International Workshop

"POLITICAL SPEECH – IL PARLATO POLITICO"

ABSTRACTS

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PRAGMATICS AND RHETORIC

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Chiara Degano
(University of Milan)
The first UK televised prime ministerial debate: a pragmadialectical approach.

This paper analyses the three televised prime ministerial debates that preceded the 2010 general elections in the UK with a view to identifying the discursive strategies used by the leaders of the three main parties to persuade the audience, with special regard for rhetorical and argumentative devices. While the genre is well attested in other countries, in the UK this has been the first event of this kind, thus arising great interest in the public and gaining considerable resonance within the media. Furthermore, statistics on their effect on the public have shown that the first of the three debates in particular has boosted the consensus for Clegg and the Liberal Democrats, which would eventually lead to the state of indeterminacy in the results of the election that resulted in the hung parliament.

Within the field of political communication studies the impact of TV debates on election outcomes is in actual fact still an open question, since research on this issue has produced conflicting results (Benoit, McKinney, & Holbert, 2001; Carter & Stamm, 1994; Lemert, 1993; Zhu, Milavsky, & Biswas, 1994). What is questioned, in particular, is the real capacity of such mediatised events to enhance understanding of the candidates' political programmes on the part of the mass audience, or in Miller and Gordon's words, their 'informative value" (2004: 76). In an era of personalization of politics, on which TV itself has played a crucial role, factors other than the issues contained in the programmes, such as personal charisma and telegenic appeal, are just as likely to influence the public. This situation is also compounded by the spreading of the 'soundbite' style in political communication, which relies on short, striking phrases devised by spin doctors to be picked out by TV editors, to the detriment of more articulated logical argumentation that used to characterize political discourse before the age of TV (Partington 2004: 42).

In light of these considerations, the paper aims at exploring the role of language in the first UK televised debate, verifying whether the three leaders of the main parties chose different persuasive strategies, and, on a second level, whether differences – if any – can be correlated with the impact of each candidate's performance on the viewers, relying for this latter aspect on reports in the press.

From a methodological point of view, this study combines discourse analysis with the pragmadialectical approach to the study of argumentation (van Eemeren / Grootendorst 1984, 1992, 2004). While the pragmadialectical model of a critical discussion provides a general frame of analysis applicable to the macro level of discourse (e.g. in terms of global 'textual' coherence, explicitation of premises and choice of arguments) the notion of strategic manoeuvring allows to take into account the local rhetorical structures used to realize the dialectical objectives of each candidate "to the best advantage of the position they have adopted" (van Eemeren / Houtlosser 2006: 383).

Ferdinando Longobardi
(University of Salerno)
Linguistic factors in political speech: how persuasive discourse constitutes or shakes politics.

Language has long been understood ontologically as a device for human communications and as a mirror for objectively reflecting the external world. Besides the function as a mirror and a tool for representation and communication, language can also be used instrumentally to perform various social acts and (re)construct social "realities" (Chilton, 2004). Indeed, with communications, dialogues and diplomatic efforts advocating the tackling of conflicts and disputes as a major trend in politics, evidence of use and abuse of language has become more prominent. This also implies that the belief has to be maintained that only the words (i.e. their meaning) used by the bearers of political power denote the "one and only" reality.

It is not the verifiable truth of a message which is relevant and likely to impress an audience and make it act upon a certain impulse: it is the way things are said (or done), irrespective of the amount of genuine information carried by an

utterance. It is increasingly the case that political speeches themselves have become the issues and events of modern politics rather than the medium through which issues and events are discussed and assessed. Language is an integral facet of the political scene: not simply an instrument for describing events but itself a part of events, shaping their meaning (Eco, 1973).

Following Cicero's classical oration and Aristotle's ethos, Rank (1988:10) suggests a basic persuasive formula for advertisements, political speech and other types of persuasive discourse. His five components are (a) attention-getting, (b) confidence-building, (c) desire-stimulating, (d) urgency stressing, and (e) response-seeking.

The purpose of this study is to provide a qualitative and descriptive analysis of examples of persuasive discourse[1] in the Italian political speech.

I primarily focus on the types of speech acts produced by politicians in the context of persuasive discourse (Italian Senate debates), as well as on their selection of linguistic forms and strategies to communicate these acts. My general goal is to understand how Italian politicians might attempt persuasion.

Combining both the theories of Rank (1988), Lakoff (1982), Leech (1966), and Brown and Levinson (1987) this work examines persuasive discourse in Italian political speech and finds that memorability (making the audience remember the message), force (emotional and logical appeals and the strength of a message), and participation (the desire for a response or audience/hearer involvement) are primary persuasive goals.

This study utilized methodological triangulation which means that the material[2] is analyzed from several methodological aspects. The aspects used in this study are ones of lexical features: collocation, coordination, euphemisms, code-switching, metaphors and naming (i.e. "Se ora è notte, si farà giorno; come dicono in Romagna, *«sel'è not, us farà dè»"* [Sen. Soliani]); grammatical features: thematic roles, tense, aspect, voice and modal auxiliaries (i.e. "Alludo a *quelli che* sono riusciti a fare incardinare in quest'Aula un provvedimento.. [Sen. Basso]); and rhetoric (i.e "Come è stato sottolineato, *vi è una differenza sottile, ma in realtà profonda*, fra un Capo dell'Esecutivo che tragga la sua legittimazione da un'investitura personale.. [Sen. Turroni]).

What makes language and paralanguage a functionally cohesive structure (Garavelli 1988) is then their combined semanticity and lexicality and their capacity to operate simultaneously, alternate with or substitute for each other as needed in the interactive situation.

The study follows on closely with a focus on linguistic resources that position language users with respect to one another (''subject positioning'') and with respect to the ideas they are advancing (''idea positioning''). We consider such things as showing deference and respect, signalling commitment and eliciting others' support, speaking directly or indirectly.

INVITED TALK
Frans H. van Eemeren
(University of Amsterdam)
Argumentative discourse in institutionalized contexts.
Preconditions for strategic maneuvering in the European Parliament

This presentation focuses on argumentative discourse in the institutionalized context of the political debate in the European Parliament. Van Eemeren characterizes such parliamentary debate as a distinct argumentative activity type characterized by certain institutionally determined conventions. These conventions predetermine to some extent the

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[1] Persuasive discourse is defined by Robin Lakoff (1982) as the nonreciprocal "attempt or intention of one party to change the behaviour, feelings, intentions, or viewpoint of another by communicative means." Advertising, propaganda, political rhetoric, and religious sermons are obvious examples of persuasive discourse; however, persuasion may also occur in conversation.

[2] The Italian Senate Plenary verbatim reports (Resoconti stenografici dell'Assemblea), for each plenary sitting, include, along with the verbatim report, the summary report, Annex A (containing the texts under scrutiny), Annex B (containing the texts of the motions, questions and interpellations submitted in the same sitting, if any), qualified voting tables, and what are called "announcements" of documents received by the Senate. The verbatim reports contain, word by word, all that happens (*dicta et acta*) in the relevant sitting, subjected to only formal corrections, with a series of operations on the verbatim text resulting from the steno typing notes - which allow for passing from the oral to the written form thereby producing the report - with the introduction of all further integral elements (basically what we call countenance - that is the description of facts happened during the sitting other than speeches: applauses, comments out of the microphone, laughs, gestures, etc -, procedure formulas, HTML links for its subsequent publication on the website).

argumentative discourse conducted in the European Parliament because they serve as preconditions for the strategic maneuvering of the arguers. According to the pragma-dialectical theory of argumentation, strategic maneuvering consists in trying to reconcile aiming for effectiveness in argumentative discourse with maintaining reasonableness. Analytically, three aspects can be distinguished in strategic maneuvering which manifest themselves simultaneously in the discourse: topical selection, audience adaptation, and the use of presentational devices. Van Eemeren points out that each of these three aspects is affected by the preconditions for strategic maneuvering in the political debate in European Parliament. The central questions that are to be answered in this presentation are: What are the argumentative characteristics of the activity type of a political debate in European Parliament? In what way do the institutional conventions of a European parliamentary debate precondition the possibilities for strategic maneuvering? How do these constraints and opportunities manifest themselves in the argumentative discourse?

POLITOLINGUISTICS

Martin Reisigl
(University of Hamburg & University of Vienna)
Political Speech – A politolinguistic approach,
exemplified by the examples of Obama's and McCain's acceptance speeches

The first part of my paper offers a theoretical orientation. It characterises political speeches from a rhetorical and a politolinguistic point of view and divides into five sections. Firstly, it describes a speech as a structured verbal chain of coherent speech acts uttered on a special social occasion for a specific purpose by a single person, and addressed at a more or less specific audience (cf. Schmitz 2005: 698). Secondly, it elaborates on various characterisations and types of political speeches on the basis of select criteria, taking into consideration, among other things, that speeches differ from each other in length, with respect to their occasion (including time and place), to their topic, to their function, to the speaker, to their addressees, to their form of presentation and degree of preparedness and with respect to their style and structure. Thirdly, it discusses the rhetorical macro-structure and main functional sections of (political) speeches from a classical rhetorical and a modern politolinguistic point of view. Fourthly, I will consider the main constitutive conditions of political oratory then and now, reconstructing the genesis and delineating the distribution of modern political speeches in the age of computer and internet supported text production and multimodal mass media. Fifthly, it will be argued that orally performed political speeches are not to be seen as monological "discursive events", but as semiotic realisations of conventionalised, multi-addressed activity patterns with a clear interaction structure (Beck 2001). Viewed from a functional-pragmatic perspective, the interactive exchange between speaker and primary audience will theoretically be conceived of as a pre-shaped activity pattern which "schedules" obligatory and facultative pattern positions that are to be taken up by the listeners, not by the speaker.

The second part of my paper will be dedicated to the empirical case study of the political rhetoric of Barack Obama and John McCain in their acceptance speeches given at their parties' National Conventions on August 28 (Obama) and September 4 (McCain), 2008. The analysis aims to reconstruct some important rhetorical and especially *actio*-related reasons for which Obama won the last US presidential election. The systematic comparison will focus on verbal and non-verbal linguistic features as well as their interplay. With respect to the body-language of the two candidates, the analysis will bring to the fore that McCain's body-language is less dynamic and his gaze is more often directed straight ahead, meaning that he does not integrate the different parts of his primary audience to the left and right by looking and pointing at them in a balanced way, as Obama does, who alternatingly directs his gaze and deictic gestures to the left, right and straight ahead. Furthermore, it will be shown that McCain frequently rests his arms on the desk, whereas Obama stands freely and is, therefore, more open to develop his gesture in accordance with his verbal language. The analysis of the orator's establishment of an interpersonal relationship with the primary audience, but also with the secondary and tertiary audiences watching Obama and McCain on TV and the internet will, among other things, comprise the study of the applause structure of the two speeches as well as the video-mediated representations of the political events, including the cameras that fade in various applauding listeners, thus serving the purpose of discursively constructing a close phatic party-communion.

Lorella Cedroni
("Sapienza" University of Rome)
Politolinguistics. Towards a new analysis of political discourse.

The politolinguistics is a particular form of analysis having a strong interdisciplinary orientation in connection with political philosophy, sociology, political science, history and social psychology, integrating the linguistic perspective and the critical discourse analysis.

The background of politolinguistics is, on one hand, linguistic pragmatics, sociolinguistics, textual linguistics and semiotics; on the other, there are various sociological approaches and also the critical theory, especially the categories of political science, as "polity", "policy", and "politics". This approach is also empirical, based on the social, political and historical contextualization of the discourses and tends to the application of the results to the solution of problems with linguistics aspects.

The politolinguistic approach provides a more adequate analytical framework than mono-disciplinary approaches in political sciences and linguistics, and connects with some fields of political action in such a way that a political discourse about a specific topic can have its origin within one of the fields and advance within other fields. The choice of categories for the politolinguistic analysis depends on the concrete research topic and the specific data to be analyzed. It operates on the macro- meso- and micro levels of linguistic analysis as well as on the level of context.

This contribution will examine detailed cases-studies which are chiefly qualitative, but can partly also be quantitative. It focuses on specific discursive macrotopics, and specific fields of political action, media, genres, and political actors. Political rhetoric will be considered in five stages (nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, and mitigation/intensification). Triangulation with respect to empirical data (that is texts of possibly different genres relating to the same general theme), as well as background information will be considered too, with the help of a multiplicity of elicitation methods (for example: observation, interviews, research in archives, audiovisual data). Criteria such as representativity (intertextual, or interdiscursive), salience, exceptionality, redundancy and originality of data with respect to the research question will be also analyzed.

Salvati Luisa, *Pellegrino Elisa*, *De Meo Anna*
(University of Naples)
Racism and Immigration in Social Advertising Promoted by Italian Government

The human and organizational problems related to the growing immigration phenomenon in Italy in the early '90s marked the launch of advertising campaigns on the issues of racism, immigration and refugees. Social communication campaigns aimed at encouraging citizens awareness of very important social questions and supporting social cohesion (Gadotti 2001, 2005) started to be used by NGOs (Non Governmental Organization), government and private bodies to promote xenophile and collaborative behaviour among Italians towards foreigners.

In this study a descriptive-comparative research of television and radio advertising campaigns on issues of racism and immigration, launched by Italian government is carried out.

The corpus of social communication campaigns and their materials were drawn from the web gallery of *Fondazione Pubblicità Progresso* and from the web archive of the *Osservatorio delle Campagne di Comunicazioni Sociale*. Querying the first database by *Country* ("Italy") and *Topic* ("Racism", "Immigration") and the second by *Topic* ("Society and Rights"), *Keywords* ("Racism" and "Immigration"), *Category* ("Social") and *Language* ("Italian") we identified two advertising campaigns, on integration, racism and intolerance. The first ad entitled "Tutti diversi, tutti uguali" was launched in 2000 by Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri-Dipartimento Affari Sociali and the second entitled "Progetto Integrazione - Campagna di comunicazione sull'integrazione dei migranti" was launched between 2008 and 2009 by Ministero del lavoro, della salute e delle politiche sociali.

The purpose of the present study is twofold. On the one hand, the objective is to verify whether there are detectable diamesic linguistic and extra-linguistic differences in the transmission of the message within the same campaign, addressed to the same receivers and supported by the same advertising institution. For radio campaigns careful analyses of suprasegmental features of speech are carried out: articulation rate (AR), speech rate (SR), tonal range and fluency On the other hand, the objective is to infer whether the political context (left wing/ right wing) influence the representation of foreigners, the kind of relationship (symmetrical or asymmetrical) between Italians and foreigners and the social roles assigned to them in the social communications.

OBAMA FOR PRESIDENT

Giovanna Leone
("Sapienza" University of Rome)
"I have the blood of Africa within me": The case of Obama's reminder of his grandfather humiliation during colonial times, in his speech to African leaders.

This paper aims to examine when and how leaders use their own autobiographical narratives in public speeches to enhance "mature" reconciliation processes, i.e. processes of reconciliation that involve descendants of people who lived

through wartime and that are performed during the period of the gradual disappearance of witnesses of this intergroup violence (Leone and Curigiliano, 2009). In order to fulfil this aim, we propose to analyse the use of family memories in the first part of the speech that President Obama addressed to Ghana's and Africa leaders at Accra, 2010, July the 11th.

Referring to the present state of art on these issues, we may observe, first of all, that many studies have been dedicated to explore how political leaders' discourses contribute to construct a shared set of collective memories, aimed to sustain a sense of positive belongingness to the in-group (for a recent review and discussion, see Bellelli, Curci and Leone 2007). On the contrary, the link between social and collective dimensions of memory and research on intergroup relations remains surprisingly much less explored (Mazzara and Leone, 2001).

In order to better understand this point, we have recently analysed how present-day history manuals, addressed to Italian high-school students, recall the shameful collective memory of Italian colonial wars during the fascist régime. Results highlighted that narratives that described these shameful episodes in a clear and concrete way seemed more apt to protect today positive in-group identity than abstract and vague narratives (Leone and Mastrovito, 2010). These counter-intuitive results may be explained considering how acknowledging historical faults may assist the difficult process of finding a balance between the need for self-esteem and self-integrity on one hand, and the need to belong on another hand -- all different facets of the general concept of identity (Pratto and Glasford, 2008).

In fact, a concrete narrative of past in-group wrongdoings does not accomplish the directly protective function generally predicted for narratives of episodes threatening in-group positive identity (cfr. Maass et al. 1989; Maas, Ceccarelli, and Rudin 1996). Nevertheless, these concrete narratives of past in-group wrongdoings show a moral commitment that appears even greater in the context of the continued lack of power of the African victims of Italian yesterday's violence -- victims who even today seem unable simply to impose a forceful acknowledgement of past harm (Leone and Mastrovito, 2010).

In this same line of thought, the political speech that President Obama addressed to African leaders of Ghana, on 2010, July the 11th , seems extremely interesting to observe, in order to explore another facet of this issue of how collective memories of a violent intergroup past could be positively used in public discourse, to enhance "mature" intergroup reconciliation.

More in particular, we focus our attention on the use of the autobiographical memories recalled by President Obama in his political speech to African leaders. Considering by a fine-grained multimodal analysis (Poggi 2007) the pieces of information selected for this first part of this speech (total time 8'19''), it is interesting to observe how Obama recollected his personal memory of the father of his African father, neglecting to remember the American parents of his mother. Using few words to describe his grandfather, Obama recollected how the old men was respected in his own African village, together with the fact that the British family that employed him as a cook in Kenya, "called him boy for much of his life".

The President justified this short autobiographical narrative, noting that "the story of my family encompasses both the tragedies and the triumphs of the larger African story". But, interestingly, these "tragedies and triumphs" were recalled, in front of Ghana's and Africa's leaders, not in an abstract way, but referring to his own family's experiences.

This rhetorical choice reminds the classical distinction, drawn by Maurice Halbwachs (1950), between historical narratives, and narrative of "lived History". The first kind of narratives aim to communicate an abstract schema of past events, connecting them all by well-proved causal links. The second kind of narratives, on the contrary, aim to a social sharing of emotions experienced by the witnesses of this historical times. Although these emotions may often be negative, this social sharing has, in Halbwachs' (1925) opinion, a protective function. In fact, describing the witnesses' resilience, these narratives show how historical adversities -- although causing deep sufferings – can eventually be coped with.

The political speech pronounced by President Obama in Accra seems to highlight another facet of this classic theory on "lived History". In this case, in fact, this political speech of a powerful leader uses a typical face-to-face strategy of sharing, aimed in everyday conversations to signal the will to increase the degree of intimacy of an interpersonal relation (for a general review and discussion, see also Leone, 2001). However, instead than communicating a personal resilience in face of historical adversities, this political speech seems to suggest to pay attention to the social sharing of negative emotions (in this case, humiliation) -- that are evoked during a public speech because are supposed to be common to all members of a same group. Therefore, we may propose that, recalling his grand-father humiliation by his colonial employers, Obama is not only paying his debt to the colonial sufferance of his family, but is mostly linking the memory of humiliations African groups experienced yesterday, to the need for African groups of today to assume an internal locus of control on their economic and social condition. In this sense, the political speech of President Obama at Accra is a fine example of how the dual model of socio-emotional reconciliation, that foresees that the basic need for perpetrators is to avoid moral exclusion and the basic need for victims is to gain a renewed control on their social environment (Nadler and Shnabel, 2008), may be applied not only to the period immediately following the end of a war, but also to the "mature" reconciliation processes that, throughout the generations, eventually arrive to marginalize the memory of the out-group as an enemy one (Kelman, 2008; Leone e D'Errico, 2007). Moreover, this example suggests that, when occurring during "mature" reconciliation processes, leaders' self-disclosure about negative autobiographical experiences of intergroup violence may play an important role in enhancing the difficult and long lasting process of intergroup reconciliation (Nadler, Malloy and Fisher, 2008).

Marie Gelang
(University of Örebro)
Towards a political actio

Based on a rhetorical, cognitive and contextual view of nonverbal communication (cf. Kjeldsen 2007, e.g. nonverbal resources of rhetoric, Gelang 2008) this paper will examine politicians ethos and the argumentative dimensions of the nonverbal communication of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in their contest for the 2008 American Democratic presidential nomination.

Actio was a living part of rhetorical training from the classical period with Aristotle, Quintilian and Cicero setting the standard. Today nonverbal communication concerns a variety of modals such as facial expressions, hand-gestures, movements, postures and the use of voice. When rhetorically performed in public speaking I will, in this paper, refer to these nonverbal means as *actio*.

Unlike rhetoricians from ancient time I am not only interested in *what* a speaker does (for instance nodding her head) but especially *how* she is doing it (nodding eagerly or hesitant). The way a gesture is performed is at least as important for its rhetorical impact and argumentative dimensions as the gesture chosen. I refer to the performance as actio-qualities meaning the aspects of actio that create the nuances, and make actio appear with variation (Gelang 2008). In judging the *how* of actio, I distinguish between energy, dynamism and tempo in nonverbal communication. Energy concerns flow, intensity and focus; dynamism concerns variations, and tempo concerns flow, speed and timing (Gelang 2008). A wide range of studies suggests that nonverbal communication affects the audience in their liking or disliking of different debaters/leaders (Sullivan & Masters 1988, Atkinson 1988, Bucy 2000, 2003, Bucy & Bradley 2004). Some research points at energy as an especially important factor in nonverbal communication (McCroskey 2001, Mehrabaian 1972, Babad et al. 2004). One study of 37 television debates concludes that speakers winning the debates were characterized by modulated voice, energetic articulation, intense gaze, energetic posture, eager gesticulations and firm, directive gestures (Jørgensen et al 1994, 1998).

I will relate what I have found concerning actio-qualities to two nonverbal rhetorical argumentative strategies: enacted actio and restrained actio. An enacted actio refers to active manifestations while a restrained actio refers to moderate movement, exhibiting a limited degree of expressiveness. These two kinds of basic nonverbal communication can, of course, take many forms; but they may all be interpreted as premises in variations of a symptomatic argumentation scheme, signaling a political debater's ethos. As I will illustrate with some film clips such nonverbal communication can be used by debaters to acclaim and defend their own ethos and/or to attack the opponent's ethos. As Brockreide (1992) put forward arguments are not found in statements, but in people. As long as a message works as a stimulus evoking the receiver's cognitively generated argument (cf. Hample 1980, 1992, Gronbeck 1995) the message has been used as argumentation. In sum this means, I will suggest, that also nonverbal communication may function as argumentation.

Daniel C. O'Connell, *Sabine Kowal*, *Edward J. Sabin*, *John F. Lamia*, *Margaret Dannevik*,
(Georgetown University, Technical University of Berlin, St. Louis University)
Start-up Rhetoric in Eight Speeches of Barack Obama

Our purpose in the following was to investigate the start-up rhetoric employed by U.S. President Barak Obama in his speeches. The initial five minutes from eight of his speeches from May to September of 2009 were selected for their variety of setting, audience, theme, and purpose. It was generally hypothesized that Barack Obama, widely recognized for the excellence of his rhetorical performance, would pursue both constant and variable strategies in his effort to establish contact with his audience. More specifically, it was hypothesized that the make-up of the audience – primarily native or non-native speakers of English – would be a prominent independent variable. A number of temporal and verbal measures were used as dependent variables. Variations were evident in mean length of syllables and duration in seconds of utterances (articulatory phrases), articulation rate in syllables per second of ontime, mean duration of silent pauses in seconds, and frequency of fillers, hesitations, colloquial words and phrases, introductory phrases, and 1st person singular pronominals. Results indicated that formality vs. informality of the setting and presence or absence of a teleprompter were more prominent than native vs. non-native audiences. Our analyses confirm Obama's skillfulness in challenging and variable settings and clearly detect orderliness and scientific generalizability in language use. The concept of orality/literacy provides a theoretical background and emphasizes dialogical interaction of audience and speaker.

Patrizia Paggio, *Costanza Navarretta*
(University of Copenhagen)
Multimodal behaviour and addressee identification in political debates

Much work in multimodal communication studies has been devoted to studying the combined use of gestures and speech in narratives, dialogues and group meetings. In all of these genres, the speaker usually has one or more interlocutors who are all present in the physical context in which the interaction is taking place. Non-verbal behaviour – head movements, gaze, body posture and deictic gestures – supports the fixation and shift of attentional focus from one conversation or dialogue participant to another. In political discourse, the notion of interlocutor is necessarily complex in that a politician, in some sense, always addresses the general public in addition to any specific interlocutor in the concrete communication situation. The scenario is even more complex in televised political speeches, where there is often an audience in the same room as the politicians and an invisible audience behind the camera. Therefore, deictic expressions and gestures, and in general any multimodal behaviour serving the purpose of singling out the interlocutor of a political message, are important rhetorical devices supporting persuasiveness in political debates.

The use of deixis to point out the interlocutors, especially when there are more of them, is quite common in communication, see i.a. Pizzuto and Capobianco (2008). The contribution of gaze and gestures to persuasion in political discourse is discussed in Poggi and Vincze (2009) and an analysis of some uses of person deixis in political discourse is in Zupnik (1994). Finally, the importance of second-person deictics in persuasive texts has been addressed by Hosenfeld, Duchan and Higginbotham (1995), who show that these pronouns are essential to clarify the intended audience especially in texts where there are shifts from one addressee to another without other speech or gestural clues. When the intended audience is not pointed out clearly persuasion fails.

In this paper we address a related issue: the indication of shifting addressees via second-person deixis, deictic gestures and other non-verbal behaviours in televised political debates. More specifically, we have analysed the use of various multimodal behaviours to indicate the intended addressees in excerpts from political debates. As an example we discuss here a short excerpt from the third debate between Obama and McCain in the 2008 American presidential campaign that is publicly available on YouTube. As prescribed by the TV debate as a genre, the two contestants have each other and the mediator (journalist) as interlocutors, but at the same time they also address the general public (the audience present in the TV studio and the audience at home). In this debate there is also another addressee, the by now famous "Joe the Plumber". At some point during the debate McCain starts talking directly to Joe as a representative of American small enterprises who, according to him, will suffer economically from Obama's health insurance program. Joe is not present in the studio, but McCain places him somewhere "out there", as he says. He looks in front of him as if looking at Joe beyond the television screen, and he also "points" at him with his open left hand. He does this repeatedly while using "you" to refer to Joe. At the climax of his argument, he also moves his body forward, closer to Joe. As he explains the alleged consequences of Obama's plan, he points at him with his right hand. Note that, whereas the gesture used to single out Joe is a friendly gesture done with an open hand, Obama is pointed at with an extended index – not quite as friendly. Obama s always referred to as "Senator Obama". After this, McCain briefly addresses Obama directly to ask him for an explanation and looks towards him, and then ends his turn looking to the mediator.

Obama's reply confirms his often-prized rhetorical ability. In fact, he takes up McCain's challenge and also talks to Joe. He does this very clearly not only by saying "I'm happy to talk to you Joe, too, if you are out there", but also by extending both his open hands towards Joe. He thus echoes and amplifies McCain's gesture. Still looking at Joe, he then very concisely rebuts McCain's accusations by explaining that Joe's loss will be "zero", and strengthens the point by an emblematic "zero" hand gesture. At McCain's surprised reaction, he then turns towards him, and while addressing him with a friendly and informal "John", he patiently explains the real consequences of his health insurance plan. He concludes the turn just like McCain did his, looking to the mediator.

As the analysis of the excerpt shows, both Obama and McCain are perfectly conscious of the importance of making the addressee of each message clear in order for each of them to succeed in persuading the Americans that his politics is the best.

And singling out a concrete person in the general public in the way they do here, gives their arguments a particularly strong impact.

In general, the orchestration of verbal and non-verbal behaviours is essential in all televised debate situations, where each candidate is recorded by a still camera and his or her performance is shown side by side with the performance of the other candidate. Additional examples of how verbal deixis, gestural deixis and other non-verbal behaviours are combined to identify and shift addressee in political debates will be provided in the final paper.

Michelangelo Conoscenti
(University of Torino)
Reframing the USA: Obama, Multimodality and persuasion in a Web X.0 Age. A cognitive approach to political discourse.

The impact of recent findings in the field of cognitive science and cognitive linguistics (Lakoff, 2008) on political discourse has been foregrounded in recent research (Armstrong, 2006; Rock, 2005; Iacoboni, 2008), yet our understanding of its implications is far from complete. Obama's election offers an interesting case study to observe the blend of spinning (Luntz, 2007) and framing techniques (Feldman, 2007) used during his presidential campaign. Issuing from a larger research project on Obama as "re-framer" (Conoscenti, forthcoming), this paper explores the rise of the so-called "cognitive policy" (Brewer, 2009) since Obama's 2004 Speech to the Democratic Convention.

This study is both theoretical and empirically-grounded as it aims to provide evidence for the assumptions of the above-mentioned scholars, and to further elaborate them into a principled approach, by means of data-mining techniques. The texts of Obama's speeches challenge a traditional approach to corpus-based discourse analysis, because of the different neurological processes activated: this is shown by means of a specific software that instead of providing keywords or concordances, frequently not traceable in cognitive politics, it supplies statistics according to a number of user-defined linguistic and cognitive variables.

The way Obama addresses potential biconceptual voters through the re-framing of fundamental cognitive metaphors, available either in the Democratic or Republican mindsets, will also be discussed. This strategy translates into a political narrative that activates specific neural circuitry.

The 2004 Keynote Speech to the Democratic Convention and Obama (2006) will be used as a benchmark to analyze the coincidental correlations between the narratives proposed by progressive scholars Lakoff and Westen and Obama's executed narrative frame.

Given the nature of today's campaigns, I argue that in order to fully appreciate Obama's impact on political discourse, a traditional corpus based approach is not enough. My work is thus grounded in the methodological framework of multimodal interaction analysis (Norris 2004) and with this, my writing is first of all an extension of Scollon's (1998, 2001) mediated discourse analysis. Second, this framework is strongly influenced by the work of Westen (2007) and Lakoff (1996, 2004, 2008). Besides these two merging directions, influences from the work on multimodality by Kress and van Leeuwen (2001) must be credited. Thus, the all study draws on and builds upon the micro analytical aspects found in interactional sociolinguistics of Goffman (1974), Gumperz (1982) and discourse analysis as in Brown and Yule (1983).

Practical examples of multimodal analyses concerning Obama's body movent and voice intonation crossed-referenced with semantic areas queries will be shown.

The processes that allow Obama to reframe the concept of "E pluribus unum" will be analysed through a narrative involving the struggle of an egoistic America that seems to have forgotten the importance of the Collective Body as outlined by the Founding Fathers. Obama thus manages to present himself neither as a Democratic nor a Republican, but as an American.

Thursday, November 11th, 2010

THE VOICE

Philippe Martin
(University Paris Diderot)
Intonation in political speech: A comparison between Ségolène Royal and Nicolas Sarkozy intonation

The intonation structure of read sentences in French are encoded by various contrasts involving acoustic parameters such as fundamental frequency contour, syllabic duration and intensity. Among these parameters, fundamental frequency contours located on stressed syllable appear to be the most important, and are characterized by falling or rising patterns contrasting with contours of opposite slope located at the end of stress groups located higher in the prosodic structure.

For example, canonical examples of read sentences such as *Les éléphanteaux de Marie-Ségolène avaient adorés leurs circonscriptions* show then a sequence of high and falling contour on the stressed syllable of *Les éléphanteaux*, a high and rising contour on the stressed syllable of *Marie-Ségolène*, a rise of restricted variation of the last syllable of *avaient adorés,* and a conclusive low and falling contour on the last and stressed syllable of *éléphanteaux*.

However, even in read speech, realizations of these contours, especially the high and rising *continuation majeure* are subject to socio-geographic variations. For example, Swiss French varieties (e.g. spoken in Geneva or Lausanne) show a clear concave melodic rise for continuation majeure, whereas Wallonia examples have convex realizations.

Variations in phonetic realizations of these contours are frequently found in political speech, to the point that French politicians use frequently completely non-standard realizations. We will examine in this paper two examples: Ségolène Royal (SR) and Nicolas Sarkozy NS). In political meetings both use very different sentence lengths: NS systematically uses short sentences organized by a single level prosodic structure (of about 5 to 10 seconds), whereas SR uses very long sentences which can last for more that 60 to 90 seconds…The prosodic differences between these two speakers is also striking: NS realizes continuation majeure with a rise-fall pattern, typical of many members of the Assemblée Nationale in France. On the contrary, SR uses consistently falling contours of comparable amplitudes, which contrast with the absolute frequency level, high, mid and low.

These prosodic differences allow both politicians to be readily identified by French listeners in TV or radio shows. They revel also their differences in their scholar formation, SR being a typical product of the intelligentsia educated at

prestigious schools such as ENA (École Nationale d'Administration), where students are taught to address the public in very long sentences never used in spontaneous speech, whereas was NS trained as a lawyer addressing the public with more compact and short sentences. Surprisingly, SR, who instinctively would be considered as their natural leader by a public leaning to the left, is felt through her intonation as representing the dominant class, whereas NS attracted through his prosodic style the sympathy from people who normally would never give him their vote. Despite numerous warnings from her coaches, NS still maintains this kind of prosodic realizations in her political speeches.

Massimo Pettorino, ***Luisa Salvati***
(University of Naples)
Diachronic analysis of political face-to-face discussion: Berlusconi, fifteen years later

1994: the Italian businessman Silvio Berlusconi participates at the General Election with a new political party, "Forza Italia", declaring himself as bringer of a deep renewal compared to a dying First Republic, on the back of the scandals of "Tangentopoli".The journalist Gianni Minoli interviews Berlusconi in a face-to-face discussion during his Tv programme "Mixer".

2009: the Prime Minister Berlusconi on the eve of the local council elections. Even if these have not the same importance as the general one, they are very important as a confirmation of electoral support to his government. This is a very particular moment for Berlusconi: he is on the point of divorcing (with a strong media importance) and is involved with his government in the scandal of "Vallettopoli". The journalist Bruno Vespa interviews him, in a face-to-face discussion again, in his TV talk show "Porta a Porta."

How has Berlusconi's speech changed, in fifteen years of political life, during his one-to-one TV debates? Our report aims at analyzing, in a diachronic perspective, the suprasegmental features of Berlusconi's speech in two political face-to-face discussions, in relation to the main factors that characterize political communication (sender-politician, receiver-citizen, persuasive function) and social, historical and institutional variables of the period the communication is produced in. Among the main typologies of political text, we have chosen the spontaneous speech and, in particular, political face-to-face discussion. This is particularly appropriate to the targets of our research: it is not prepared on a written text, but at most on a draft or notes previously agreed. Moreover it is linked to turn-taking dynamics among spoken communication subjects. This involves more spontaneity and the use of language features that are typical of orality, such as the phenomena of hesitation, rethinking, correction, modulation of tone and voice, pauses, etc.

For the purposes of our research, within of the above-mentioned interviews, common themes have been identified (i.e.: falsification of media, relationships with opposition parties, etc.), so that the selected speech samples could be compared on the basis of a same theme and the same speaker. We have carried out a diachronic comparison through the detection of rhythmic-prosodic rates, namely articulation rate (AR), speech rate (SR), tonal range and fluency.

From the analysis of the early data of some speech samples, we can say that, compared to 1994, in 2009 Berlusconi has a lower articulation rate, which means that today his speech is more speaker-oriented compared to 1994, when he used a more listener-oriented speech. Even the average speech rate - which is lower today than yesterday - confirms the change of the direction of his speech over time: on the same topic, in 1994 he used more words in less time and directed them above all to himself. Further confirmation of this view comes from the tonal range that is today much broader than yesterday: this means a more varied speech, with tonal peaks that are useful to emphasize certain portions of statements in function of the receiver. Probably, compared to 1994, in 2009 Berlusconi especially requires that his receivers understand what he wants to communicate (we should remember that he is personally involved in the scandal of "Vallettopoli").

With regard to speech spontaneity, our analysis results are surprising: some tested samples show a fluency that today is even down by half compared to yesterday: the high fluency value in 1994 indicates a more spontaneous speech, less attentive to what he says. The low fluency in 2009, however, underlines a highly controlled speech, constantly worried about what it is to be said and, most importantly, what it is necessary to avoid saying. This is confirmed by the results of the silent pauses: compared to '94, Berlusconi's speech today is characterized by more silences which, however, last less. The pauses are not functional to breathing, but only to control.

Finally, with regard to dominant / dominated position of the speaker, all the above-observed data (wider tonal range, lower AR, lower fluency) show that in 2009 Berlusconi is paradoxically in a dominated position in relation to TV listeners. Although in 1994 he's on the eve of his first general elections, after which he will be the Prime Minister, his speech shows tones that are typical of those who feel their own power in relation to other people. In 2009, on the contrary, his speech shows a more difficult situation, even if in this period he is also the Prime Minister.

The data derived from our analysis will be discussed in detail and compared to data already available in the literature concerning the politicians' electoral speech in the 90s.

J Revis, ***C De Looze***, ***C Fredouille***, ***A. Giovanni***
(Laboratoire Parole et Langage, Aix en Provence, Laboratoire d'Informatique d'Avignon)
Phonetic and linguistic features adaptation during voice imitation of a political speech

Voice imitation of a famous character results in detection and reproduction of some features, including not only the timber, but also prosody, speech flow or articulatory patterns. This study takes place in the field of our works on perceptual evaluation of voice quality, assuming that mimicry, as well as dysphonia, could be regarded as a phonetic and linguistic phenomena.

Our impersonator, Laurent Gerra, has been a professional for about 20 years. The target speaker was our ex-president Jacques Chirac, whose speech style seemed to be really specific.

The speech material was a political speech of Jacques Chirac. Four recordings were made : one recording of the target speaker taken from a public appearance, and three recordings with the impersonator, one of which was recorded with the voice imitation, and two with the impersonator's own natural voice.

The phoneme segmentation was automatically extracted, using a method stemming from the automatic speech recognition techniques, developed by the Laboratoire d'Informatique d'Avignon. An expert was asked to proceed to a hand-made correction.

The signal annotations were performed using Praat in order to label the phonemes, words, clitic groups and pauses.

Concerning pitch flexibility, the results show that the impersonator does not modify his F0, but tends to increase his pitch register which gets closer to Chirac's. Concerning rythmic flexibility, the impersonator tends to exaggerate the global duration by slowing down the articulatory speed and the pauses duration more than by modifying the number of pauses which depends on syntactical rules.

INVITED TALK:
Klaus Scherer
(University of Geneva)
Voice appeal and its role in political persuasion

Starting from Bühler's organon model, I make a case for an important appeal function of vocal emotion expression in social influence settings, particularly persuasion. Thus, it can be argued that appropriate emotional expression by a persuader will tend to increase the effectiveness of the persuasive message because of a) the attribution of greater credibility and trustworthiness to the sender, and b) the production of appropriate emotions in the audience which may induce the desired attitudes or behaviors or make the cognitive processing more amenable to accepting the message emitted by the persuader. What is the underlying mechanism? I suggest that one can conceive of a symbolic function of vocal affect signals by assuming that the acoustic characteristics of an emotional vocalization reflect the complete pattern of the cognitive appraisal process that produced the emotional state in the sender. This information about the criteria used in the emotion-antecedent evaluation should allow the listener to reconstruct the major features of the emotion producing event and its effect on the speaker I suggest that is possible to elaborate predictions on how we would expect the major phonation characteristics to vary as a result of the major emotion antecedent evaluation criteria and I report data from the actor portrayal studies that confirm many of the theoretical predictions on vocal patterning based on the component process model of emotion. I further suggest that the inference of felt power and competence as well as the attribution of authenticity are central determinants of the emotion-induction aspect of successful persuasion - especially in political speech.

Sylvia Shaw (Middlesex University)
The Strange Case of the Minister for Education: An ethnographic and linguistic investigation into the construction of an individual's 'unpopularity' on the debating floor of the Northern Ireland Assembly

This paper presents some preliminary findings from a funded research project entitled 'Gender and linguistic participation in the devolved parliaments of the UK' by focusing on a sub-set of observations, interviews and transcripts of debates from the Northern Ireland Assembly. An analysis of this data allows an exploration of politicians' attitudes towards the Minister for Education and an appraisal of her linguistic style in the debating chamber.

The research project aims to further an understanding of the factors affecting the political representation of women in the Northern Ireland Assembly, the Scottish Parliament and the National Assembly for Wales by examining the linguistic cultural norms and practices in debates, and to establish the extent to which these are gendered. It has been claimed that the devolved parliaments of the UK, now ten years old, offer women greater opportunities to participate than older, more traditional parliaments. Previous sociolinguistic research on House of Commons debates has found that although women participate equally with men in terms of the formal or 'legal' debate rules, they do not participate equally in terms of illegal debate discourse (by contributing 'out of turn', for example) (Shaw 2000, 2006). The reasons for this are likely to be complex, and related in part to the 'visibility' of women in a traditionally male-dominated forum (Puwar 2004) and the nature of traditional parliaments as a 'linguistic habitus' (Bourdieu 1991) in which 'silence or hyper-controlled language' is imposed on some people, while others are allowed the 'liberties of a language that is securely established' (1991: 82). Traditional parliaments can therefore be viewed as a 'gendered space' (Ochs 1992) in which the setting and the communicative tasks together become an index of a gendered style.

The project aims to describe the 'new' devolved assemblies in relation to these different aspects of participation using a detailed ethnographic and linguistic analysis. Gender is viewed as a variable and contested concept, being both a flexible category in which speakers' gender identities are constructed in their 'performance' in interaction (Bulter 1990), and a category which is partly fixed by the institutional arrangements based on stereotypical notions of male and female linguistic behaviour. Drawing on 'anti-essentialist' theoretical frameworks I view language as a social practice in which gender is a dynamic category that is also a site of struggle and (re)positioning. It also assumes that gender identities are constructed through language use; that other social relations and categories (apart from gender) are significant; and that gender is culturally constituted and context-dependent (Litosseliti 2006).

An original combination of research methods is used in order to assess linguistic participation within the assemblies. Firstly, the ethnographic description of each assembly is based upon the tradition of the 'Ethnography of Speaking' Hymes (1972). This method of 'Linguistic Ethnography' holds that the contexts for communication should be investigated rather than assumed and that the detailed analysis of linguistic data is essential to understanding its significance (Rampton 2007: 585). This informal knowledge about 'what can be said when, where, by whom, to whom, in what manner and in what particular social circumstances' (Saville-Troike 1982: 8) has been overlooked in political accounts of institutions because mainstream comparative research in this area tends to focus on formal rules (Helmke and Levitsky 2004). This ethnographic approach, using the notion of the Community of Practice (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's 1992) rather than that of a 'speech community', is combined with Conversation Analysis (CA). CA aims to 'uncover the tacit reasoning procedures and sociolinguistic competencies underlying the production and interpretation of talk in organised sequences of interaction' (Hutchby and Woofit 1998:14). In particular this research uses the model of turn-taking proposed by Sacks et al (1974) in order to identify the model of interaction in each assembly. Gaining the floor has been viewed by analysts as an 'economy' in which, depending on the context, 'turns are valued, sought or avoided' (Sacks et al.1974:201). This notion of a 'competitive economy' seems particularly apt for the highly regulated debate floor where turns are sought for professional and political gain. This method has been successfully used to identify a model of turn-taking in relation to the participation of MPs in debates in the House of Commons (Shaw 2000) and provides a useful framework for comparisons across the assemblies.

The paper will focus on a case study of a set of ethnographic observations made between November 2009 and June 2010 in the Northern Ireland Assembly. This allows a detailed case study of the ways in which one particular woman politician (the Minister for Education) is perceived by interviewees to be the most unpopular speaker in the debating chamber. I will use interview data from politicians, and from the Minister herself to identify the dimensions this unpopularity. While it is clear that the Minister is unpopular with some politicians because of her policies on education and because of party and sectarian allegiances, others believe that it is her confrontational style in debates and the fact that she is a woman that account for this. In criticising the Minister's behaviour in debates interviewees describe confrontational non-verbal gestures such as 'wagging her finger' in the debating chamber and the Minister herself describes her stance as 'planting both feet firmly on the floor' when speaking in debates. In an analysis of videos of the Minister speaking in debates I will attempt to establish the extent to which the Minister's performative 'style' in debates is of particular significance in constructing her 'unpopular' identity. In doing so I will also question the theoretical and methodological difficulties in ascribing the Minister's perceived unpopularity to individual aspects of her identity, such as gender.

Donald Glowinski, **Liouba Bouscant** (University of Genoa; University of Lille 3)
Music as a perfect means for political persuasion

This papers aims at giving an introduction of how music may be employed as the equivalent of politic speech to convince and obtain the consent of people. As such, the rhetorical processes developed by composers to persuade could represent a source of inspiration for studies interested in modeling political argumentation. Concrete example quoted from history of music will be employed toward this aim. A brief overview will clarify the relationship between music and language, and examples will be given to illustrate how music can stand as a political argumentation either by itself, either in combination to other means.

Music and language (the path towards independence)
Music, from its very inception, has been linked to verbal language and discourse. Like language, it has represented THE way to apprehend real phenomena and to access the *true* nature of the world behind its appearances. However, the relations between music and language has known many evolution. In Antiquity and at the Renaissance, music was considered as a *servant* (rhetorical styles), at the Baroque and Classical periods with figures and classical phraseology as a *daughter*, and finally as a *mistress* during the Romantic period during which, while occasionally preserving the figures and classical phraseology, was ontologically regarded superior to verbal discourse. This led to the 20th century rift during which music dismissed any structure similarity with verbal language. It finally broke free, occasionally to the point of clashing with the nonsensical. The question as to whether music can be fundamentally devoid of references, allusions or lexical borrowings is an essential one among contemporary composers.

Musical language (writing) -> drawing near then drawing apart (aesthetic choice)
Moreover, musical language was at first quite separate from the external structure of verbal discourse which its constituent phrases as well as weak or strong punctuation points before approaching this structure from the Baroque period and the emergence of tonality centres with their associated cadential 'anchors'. Thereafter it became increasingly

and finally quite distinct from this structure with the advent of atonality (no more core notes, pointillism, asymmetry of phrases, athematism) (exceptions include Schoenberg and Berg). However, composers such as Bartok and Shostakovich, among others, remained stylistically close to the verbal "model", raising the problem of aesthetic choice (post-romanticism). Listeners to their music can choose to invest significance in the referential system proposed by the composer, such that semantic meanings can be perceived in the music.

The semantic sphere, i.e. extra-musical, social and political functions

The other recurring relationship that music has with discourse is its frequent association with the extra-musical and hence semantic sphere: as a social phenomenon, musical fulfils religious as well as political functions. For all these reasons, political argumentation is possible and is common in music through all periods of history.

- either a work supports a propaganda text (fascist, totalitarian, autocratic or even democratic regimes with their emerging ideologies),

- or it is itself an all-encompassing argument that promotes an external extra-musical idea, here of a political nature: the Grand Versailles Motet played at major royal public ceremonies: the genre itself advocates grandeur and divine authority of the monarchy (Montagnier, 2007). Another example of such allegorical signification is opera.

- or the work unfolds an entire argumentation while serving a text which is itself argumentative which musically doubles and enriches by musical structures analyzed by the author, a liturgical text celebrating a political figurehead with a double meaning (Vecchione, 1997) . Songs, operas, all text-based music may serve this persuasive purpose.

Stirring the spirit

How can music persuade and stir the spirit and not merely "move" and "please"? : Does it need only rhetorical processes to persuade such as figures, tones (dynamic, sound effects to capture attention, etc)? (Bouscant 2008). Argumentation may exist as a "logical" truncated syllogism process without structural and phraseological imitation or semantic/extra-musical references. Let us recall what argumentation is: a proposition to be demonstrated and an argument that leads to a conclusion. The link between the two is pseudo-logical in nature and reflects a particular general opinion (Aristotle's commonplaces). However, that being said, all argumentation may also be conducted by music through its form, structure and style and through the choice of certain instruments. We are therefore in the non verbal sphere.

In all events, it is clear that argumentation is based on a discursive process driven by a musical, verbal or graphical system. A better understanding of processes employed in music, illustrated by specific example taken from history, may reveal fruitful for approaching political speech in an original way.

DOMINANCE IN DEBATES

Marc Mehu & *Klaus R. Scherer* (University of Geneva)
The role of voice in establishing verbal dominance in political discussions.

In political discussions, the floor is a valuable resource to compete for because it allows individuals to exert social influence. Increased speaking time guarantees a better access to audience attention and gives the speaker a greater opportunity to gather and motivate supporters. Previous research show that dominance is positively related to speaking time (Cashdan, 1998; Islam & Zyphur, 2005; Schmid Mast 2002), suggesting that it is likely to influence the outcome of political discussions via the control that individuals gain over the floor.

In political debates of the Canal 9 database, the floor can be taken, by "force", through verbal contest or it can be given by the moderator. As in most contests, control over the floor may be established via a communication process whereby vocal signals emitted by the sender leads perceivers to withdraw from contest as a result of greater perceived dominance of the opponent. The association between vocal properties and actual competitive ability, or trait dominance, makes a withdrawal response adaptive for the receiver. Vocal signals of dominance could therefore play a role in floor acquisition, as these could influence the opponent to yield the floor or to abort attempts at grabbing it.

Vocal parameters such as amplitude, pitch and formant dispersion have been shown to influence ratings of dominance (Puts et al. 2007; Scherer & Ochinsky, 1977; Tusing & Dillard, 2000). However, the reported relationship between F0 and dominance is not consistent across studies. On the one hand, there is evidence that raised pitch and formant dispersion is associated with lower perceived social and physical dominance (Feinberg et al. 2005; Puts et al. 2006; 2007). This is in line with the assumption that lower fundamental frequency is related to larger body size, hence competitive ability (Morton, 1977; Ohala, 1984). On the other hand, high pitch was also associated with judgements of potency (Scherer & Ochinsky, 1977) and dominance (Tusing & Dillard, 2000). Evidence from an observational study of political discussions among a US council shows that competitive behaviour is associated with higher levels of vocal arousal (Schubert, 1984). In that study, initiating attacks was linked to lower pitch than reacting to attacks, and within

these reactions the offensive ones were performed with lower pitch than the defensive ones. This suggests that agonistic behaviour is associated with low pitch. More data is needed to assess the effect of vocalization on outcome of verbal contests, as it likely depends on a complex interaction between social and emotional factors.

The goal of this study is to evaluate the role of voice in the capacity to gain and retain the floor in political discussions. We predict that vocal cues previously associated with dominance will increase the likelihood to gain verbal contests. This should translate into more attempts at taking the floor, a longer speaking time, and more success at resisting floor "theft". Preliminary results show a positive correlations between pitch and involvement in verbal arguments (which supports previous literature, e.g. Schubert, 1984), with a higher correlation between pitch and the number of verbal interruptions received. This indicates that individuals with a higher pitch tend to be interrupted more frequently. Analysis will be continued to include spectral measures, amplitude, F0 variation, speech rate, and the outcome of verbal interruptions.

Isabella Poggi, *Francesca D'Errico* & *Laura Vincze* (University Roma Tre)
Dominance as an aspect of Ethos in political persuasion

In persuasion an Agent A wants to convince an Agent B to pursue some goal GA by convincing B that GA is a subgoal to achieve a goal GB that B has (Poggi 2005): the politician A may assure he will reduce taxes to convince B that voting A is a subgoal to his goal of paying lower taxes. The Aristotelian strategies of *logos*, *pathos* and *ethos* (force of logical arguments, appeal to the audience's emotions, and character of the Orator) can all be exploited in persuasion, not only in words but also in gesture and gaze (Poggi and Pelachaud 2008). In previous works we distinguished two kinds of "ethos" strategy, "ethos benevolence" and "ethos competence", corresponding to the two facets of trust (Falcone & Castelfranchi 2008). To trust a person, I must assume that s/he is 1. benevolent – willing to act for my good and not to do harm – and 2. competent – if she advises me to pursue some goal, that goal will really be useful to my goals.

By analysing the multimodal communication of Italian and French politicians we found examples of gestures and gaze items that aim to convey either competence or benevolence (Poggi and Vincze 2009).

But while looking competent and benevolent may be sufficient in everyday persuasion, in political discourse the orator, beside exhibiting benevolence and competence, must also show dominance. If a candidate tries to persuade me to vote for him, I will check not only his benevolence (towards my category of electors) nor only his competence in politics or economy, but also take into account how strong and effective he looks in carrying out his goals. Were he the most honest of all candidates, or the most clever of all economists, if he is not able to fight for his objectives and to overcome his adversaries, I would probably not vote for him.

Our hypothesis is that in political speech we must count three aspects of ethos – *benevolence*, *competence*, and *dominance* – and that in both monological and dialogical political discourse we may single out the social signals that convey all three of them.

Signals of dominance are those signals that convey a message like "I am stronger than you/him", "I have more power than you/him" (Poggi & D'Errico 2010). But there are different "dominance strategies", that is, different ways to convey one is dominant over his opponent, ranging from blatantly aggressive ones, like using a loud voice and scanning syllables, to more subtle ones, like distancing the other or exhibiting a relaxed and easy posture.

In this work we analyse fragments of political speeches and debates during elections. Through an annotation scheme that attributes a specific meaning to each signal, we classify signals in all modalities – word, voice, gesture, gaze, posture – as to their conveying *benevolence*, *competence* or *dominance*, respectively. Finally, by comparing the respective weights of the meanings conveyed, and considering the subsequent persuasive effects, we try to assess and to account for the different effectiveness of different communication strategies.

Nadja De Carolis, *Francesca D'Errico*, *Irene Mazzotta*, *Nicole Novielli* & *Isabella Poggi*
(University of Bari, University Roma Tre)
Towards Modeling Dominance in Political Debates

In recent years, the attention of the research community has focused on the role played by technology in the social influence process aimed at changing beliefs, attitudes and behaviors (as, for example in persuasion (Fogg, 2002)) in diversi domini like, health (Mazzotta, 2007), military (marcella e gratch rif) and politics (rif).

In particular, in Human-Computer Interaction (HCI) the interest is on how to analize (Pentland, 2005; Jayagopi et al., 2009; Gatica-Perez, 2006) and simulate (Bickmore and Cassell, 2005; de Rosis et al., 2006; Heylen et al., 2009) social intelligence tecniques typical of human-human interaction.

Our interest is on simulation of natural dialogues with socially intelligent conversational agents (De Carolis et al., in press). In our previous research we have worked on affective dialogue simulation (Cavalluzzi et al., 2004), formalization of user adapted persuasion strategies (Mazzotta et al., 2008), and attitude recognition by analysing individual dialogue turns (Novielli et al., to appear; de Rosis et al., 2007) and interaction patterns (JMUI). Although all the methods were applied mainly in the Healthy Eating domain there are designed to be domain independent. Therefore, we would like to test their validity in new application domains, such as political debates.

The use of technology in politics is not new (see Nobre, 2007 for an overview). For example, artificial agents (ECAs and Robots) have been used to simulate and foster political interaction in virtual communities [Nabeth et al., 2005] and in decision-making processes [Carenini et al., 2007], also through serious games (e.g., for supporting political campaign [Bogost, 2005], educating and engaging and persuading voters [Bogost, 2007; Kaye, 2005; Loftus, 2004]).

In a political debate, a relevant factor to model is the notion of *dominance*. According to Poggi and D'Errico (in press) "Dominance is the basis for power over and hence for power to influence" by conveying through multimodality the belief that *the speaker has more power than the interlocutor*. To convey this belief several strategies may be applied (e.g., aggressiveness, victimhood, ridicule and irony, calm strength, and so on).

Our long-term goal is to build a multi-agent framework that allow us to both recognize and simulate the dominance strategies used in real debates (and, more in general, human-human interaction) and to evaluate the perception of dominance by the interlocutors or the audience. To this aim, we need to define a model to formalize the expression of dominance strategies through multimodal communication that can be employed for both generation and recognition.

To design this model, we need to integrate knowledge derived from psychological studies about the possible dominance strategies with analysis of a corpus of human-human dialogs in which the dominance strategies are applied in real debates. In this perspective we plan to extend the annotation study described in [Poggi and D'Errico, in press] with the annotation and analysis of new audio-video materials in order to build an annotated resource for learning the model.

In addition, since dominance is expressed through multimodality [Dunbar and Burgoon, 2005], the model has to formalize the relations between the dominance strategies applied by the speaker and the multimodal cues (gaze, visual behaviours and other acoustic parameters) identified as *signals of dominance* [Poggi and D'Errico, in press]. That is, the model will include all dimensions that are relevant in modelling the dominance strategies. These are:

- *observable variables*, such as, the stable characteristics of the speaker and/or the interlocutor (e.g., their role), the context in which the turn is performed and the multimodal features that can be recognized; and
- *hidden variables* (e.g., the speakers beliefs) which depend on the observable ones.

The envisage methodology is the formalism of Belief Network [Jensen, 2001]. This method allows us to deal with uncertainty in the relationships among the variables involved in the social dynamics, as suggested in our previous experience [De Carolis et al., in press].

Among all variables involved in multimodal communication, in this paper we intend to investigate the role played by the linguistic and acoustic components in the dominance strategy. We plan to follow an approach similar to the one described in [de Rosis et al., 2007; De Carolis and Cozzolongo, 2009].

This research fits in the scope of our research in social robot and believable conversational agents and their role in facilitating relations through communication and social influence (e.g. serious games, social networks, persuasive dialogues, online despute resolution, etc.)

POLITICAL SPEECH CORPORA

Marco Guerini, *Danilo Giampiccolo*, *Rachele Sprugnoli*, *Carlo Strapparava* (Human Language Technology Group, Fondazione Bruno Kessler)

The New Release of CORPS: Tagged Political Speeches for Persuasive Communication Processing

In recent years political discourses have received growing attention for persuasive communication analysis. Multimodal features are of paramount importance in this context. Non-lexical audio cues – such as audience reaction or speaker prosody - have been investigated (Guerini et al., 2008; Hu et al., 2008), as well as visual cues – such as speaker gesture or gaze (Poggi & Vincze, 2009).

In this paper we present the new release of CORPS (CORpus of tagged Political Speeches) that contains transcripts of political speeches tagged with audience reactions, such as APPLAUSE or LAUGHTER.

In collecting this corpus, we relied on the hypothesis that tags about public reaction are indicators of hot-spots where persuasion attempts succeeded or, at least, a persuasive attempt was recognized by the audience. The corpus has been built with the goal of allowing automatic processing of the data and to this end we converted tags (from the original transcripts) to make them homogeneous in formalism and labeling, and provided metadata regarding the speeches.

In the following sections we will first describe the new release of the corpus, its characteristics, and how it has been collected. Then we will focus on possible and actual uses of the resource and finally we will envisage some future research directions.

Corpus Building and Annotation

About 2500 speeches are being annotated and will be added to the original CORPS release (Guerini et al., 2008). The new release of CORPS will be freely available in September 2010.

The speeches under annotation were delivered mainly by seven politicians, namely George W. Bush, Dick Cheney, Bill Clinton, John F. Kennedy, Richard M. Nixon, Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher. The speeches are in English and represent monological situations. The temporal distribution of the speeches spans from 1960 to 2007.

The collected files come from various Web sources and contain audience reaction tags. The annotation is aimed at normalizing such tags, converting them to a spefically designed annotation scheme, and extracting metadata from the speeches (e.g. title, speaker, event, date).

The annotation is supported by an ad-hoc standalone application, developed by CELCT. The tool facilitates the extraction of the actual speech text and metadata from the Web sources. It also automatically converts the most frequent annotations present in the files to the CORPS formalism, allowing reducing the possibility of human errors. Human annotators can make additional annotation, if needed, and perform manual check of the final output for consistency.

Four annotators have been trained, two of whom will carry out the cross-annotation of a small portion of the additional speeches, in order to calculate the inter-annotator agreement.

Final statistics will include:

- Total number of speeches
- Total number of speakers
- Total number of speeches per speaker
- Temporal distribution of the speeches
- Temporal distribution of the speeches per speaker
- Total number of words
- Total number of tags
- Number of occurrences per tag type
- Predominant tags per speaker
- Tag density of the whole corpus and of the single speakers
- Number of isolated applauses and interruptive applauses according to the (Bull & Noordhuizen, 2000) classification
- Number of Positive-Focus, Negative-Focus and Ironical tags according to the (Guerini et al., 2008) classification

A comparative analysis against the features of the first CORPS release will be also performed.

Corpus Uses

CORPS and its new release allow automatizing several tasks in various fields. Some examples are listed below.

- Persuasive expression mining. Some approaches hypothesize that the recognition and classification of phenomena such as applause, laughter, and speaker vocal effort can improve information retrieval (Bertoldi et al. 2002; Guerini et al., 2008; Hu et al., 2008). On top of such features, approaches for extracting relevant linguistic material can be developed; e.g. words persuasive impact measure (pi)[3], see (Guerini et al., 2008).
- Automatic analysis of political communication. While there is a wealth of theoretical and empirical research on politicians' rhetorics, only recently as there been a growing interest in bridging the gap with computational linguistics in order to automatize tasks that were usually carried out manually. By considering audience reactions and words' impact (pi), it is possible to individuate rhetorical phenomena that do not come into light with traditional approaches based on words' usage (counting of their occurrences).
- Prediction of text impact. It is possible to use machine learning techniques for predicting the persuasive impact of novel speeches, in terms of audience reactions. In fact, with the huge amount of textual material that flows on the Web (news, discourses, blogs, etc.), it can be useful to have a measure for testing the persuasiveness of what we retrieve or possibly of what we want to publish on Web (Strapparava et al., 2008).
- Persuasive natural language generation. Just to mention the example of lexical choice: techniques that use domain information for choosing appropriate lemmata have been proposed, among others, by Jing (1998). In our approach, lexical choice is performed on the basis of lemma impact rather than lemma use (i.e. the lemma with the highest pi is extracted). If the typology of persuasive communicative goal is specified (positive-focus, negative-focus, ironical), the choice can be further refined. These strategies are implemented in the Valentino prototype (Guerini et al., 2008b).

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[3] Roughly speaking, this coefficient states that the more a word appears near audience reactions tags and the less it appears far from them, the more persuasive it is.

Future Work

In the long run we will further expand the corpus if new tagged transcripts are made available on the web. We also plan to:

- Enrich the corpus with other non-lexical information such as speaker prosody features.
- Perform rhetorical analysis of text. Our past works was limited to lexical analysis, and the corpus was not big enough to have reliable analysis of features such as negative focus tags. With this new release of CORPS, we will add more complex elements to our analysis, such as syntactic constraints, negation and, most importantly, rhetorical structure of the text. Such elements will be then exploited in the tasks listed above.

Katerina T. Frantzi (University of the Aegean, Greece)
Exploring the Language Use in George Papandreou's Interviews

It is not very recent that the study of Political Discourse has attracted the interest of researchers (Blommaert, 1997; Dijk, 1997). However, the interest on politicians' language has nowadays become larger. The power of politics has raised the interest of the language use by politicians to convince, to explain, to lead. This work is a study on George Papandreou's language use in interviews. George Papandreou, the current leader of the "PASOK" (Panhellenic Socialistic Movement) political party, has been the Prime Minister of Greece since October 2009. As a member of previous governments, he has been the Alternate Minister of Foreign Affairs from September 1996 to February 1999 and the Minister of Foreign Affairs from February 1999 to February 2004. Before that, he was the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs (July 1994 - October 1996), the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs (October 1993 - July 1994) and the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs (1988 – 1989). He is a son of Andreas Papandreou, a famous Greek Politician and ex-Prime Minister of Greece and a grandson of Georgios Papandreou, an also very famous ex-Prime Minister of Greece. George Papandreou's election followed the five years of the government of "New Democracy". He is a political person that attracts the interest especially nowadays because of Greece's current economical situation.

Processing political language is interesting and attractive not only to linguists but to political and communication scientists, sociologists, psychologists and more. Experts in political communication techniques process such material in order to advise politicians on how they can use language to serve their plans. George Papandreou has given a lot of interviews as a politician. This work is a study of George Papandreou's language use in his given interviews. The first part of this work presents the corpus constructed of language material from Papandreou's interviews. The interviews are taken from Papandreou's webpage. They were given to various media such as newspapers, the TV, the radio, both in Greece and abroad. The interviews are organised in the webpage according to the date they were given. At the moment, there are 476 interviews in Papandreou's webpage. Table 1 shows the number of interviews per year, from 1996 to 2009. We should note the interesting fact that the webpage contains no interviews given in 2000. For each interview added to the corpus, information is kept in a database that, accompanying the corpus, keeps the necessary metadata. Such databases are important for the descriptions of corpora. As for the interviews, the information includes the size of the interview text in terms of number of words, the date of the interview, the source of the interview, the name of the interviewer. At this point the corpus contains interviews in Greek. When an interview is added to the corpus any material but Papandreou's talk, e.g. the interviewer's talk, comments before or after the interview, etc., is deleted.

Year	Number of Interviews	Year	Number of Interviews
2009	39	2002	42
2008	33	2001	31
2007	49	2000	41
2006	16	1999	39
2005	25	1998	26
2004	60	1997	7
2003	65	1996	3

Table 1 Number of interviews per year, 1996 – 2009

The corpus of Papandreou's language material is processed using corpus linguistics techniques. Corpus linguistics provides quantitative processing of language material of any size, making use of the speed, accuracy and completeness that computers can assure. Corpus linguistics, studying "real language" use, finds applications not only to linguistics fields, such as lexicography, terminology, dialectology, morphology, syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics, historical linguistics, etc., but to any field really where language is of interest, such as politics, communications, philology, stylistics, psychology, education and more. The first information extracted is word frequency lists. Word frequency lists

reveal the richness of one's language use. They show the number of different words used. Together with each word, the lists give the frequency of its occurrence in the corpus. Sorting the words according their frequency of occurrence, the lists give the favourite words in contrast to the less favourite and non-favourite ones. Collocations frequency lists are also extracted. A collocation is a sequence of words that co-occur more often than it would be expected by chance. They give favourite expressions of one's language use. Collocations are very important for revealing features of the language use. We have developed the software for processing the corpus, instead of using software out of the shelf, in order to be able to change and adapt it as needed. In this work, the corpus is used raw, which means the texts are processed exactly as acquired without any preprocessing and addition of linguistic information.

Regarding future work, the first task includes the tagging of the corpus with part-of-speech linguistic information. The study of the tagged corpus gives information on the use of specific word types. The second task includes the enrichment of the corpus with both Papandreou's interviews in English and other text types (i.e. open talks). Finally, the third task includes the incorporation of language material of other politicians, i.e. other ex-Prime Ministers as well as possible future Prime Ministers, for comparisons on the language use for each of them.

Valentina Porcu ("Sapienza" University of Rome)
A politolinguistic approach in 2007-2009 election debates.
The analysis of Kinesic style and gestural paradigms in modern leader

The political debate in television was born and spread from in the United States to arrive, especially in recent years, in many countries around the world. The reason of growing importance of the debate is that she represents a central point in the story behind the campaign: an epic battle between opponents, where the winner should be the winner of the elections. The research that I present was born from the observation about the growing importance of political dynamics in pre---election television. The debate is becoming in recent years, a modern form of "duel" between opponents with a different visions of the political reality of a country. The debate it's also taking differents forms based on each country's culture that "plays" the political debate, and create many different variations of the competition. Since 2004---2005, the debate has become a precise time of the election campaign, in parallel with the creation of new---media campaigns and focused on the use of social media. Between 2008 and 2009, debates were organized in a growing number of countries where there was a presidential elections (in 5 out of 23 countries involved in elections in 2008, and in 7 out of 33 countries involved in elections in 2009), and sometimes (at least in 5 cases in 2008) were rejected from one of interested political party. So we can identify a specific kind of European debate, characterized by the organization from broadcast, a poor symbolism and a poor cultural background; opposed to a U.S. model (and followed by countries as Chile and Afghanistan), where the debate is organized in the universities, with a general public and more identification symbols. The debate is currently an instrument of avantage in the analysis of multimodal communication in politics, because it allows an analysis at multiple levels. First of all he can be analyzed from the perspective of the context and the symbolism behind the construction of the event. In particular, it can be considered an analytical tool of communication on different levels of the candidate, made from verbal communication and content, and the non---linguistic communication (kinesic, proxemics). So, we can observe that the growing dramatization of politics as evident in the debate, is leading to the organization of debates for primary elections, or events with a lower importance than the choice of chief executive. This dramatization has yet another characteristic to highlight the heuristic value of the debate, where the choice ---or preference is sometimes--- linked to external factors over which the topics. From here the hypothesis that the use of paralinguistic elements is central to determining the effectiveness of the message. According to studies by Nalini and Ambadi on the subject of thin slices of expressive behavior as predictors of interpersonal consequences, they acquire a great importance in the reading of the person before us and in the attribution of her characteristics. The analysis of the constituent elements of nonverbal communication, as the facial expressions, the eye, the spatial behavior, the posture and body contact, leading to the creation of a general framework on the communication of the candidate. My research take into consideration the television debates or a widely held from 2005 to 2010. In particular, I analyzed the countries were the debates was made, the differences between them about the organization of the event, about the location and the kind of rules. I taken into consideration the six countries where was a political debate in recent years, for a total of 13 debates analyzed and 12 leaders involved. The aim of this research was to analyze the kinesic style of the leaders involved to determine whether there are elements of difference between the kinesic corpora of winners respect than losers (winners / losers understood in relation to elections, since it is usually not possible to identify with certainty the winner of the debate). Starting with the analysis of gestures in political leaders, and their paradigms or kinesic corpora during the election debates, we will try to establish if there are recursive formulas sign in the kinesic of leaders, and if there is a kinesic style attributable to the figure of the leader, or if gestural production can be considered as a sign of the factors that influence the choice of leader, where we can actually find the similarities between the production of gestures of leaders or if there are more styles related to the leaders. Analyses were made by a software for video analysis and where was possible a video---textual comparison: Transana, version 2.4, a software product by the University of Wisconsin. From the video segments was analyzed the entire corpus of each sign of the leaders during the debates. The gestures and posture of the candidates have been collected and categorized according to a scoring system adopted from the work of Elena Radutzky. The set of kinesic production has been analyzed as a text, first through tag clouds to highlight the first in a visual form of the first rank, and secondarily

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by Conc textual analysis software, a software that analyzes the frequencies and allowed to extract kinesics segments repeated through a statistical analysis of frequency, and compare them.

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THE POLITICAL BODY

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Isabel Galhano Rodriguez (University of Porto)
Political Speech

This paper will focus on a short sequence of a humorous TV talk-show broadcast on the Portuguese TV-channel SIC in September 2009, during the period of the political campaign for the national general elections. The interviewee in the show was the Portuguese Prime Minister and leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party, Mr. José Socrates, while the interviewer was a well-known comedian, Mr. Ricardo Araújo, whose objective was clearly to provoke his guest and make the audience laugh. Although the discourse in the interview was not strictly political, the Prime Minister, who at the time was campaigning for being reelected, used his appearance in a popular talk-show to purse his political interests. The sequence from the interview will be examined using an eclectic model for the analysis of multimodality in face-to-face interaction developed by Rodrigues (2007, 2008). The analysis will concentrate particularly on the following aspects: the way the politician conducts interaction according to his interests and the different means he uses — such as head movements, gaze, gestures, prosody and sentence structure — to present his arguments and influence both the interviewer and the audience, while at the same time protecting his own image.

Maria Koutsombogera, *Harris Papageorgiou* (Institute for Language and Speech Processing)
Multimodal indicators of persuasion in political interviews

This paper studies the relation of persuasion to conversational dominance as attested in simultaneous talk occurring in political interviews. The focus is set to the non-verbal aspects of the interview participants' interactional behavior during simultaneous talk; non-verbal expressions do not simply accompany speech but they are indicators of the degree of success of the speakers' intentions and projections and shed light on the strategies used for the accomplishments of the interaction.
The most prominent feature in the relationship that politicians try to establish between themselves and their supporters is persuasion. Politicians try to persuade their supporters not only by their discursive style and argumentative speech, but also through their personality and their interactional behavior. In televised interviews specifically, politicians struggle to establish an image for themselves as competent personalities, which is considered equally important as the topic under discussion. Thus, the study of their image, including their non-verbal interactional behavior, is crucial.
In terms of a political interview, persuasion is related to conversational dominance, i.e. a speaker's tendency to control the other speaker's conversational actions over the course of an interaction. Conversational dominance is a multi-dimensional construct. Among others, its *participatory* dimension refers to the restriction of speaking rights, in particular through *interruption* and *overlap*. In this perspective, a common phenomenon in political interviews is that politicians employ and sometimes violate the turn-taking rules through overlapping talk in order to position themselves as trustworthy, powerful and persuasive persons.
We will examine the phenomenon of simultaneous (overlapping) talk from a multimodal perspective. For this purpose, we exploit an audiovisual corpus of face-to-face TV interviews. This corpus is multimodally annotated with information about the non-verbal behavior of the interview participants, namely the facial, hand and torso movements that co-occur with their speech, at multiple levels: (a) identification and marking on the time axis, (b) respective semiotic type, (c) turn management type, (d) feedback type, (e) attitudes and emotions expressed and (f) semantic relations with speech. Both audio and visual signals as well as the annotations are synchronized; the overall set of annotation levels is distributed according to each speaker, and all the information is integrated into a single xml file.
Our intention is to describe the multimodal behavior of the interlocutors during distinct types of overlapping speech and examine its contribution (a) to the management of overlaps and (b) to the achievement of the goal of persuasion. We extracted automatically all instances of simultaneous talk between the two interview participants that were accompanied by non-verbal activity. The data extraction was carried out by selecting the parts of the xml files that include, for a specific time interval, annotations of speech transcription for both speakers and of non-verbal expressions (nves) for at least one of the speakers)

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Following the classification schemes that are mentioned in the literature, we have attested multimodal overlapping instances that pertain to several types. However, for the purposes of this study we focus on *pure interruptions*, a type which is closely related to conversational dominance. We are interested in the case of interruption as opposed to a perfect speaker-switch, in the sense that it involves simultaneous speech and a break in continuity (as the second speaker prevents the first speaker from completing the utterance). In this context we examine three types of interruptions: (a) butting-in**:** simultaneous speech occurs but the interruptor does not take the floor, he breaks off before completing the utterance, (b) simple: first speaker's utterance is not complete and (c) overlap: first speaker's utterance is complete. Silent interruptions are beyond the scope of our study, because there is no simultaneous speech occurring.

Moreover, in order to capture instances of non-verbal behavior that might be important to the interpretation of the interruption cases, we also take into account in our dataset nves that happen 3-5 seconds prior to the actual simultaneous talk. This was an empirical observation based on the fact that most of the speakers give non-verbal signs that they want to interrupt their co-locutor right before the moment of interruption.

The analysis of the data provides descriptions of the forms and the semiotic types of nves co-occurring with overlaps as well as their semantic and pragmatic functions with speech. Moreover, the patterns and forms of organization of the nve devices that are employed during overlap, either by interruptors or interruptees are very significant in the management of overlaps and can serve as indicators of conversational dominance and persuasiveness; first of all, the non-verbal behavior of the speakers gives signs of prediction that an overlap is about to occur. Second, speakers react non-verbally to an overlap in order to show that they notice it or not, that they think of it as problematic, that they want to respond to it or that they bear with it because it is important for other central elements of the talk. Speakers use non-verbal expressions because they are aware of their effectiveness e.g. in cases of survival in the competition for the floor. They may express their attitudes and emotions that are not accessible through speech only.

INVITED TALK
Jens Allwood
(University of Göteborg)
T.B.A.

POLITICAL WORDS AND THEIR EFFECTS

Patrizia Catellani, *Mauro Bertolotti*, & *Venusia Covelli* (Catholic University of Milan)
Counterfactual communication in politics: Features and effects on voters

During debates and interviews, political leaders often have to defend themselves from adversaries attacking them and journalists questioning their previous performance. To fight against these threats to their image, politicians can recur to various defensive strategies, for example drawing attention away from their responsibilities or shedding a more positive light upon their work. Defensive strategies may also vary according to their being direct or indirect. Counterfactual defences may be included among indirect defensive strategies: Sometimes, politicians may defend themselves by comparing past actual events with other hypothetical events (e.g., by saying: "Things would have gone better, if the opposition had not continuously held back our proposals).

In a series of studies, we first identified a typology of (explicit and implicit) counterfactuals most frequently evoked by attacked politicians in televised programs. We then examined their effects on receivers, manipulating the text of a fictitious interview to a politician. In a first study, we analyzed Silvio Berlusconi's and Romano Prodi's utterances during pre-electoral televised programs to identify counterfactuals embedded in them. Results of loglinear analysis showed that both politicians defended themselves by using two main counterfactual patterns: a) other-focused, controllable counterfactuals, that imply stressing the responsibility of other people and blaming them for negative outcomes; b) self-focused, uncontrollable counterfactuals, that imply a reduction of the politician's role in events with negative outcomes. But to what extent are such defensive messages really effective? In the following studies, we analyzed the effects of some types of defensive counterfactuals on judgments expressed by voters and their perception of political candidates. Participants were presented with different versions of a fictitious political interview, in which the leader of an exit government answered a "threatening" question by evoking different types of counterfactuals. For example, we compared the effects of factual versus counterfactual defences, finding the latter to be more effective in triggering a positive evaluation of the politician. We also analyzed the effect of the counterfactual direction of the messages, showing that comparing reality with worse alternatives may also be an effective defensive strategy. In sum, results from our studies indicate that recourse to counterfactual communication may be an effective defensive strategy in political debates. Discussion will focus on the opportunity of further investigating the relationship between politicians' communication strategies and the development of citizens' judgments regarding politics and politicians.

Andrzey Zuczkowski, *Ramona Bongelli* & *Ilaria Riccioni* (University of Macerata)
Evidentiality and Epistemicity in Italian Political Speeches

General Topic and Theoretical Background: Our study is about Perceptual and Cognitive Linguistics Indicators (PaCLIs), i.e. those linguistic markers which communicate *how* a speaker/writer (S/W) has access to the communicated piece of information. From the psychological viewpoint of the mental processes involved, this access can only be *perceptual* or *cognitive*. This is the main reason why we call these markers PaCLIs.

In literature, since PaCLIs are about S/W's *source of information*, they are called *evidentials* by some authors (for example, De Hann, 1999; Ifantidou, 2001; Papafragou et al., 2007). According to other authors, since PaCLIs are related to S/W's *commitment towards the communicated piece of information* they are also called *epistemic markers* (Fitneva, 2001), *epistemic attitudes* (Nuyts, 2001a, 2001b, 2008), *epistemic stance* (Kärkkäinen, 2003) and so on.

On the basis of our research experience into the Italian language (Bongelli and Zuczkowski, 2008) we can say that in a text, in a sentence, normally the evidential and epistemic aspects are not separated, but they coexist.

PaCLIs are *lexical* (verbs, adverbs, adjectives etc.) and *morphosyntactic* (syntactic types of sentences, verb moods and tenses) and they normally interact.

According to our Theory of the Known, the Unknown, the Believed (KUB Theory), the diverse and numerous lexical and morphosyntactic PaCLIs can be led back to three basic ones: I know, I don't know, I believe. From an epistemic viewpoint, the Known communicates Certainty, the Believed Uncertainty and the Unknown neither Certainty nor Uncertainty.

Specific topic and aims: In particular, our study aimed at analysing the evidential and epistemic aspect of PaCLIs and the communication of Certainty and Uncertainty in a corpus of 50 Italian political discourses, both in monological and dialogical forms, broadcast by the Italian television (parliamentary sessions, electoral meetings, talk shows etc.). In our paper we choose to focus on same examples of monological speeches which refer to two political events:

- parliamentary speeches (December 15th, 2009) subsequent to the attack on Prime Minister Berlusconi in Piazza Duomo in Milan;
- square's speeches immediately previous to the regional elections in March 2010.

Procedure: The qualitative and quantitative analysis of PaCLIs has been conducted by three independent judges (Italian native speakers) which periodically met in order to compare and discuss the results of their individual analyses and to find an agreement.

Results: The analysis of the monological speeches allows us to point out two different main communication styles: the first tend to communicate Certainty, the second one tend to mitigate it.

Each one is characterized by the use of a series of specific communicative strategies.

In the former the most common strategies concern the use of:
- declarative sentences in the past, present and future indicative ***without*** lexical PaCLIs;
- no indexes of approximation;
- paratactic constructions.

In the latter the most common strategies concern the use of:
- declarative sentences ***with*** lexical PaCLIs of the Believed;
- morphosyntactic PaCLIs (conditional and subjunctive moods, if clauses, epistemic future, interrogative sentences etc.);
- indexes of approximation;
- hypotactic constructions.

These two different communicative styles are also related to the following aspects: *axiological* (i.e. those aspects related to the communication of what S says to consider good or bad), *alethic* (i.e. those aspects related to the communication of what S says to consider necessary, possible or impossible), *deontic* (i.e. those aspects related to the communication of permissions, obligations, prohibitions etc.) and *boulomaic* (i.e. those aspects related to the communication of wishes, hopes etc).

Monica Rubini & *Michela Menegatti* (University of Bologna)
Language abstraction as a strategic tool used by political leaders to convince different types of audience

Extensive research has shown that politicians are particularly skilled at using rhetorical devices to persuade an audience of whatever they wished it to believe. To this aim, politicians recognize the importance of appearing similar to their audience in order to be liked by its member. However, modern media coverage permits the actual audience of a political speech to be much broader than the immediate one. As a result, politicians must often reveal their views to audiences with attitudes and opinions that may be at odds with one another.

In the present study, we argue that a specific structural property of language, namely the level of abstraction of interpersonal terms, is a subtle tool used by politicians to compose effective message for convincing different type of audiences. Specifically, when politicians' opinions match the audience's they may be concerned with reinforcing this common identity and motivated to fix shared believes by using abstract language. Conversely, when the audience has heterogeneous political positions, the most effective linguistic tactic may be using concrete language, one that furnishes details that will render the speaker accountable and that reduces the perceived generalizability of the opinion expressed.

In order to demonstrate that language abstraction is a tool used by politicians to obtain the agreement of the audience, we examined the natural language of political leaders. The analysis of natural language allowed us to capture real-life conditions in which political leaders are aware of talking to their supporters or to audiences with attitudes and opinions that may be at odds with one another. For example, events of this kind are respectively represented by party conventions and by politicians' participation in press conferences or radio/television programs. Specifically, we expected that political leaders preferred abstract language when speaking to an audience of similar ideological orientation and concrete language when speaking to an audience of heterogeneous ideological orientations.

To test this general hypothesis, we used the *linguistic category model* (LCM; Semin & Fiedler, 1988; 1989), which operationalized the distinction between concrete and abstract language. This distinction can be easily explained by the following example. Imagine that person A is moving fast his/her foot till touching violently person B's leg. According to the LCM, this event may be described using four different linguistic categories that correspond to four levels of abstraction but refer to same semantic domain. For instance, at the most concrete level, the event can be objectively described as "A kicks B", namely using a *descriptive action verb* (DAV); at a slightly more abstract level the same event can be described with an *interpretative action verb* (IAV) by interpreting the action as "A hurts B"; alternatively, one may refer to an enduring psychological state of person A and use a *state verb* (SV) to utter that "A does not like B"; finally, at the highest level of abstraction, one can employ an *adjective* (ADJ) as "A is aggressive" to refer to the enduring personal characteristics of person A. According to the LCM, aabstract statements, as opposed to concrete ones, are perceived as revealing more about the person and less about the situation, imply greater temporal stability and are more likely to produce expectations of being repeated in the future. Overall, these properties imply that abstract language has the general function of consolidating and maintaining knowledge and beliefs. In contrast, concrete language is better suited to communicate descriptions of persons and events that are situationally and temporally bounded. Moreover, messages composed in concrete language are less likely to cause disagreement since observable features of events readily validate the references of concrete messages.

The LCM has been applied to code for language abstraction 67 speeches by well-known Italian political leaders (36 left-wing, 31 right- wing). These speeches were transcribed from video and audio recordings accessible on the Internet and chosen in equal distributions from politicians' personal and political party websites, television channel, and radio stations. Speeches made during party conventions or party-organized events, with an audience of party activists, were assigned to the similar audience condition. Speeches made during meetings organized by groups out with the political arena, press conferences or radio/television programs, where the audience is politically heterogeneous, were assigned to the mixed audience condition.

Results supported the hypothesis, showing that politicians used more abstract language when they faced a similar audience than when they faced a mixed one. Moreover, variations of language abstraction are more pronounced for left-wing than right-wing politicians. These findings provide evidence on how, not only the content, but also a structural property of language, namely abstraction of interpersonal terms, is really used by politicians to persuade different types of audiences. Implications for political communication and a broader perspective of language as socially motivated action will be discussed.

Gilda Sensales, *Alessandra al Secco*, *Alessandra Areni* ("Sapienza" University of Rome)
Communicating politics. A study on the representations of 2008 electoral campaign in Italian daily press

The present study draws on the framework of Social Representations (SR), which focuses on the role of cultural systems and media participation in public sphere. In particular, three theoretical aspects are considered: 1) attention to the role of mass communication media, as a site of construction, reproduction and transmission of common sense (cfr. Sensales, 1990; Sensales, Areni, 2008; de Rosa, 2001); 2) the centrality of language as a vehicle and producer of representations (cfr. Mazzara, 2008); 3) the use of triangulation models preserving the complexity of the object under investigation (see Bauer, Gaskell, 1999; de Rosa, 1995; Sensales, Areni, Angelastro, 2008).

On the basis of these three points, we have explored the representations constructed, transmitted and reproduced by the Italian press in relation to the 2008 electoral campaign. With reference to the existing literature (see for ex. Roncarolo, 2008; Vaccari, 2008), this seems to be characterised by a return to the typology of modern campaign, already visible in 2006. This typology is based on the centrality of videocracy and of an advertising and unidirectional communication

model, proposing a permanent campaign but with a reduction of competitiveness (see Roncarolo, 2008). As some scholars note (see Vaccari, 2008), such characterisation will be replaced, in the week preceding the vote, by a return to the climate of "dramatising mobilisation", typical of previous electoral competitions. The campaign will therefore be closed by the use of heated tone and the resurgence of the other as "enemy". Within the framework presented, our study aims at exploring the possible existence of different stages in media coverage of the 2008 electoral campaign. The focus of this study is twofold: through a model of data triangulation to explore the interrelation between textual data – including both the headlines of three newspapers with different ideological-political leaning and specific content variables lemmatised and identified with a grid of analysis applied to the whole article -, and extra-textual data – including specific typographic characterisations of the article, such as the type of newspaper, of page, the signature and sex of the journalist, the temporal distance from the elections, etc. The identification of the latter should allow us to study elements such as the impact of the ideological-political leaning of the source and the temporal distance on representational processes. Through an automatic search with the keywords: "elections", "electoral consultations", "voting" and "ballot box" in political page of three newspapers - La Repubblica, Il Corriere della sera, il Tempo – selected for their ideological-political differences, 188 articles were identified over four weeks before the elections and one week after the vote. The operational pathway allowed for the creation and application of a grid of content analysis articulated in specific social psychological areas, such as those referring to the Linguistic Category Model (LCM) by Semin & Fiedler (1988) applied to the description of centre-left and centre-right coalitions as well as to the two respective political leaders (Veltroni e Berlusconi) and to the Big Five personality traits attributed to the leaders of the two coalitions (cfr. Caprara, Vecchione, 2007). In the first case, the model allows for the analysis of verbs and adjectives used to describe the political parties and actors involved. More precisely, the model hypothesises the tendency to use a higher number of abstract terms for one's own political party and of descriptive terms for the adversary. In the case of abstracteness, this refers to stable dispositional traits, while in the case of descriptiveness, this refers to situational traits, therefore unstable. Moreover, the model entails that, in case of positive characteristics for the ingroup reference is made to permanent traits while for positive characteristics for the outgroup reference is made to contextual traits; viceversa for negative characteristics of the ingroup reference is made to contextual traits, while for positive characteristics for the outgroup reference is made to permanent traits. In the second case, the tendency to attribute personality traits based on energy (to the centre-right wing) vs agreeableness (to the centre-left wing), as stated in the literature, was assessed (see Caprara, Vecchione, 2007).

Further examples of applied content variables concern the use of quotation marks vs reports; the continuity vs discontinuity with the past; references to politics vs policies; references to political polls; references to the party vs the coalition, to mediatisation of the electoral competition, to the positive vs negative register of political statements. Through the operationalisation of these categories, every content variable was treated as a lexicographic variable, reported as many times as it appeared in the article and included into the lexical file together with headlines lemmas, though differentiated from those. The data collected were treated with the statistical package Spad-t for the analysis of the lexicographic characterization of the three newspaper over the five periods. The results are discussed in relation to both the evolution of the electoral campaign and the saliency of the ideological-cultural leaning of the source and to the diverse psychological processes activated or attributed to the centre-left and centre-right.