a cotidiana, além do próprio tweet, são reelaborados.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Reelaboração de gêneros. Tweet. Twitter.

RESUMEN: Géneros del discurso son, de acuerdo con Bakhtin (2011), tipos relativamente estables de enunciados que circulan en diferentes ámbitos de la actividad humana. Con el tiempo, especialmente después de la popularización de determinadas tecnologías, como la internet, han emergido nuevos géneros, a partir de la transmutación/reelaboración de géneros existentes. El fenómeno de la reelaboración ocurre, también, cuando un género sufre transformaciones, sin que surja un nuevo género. Este artículo presenta un vistazo sobre la reelaboración de géneros en el tweet, texto de 280 caracteres publicado en la red social Twitter, con el objetivo de analizar qué estrategias se utilizan para reelaborar géneros en un corpus de tweets publicados por diferentes usuarios, con diversos propósitos comunicativos. El análisis mostró que existe una productividad del fenómeno de reelaboración en los tweets, en los que géneros de distintos ámbitos, como el periodístico, publicitario y cotidiano, además del propio tweet, se reelaboran.

PALABRAS-CLAVE: Reelaboración de géneros. Tweet. Twitter.

1 INTRODUCTION

The studies of the Bakhtin Circle are of utmost importance for understanding human interaction in different spheres of communication. According to this theoretical framework, interaction always occurs through speech genres. Bakhtin ([1952-1953] 2011, p. 262) defines them as “[…] relatively stable types of utterances […]” which circulate in the various spheres of human activity. It means that every language use occurs within a speech genre, which presents its compositional structure, style, and thematic content. Bakhtin (2011) postulates the existence of primary and secondary genres. The former genres are more spontaneous and immediate, usually oral; and the latter are more complex, usually written, and created from the re-elaboration of primary genres, to comply with social demands.

However, according to R. Costa (2010), the phenomenon of genre re-elaboration – previously called transmutation – is not restricted to the emergence of secondary genres based on primary genres. In general, re-elaboration consists in the transformation of genres through interventions by the speaking subjects. This process may or may not entail the emergence of a new genre. Thus, it is necessary to add that the internet contributed to the appearance of the so-called digital speech genres or emerging genres, which, according to Marcuschi (2010), are based on old genres. We highlight that secondary genres can re-elaborate primary genres and, also, other secondary genres.

In this article, we observe one of these digital speech genres: tweet. This genre is materialized in a text of up to 280 characters on the support Twitter, a social network with more than 330 million active users in the whole world currently. Twitter provides the possibility of following and being followed by other profiles. So, there may or may not be reciprocity, since following someone does not imply that the user will be followed back.

On the home page of each user, it is possible to see the tweets published, retweeted (shared), or liked by the profiles they follow. These tweets used to appear only in chronological order, so the user would see tweets in real-time. However, currently, the platform selects previous tweets and shows them with the title “in case you missed it...”. Thus, communication on Twitter can occur synchronously or asynchronously.

1 All the quotes presented in this article were translated from Portuguese, since we based on Brazilian editions.
Each Twitter profile contains a unique username (user), introduced by the @ symbol, a name/nickname that identifies them, and a profile picture (icon), as well as a brief biography (bio) and a header photo. When we access a specific profile, we also see the tweets published and retweeted by the user, among other access possibilities, such as liked tweets and tweets with media. These aspects, in addition to their communicative purposes, particularize each user on the social network. According to S. Costa (2012), the communicative purposes also help determine the genres to be re-elaborated on Twitter.

In this work, based on Freitas and Barth (2015) and on Azevedo, Pereira and Ayres (2021), we consider tweet as a speech genre, since it presents relative stability of style, thematic content, and, especially, compositional structure. These elements show indications of genre re-elaboration. Moreover, it is important to note that several changes have occurred in its support – Twitter – since its creation in 2006 to the present day. The website increasingly presents hypertext features for its posts, such as links, images, and videos, which offer broad possibilities for genre re-elaboration in tweets. In this regard, the literature lacks new research on the tweet genre, which should consider the modifications on the support Twitter.

Based on this, we aim to analyze the phenomenon of genre re-elaboration in tweets. As we have mentioned, this process occurs through interventions in these texts by Twitter users, to fulfill their communicative purposes. Thus, we intend to investigate which strategies are used for re-elaborating genres in the analyzed corpus, considering both the re-elaboration of other genres and of the own tweet. To form the corpus, due to the diversity of communicative purposes represented by different profiles, we selected an institutional profile of a public university (@UesbOficial), an ordinary person profile, and two journalistic profiles: an official one (@folha) and a fake/humorous one (@folha_sp).

We divided his article into seven sections. After this first and introductory section, we present our theoretical foundation. In sections 2 and 3, based on Bakhtin’s (2011) speech genres theory, we characterize tweet as a genre that is materialized on the support Twitter. For this, we also rest on the contributions made by Marcuschi (2008, 2010), Rojo and Barbosa (2015), and, mainly, Freitas and Barth (2015) and Azevedo, Pereira and Ayres (2021). We dedicate section 4 to the discussion of the concept of genre re-elaboration – or transmutation –, approached by Zavam (2009, 2012), R. Costa (2010), S. Costa (2012), and Araújo (2016). Next, in section 5, we expose the methodology adopted to collect our corpus. We present the analysis in section 6 and, finally, in section 7, we make some final considerations about what we aimed: the investigation of genre re-elaboration in various tweets.

2 THE BAKHTINIAN THEORY OF SPEECH GENRES

The Russian theorists from the Bakhtin Circle base on the premise that language is part of all areas of human activity. For that matter, Bakhtin (2011, p. 261) postulates that “the use of language takes place in the form of concrete and unique utterances (oral and written), uttered by the members of the various spheres of human activity”. The utterance is considered by Bakhtin (2011) as the real unit of speech communication, since “language begins to enter life through concrete utterances (which realize it); it is also through concrete utterances that life enters language” (BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 265).

It is important to emphasize that, for the theorist, every utterance responds to previous utterances – confirming, rejecting, completing them, etc. – and, thus, originates subsequent utterances. Therefore, dialogism is established. This concept consists of the dialogue between utterances – that is, between discourses – in addition to the dialogue between speaking subjects, and between speaking subjects and utterances.

Bakhtin (2011) states that the specific conditions of each sphere of human activity develop relatively stable types of utterances, which are defined as speech genres. In this perspective, the author declares that “the speaker’s speech will is carried out primarily in the choice of a certain speech genre” (BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 282). In other words, every language use occurs through a speech genre, which is generated in specific socio-historical contexts, to fulfill a communicative function in an area of human activity.

According to Bakhtin (2011), speech genres are sustained by three inseparable pillars of composition: thematic content, linguistic style, and compositional structure. The thematic content includes the subject of the utterance and the speaker’s evaluative attitude.
toward this topic. This attitude is related to the sphere of communication in which they are and, therefore, is influenced by sociohistorical issues. Based on Bakhtin, Rojo and Barbosa (2015, p. 87) state that the thematic content “is the most important element of the text or the utterance: a text is all built to echo a theme”. Then, the style and the composition of the utterances are determined by their thematic content. The style consists of the linguistic selections made by the speaker, which, according to Rojo and Barbosa (2015), involve all grammatical features, such as vocabulary, syntax, linguistic record, etc. In the genres of new media and technologies, according to Rojo (2013), style is manifested multisemiotically. Thus, to analyze these genres, we should consider both linguistic choices and other semiotic units. According to Bakhtin (2011), these choices are determined by the sphere of communication and, consequently, by the genre itself. However, the individual style (of the speaker) can interfere in the genre style – within the limits imposed by the sphere of communication where the speaker subject is. Bakhtin (2011) adds that the insertion of the individual style is more common in less standardized genres, i.e., genres whose style is more flexible. The compositional structure, in turn, corresponds, basically, to the organization of the utterance, that is, to its (macro)structure, which makes the genre socially recognizable because of its format. Thus, following Rojo and Barbosa (2015), we emphasize that the style and the compositional structure are, each in their way, linguistic and multisemiotic marks of the thematic content. It happens because they are determined by the speaker’s evaluative attitude towards the object of speech.

According to Bakhtin (2011), we can classify speech genres into primary and secondary. For the theorist, primary genres are simple, since they are characteristic of everyday, immediate, and usually oral situations. Secondary genres, in their turn, are commonly written and created from the absorption and re-elaboration of primary genres, to comply with socio-cultural demands. We emphasize that the concept of secondary genres also embraces the genres that have emerged in the internet environment, from the re-elaboration of primary genres and of other secondary genres as well, as we will see in more detail below.

Based on Bakhtinian postulates, Rojo and Barbosa (2015, p. 68) accentuate that “it is the purpose, the functioning and the specificity of the sphere in its historical time and place that determine both the stable and the flexible characteristic of the speech genre”. These aspects are responsible for determining themes, styles, and even compositional structures that the texts in these spheres can present. For the authors, “a good example [of it] is the appearance of digital information and communication technologies (DICTs), which have led to changes in the genres incorporated by them” (ROJO; BARBOSA, 2015, p. 68). In this article, we focus on the tweet genre, discussed in more detail in the next section.

3 CATEGORIZING TWEET AS A (HYPER)TEXT OF A DIGITAL SPEECH GENRE

Bakhtin’s (2011) postulates originated other studies on particularities about the genres, such as transmutation/re-elaboration. Based on that, Marcuschi (2010) states that the intense use of technologies provided the emergence of new forms that, although innovative, are similar to older ones. In other words, as the Brazilian linguist argues, new genres are based on genres that already existed. According to Marcuschi (2010), emerging genres unleash new language uses, which evokes the concept of hypertext, presented by Xavier (2010).

In this sense, texts that materialize digital speech genres are, according to Xavier (2010), hypertexts, that is, “a hybrid, dynamic and flexible form of language that dialogues with other semiotic interfaces, adds and stows other forms of textuality in its surface” (XAVIER, 2010, p. 208). Thus, we can affirm that these genres are generally constituted by other languages – visual, audio, audiovisual, etc. –, in addition to verbal writing. Other characteristics of the hypertexts are their virtual nature, ubiquity, and indexing to other texts through hyperlinks. Based on this, we note that the concept of secondary genres, referred to by Bakhtin (2011), is expanded, since, in the present day, (hyper)texts of many genres are constituted by multiple languages, in addition to verbal writing.

In this article, we look specifically to a genre that emerged from the popularization of the internet: tweet. This genre is materialized in a text of up to 280 characters published on Twitter. Freitas and Barth (2015) analyzed diverse tweets and, founded in the three Bakhtinian pillars, classified tweet as a genre. According to them, this form of communication is relatively stable in its compositional structure – marked, especially, by the 280 characters limit –, style, and thematic content – which may vary according to the user’s
profile. Azevedo, Pereira and Ayres mention that elements as emojis, images, videos, GIFs, links, and hashtags can be part of tweets' style. Thus, for Freitas and Barth (2015), the manipulation of tweets by the users is determined not only by the character limit but also by the user's profile and their communicative purposes. Thereby, in theory, while an ordinary user can talk about anything in their profile, users that represent companies or institutions suffer a thematic and stylistic limitation. We emphasize that, although there is a variety of style and thematic content, tweet is a speech genre because it is relatively stable.

Another category that helps characterizing tweet as a genre is the concept of support. According to Marcuschi (2008), it consists in a physical or virtual locus, with a specific form, to materialize genres. Based on this, Freitas and Barth (2015) propose that Twitter is a support for the tweet genre since it is responsible for the realization and fixation of these texts. We also highlight that some actions – accessing a user's profile, replying or liking a tweet, and retweeting, for example – can only be performed through Twitter. Moreover, the support presents hypertextual possibilities, such as the use of multiple semiosis, hyperlinks, and other characteristics that classify tweet as a hypertext.

Furthermore, according to Marcuschi (2010, p. 22), "[…] in many cases, the forms are responsible for determining the genre, and, in many others, the functions play this role. However, there are cases in which the support itself or the environment where the texts appear determine the genres". This determination by the support seems to be the case of tweet, considering that, despite the variety of themes, styles, and functions this genre can present, it is always on the same support – Twitter. Thus, we emphasize that the support Twitter is essential for the production and characterization of the tweet genre.

In this context, it is noteworthy that, for Marcuschi (2010, p. 21), "the language of the new genres becomes more and more plastic", that is, genres are increasingly flexible, especially if we consider the use of various semiosis that integrate them. The tweet genre, for example, has undergone some modifications in recent years, thanks to the changes allowed by its support – Twitter, which often adds new hypertextual resources – and to the uses of the genre as well. Therefore, tweets present effects of the phenomenon known as genre re-elaboration, which we cover in the following section.

4 THE PHENOMENON OF GENRE RE-ELABORATION

According to Bakhtin (2011), changes in social life entail changes in the linguistic style and, consequently, in the speech genres. Considering that "the transfer of style from one genre to another not only modifies the way a style sounds, under conditions of a genre that are not its own, but it also destroys and renews such genre" (BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 268), we emphasize that genres are susceptible to undergo re-elaboration.

This concept comes from Bakhtin (2011), who, when approaching the formation of secondary genres, states that they absorb primary genres through a process named re-elaboration in Brazilian studies. In the words of the theorist: "In their formation process, they [the secondary genres] incorporate and re-elaborate various primary (simple) genres, formed in conditions of immediate speech communication" (BAKHTIN, 2011, p. 263, our emphasis).

In other words, re-elaboration is the transformation suffered by a primary genre when incorporated by a secondary genre. Before we deepen into the concept of genre re-elaboration, it is important to note that this term arose recently, after the 2003 translations of Bakhtin's work into Portuguese, straight from Russian. Before that, in translations from French, the concept adopted was transmutation, as we can see in the following quote: "During their formation process, the secondary genres absorb and transmute the primary (simple) genres of all species, created in circumstances of spontaneous verbal communication" (BAKHTIN, 1997, p. 281, our emphasis).

As we have seen above, in previous editions of the book Estética da criação verbal (Aesthetics of verbal creation), the process of transforming a primary genre into a secondary one was called transmutation. The terminological change from transmutation to re-elaboration represents an important change of perspective. According to R. Costa (2010), the new translation alludes to the protagonism of the speech subjects, as we will see in more detail below.
In this article, we seek to update the Bakhtinian concept of genre re-elaboration, considering the functioning of this phenomenon in tweet, a relatively recent and quite common genre nowadays. As pointed out by Araújo (2016), the transmutation/re-elaboration category is productively investigated by researchers from the group Hiperged – currently called Digital (Discursos e Digitalidades) –, of the Graduate Program in Linguistics (PPGL) of the Federal University of Ceará (UFC). Hereinafter, we present some discussions made by these researchers, to explain the construction of the concept of re-elaboration and the functioning of this category on Twitter.

Based on the Bakhtinian postulate that changes in society entail changes in the spheres of human activity and, consequently, in the genres, Zavam (2009, 2012) relies on the concept of transmutation to define the transformations through which a genre (primary or secondary) can pass. These changes can occur “both in the absorption of one genre by another (either from the same sphere or from different spheres) and in the adaptation to new contingencies (historical, social, among others)” (ZAVAM, 2012, p. 257). From this, the author elaborates two categories of transmutation: 1) creative transmutation, which consists in the emergence of a new genre from one or more genres, and 2) innovative transmutation, which consists in the modification of a genre, without resulting in the emergence of another. Innovative transmutation is still subdivided into 2a) internal – when transformations in genre occur due to factors such as the change of sphere, communicative purpose, or style – and 2b) external – when a genre incorporates characteristics of another.

It is also worth noting that, according to Zavam (2012), transmuted genres always leave traces of this process in their compositional structure, theme, or style. Thus, the author highlights three aspects inherent to the transmutation process: a) the absorbing/transmutant genre aggregates to the compositional structure of the absorbed/transmuted genre; b) the absorbing genre, at the same time, transmutes and is transmuted; and c) the sphere of the absorbing and absorbed genres may or may not be the same. We highlight that the transmutation process changes all the genres involved in it.

R. Costa adopts the categories and considerations presented by Zavam (2009, 2012); however, with a substitution of transmutation for re-elaboration. The author explains that the term re-elaboration, in contrast to transmutation, is more appropriate to Bakhtinian principles. According to him, it better represents the protagonism and the active position of the speaking subjects in language practices and, consequently, in changes within genres. Founded on this terminology update, R. Costa (2010) reviews the transmutation processes proposed by Zavam (2009, 2012).

Based on the principle that genre standardization and genre emergence are in a continuum – i.e. they are not rigid categories –, R. Costa (2010) presents the following types of genre re-elaboration: 1) Creative genre re-elaboration with an emerging inclination and 2) Creative genre re-elaboration with a standardized inclination, to refer to the creation of a new genre, which can be more innovative or closer to existing genres, respectively; 3) Internal innovative re-elaboration, and 4) External innovative re-elaboration, which correspond to the categories of internal and external innovative transmutation proposed by Zavam (2009, 2012).

In the case of Twitter, we can state that creative re-elaboration occurred during the emergence of the social network, which, consequently, originated the tweet genre. Among the main genres that were creatively re-elaborated for the emergence of tweet, we can emphasize the SMS (Short Message Service) and the blog, as stated by Freitas and Barth (2015). S. Costa (2012) affirms that the original purpose of Twitter was to be a microblog updated via SMS. Therefore, the association between Twitter and SMS occurred during its idealization, when tweets were conditioned technologically to the SMS service. According to Dioguardi (2014), this relationship justifies the character limit imposed by Twitter to the compositional structure of tweets (at the time, 140 characters for the tweet + 20 characters for the username), which assimilated the SMS structure. The linking with the blog, in turn, occurs due to tweets’ function, as explained by Santos (2011). The author considers Twitter as an example of a microblog. For her, the microblog is a genre that arose from the use of blog as a personal diary, but with characters limitation. Although we consider tweet, and not microblog, as a genre, we recognize that blog was one of its origins. So, based on Santos (2011), we highlight that tweets, like blogs, are written and agile forms of self-expression and interaction, with a mixture of public and private features.

In addition to these two origins, according to Freitas and Barth (2015, p. 9), tweets present “characteristics of various genres such as news, informal conversation, note, quote, etc., which have been modified to meet the communication needs found in the social
network”. It demonstrates that innovative re-elaboration is a common phenomenon in the tweet genre. That was also verified by S. Costa (2012) in her master’s research, in which she observed the phenomenon of genre re-elaboration in Twitter, more specifically, which genres were re-elaborated within tweets. In the present work, based on Zavam’s (2012) statement that all genres involved in the transmutation (re-elaboration) process undergo modifications, we consider both tweet and other genres absorbed by it as objects of the re-elaboration phenomenon.

S. Costa (2012), in her research, continued the discussions made by Zavam (2009, 2012) and R. Costa (2010). The author based on two re-elaboration strategies: 1) intervention and 2) migration. According to the researcher, intervention consists in the modification of existing genre standards from the manipulation of genres by the user, which may change their form, meaning, and/or information content. Migration, in turn, concerns the displacement of standardized genres to Twitter, without interventions. In other words, it is limited to the mere “transposition of the generic standard from one environment to another” (COSTA, S., 2012, p. 79) and the maintenance of its communicative purposes.

Through her data analysis, S. Costa (2012) ascertained that most of the 195 tweets in her corpus presented interventions – 65%, while 35% were migrations. Thus, the author points out that there is no protagonism of the speaking subject in tweets with mere migration of other genres. In these cases, they only reproduce utterances from other spheres and maintain the communicative purposes of the original genre. On the other hand, according to S. Costa (2012), the tweets with intervention change the communicative purposes of the re-elaborated genres. They also help the user self-promote and obtain more retweets (RTs) than tweets with migration. The author concludes that these strategies, applied to the genres that are re-elaborated in Twitter, correspond to the categories of internal innovative re-elaboration – migration of a genre to another support – and external innovative re-elaboration – intervention in a genre for its incorporation in a tweet –, proposed by R. Costa (2010).

Therefore, S. Costa (2012) considers that the intervention strategy is a mark of (inter)subjectivity and a reflection of individual style, with strong indications of re-elaboration. Based on this, to analyze the genre re-elaboration in her corpus, the author lists three intervention strategies performed by the users when tweeting. The first one – which concerns the genre re-elaboration indeed – corresponds to interventions related to the form of the utterances, which includes manipulation and mixing of generic standards. In other words, it consists in using characteristics of other genres in the construction of a tweet. The second strategy involves interventions associated with the meaning of the tweets, which include intertextuality (allusions, appropriations, and paraphrases, for example) and multimodal arrangements. Finally, the third strategy of intervention is related to the information content. It occurs when users manage resources as comments and hashtags to interfere in the post information and, thus, print their identity, their individual style. According to S. Costa (2012), all these types of intervention represent a step towards re-elaboration and aim to achieve social capital.

Thus, based on S. Costa (2012), we highlight the strategies of genre re-elaboration used in tweets as an essential factor for the reach of communicative purposes. Consequently, it is a strategy for obtaining social capital in the social network Twitter. Roughly speaking, social capital consists in a ”[...] symbolic value that permeates interactions within a social group [...]” (ARAÚJO, 2016, p. 59). In Twitter, according to S. Costa (2012), this value can be measured by the number of RTs received by a tweet. We add the number of replies and likes as signs of social capital as well.

Based on these assumptions, we consider re-elaboration as the process of transforming a speech genre. It is worth noting that this process only occurs because the speaking subject presents an active posture. This activeness allows them to manipulate and intervene in genres, in order to modify them. It is also necessary to add that these interventions in Twitter occur “economically”, given the character limit for the compositional structure of tweets, as Araújo (2016) argues. In this regard, it is important to emphasize that, for Bakhtin (2011, p. 285), the use of the genres occurs from their mastery, i.e.,

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2 The support Twitter added these last elements after S. Costa’s (2012) research.
the better we master the genres, the more freely we employ them, the more fully and clearly we figure our own individuality in them (where this is possible and necessary), the more flexibly and subtly we reflect the singular situation of communication; in short, we carry out our speech project in a more finished way.

Therefore, to re-elaborate genres in tweets, users must know the genres involved in this process. Thus, we emphasize that Twitter users can perform interventions in other genres, which are re-elaborated, while they also intervene in the tweet itself. Therefore, we conceive that the tweet genre was initially a product of creative re-elaboration. However, nowadays, it is often the result of innovative re-elaboration – which occurs through the strategies named migration and intervention by S. Costa (2012)–, since it is a flexible genre, which allows the entering of the individual style of its writer. Considering this flexibility, in the following section, we present the methodological aspects of this work, whose corpus is composed of tweets published by various profiles.

5 METHODOLOGY

In this work, we adopted a qualitative methodological approach, considering that we seek to observe and describe a linguistic phenomenon – the genre re-elaboration – that occurs in a natural context – tweets published by diverse users. The collection of tweets for the corpus consisted, initially, in selecting Twitter profiles, followed by the choice of tweets to be analyzed. We saved the tweets through the Windows screen capture software. Since the tweets were published by public profiles, there was no need to logging in to Twitter.

Based on the assumption that the user’s profile and its communicative purposes determine the writing of tweets (FREITAS; BARTH, 2015), we chose Twitter profiles that represented different purposes, to have a general view of the genre re-elaboration in tweets. So, we selected: 1) a user who represents an educational institution, whose tweets have a thematic limitation; 2) a user classified as “ordinary user” with broader posting possibilities; 3) an official journalistic profile, which has the specific purpose of reporting facts; and 4) a fake profile that parodies the official journalistic profile. Thus, the tweets analyzed in this work represent different interactional objectives and, consequently, present diverse thematic contents and styles, which allows a broader view of the genre re-elaboration phenomenon.

We present, below, a brief characterization of the four public profiles from where we selected the tweets analyzed in this article:

1. @UesbOficial: official institutional profile of the State University of Southwest Bahia (UESB) with over 6 thousand followers;
2. @commonuser: profile of an “ordinary person” with over a thousand followers, chosen because of a single tweet that had many RTs and likes, an exception when compared to his other tweets, which usually achieve few interactions;
3. @folha: official journalistic profile of the newspaper Folha de São Paulo, which has more than 6.5 million followers and is verified;
4. @folha_sp: a fake journalistic profile that parodies the newspaper Folha de São Paulo, with more than 200 thousand followers.

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3 The corpus presented in this article is the result of an undergraduate research carried out during 2018-2019. The study, entitled Gêneros (hiper)textuais no Twitter: um estudo dos tweets – (Hyper)textual genres on Twitter: a tweet(s) study –, was funded by the Research Support Foundation of the State of Bahia (Fapesb).
4 In her master’s thesis, S. Costa (2012) does not explain the number of followers of the profiles whose tweets she analyzes. We consider that this information may be decisive for the achievement of social capital, since the number of followers influences the visibility of a user’s posts. Therefore, we understand that it is important to provide this information when characterizing the profiles analyzed in this work.
5 For ethical reasons, we refer to this user through a fictitious username.
6 Verified accounts on Twitter have a blue seal to indicate the profile is authentic and of public interest.
In these profiles, we sought to collect tweets with various sizes, purposes, and different uses of the semiosis available on the support Twitter (GIF, video, emoji, image, link, etc.), to demonstrate specificities of the genre re-elaboration phenomenon in each of them. In this article, we selected five tweets for the analysis, exhibited in the next section.

6 CORPUS ANALYSIS: GENRE RE-ELABORATION IN TWEETS

In this section, we present the results and discuss our analysis of the tweets. To this end, we consider the migration and intervention categories proposed by S. Costa (2012); in particular, the intervention in form, which consists in the mixture of generic standards that results in the genre re-elaboration. We also comment about the other types of intervention – in the meaning and the informative content. These elements contribute to the process of genre re-elaboration and, therefore, to the reach of communicative purposes in tweets. We also frame the analyzed tweets in the re-elaboration categories listed by R. Costa (2010).

Let us observe, initially, a tweet published by the official Twitter profile of the State University of Southwest Bahia (Universidade Estadual do Sudoeste da Bahia – UESB). That University is present on three campuses in the cities of Itapetinga, Jequié, and Vitória da Conquista. We classify the user @UesbOficial as an institutional profile, which aims to inform its more than six thousand followers about what happens at the University, by disseminating its teaching, research, and extension projects. In Figures 1 and 2, below, we present two tweets that pertain to a thread published by the profile @UesbOficial on January 15, 2019. Let us look at the first tweet of the thread and then at one of its answers:

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7 GIFs, an acronym for Graphics Interchange Format, are animated images without sound which repeat sequentially.

8 Emojis are visual symbols used to represent emotions or ideas. Currently, mobile keyboards are equipped with several emojis, like the heart-eyed smiling face 😍😍, the red heart ♥ and the crying face 😭😭, among many others.

9 This term refers to a line of thought, i.e., to a chain of information.
According to S. Costa (2012), strategies that receive many RTs tend to be adopted by other network users, who aim to obtain a high social capital as well. In this regard, we emphasize that the tweet above presents a thread, which proposes, to each like received by the tweet, the introduction to projects, services, and extension actions developed by UESB. This proposition constitutes a strategy for obtaining social capital through both the use of the thread – a popular practice on Twitter – and the interaction with other users through the likes. So, this text consists of written words, emojis, and multimodal arrangements, which represent an intervention in the meaning of the tweet, as we explain below.

At first, the tweet in Figure 1 shows indications of genres of the advertising sphere. It proposes a thread “of public utility” which establishes the purpose of disseminating a service the population might enjoy. The style of the tweet resembles the style of discount advertisements, which announce sales like “for each $X in purchases, you get a Y% discount”. This is a generic standard used in the tweet to attract the public attention – as well as in the ad – and carry out the interaction with other users, to achieve, consequently, a high social capital. In addition, the use of the word “valendo!”\(^{11}\) recalls aspects of genres of the sphere of everyday life related to competitions, in which the expression is used to start a game, to which we can also relate the loudspeaker emoji. That confirms the importance of multimodal elements for the meaning construction, especially in digital (hyper)texts. Thus, we can see that the tweet in Figure 1 contains a mixture of genres from the spheres of advertising and leisure. These genres along meet the communicative purpose of disseminating information about the University and reaching social capital, since it achieves 10 RTs and 178 likes.

As we have already commented, the threads have become an increasingly common resource on Twitter. Through them, several tweets are presented, with topics linked to an originating tweet, as the description “sequência” (thread) shows, at the top of Figure 1. We emphasize that the threads are a strategy for structural adaptation to the tweet limits, which allows no more than 280 characters;

\(^{11}\) This word, in Portuguese, has a similar value to “go” in English, used to start a competition.
thus, the information is "divided" into different tweets, which are attached. Along the thread, the user @UesbOficial presents 32 projects developed by UESB, among which we chose the example below, with the ninth project addressed:

![Tweet by the profile @UesbOficial, which is part of the thread shown in Figure 1](image)

Figure 2: Tweet by the profile @UesbOficial, which is part of the thread shown in Figure 1

Source: Twitter

The tweet in Figure 2 is one of the replies to the tweet in Figure 1, that is, it presents one of the projects developed by UESB: the pre-vestibular course *Universidade Para Todos* (*University for All*), offered in partnership with the Department of Education of the state of Bahia. The fact that it is part of a sequence is marked by the blue vertical thread that appears in the left of the tweet. Based on this information, we observed that the tweet in Figure 2 intervenes in the information content of the tweet in Figure 1, through the comment about it and through the use of hashtags. Hashtags have, thus, two functions. They work as a way for the reader to access other tweets related to *Enem* (a Brazilian national exam for students, to enter the university) and *Vestibular* (an entrance exam to a specific university). Consequently, they are also a way for other users to find the tweet about the project, when they search, on Twitter, about "Enem" or "Vestibular", which, once again, constitutes a promotion strategy of the University.

Furthermore, in the tweet in Figure 2, there are interventions in meaning carried out from the intertextuality established through hashtags, which function as keywords for the identification of the tweet subject. Such interventions also occur through multimodal arrangements, like the heart and the book emojis and the image of students from the project, in which the profile @educacaobahia is tagged. These elements can help establish interaction with other Twitter users. It is noteworthy that these interventions in the meaning and informative content contribute to the fulfillment of the communicative purpose of the tweet, or even of the thread in general, namely the dissemination of projects developed at the State University of Southwest Bahia. In addition, the use of these elements represents interventions in the form of the tweet depicted in Figure 2.

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12 "9. For students from public schools who wish to prepare for the selection processes for admission to Higher Education, the *Universidade Para Todos* project is a free and qualified option. In the southwest of Bahia, we are responsible for this education. 👊❤️#Enem#Vestibular"
Concerning the mixture of generic standards, we highlight, in addition to the tweet’s standard itself – characterized by the hashtags –, characteristics of the advertising \(^{13}\) genre – *anúncio de propaganda*, in Portuguese –, which, according to Silva (2015), has the purpose of promoting an idea and inducing people to an action other than buying. This is what occurs in the tweet posted by @UesbOficial, which explains the target audience of the project *Universidade Para Todos* and introduces it to the interlocutors. The advertising genre is structured by title, subtitle, logo, and slogan, which does not occur in the tweet in Figure 2. This proves that the user intervened to re-elaborate the advertising genre, which is mixed with the tweet.

Freitas and Barth (2015), when analyzing tweets by the institutional profile of the University of Passo Fundo, found that the user probably did not have the purpose of interacting with other users. According to the authors, this profile only aimed to make people click on the links directed to the University’s website. On the other hand, the communicative purposes of the tweets published by the profile of the Southwest University of Bahia include interaction with other Twitter users through likes. That objective tends to provide a greater reach of social capital and, therefore, a greater promotion of the institution. For this, in addition to the interventions in the meaning and in the informative content, the profile @UesbOficial performs interventions in the tweet form, which occur through the process of mixing standards from the genres of the sphere of advertising and the sphere of everyday life. Thereby, to publicize the services of the University and promote the institution, the user re-elaborates the following genres: advertisement, discount advertisement, game, and, naturally, tweet.

Hereinafter, we present the analysis of tweets published by an ordinary user. According to Freitas and Barth (2015), the style and thematic content of tweets by an ordinary user are more flexible and variable than the ones posted by profiles that represent an entity or a company. This allows the user to leave their mark, i.e., their individual style, through the interventions, as S. Costa (2012) asserts. Moreover, according to the author, the communicative purpose shared by every Twitter user is the reach of social capital – a value that “measures” the success of the participants of a social network. In the case of Twitter, the social capital is measured by the number of retweets, as well as, currently, likes and replies received by a tweet. Based on this, we present, below, a tweet with a high reach of social capital, published by an ordinary user, whose profile had, at the time of the post, over a thousand followers:

\(^{13}\) In Portuguese, there are two different words to refer to advertising: *anúncio publicitário* and *anúncio de propaganda*. The former includes the purpose of selling a product or service, while the latter – found in the tweet published by @UesbOficial – is not related to sales or money.
In Figure 3, we exhibit a screenshot of a tweet posted by an ordinary user on January 20, 2019. This is a *quote tweet*\(^1\), that is, the user republished a tweet\(^2\) by another common user, commenting it; thus, we have a tweet inside another. In the originating tweet, @anothercommonuser\(^3\) writes that her friends picked her up for eating out because she had said she was sad. The ordinary user reposted this tweet and stated that his friends, hearing him say the same thing, would act differently: they would respond “me too”, which indicates that they are also sad.

This tweet reached high levels of spreading; it raised more than 47 thousand RTs and 63 thousand likes, which is uncommon in the posts made by this user, even because of his little expressive number of followers. Since the tweet in Figure 3 is a quote tweet, we characterize it as an intervention in the information content of the original tweet. According to S. Costa (2012), this type of intervention can occur through a comment about a certain text, in which the user prints their identity. Besides, we emphasize that there is also an intervention in meaning, which is based on the intertextuality established with the original text.

To reach one of his communicative purposes – comicalness –, the user uses, in his tweet, a semiotic feature that helps to make his post funny\(^4\): the various spaces before the quote of his friends’ allegation. That is, to quote what his friends would say, the user does not choose canonical features, such as colon and quotation marks or indent; he chooses to use a larger space between the words, which also represents a pause and creates an expectation in the reader. This space between words can represent, in writing, the

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\(^1\) “if I tell my friends I’m sad they say me too”\(^5\)

\(^2\) The function of quoting tweets was incorporated into Twitter in 2015, to meet a need of the users, who already made this type of action manually.

\(^3\) We also use a fictitious username here, for ethical reasons.

\(^4\) S. Costa (2012) found, in her research, productive use of humorous resources by Twitter users and concluded that humor is a “preponderant element in the achievement of social capital on Twitter” (COSTA, S., 2012, p. 106).
hesitation present in the oral language and, consequently, in predominantly oral genres, such as everyday dialogue. This multimodal resource, besides representing an intervention in the meaning, constitutes an intervention in the form, since the use of several spaces before the quoted sentence creates an expectation in the reader, which is broken after the conclusion of the utterance. In this regard, the tweet presents close characteristics to genres in which there is a humorous plot twist, like the joke, which, according to S. Costa (2012), causes this effect.

Moreover, the style and thematic content of the given tweet contain signs of primary genres, such as everyday dialogue, and autobiographical secondary genres, such as the personal diary and the blog – in which the author relates the events and facts of their life –, which was re-elaborated in the creation of the tweet genre. This proves the assertion of Zavam (2012), who affirms that genres present indications of their transmutation (re-elaboration) process in their thematic content, style, and/or compositional structure. Thus, we see that the ordinary user performs the strategy of mixing the joke and the tweet to constitute the text of Figure 3, whose purpose seems to be a mixture of both: provoking humor while talking about his life.

S. Costa (2012) considers that the interventions carried out in tweets can justify their high spread in the network. However, we note that other tweets posted by the ordinary user do not have a high reach of social capital, although they present interventions, as occurs in the following tweet:

The tweet presented in Figure 4 was published in response to the tweet in Figure 3, by the same user. It seems that, in this reply, the user takes advantage of the great reach of social capital of his tweet to publicize his musical work. The text consists, in addition to the verbal elements (“já vê minhas músicas lá que é tudo nosso”), of a link to YouTube, embedded by the support Twitter, which presents a preview of it. Thus, we find that the ordinary user performs interventions in the meaning of his tweet by using an embedded link, which constitutes a type of multimodal arrangement. Moreover, the tweet presents intertextuality with other Twitter publications in which users take advantage of their tweets with a high reach of social capital to publicize their profiles on other social networks – in this specific case, on YouTube.

A brief analysis of the thematic content of this tweet, allied to the use of the link to YouTube and to the verb in the imperative form (“vê” – see), shows that it has characteristics of the advertising\textsuperscript{20} genre – anúncio publicitário, in Portuguese. This genre, according to Silva (2015), aims to sell a particular product or idea: “its producers intend to create the desire for consumption in the minds of individuals, with a profit goal” (SILVA, 2015, p. 49). The tweet in Figure 4 does not present a title, a subtitle, a logo, and a slogan – typical characteristics of the advertisement –, still, it maintains the communicative purpose of this genre. The intention of

\textsuperscript{19} “youtube.com/duplosetidotv check my songs out cuz we all in this together”\textsuperscript{20} In this case, we refer to the genre anúncio publicitário, which aims to sell something.
@commonuser, in this tweet, is to publicize his musical work and, thus, reach social capital on another network: YouTube. Meanwhile, the social capital reached by this tweet is low in comparison with the previous tweet, since it gets only 2 RTs and 3 likes.

We emphasize, then, that the tweet in Figure 4, despite replying to a text by the same user with a high social capital (Figure 3), does not reach a significant number of RTs and likes, although the process of genre re-elaboration is present in both tweets. We also point out that, according to our observation, the tweet in Figure 3 represents an exception to the social capital usually reached by the ordinary user. Based on this, we refute the postulate of S. Costa (2012), who states that intervention at various levels constitutes a greater re-elaboration and, consequently, a greater reach of social capital. Therefore, we emphasize that there should be other factors that influence the number of RTs and likes received by a tweet, such as the number of followers of the user and/or the profiles that retweeted or liked that post, the hashtags used, “what’s happening”/trending topics, or, still, the paid promotion of a tweet, among other reasons.

We present, now, the analysis of tweets published by two users: @folha, the official profile of the newspaper Folha de São Paulo, and @folha_sp, a fake profile that parodies it and creates fake news to, among other objectives, make social critics and cause humor. The official profile of the newspaper Folha de São Paulo has more than 6.7 million followers and is a verified profile; so, the “verified” seal shows that it is, in fact, an official and credible profile. It does not happen to Falha de São Paulo, which does not present this officialization, since it is a fake profile. Falha de São Paulo has more than 200 thousand followers, which already demonstrates a certain reach of social capital within the network. At first, it is possible to note that the fake journalistic profile seeks to present a visible similarity to the official journalistic profile, which also occurs in its posts, as we can see below:

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21 The most popular subjects on Twitter at one specific time, which appear in a list determined by an algorithm.

22 The word Falha, in Portuguese, means fault/failure. So, it represents a pun with the word Folha, which refers to the official newspaper.
Figure 5: Tweet posted by the user *Falha de São Paulo*, which contains 2 screenshots of tweets: one by their profile and another by the official profile of *Folha de São Paulo*.

Source: Twitter

In the tweet in Figure 5, the fake profile @falha_sp presents the subtitle "When reality imitates satire:”, followed by two screenshots of tweets: one by this same user, published on January 15, 2019, which we will call 5a, and another by the official profile of the newspaper *Folha de São Paulo* (@folha), named here as 5b and posted on January 16, 2019, same date of the tweet that contains the screenshots. Our focus, in this analysis, are the tweets 5a and 5b, since we aim to compare the official profile to the fake one. Both texts refer to the same subject: the relaxation of gun laws, signed by Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro on January 15, 2019, which aimed to allow people to possess weapons in their houses. The "news" of the first screen capture is false and is intended to cause humor, considering that a shooting death in France has no relation to Brazilian legislation. On the other hand, the second screen capture presents a real consequence of this flexibilization: the aggressions suffered by women inside their own homes, which can entail serious physical and psychological sequels, even femicide.

At first, it is possible to perceive the intertextuality between the two tweets since they address the same subject. So, there is a thematic relationship between the text published by the fake profile and the text posted by the official profile. Thus, intertextuality is established both with the fact that generated the news – the decree of flexibilization of possession of weapons – and with the tweets themselves, as explained in the subtitle of the tweet in Figure 5: "when reality imitates satire". Thereby, the user demonstrates the

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23 “When reality imitates satire:
@falha_sp: ‘man is shot dead in France hours after Bolsonaro facilitate the possession of guns’
@folha: ‘IfHeWasArmed: one day after relaxation on the possession of guns, women relate aggressions bit.ly/2DeEzGk’”
relationship between fake and true news, both related to the same event. Besides intertextuality, it is worth noting that both tweets whose screenshots are presented in Figure 5 are composed of words, a link, and a picture. These multimodal arrangements, as well as intertextuality, represent interventions in the meaning of both the tweet in Figure 5 and the tweets 5a and 5b, within it.

As in example 5b, the tweets by the profile @folha are mostly produced as a kind of headline, followed by a link, which leads the reader to access the complete news or report on the official website of the newspaper Folha de São Paulo. Regarding the process of genre re-elaboration, according to S. Costa (2012), when a certain genre is taken to Twitter, without interventions – aside from the adequacy to the character limit –, the process is classified as migration. In this process, according to the author, the communicative purpose of the originating genre is maintained, in contrast to interventions, which change the purpose of the re-elaborated genre. Based on this, we could state that, in the tweets by the journalistic profile Folha de São Paulo – for instance, the screenshot in Figure 5 –, the news genre is migrated to Twitter, since there is a maintenance of its informative purpose. However, the tweet under discussion presents the hashtag #SeEleEstivesseArmado (#IfHeWasArmed). At the time of publication, this hashtag helped disseminate reports of women who suffered domestic violence to show the situation would be even more serious if the aggressor had a gun. This demonstrates, still, an intertextual relationship with the project of flexibilization of weapons possession supported by Bolsonaro. As we have already commented, the hashtags, according to S. Costa (2012), represent an intervention in the informative content of a genre that is re-elaborated on Twitter. Thus, we found that this intervention characterizes a mixture of the genres tweet and news. Therefore, the tweet posted by @folha is a result of the external and the internal re-elaboration processes of the genres news and tweet, respectively.

The tweet 5a, posted by the fake profile Falha de São Paulo, presents the same structure and style of the official journalistic profile, as can be seen in the tweet in Figure 5. Nevertheless, we point out that its thematic content is not true. In addition, the links in @falha_sp’s tweets are fake and redirect to a non-existent site, unlike links by Folha de São Paulo, which lead the reader to the newspaper’s website. We highlight, then, that the thematic content – which, according to Bakhtin (2011), concerns not only the topic itself, but a set of values and ways in which this theme is approached – is different in the fake profile, which makes false statements regarding facts that happened.

So, we note that Falha de São Paulo re-elaborates the parody genre in this tweet, since it satirically imitates the style and compositional structure of the tweets by Folha de São Paulo. Furthermore, we highlight that the tweet presents a mixture of the news genre – parodied by the profile – and the joke genre. Despite having the same structure and style of tweets by @folha, the tweet by the profile @falha_sp has a humorous effect, since its purpose is not to report real events. Hence, we emphasize that Bakhtin (2011) postulates that the compositional construction and the style of the utterances are at the service of the thematic content. That is, the re-elaboration of the news is made by the user @falha_sp to fulfill their speech project, which aims to cause humor through fake news. Again, it is worth noting that, for S. Costa (2012), humor is an artifice that enables a great reach of social capital, which occurs in the tweet by the user Falha de São Paulo.

We found that the tweets published by @folha and @falha_sp contain the re-elaboration of the news genre. Our analysis also showed a re-elaboration of the parody and the joke in the fake profile. The re-elaboration of these genres seeks to concretize the communicative purposes of each user. While Folha de São Paulo seeks to report facts, Falha de São Paulo aims to cause humor through parodied news.

From the analyses undertaken, we present below a table with the general results found in the four profiles we observed:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROFILE</th>
<th>RE-ELABORATED GENRES</th>
<th>COMMUNICATIVE PURPOSE(S)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>@UesbOficial (institutional profile)</td>
<td>• Discount advertising; Advertising (without the purpose of selling); • Game; • Tweet.</td>
<td>• Promote the projects developed by the University.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@commonuser (ordinary person profile)</td>
<td>• Joke; • Tweet/(micro)blog; Advertising (with the purpose of selling).</td>
<td>• Provoke humor, by reporting an everyday fact; • Publicize musical work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@folha (official journalistic profile)</td>
<td>• News; • Tweet.</td>
<td>• Reporting facts/events of Brazil and the world.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@faIha_SP (fake journalistic profile)</td>
<td>• News; • Joke; • Parody; • Tweet.</td>
<td>• Mock events of Brazil and the whole world through fake news.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Overall results of the analysis

Source: Elaborated by the researchers

As we show in Table 1, in the tweets posted by the institutional profile, we find indications of genres of the spheres of everyday life and advertising, since these texts have the objective of disseminating a particular product or service to attract the public and, thus, reach possible interested people. Such patterns are also present in the profile of an ordinary person, whose tweets also presented aspects of autobiographical genres, such as the (micro)blog – through which a personal report is made. Still, these tweets re-elaborate everyday genres, in which there is a funny and unexpected twist, such as the joke. The journalistic profiles, in turn, present features of the news genre, which belongs to the sphere of journalism. Finally, in the fake profile, there are still the parody and joke genres, which are part of the sphere of everyday life.

We emphasize that the genre of all these texts is indeed the tweet, which, as we have mentioned, is flexible. So, considering that “transmutation [or re-elaboration] is the phenomenon that rules the possibility of transforming and being transformed to which the speech genres are inexorably subjected” (ZAVAM, 2012, p. 257), we found that the phenomenon of genre re-elaboration occurs productively in tweets.

7 CONCLUSION

In this article, we aimed to analyze the genre re-elaboration phenomenon in tweets through the identification of interventions performed by network users in the tweet and in other re-elaborated genres. We investigated specifically the manipulation and mixture of genres carried out to fulfill their communicative purposes. Regarding the genre re-elaboration, the analysis of tweets published by different Twitter profiles, with diverse communicative purposes, allowed the observation of specific aspects in each of them and, also, of general characteristics in these tweets.

In the analyzed tweets, we found re-elaboration of genres from different spheres of human activity, as shown in Table 1. We ascertain, thus, that the interventions carried out by Twitter users in several genres depend on the communicative purpose of each profile. However, the five tweets that we analyzed presented mixtures of generic patterns, which confirms the assertions made by Freitas and Barth (2015), who state that tweets contain features of various genres. So, we note that tweet undergoes internal and external innovative re-elaboration phenomena. They incorporate characteristics of other genres and go through other transformations, caused by the need to adapt to other factors, among which we highlight the communicative purpose. Thereby, we
highlight that the communicative purposes – present in the evaluative attitude given by the author to the utterance theme – influence not only the style and compositional structure but also the genres that are re-elaborated in the tweet.

S. Costa (2012) argues that the high reach of social capital is related to the labor applied by the user in the composition – and in the genre re-elaboration – of their tweet. However, in our analysis, we found tweets that contain user interventions, but still do not achieve a high social capital. Therefore, we highlight that there may be other factors, in addition to the generic intervention of the user, that may or not cause the success of a tweet, which needs a closer look in future research.

REFERENCES


24 Two examples are our Master’s research (O gênero tweet e a (hiper)textualização de objetos de ensino-aprendizagem) and our PhD research (Reelaboração e mescla de gêneros no Twitter: uma análise de tweets didáticos), developed in the Graduate Program in Linguistics (PPGLin) of the Southwest University of Bahia (UESB).


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