

MEANINGS ADRIFT IN THE DISCOURSE OF FORMER GOVERNOR JOSÉ
WILSON SIQUEIRA CAMPOS

*SENTIDOS À DERIVA NO DISCURSO DO EX-GOVERNADOR JOSÉ WILSON
SIQUEIRA CAMPOS*

Thiago Barbosa Soares³⁴

Damião Francisco Bouchet³⁵

ABSTRACT: This article analyses political discourse in two distinct branches: the founding discourse and the discourse of resistance. In order to do this, the networks of meanings of the founding of Tocantins are analysed as a disruptive process that affects the meanings of "creation" and "foundation" of the newest state in the Brazilian federation. The theoretical-methodological approach adopted is based on the well-established references of Discourse Analysis, applied to a discourse by Siqueira Campos, the former governor of Tocantins, delivered in the Chamber of Deputies on 5 May 2004.

Keywords: Discourse of the North; Political discourse; Foundation; Siqueira Campos; Tocantins.

RESUMO: Este artigo analisa o discurso político em duas ramificações distintas: o discurso fundador e o discurso de resistência. Para fazer isso, depreende-se o funcionamento das redes de sentidos da fundação do Tocantins como um processo disruptivo, que afeta os sentidos de “criação” e de “fundação” do mais novo Estado da federação brasileira. Como percurso teórico-metodológico, adota-se os consagrados referenciais da Análise do Discurso, aplicada a um recorte discursivo de Siqueira Campos, ex-governador do Tocantins, proferido na Câmara dos Deputados, no dia 5 de maio de 2004.

Palavras-chave: Discurso do Norte; Discurso político; Fundação; Siqueira Campos; Tocantins.

INITIAL CONSIDERATIONS

If, like Ayn Rand (2009), we consider that governments are institutions that have the exclusive power to impose certain social behaviors on society in certain spatialities,

³⁴Doutor em Linguística pela Universidade Federal de São Carlos (UFSCar). Professor adjunto no curso de Letras e no Programa de Pós-Graduação em Letras da Universidade Federal do Tocantins (UFT). Pesquisador bolsista de produtividade do CNPq. Lattes: <http://lattes.cnpq.br/8919327601287308>. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2887-1302>. Email: thiago.soares@mail.uft.edu.br.

³⁵Mestre em Letras pela Universidade Federal do Tocantins (UFT), campus de Porto Nacional e graduação em Letras, Português e Inglês e suas respectivas literaturas, por essa mesma instituição; Especializado em Análise do Discurso Político e Jurídico e Psicologia Analítica Junguiana - Perspectiva Multidisciplinar, ambas especializações pela Faculdade Unyleya (FU), Rio de Janeiro; colaborador do projeto de pesquisa intitulado O sucesso midiático como ponte para o sucesso político sob o número de registro 3536 junto à Pró-Reitoria de Pesquisa e Pós-graduação da UFT, com o objetivo de descrever e interpretar as diversas manifestações discursivas na interseção do campo político com o midiático. É professor substituto da UFT e membro do Corpo Editorial do Grupo de Estudos de Análise do Discurso (GESTADI), Palmas, Tocantins. E-mail: boucherplace@gmail.com

then we should also admit as a fact that political discourses are, as Soares (2022b, p. 74) states, "the virtualisation of the waging of battles in which different worldviews clash over how to confer legitimacy on a power project that is entrenched in the fabric of each and every government".

In this sense, the position occupied by governments presupposes a discursive order that determines the way of thinking, the positions of each subject in the world and how events are projected in society. For this reason, founding or creating a state can imprint other meanings depending on the conditions of production and emergence in which the statement emerges (SOARES, 2018). Recognizing that the vision of power is projected through thought, reaching and affecting subjects and (de)constructing history in its own way, we propose to analyse political discourse in two of its distinct ramifications, namely the founding discourse (ORLANDI, 2001) and the discourse of resistance as a response to the politics of silence (ORLANDI, 2007).

With this reading gesture, we try to decipher how the networks of meanings of the foundation of Tocantins work, which sustain the imaginary of the creation of Tocantins as a disruptive process in which the foundation of this state takes place at once, by a single subject. Secondly, we check how this discursive functioning affects the meanings of "creation" and "foundation", which sometimes work in the semantic region of geopolitical exploration, sometimes sliding into the field of human fertilisation, inoculating the "effect of discursive acceptability, that is, what causes subjects to adhere to analogies or comparisons" (BOUCHER; SOARES, 2022, p. 123), linked to paraphrases, functioning as metaphorical effects, "a sliding of the saying in the discursive process" (SOARES, 2018, p. 117).

In order to deal with this semantic-discursive path, we have chosen the theoretical-methodological references of Discourse Analysis. Notions such as ideological formations (hereafter IFs), discursive formations (hereafter DFs), imaginary formations, interdiscourse, intradiscourse and others will be mobilised throughout our analysis, with the aim of verifying how the aforementioned discourses circulating in society work. Our corpus is part of a chain of sayings about the founding of Tocantins and consists of a clipping from the discourse by José Wilson Siqueira Campos, former governor of the state, delivered in the Chamber of Deputies in Brasilia on 5 May 2004.

After our discursive journey, we hope to be able to perceive the discursive subtleties in the functioning of the forces that regulate the ideological networks of the founding and resistance discourses in the state of Tocantins. We also hope to understand how constitutive silence works as a process of erasing historical events. Finally, we hope that these reflections can shed light on the various socio-political debates that revolve around the (un)continuous process of creating the state of Tocantins.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In order to achieve the objective listed above, it is extremely important to situate, in the following lines, our position as an analyst of discursive practices, the political-media field and our analytical device. We start from the principle that Discourse Analysis as a theoretical-methodological framework does not seek to pinpoint the truth of events, but to conceive of this truth as an effect of meaning that can be relativised.

This is because discourse analysis, as Soares (2020, p. 167) states, is based on the confluence of two major works "namely Automatic Discourse Analysis by Michel Pêcheux and The Archaeology of Knowledge by Michel Foucault. Each of these carries a flank of Discourse Analysis".

The event of Discourse Analysis (henceforth DA) makes it possible to break away from an interpretative behaviour about knowledge and power that regulate social functioning (SOARES, 2020) and to adopt semantic-discursive notions whose mobilisation makes it possible to break away from the simply psychological, purely linguistic and merely social reading of subjects and meanings.

From the development of DA, according to Courtine (2008 apud Soares, 2018, p. 116) Pêcheux undertook "the formulation of a reading machine with the aim of helping people to read the discourse produced within politics", based on re-reading the work of Ferdinand de Saussure and the contributions of Althusser and Lacan, who also reinterpreted Marx and Freud, respectively (SOARES, 2018).

From this interweaving of different fields (Linguistics, Psychoanalysis and Historical Materialism), Pêcheux makes it possible to mobilise principles and procedures that will define some key notions for analysing the object of DA, namely discourse. Thus, the author, in questioning the transparency and autonomy of language, the transparency

of the subject and of history, disregards the notion of message in Jakobson's informational scheme, preferring the term discourse, which implies that it is not just a transmission of information between A and B, "but more generally, an 'effect of meanings' between points A and B" (PÊCHEUX, 1997, p. 82).

From these considerations about the object of DA, later, in his constant theoretical-methodological reformulations, Pêcheux (1997) arrives at the basic assumption that DA becomes a relevant field of linguistics which, as well as breaking with the positivist vision of its time, works in between, touching on linguistic structure, through semantic-semiotic concepts, and the event (PÊCHEUX, 2015), based on notions that threaten the historical stabilisation of relations of knowledge and power (SOARES, 2022a).

At the intersection of history and language, DA has also made it possible to see man and his social relationship, conceiving him not as the individual of psychoanalysis, but as a subject who positions himself in the world. Thus, "individual" and "subject" are distinct terms for DA, since the former occupies an empirical space in the world, while the latter is constituted as a discursive position (ORLANDI, 2015). Thus, for the theory of enunciation, which also has its place in DA, what is considered is the subject making sense, not the individual. According to Fiorin (1995):

All space and time are organised around the "subject", taken as a point of reference. Space and time are thus dependent on the "I", which enunciates in them. The here is the space of the self and the present is the time in which the moment of the event described and the act of enunciation that describes it coincide. From these two elements, all spatial and temporal relations are organised (FIORIN, 1995, p. 26).

Based on what Fiorin (1995) says about enunciative theory, we can say that, when positioning themselves in the world, it is the subject who imprints meanings, a discursive position, an individual who, when interpellated into an "I", a "you" or a "he" by different worldviews (SOARES, 2022b), situated in a certain spatiality and at a given time, reorganises the existing power relations within society and projects reality based on images historically constituted by the various discourses circulating in society.

Based on this assumption about the place that the "I" and the "you" occupy in social formations, the rules of projection "establish the relationships between *situations* (objectively definable) and *positions* (representations of these positions)" (PÊCHEUX,

1997, p. 82, author's italics and brackets). This fact allows us to understand that ideological formations, i.e. the set of beliefs and customs (constitutive of the subject's point of view), regulate class struggle, allowing the place from which the politician, representative of the people, speaks to be restricted to the people themselves.

In this asymmetrical relationship in which the position of command and obedience is established, the discursive formations (PÊCHEUX, 1997) are responsible for materialising the various social worldviews (SOARES, 2022b). Thus, the DFs "determine what can and should be said, from a given position, at a given conjuncture" (PÊCHEUX, 2011, p. 73). For this reason, every discourse is materialised in the form of an utterance, whether verbal or multimodal. In verbal utterances there are always relations of meaning working in silence (ORLANDI, 2007, 2015). On the other hand, discourse in the intradiscursive sphere, in the current enunciative event, is "a direct or indirect response to another given discourse" (PÊCHEUX, 1997, p. 77) whose place is constitutive of the effects of meaning emerging on the surface of the current utterance.

Thus, the linguistic elements semantically charged by these effects of meaning, referring to an anteriority and exteriority, independent and opposite to what is constructed in the act of enunciation, are called by Henry (1990) pre-constructed. According to Courtine (2014, p. 74), pre-constructions mark "the existence of a mismatch between the interdiscourse as the place of construction of the pre-construction and the intradiscourse as the place of enunciation of a subject".

Thus, when a political subject, situated in a certain position of prestige (SOARES; BOUCHER, 2020), in certain conditions of production, utters the statement "the struggle for the liberation of the people", a given enunciative construction brings out the memories of the struggle; the historical projections in which the relations of force are presented in the clash between the discourse of conservative ideological currents and the antagonistic discourse of resistance.

For this reason, the notion of interdiscourse (axis of constitution) and intradiscourse (axis of formulation) is fundamental to the analysis device, since these two axes (vertical and horizontal, respectively) allow the analyst to observe: a) the work of pre-constructions; b) the constitutive effects of memories (ACHARD, 2015) and; c) the functioning of the metaphorical effect, "an expression by which Pêcheux defines paraphrases within the same text" (SOARES, 2018, p. 117).

Interconnected by this natural tension of semantic stabilisation and displacement, metaphorical effects, i.e. "the semantic phenomenon produced by a contextual substitution to remind us that this 'slippage of meaning' between x and y is constitutive of 'meaning'" (PÊCHEUX, 1997, p. 96, author's quotes), allow for the maintenance of a semantic anchoring through a variation of what is established in the intradiscursive field.

From this brief explanation of the notions and mechanisms at work in the discursive act, we come to an understanding of imaginary formations, i.e. the images of subjects, their positions "which result from projections" (ORLANDI, 2015, p. 38). It is the imaginary formations that are responsible for constantly maintaining the historical images of subjects. Thus, the images of self and the other in interlocution are constituted from antagonistic power relations. In other words, in the act of ideological repulsion, the self and the other are mutually constructed in a heterogeneous discursive space in which intersections are part of the (re)organisation of knowledge and power in society (SOARES, 2022b).

For this reason, we admit that in the imaginary formations projected by political discourses, there is always dissent, because the IFs, materialised in the DFs, are far from homogeneous, because discourse is also "constitutively crossed by the 'discourse of the Other'" (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 2004, p. 69, author's quotes). Consequently, in the confrontation between conservative forces and their opposite, the discourse of resistance emerges. This delineates spatialities, forges the new out of divergence from the old, emancipates itself from conceptions and ideals that were once acceptable and convergent, reorganising history out of its own rupture, forgetting that "there is no 'personal' or 'collective' control of the processes and history in which subjects and meanings participate. What there is is the appearance of control and certainty of the meanings because socio-historical practices are governed by the imaginary, which is political" (ORLANDI, 2001, p. 7).

In this sense, the founding discourse (ORLANDI, 2001), to a certain extent, presents itself as the sayings of resistance, is crossed by the desire for the new and has, in the figure of the pioneer, the founding subject, who establishes the principle of something. In this way, the functioning of the founding discourse is based on constitutive silence, that is, the erasure of other figures, other subjects participating in the foundation (ORLANDI, 2007) to make way for the "creator", the one who gives birth to something.

Thinking about the city or the founding of a state, the founding discourse (ORLANDI, 2001), in its regularity, presents and consecrates the image of the subject who was given the task of signing, of resistance, erasing in his saying, other subjects whose effort and work culminated in the final act of founding, such as, for example, the subjects involved in the historical process of construction, namely the pioneers. In the words of Orlandi (2001, p. 13), this saying "breaks into the significant process in such a way that by its very emergence it produces its 'memory'".

In the light of the above illustration, it can be understood that the erasure of other subjects to the detriment of the founding subject is "an effect of discourse that installs the anti-implicit" (ORLANDI, 2007, p. 73) in which "x" symbolises the exaltation of the image of the founder, thus silencing "y", or rather the other agents of resistance and struggle who are discarded from what is said about the foundation.

Finally, we emphasise that the erasure instituted by the constitutive silence is maintained by the imaginary formations, which sustain, through the continuum of history, the images of the positions occupied by the subjects in the projections of the founding discourse (ORLANDI, 2001, 2015). After making the mobilising census of our analytical device and consequently establishing our descriptive-interpretative position, we move on to the analysis section.

ANALYSIS: TOCANTINS' FOUNDING DISCOURSE

In order to achieve the scope of our analysis in a more dynamic way, we have established a didactic process, starting from what is enunciated in the Chamber of Deputies, in Brasília, in Session: 076.2.52.0, at 10:48 a.m. on 5 May 2004, by the former governor of the state of Tocantins, José Wilson Siqueira Campos.

Starting from what is said, we try to follow an interdiscursive path to investigate what has already been said and forgotten (ORLANDI, 2015) and silenced (ORLANDI, 2007), in other words, the memories whose meanings constitute what is put into the utterance through the pre-constructed (COURTINE, 2014).

Finally, we take an investigative look at the roots of the founding discourse, which is intertwined with another, more comprehensive discursive force, namely the sayings

about creation. After these didactic considerations, we move on to describing and interpreting the object of our analysis:

[...] This reunion, which brings back the best memories of the times of the long and historic struggle for the creation of Tocantins, brings me the strongest emotions, even greater than those felt when I first entered this plenary - the womb from which my state was born - today full of Senators, Federal Deputies, State Deputies, Mayors, Councillors, Leaders, men and women who are fighting for the conquest of autonomy, for the liberation of their people. Brazilians coming from the most distant regions of Amazonas, Pará, Mato Grosso, Maranhão and Piauí, so full of joy and hope, just as I came to this house on 1 February 1971 to begin the fight for the liberation of the northern people of Goiás. Mr President, ladies and gentlemen, I have the honour of submitting a suggestion in the form of a proposal for the consideration of this General Committee. [...] The people of Tocantins have always dreamed, believed and fought for autonomy, and have never lost faith in God and hope for a future of peace, prosperity and social justice. Tocantins was born here. I hope to God that, in this House of the People, the states for which you and so many men and women have fought for so long will be born as soon as possible (BRASIL, 2004).

From what is said in our object, the enunciating subject José Wilson Siqueira Campos revisits the meanings of the discovery in the nominal phrase "reunion". This syntagm presupposes not a meeting between friends, nor even a friendly gathering, but a timely reunion in which ideological forces contrast. When we consider the conditions of production and emergence of its utterance, as well as the subject positions involved (PÊCHEUX, 1997), we realise that the aforementioned syntagma works in the semantic region of the clash and conflict of political interests.

This statement is based not only on the effects of the passage "long and historic struggle for the creation of Tocantins", which in itself denounces the aforementioned semantic region through the syntagma "struggle", but also by considering the conditions of production and emergence of the discourse.

If we consider, like Fiorin (1995), the epistemological space that separates "person" from "subject" and, like Pêcheux (1997), the interpellation of the "individual" into a "subject" by the ideology that defines "place" and "position", respecting the differences between the respective authors' fields of knowledge, we can distinguish from this passage the distinctive features that differentiate referentiality from imaginary formations. In enunciative referentiality, people are considered to be individuals in a given space, occupying places and meeting each other. Through imaginary formations,

this individual is interpellated into a politician and positioned as a federal deputy by the various subjective projections that surround him (SOARES, 2018).

Thus, José Wilson Siqueira Campos, in reminding his audience of a "long and historic struggle for the creation of Tocantins", places his enunciator in a specific space/time, namely the historic division of the state of Goiás and the creation of Tocantins on 5 October 1988, consequently erasing (ORLANDI, 2007) the historical lines that would probably point to other subjects "in the struggle" for the emancipation of this state. Consequently, in doing so, he organises this space/time around himself, projecting the metaphorical image of the "fertilising subject", or rather, the one who gives birth to the new state.

By enunciating this space, the "plenary" and projecting it from his discursive position, also metaphorising the image of pregnancy, the subject projects the image of himself as the seed, as "the semen that enters the womb". From this point, we can see the work of imaginary formations which, according to Pêcheux (1997), make society function from: a) relations of forces; b) relations of meanings and c) anticipations.

The relationship of forces reveals a subject capable of generating, fertilising a state and promoting the "liberation of its people", of "starting the fight for the liberation of the northern people of Goiás". Thinking about interdiscursivity, the effects of meanings continuously reverberating in history and emerging in intradiscourse, these two statements intertwine: 1) the founding discourse (ORLANDI, 2001), in which subjects affiliated to this network of meanings project themselves as co-creators of a world already created and pioneers of a space already cleared and; 2) the discourse of resistance, in which these same subjects, by positioning themselves as founders, also establish a struggle against the contrasting ideologies that seek to maintain the *status quo* of a given region.

From the aforementioned discursive interweaving, an asymmetry is created between the generating/liberating subject, capable of emancipating Tocantins from Goiás, and the subject-other (AUTHIER-REVUZ, 2004), the one who has not yet been able to achieve this feat and who appears in the enunciator's discourse as an effect of the relationship of meaning. This effect, in turn, projects the image of a political circuit in which Siqueira Campos uses the image of superiority as a response to his opponents.

In this way, the projection of himself as a subject of political success (BOUCHER; SOARES, 2020) shifts the position of the enunciating subject from a mere deputy (the other) to a great statesman (himself), a subject capable of overcoming the limits of his position and unleashing a historical struggle whose end unfolds through his presence, through the marking of his memory in the line of history. On the other hand, by projecting the image of himself in the discourse, he ends up delineating the position of the enunciators, "Senators, Federal Deputies, State Deputies, etc.", as "subjects who struggle", presupposing a "non-achievement", since struggle represents the continuous act of an objective that has not yet been achieved.

By observing these two effects of meaning, we try to look vertically at the functioning of relations of meaning, which link the enunciative formulation to other events in history. As mentioned in the theoretical considerations, Orlandi (2015) emphasises that one discourse points to another in an endless temporal relationship of regularities in which the enunciative actuality is a response to previous discourses, reinforcing or annulling them.

In the case of our object of study, in the intradiscursive field, Siqueira Campos affiliates himself with the networks of meanings of emancipation in order to respond to the demands that this network proposes, presenting a "suggestion in the form of a proposal" to the General Committee of the Chamber of Deputies. In the interdiscursive field, his statements revisit the historical basis of the founding and resistance discourses; they are marked by the phrases "struggle", "creation", "liberation" and "hope", preconstructions (COURTINE, 2014) associated with the semantic field of clash/combat and the discursive field of class struggle. This establishes the historical relations between the subjects of the situation and those of the opposition, regulates command and obedience and maintains imaginary formations.

In view of the functioning of imaginary formations, we finally have anticipations. In the game of anticipations in which the images (and positions) of the interlocutors are established (PÊCHEUX, 1997), in other words, the images that the enunciator makes of himself and of the other, based on what is enunciated in the intradiscursive field by Siqueira Campos, we observe that the space and time of the enunciation (FIORIN, 1995) are organised around the subject of political prestige who enters the Chamber of Deputies

on the 1st of February 1971. February 1971, "to begin the struggle for the liberation of the people of northern Goiás".

This statement shows the effects of the primacy of place. On the other hand, even without the apparent opposition of the other, we see "the virtualisation of combats in which different worldviews clash" (SOARES, 2022b, p. 74), namely the position of the founder and his antagonistic position, of those who also took part in the process of territorial emancipation. In this semantic region, the meanings in the syntagma "initiate the struggle" reverberate the image of initiation, presupposing that the struggle for the emancipation of Tocantins never existed before Siqueira Campos. This opposite inoculates the imaginary formations of Tocantins politics with the image that the glory of the emancipation conquest is due to Siqueira Campos and begins with the figure of the liberator, there being no one else capable of this great feat.

These projections erase the fact that the struggle for the division of Goiás began in earnest in 1821, in an attempt to oust Captain-General Manoel Sampaio, led by Captain Felipe Antônio Cardoso and Fr Luiz Bartolomeu Marques; after they were expelled from the capital Vila Boa and left for the north of Goiás, another figure in the emancipation struggle emerged, namely Teotônio Segurado, ombudsman of the Northern District. Segurado presided over and established the provisional junta until January 1822 (ALENCASTRE, 1979).

Based on these memories, or rather their erasure, we corroborate the maxim that "all power is accompanied by silence in its symbolic work" (ORLANDI, 1990, p. 49). In this sense, the constitutive silence erases other regions of meaning that would make it possible to trace the history of the struggle for emancipation in the northern region of Goiás. For this reason, the effect also points to Siqueira Campos' discourse as being the first cry of resistance, erasing, for example, that:

It was in the context of the mining economy, in the first half of the 18th century, that the first concrete manifestation of opposition from the north to the centre-south of Goiás took place. This was due to the "imposition of a higher capitation tax on the northern mines than on the 'mines of the Goyazes'" (CAVALCANTE, 1990, p. 64).

Considering what was said by Cavalcante (1990), but silenced in Siqueira Campos' discourse, we see the ramifications of the founding discourse (ORLANDI, 2001)

and the discourse of resistance, in which the aforementioned enunciator is situated in the extreme position of consolidating the separatist struggle in favour of the state of Tocantins. Thus, statements such as "Tocantins was born here" and "I hope to God that, in this House of the People, the states that you and so many men and women have been fighting for for so long will be born as soon as possible" feed the imaginary formations that sustain Siqueira Campos as "the creator of Tocantins".

The aforementioned pre-construction is linked to the name Siqueira Campos in various titles that form the networks of meanings of the founding and resistance discourses, not only causing a paraphrastic effect, but a semantic-discursive interweaving that reorganises the networks of memories about Tocantins, brings out the effect of anteriority and exteriority (COURTINE, 2014) and projects the image of the enunciator as the founder of the state, so that it is not possible to point to one without hitting the other.

These networks of meanings about the founding subject intensify with the death of José Wilson Siqueira Campos, making the presence of these imaginary formations more explicit, with headlines such as: "From rubber tapper to politician: find out who Siqueira Campos was, the first governor and creator of *Tocantins*" (G1, 2023, italics ours), "Former governor Siqueira Campos, '*creator*' of the state of *Tocantins*, dies" (CARTA CAPITAL, 2023, author's quotes, italics ours).

From these considerations, we can see that in all the discursive traces analysed and what is said about Siqueira Campos, there are the meanings of the progenitor working in silence (ORLANDI, 2007), because the one who founds, establishes the beginning of something, builds a construction, but the one who "fertilises", gives rise and perpetuates for generations, overriding any previous struggle, because the act of "fertilising" establishes the exclusivity and primacy of the libidinal act and presupposes not a pioneer who founds a three-dimensional space, but a "father who fertilises", in the Northern Region (in the despised belly of Goiás), Tocantins, projected as a subject, because it is not established as a new region, but, in the words of Siqueira Campos himself, "is born from the womb" which he himself fertilised.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

By prescribing and tracing through intradiscursion the effects of interdiscursion, or rather, the constitution of meanings through the memories of the founding of Tocantins, we tried to observe Siqueira Campos' discourse working in heterogeneous semantic spheres that sometimes point to the meanings of foundation/constitution and sometimes to fertilisation/conception. In this way, both in the political field and in the family sphere, the syntagms "creation", "womb", "birth" and "liberation" have shifted meanings.

These linguistic elements form an interweaving between distinct semantic fields and reinforce the argumentative potential by inoculating effects of meaning. These effects project the image of a political subject who is both the founder of a geographical space (the creation of Tocantins), an icon of resistance, and the fertiliser of a child (the womb from which my state is born).

This discursive interweaving creates "the effect of the reality of thought" (ORLANDI, 2001, p. 7), establishing the referential illusion organised around the effect of primacy, the illusion that the founding of a state like Tocantins took place at a single time and in a single decision, delegating "to the last" the honours and legacy not conferred "to the first". On the other hand, in the imaginary formation about the creation of Tocantins, the networks of sayings work subtly to erase the continuous struggle that runs through this history by focussing on the synchronic history of the acts of a single subject, disregarding the struggle of the other political actors involved.

From this point, it should be stressed once again that the analysis undertaken did not seek to belittle or diminish the historical event that culminated in Siqueira Campos' acts to create the state of Tocantins, but rather to verify how statements and phrases from the political field, such as those analysed above, produce the effect of exclusivity, the illusion of the founding subject who, affiliated to the networks of meanings of the foundation, (re)organises the meanings of primacy around the image of the father, the sole genitor who gives birth "in the womb", or rather in the Chamber of Deputies, to a state-subject, thus erasing the separatist movements that in historicity made the final act possible.

Through this research, we make it possible to relativise the founding of Tocantins, deconstructing the certainties consolidated from a semantic territorialisation in which the act of founding is attributed to a single political subject, constitutively silencing, for example, the explorers of northern Goiás "who in fifteen years opened paths and roads,

scoured rivers and mountains, diverted currents, deforested entire regions, repelled the Indians, explored, inhabited and populated an immense area" (PALACIM; MORAES, 1979, p. 30). 30); in 1809, the creation of the Comarca do Norte and the demand by the ombudsman Teotônio Segurado and the people who inhabited the region for the construction of the headquarters (ALENCASTRE, 1979). Finally, we are also silenced by so many other pioneering individuals who contributed to the construction of urban spatialities, political figures such as Ailton Lélis, an architect, landscaper and urban planner who took part in the landscaping project for Goiânia, Brasília and, above all, Palmas, the capital of Tocantins, serving as secretary of both the municipal and state governments (SECOM, 2011).

From this descriptive-interpretative movement, it was possible to shed light on the forces that regulate the ideological networks of the founding and resistance discourses in Tocantins. These discursive organisations, each at their own time, retrieve the memories that sometimes stabilise and sometimes destabilise the meanings of foundation and creation. For the subject situated in the position of the founding figure, the creation of Tocantins is part of an individual struggle, even if thought of collectively; it culminates in the act of fertilising, of symbolically giving life to a state as a purely singular action.

For the subject displaced from this discursive position, the illusory effect of the foundation dissolves and in this semantic territorialisation, in this ideological disorganisation (ORLANDI, 2001), the figure of the founding subject dissipates and the creation becomes semantically conceived as part of a broader continuous historical process, traced, thought out and executed by the sequence of events that make up the historicity of the foundation.

Given the above, we recognise the relevance of continuing studies on the political discourse about the North and its various other subsidiary networks, such as the founding discourse (ORLANDI, 2001), the discourse of possession (SOARES, 2022b) and the discourse of political success (SOARES; BOUCHER, 2020) as well as other ramifications. We also hope that this analysis can contribute to other epistemological fields such as the History of Tocantins and Sociology, shedding light on the various socio-political debates that revolve around the (un)continuous process of creating the State of Tocantins.

REFERENCES

ACHARD, Pierre. Jean Davallon, Jean-Louis Durand, Michel Pêcheux, Eni P. Orlandi. **Papel da memória**; tradução Eni Pulcinelli Orlandi. 4ª ed. Campinas, SP: Pontes Editores, 2015. p. 7-63.

ALENCASTRE, José Martins Pereira de. Anais da Província de Goiás. Goiânia: SUDECO/Governo de Goiás, 1979.

BOUCHER, Damião Francisco; SOARES, Thiago Barbosa. Discurso do sucesso político nos dizeres de Donald Trump. **Porto das Letras**, [S. l.], v. 6, n. especial, p. 228–243, 2020. Disponível em: <https://sistemas.uft.edu.br/periodicos/index.php/portodasletras/article/view/9967>. Acesso em: 24 jul. 2023.

BOUCHER, Damião Francisco; SOARES, Thiago Barbosa. Discursos de ódio e resistência: sucesso e apagamento na manutenção das relações de poder. **Leitura**, [S. l.], v. 1, n. 76, p. 126–141, 2023. Disponível em: <https://www.seer.ufal.br/index.php/revistaleitura/article/view/14426>. Acesso em: 26 jul. 2023.

BRASIL. Congresso Nacional. Câmara dos Deputados. DETAQ, Sessão: 076.2.52.O. 5 de maio de 2004. Brasília, Disponível em: <https://www.camara.leg.br/internet/sitaqweb/TextoHTML.asp?etapa=3&nuSessao=076.2.52.O&nuQuarto=7&nuOrador=1&nuInsercao=0&dtHorarioQuarto=10:48&sgFaseSessao=CG%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&Data=05/05/2004&txApelido=JOS%C3%89%20WILSON%20SIQUEIRA%20CAMPOS&txFaseSessao=Comiss%C3%A3o%20Geral%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20%20&dtHoraQuarto=10:48&txEtapa=Com%20reda%C3%A7%C3%A3o%20final>. Acesso em: 15 ago. 2023.

“Morre o ex-governador Siqueira Campos, ‘criador’ do estado do Tocantins”. **Carta Capital**. Disponível em: <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/cartaexpressa/morre-o-ex-governador-siqueira-campos-criador-do-estado-do-tocantins>. Acesso em: 12 ago. 2023.

CAVALCANTE, Maria do Espírito Santo Rosa. Tocantins: **O Movimento Separatista do Norte de Goiás**, 1821-1988 - Goiás: Luiz Palacim, 1990. f. 332. Dissertação (Mestrado) – História, Departamento de História da Universidade de Goiás, 1990.

COURTINE, Jean-Jacques. **A análise do discurso político**: o discurso comunista endereçado aos cristãos. São Carlos, SP: EDUFSCar, 2014.

HENRY, Paul. Construções relativas e articulações discursivas. Trad. João Wanderley Geralde e Celene Margarida Cruz. **Cad. Est. Ling.**, Campinas, SP (19): p. 43-64, jul./dez. 1990. Disponível em: <https://periodicos.sbu.unicamp.br/ojs/index.php/cel/article/view/8636825/4546>. Acesso em 6 set. 2021.

ORLANDI, Eni Pulcinelli. **Discurso fundador**: a formação do país e a construção da identidade nacional. Campinas, SP: Pontes, 2 ed., 2001.

ORLANDI, Eni Pulcinelli. **As formas do Silêncio**: no movimento dos sentidos. 6ª ed. Campinas, SP: Pontes da Unicamp, 2007.

ORLANDI, Eni Pulcinelli. **Análise de Discurso**: princípios e procedimentos. 12ª ed. Campinas, SP: Pontes Editora, 2015.

PALACIN, Luís, MORAES, Maria Augusta Sant'anna. **História de Goiás (1722-1972)** 5 ed. Goiânia: Ed. Da UCG, 1989.

PÊCHEUX, Michel. Língua, linguagem, discurso [1971]. In: PIOVEZZANI, Carlos; SARGENTINI, Vanice (org.). **Legados de Michel Pêcheux**: inéditos em análise do discurso. São Paulo: Contexto, 2011.

PÊCHEUX, Michel. Análise automática do discurso (AAD-69). In: GADET, F.; HAK, T. (Orgs.). **Por uma análise automática do discurso**: uma introdução à obra de Michel Pêcheux; Organizadores: François Gadet, Tony Hak; tradutores Bethania S. Mariani... [et al.]; 3 ed. Campinas, SP: Editora da Unicamp, 1997. p. 61-161.

PÊCHEUX, Michel. **O discurso**: estrutura ou acontecimento. Trad. Eni Orlandi. 7ª ed. Campinas, SP: Pontes, 2015.

RAND, Ayn. **Capitalismo**: el ideal desconocido. Trad. Luis Kofman. Buenos Aires: Grito Sagrado Editorial, 2009.

SECOM. Pesar pela morte de Ailton Lélis. **Secretaria de Comunicação do Estado do Tocantins**, 2011. Disponível em: <https://www.to.gov.br/secom/noticias/pesar-pela-morte-do-arquiteto-ailton-lelis/2ctjnn6bo7az>. Acesso em 12 ago. 2023.

SOARES, Thiago Barbosa. **Percurso Linguístico**: conceitos, críticas e apontamentos. Campinas, SP: Pontes Editores, 2018.

SOARES, Thiago Barbosa. 1969, o ano que não terminou: o acontecimento da Análise do Discurso. In: BUTTURI Junior, Atilio; BRAGA, Sandro; SOARES, Thiago Barbosa (org.). **No campo discursivo**: teoria e análise. Campinas, SP: Pontes, 2020. p. 167-187.

SOARES, Thiago Barbosa. **Percurso Discursivo**: heterogeneidades epistemológicas aplicadas. 1. ed. - Campinas, SP: Pontes Editores, 2022a.

SOARES. Thiago Barbosa. Uma análise das imagens de si no pronunciamento de posse presidencial de Jair Messias Bolsonaro: um (im)provável Presidente do Brasil. In: SILVA, ANTONIO, Edson Alves da (org.). **Discurso político na pós-modernidade**. Tutóia, MA: Diálogos, 2022b.