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**Parliamentary Panel Abstracts**

## Patterns of Self-Identification in Parliamentary Discourse

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The personal pronoun *we* and the related possessive pronoun *our* are not just conventional self-identification markers. Analysis of their usage in public discourse is, indeed, a convenient and relatively simple way of establishing particular patterns of socio-political identification. To sophisticated speakers, however, they are something more – an effective tool of political persuasion/indoctrination, a means to tacitly impose on the audience identity patterns (and the related attitudes/beliefs) that, insofar as they are not stated explicitly, escape rational analysis and criticism.

The two principal ways to achieve this are (1) *alternation*, i.e. consecutive use of pronouns *we* and/or *our* in two or more different senses that induces a more or less unconscious identification of the meanings and, consequently, of the social entities the respective notions stand for; and (2) *ambivalence*, i.e. the placing of pronouns in the context that allows of two or more different interpretations of their meaning; by leaving the audience uncertain as to which of them the speaker actually has in mind and forcing it to waver between the alternatives, the ruse serves to inadvertently draw the different meanings closer and, perhaps, together.

Whether the particular use of the pronouns is a genuine manifestation of the speaker's identity or a rhetorical trick aimed at induced meaning affiliation remains, of course, a matter of the scholar's considered opinion.

The analysis of debates at the First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR (May-June 1989) has revealed three distinct patterns of socio-political identification as present in the late Soviet political culture, viz. (1) *Communist fundamentalism* that tended or presumed to identify the three entities of the people, the deputy corps and the Communist Party elite; (2) *populism* that, denouncing alienation of the Communist establishment from the people, exalted the newly acquired identity of the people and their freely elected representatives; and (3) *pluralism* that characteristically avoided identification with the nation (the people) at large and protested identification with particular social groups and/or political forces.

An exemplary case of the first pattern (*Communist fundamentalism*) is Deputy Mesiats's undelivered address (Mesiats was a top-ranking Communist Party functionary) [see: *Pervyy S'ezd narodnykh deputatov SSSR: Stenografichesky Otchyot (The First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR: The Proceedings)*, vol. 5, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo

Verkhovnoho Soveta SSSR, 1989, p. 316-322]. The personal pronoun *we* (in various forms) and the possessive pronoun *our* appear in it thirty times (nine of these are found in the two-paragraph opening [fragment](#) below); in addition to that, on one occasion the pronoun is omitted, apparently for stylistic reasons, as the Russian grammar allows (shown below in square brackets). The meanings thereof are distributed as follows: (1) in ten cases *we/our* indicate the deputy corps and/or the Congress; (2) in nine cases they stand for *the people* (*the nation, the society, the country*); (3) three instances refer to *the party elite* (political and/or administrative; the omitted pronoun falls under this category); (4) the pronoun is used once to indicate *the constituency* (or rather *the territory* under the speaker's political control); (5) three instances imply either *the people* or *the party elite*; (6) four instances may be interpreted to refer either to *the party elite* or to *the deputy corps*; (7) on one occasion the pronoun stands either for (*local*) *party elite* or *local population* (*constituency*); for all that matters, this may be safely classified as [5] (see [Table](#)).

Arranged in the order they appear in the text, the pronouns show the following sequence:  $D=\underline{D}=P=D=\underline{P}=D=D=\underline{D}-P-P-P-D/E-P=D=D/E-\underline{D}/E=[E]-P/E-E=P/E-C-D=C/E-P/E-E-P=P=D/E=P=D$ , where D stands for *deputies*; E, for *elite*; P, for *the people*; C, for *constituency* (*local population*); oblique strokes (/) separate various interpretations of the same pronoun; equals signs (=) connect pairs of pronouns that occur in adjacent or same sentences; the latter are additionally underlined (both highlighted as presenting the most spectacular “switches” of meaning).

The *alternation* device is best illustrated by the first two paragraphs of the analysed text (see the [fragment](#) below), where meanings shift from *deputies* to *the people* and back between or even within sentences. Most indicative is, however, the usage of the *ambivalence* subterfuge that, while clearly tending to identify *the people* and *the party elite*, on the one hand, and *the party elite* and *the deputy corps*, on the other hand, characteristically avoids direct identification of *the people* and *the People's deputies* unless mediated by *the party elite*.

No less significant is also the careful avoidance of personal pronouns (or, for that matter, of any names they might stand for) where one would reasonably expect them to occur. For example, whenever “mistakes” or “failures” of the Party leadership are referred to, use of impersonal pronouns (“this has led to”), passive voice (“many errors have been committed”) and reflexive verbs (lost in the English translation: “development toward pluralism... has been accompanied by inability”, “aspiration... has met with powerful resistance... and in the long run ended in imbalance”), plus monotonous recurrence of abstract verbal nouns (“transformations”, “revival”, “becoming”, “development”, “inability”, “aspiration”, “resistance”, “worsening” – eight instances in only six sentences!) serve to prevent spontaneous association between the subject, implicated but never indicated (*we* as *the party elite*), and the displaced predicate (*our* actions and their consequences).

That Mesiats's text reveals not a personal bias, but an established cultural attitude is substantiated by Deputy Mironenko's speech that exhibits an almost identical pattern (Mironenko was First Secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee) [*ibid.*, vol. 5, pp. 344-350] (see [Table](#)).

The second pattern (*populism*) is represented by the speech (also undelivered) of Deputy Sukhov, a driver from Kharkov [*ibid.*, vol. 6, pp. 252-255]. *We* is used by him in two different senses, distributed almost equally: out of 34 instances 17 refer to *deputies*; 12, to *the people*; two, to *drivers* (a professional group to which the author belongs and which he is evidently inclined to regard as representative of *the people* at large); three cases are ambiguous and may be interpreted as meaning either *deputies* or *the people*. This pattern in the variation of meanings is indicative of a close relationship that exists – or, if interpreted normatively, ought to exist – between *the deputies* and *the people*. There are no hints, however, that a similar relationship exists between *the people* and *the political elite*. Nor are there any attempts to identify the deputies, including the speaker himself, with the latter (see [Table](#)). The author’s vision of political representation is thus clearly anti-elitist (which may, incidentally, be regarded as an indirect indication of a negative attitude toward professional parliamentarianism).

The third pattern (*pluralism*), as represented by the speeches of Academician Sakharov and economist Popov, the would-be mayor of Moscow, is apparently different. *We* and *our* are used by Sakharov eighteen times [*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 9-11]. Of these, twelve refer to *deputies* (in general) and one implies *deputies* from Moscow; one more case allows for two interpretations: either *the (entire) deputy corps* or *the Moscow group of deputies*. Four instances refer to *the people* or *the country*. Characteristic of the speaker’s non-populist mentality is the fact that *the people* is actually implied only once, while on three other occasions he uses a “neutral” expression *our country* (the standard Russian equivalent for the English *this country*) (see [Table](#)).

A similar picture is revealed by Popov’s address [*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 11-13]. Pronouns *we* and *our* occur in it nineteen times. On three occasions they are used to refer to *the people* or, rather, to *the country* (e.g., “the logic of *our* Constitution”, this dispassionate expression encountered twice). By contrast, *deputies* are meant on sixteen occasions, only six of which refer to the deputy corps in general, while nine (almost half of the total number) stand for the Moscow group of deputies, the nucleus of the emerging opposition. The remaining instance refers to the deputies who attended a meeting that had taken place the previous day. If the least informative meanings are excluded, *we* appears to stand almost invariably for something close to a political faction. Like identification with a political party, or a social group, or a stratum, this is characteristic of the *pluralist* political culture (see [Table](#)).

To conclude, some speeches were found to fit neither of the above patterns. This was mainly due to the systematic use of *we* and *our* in predominantly one sense, indicative either of the extent to which the particular person identifies with the given entity (an identification pattern *sui generis*, exemplified by Deputy Petrushenko [*ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 286-289]), or of the “natural” tendency to identify with the audience, which, as situationally motivated, is indicative of no particular pattern.

**Table**  
**Usage of Pronouns *We* and *Our* in Parliamentary Discourse**  
 (Speeches by Deputies Mesiats, Mironenko, Petrushenko, Popov, Sakharov, Sukhov,  
*The First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR, May-June 1989*)

	<i>Meanings</i>	Mesiats	Mironenko	Petrushenko	Popov	Sakharov	Sukhov
<b>N on - a m bi va le nt</b>	Deputies	<b>10</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>17</b>
	The people	<b>9</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>12</b>
	The elite	<b>2 + [1]</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>		<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>
	A group of deputies	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>
	A social group	0	0	0	0	0	2
	A territorial entity (a constituency)	1	0	0	0	0	0
	An ethnic group	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>A m bi va le nt</b>	Deputies / The people	0	0	0	0	0	3
	The people / The elite	3	6	0	0	0	0
	Deputies / The elite	4	3	0	0	0	0
	Deputies / A group of deputies	0	0	1	0	1	0
	The (local) elite / A territorial entity	1	0	0	0	0	0
	<i>Total</i>	30 + [1]	35	26	19	18	34

### Fragment of Deputy Mesiats's undelivered address

Comrade Deputies! The sharp and controversial character of the discussion to spread at *our* Congress is quite understandable. *We* are discussing the most urgent, most vital problems that relate to the bases of development of *our* multi-national state in the fields of economy, politics, inter-state relations. And no one of *us* is entitled to claim the truth in the final instance, entitled to assert that [his] own standpoint alone is correct. Only collective reason based on the social practice and realities of *our* life, on scientific foresight can serve as a guarantee against serious blunders that neither contemporaries, nor descendants will forgive *us*.

The question today is: either *we* shall give in to emotions, to group interests, to personal ambitions and lead the Congress away from solving the most acute problems in the political, economic and moral-spiritual spheres, or else, proceeding from the real conditions, from objective analysis, shall elaborate a program of helping the country out of the crisis, map out concrete ways to realize it in practice. *We* must remember that the electors, all the Soviet people expect no resounding speeches, no promises, no lightweight slogans from *us*, but weighted, well-considered, constructive decisions.

[*Pervyy S'ezd narodnykh deputatov SSSR: Stenografichesky Otchyot (The First Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR: The Proceedings)*, vol. 5, Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR, 1989, p. 316-317; italics added]

***Heavy Words :***  
**An Analysis of Verbal Idiolects of Selected Polish MPs<sup>1</sup>**

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It is my aim to show that one may observe cases of verbal aggression among Polish MPs developing their addresses. I would like to exemplify and analyze how the discussed Polish political discourse genre can become a potential medium of abuse. In the study, communication has been viewed as a higher level stratum comprising texts, their situational, social and cultural embeddings, discourse(s), language(s) as well as extra-linguistic ways of transmitting information. The notion of discourse has been defined as a primarily linguistic, dynamic phenomenon of a socio-cultural nature. Its core constitute texts understood to be communicative and therefore functional units which are at the same time singular realizations of a particular discourse; in the researched cases it is the contemporary Polish political discourse.

The aim of the project is a twofold one. First of all the author would like to juxtapose the understanding of “*semantic leaps*” with the concept of *communicational grammars of discourses* (see for example: Chruszczewski 2002, Chruszczewski 2003). “Semantic leaps” are considered to be:

(...) a family of natural language phenomena (...) [which include] all sorts of nonstandard meanings absent from dictionaries and, typically, not computable by

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<sup>1</sup> The methodology of the study was first presented in "Semantic Leaps in the Interpretation of Communicational Grammars of Discourses" [In:] Ewa Mioduszevska, Ewa Wałaszewska (eds.) *Interpreting for Relevance. Discourse and Translation. Warszawa 2002, IFA, Uniwersytet Warszawski, 22-25.*

traditional parsers. Leaps include things such as metaphoric and metonymic expressions, hyperbole, understatement, and sarcastic quips. They also include things such as innuendo, subtle accusations, and the private meanings that can arise when people live or work closely together. Many leaps are necessary because of the way we deploy background knowledge in meaning construction. (Coulson 2001: 2)

The communicational grammar of any discourse would be an attempt to select and describe the rules of texts formation. Particular attention should be paid to the situation of their practical usage as well as the society towards which they are directed and the culture wherein they were developed.

The central idea of any communicational grammar is the approach to language that is treated as a system of interactions (or *heteronomies*). One may wonder whether the production and comprehension of texts would be at all possible without the relationships between human cognitive systems (which are actually coordinating texts development) and textual embeddings that establish unique contexts. Thus, texts should be examined as communicative units that come from the mind of the speaker and are shaped by particular usage of contextual embeddings. I am interested in delimiting the subunits of the texts which are responsible for discourse formation, or those whereof the researched discourse has been developed. The creation process is definitely pragmatically dependent, therefore also my research methodology is pragmatically oriented.

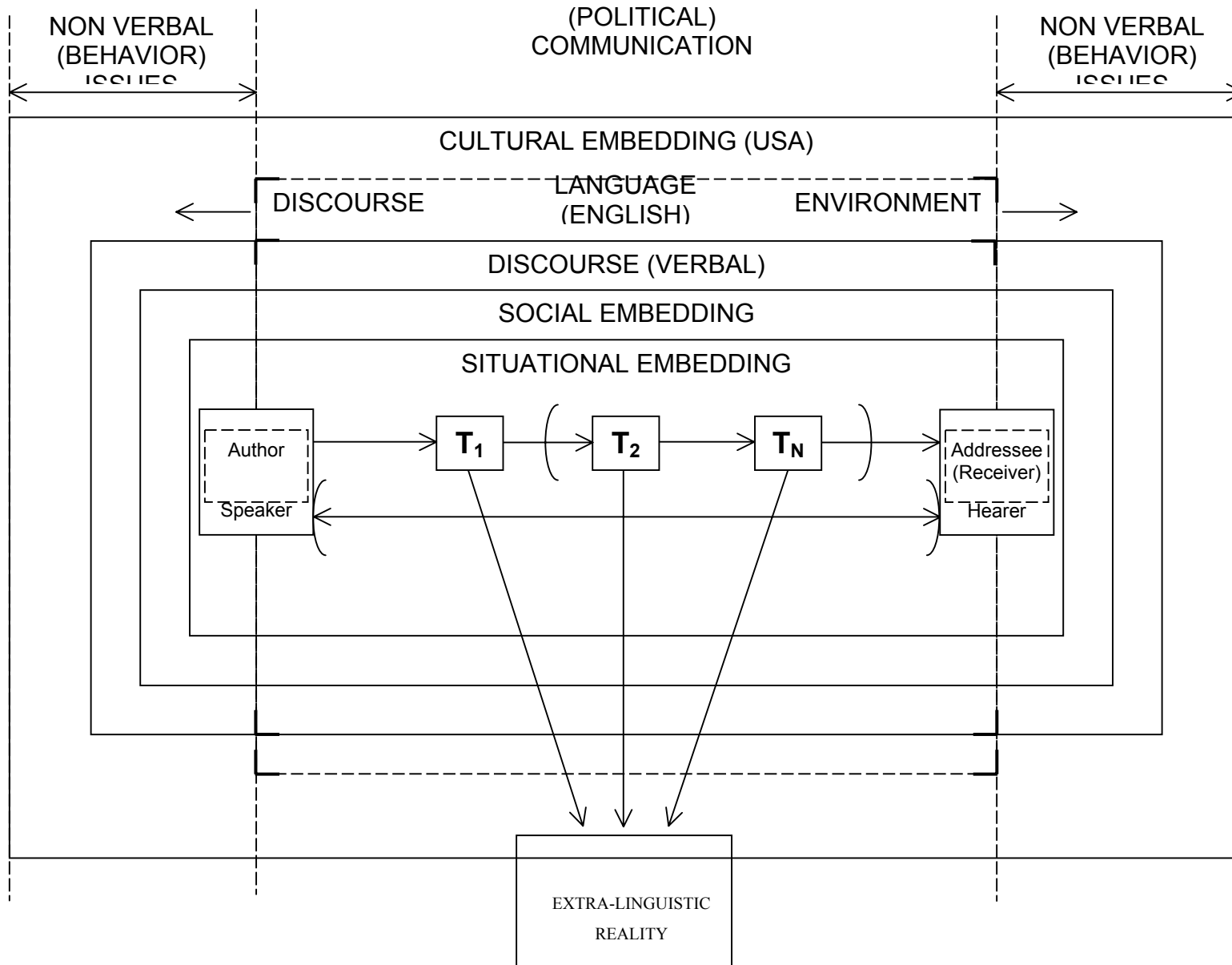
The second objective of the paper is the presentation, based on the concept of the communicational grammar, of how discourses may evolve from their heteronomous status to that of relative autonomy within their respective embeddings. The dictionary understanding of heteronomies is based on Greek words *héteros* – other, and *nómos* – law – which literally can mean an entity that governs itself according to laws or rules different from all the other entities. One would not suppose that the laws were established by the entity. Hence it may equal observing that it means a certain dependent entity that governs itself in accordance with different laws in contrast to the others. Therefore, any heteronomy would be a dependent entity as regards the higher level entity, *i.e.*, the relative autonomy which usually engulfs a number of



heteronomies. For that reason *religious discourse, legal discourse, medical discourse, political discourse* and many other discourses can be called *social heteronomies of language*, for language encompasses them all. It would be important to remember that if a certain entity begins to acquire features which prove its becoming relatively independent, and after certain time it starts “deciding for itself to a reasonable extent and scope” (Pietraszko, 1992: 59), then one could note that this heteronomy is becoming more and more autonomous.

One of Polish linguists, Zdzisław Wąsik (1996: 26), states that “one should speak rather about the relative autonomy of language, or about a relative autonomy of its standard literary variety in relation to its spoken varieties which are heteronomous by nature.” Zdzisław Wąsik has made another, crucial for the aim of the work, observation translating into the heteronomous nature of any researched discourse and its contextual embeddings. Wąsik notes that “with regard to its investigative approachability language as a real object does not constitute an autonomous phenomenon since it is embedded in different heteronomous dependencies (...)” (*ibid.*). Thus, any discourse, being a particular language heteronomy, can be researched as an integral element of language, due to a number of various constitutive elements of discourses.

*Discourse* due to the aforementioned is understood to be a dynamic phenomenon of communicational nature, which is inherently conditioned by its social and cultural circumstances in changing times and functional environments. It is a phenomenon which by means of its users shapes various discursive practices of interpersonal communication. It is argued that the core of any discourse constitute its respective texts. Having the above in mind I shall embark upon my research directed at the analysis of potential verbal as well as contextual means of aggression to be observed in selected speeches of the contemporary Polish MPs.



**Figure 1.** The model of the communicational grammar of discourses (Chruszczewski 2002, 2003)

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## **DOMESTICATION AND FOREIGNIZATION AS THE STRATEGIC METHOD IN PRESIDENTIAL DISCOURSE TRANSLATIONS**

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The most tantalizing and penetrating observation about language is that no communication on any level is possible without coding and decoding of the meaning. If meaning is the cornerstone of the interpretation activity, what is the effect of mistranslation? From within translation studies, the notion of meaning proves to be all-to-difficult to be fully explained. As a result, translation is viewed by many theoreticians as well as practitioners as the process of interpretation, since no meaning can be minutely rendered in another language. This paper aims at presenting the theoretical and practical aspects of the presidential discourse translations/interpretations putting a great emphasis on the *culturemes*, *i.e.* elements of the translated text displaying a high cultural relatedness.

From the translation point of view most studies in discourse have stated the assumption that the meaning, structure and texts under analysis are socially and culturally variable. This assumption yielded significant differences in styles between different contexts of utterances. First, structural patterns have been noted to be context-sensitive: the amount of descriptive or evaluative content, the play between implicitness and explicitness of speech events proved to be highly contextually and culturally dependent. Second, the need of communication purposes are fully satisfied with a proper and faithful translation diligence of a hypothetical presidential discourse interpreter. With the advent of commercial translation/interpreting and modern science, the translators have increasingly been placed in the position of the target text receivers. Understood as independent, the process of text translation/interpretation has been

situated alongside the final receivers of their work. Lomheim (1999: 209) sees the role of a translator in the following way:

Translation, where the translator's aim is clearly to arrive at a formulation that is equivalent, lies at the centre of, at the intersection of two planes. (Lomheim 1999: 209)

It is context which determines the translator's choices and is to be repeated in the final version of his/her work. The relationship between text and context is of main concern for discourse approaches presented in the study. Different approaches emphasize different aspects of context in their analyses; they also diverge in relation how much of the context needs to be taken into account for text analysis.

The starting point of the study is the notions of 'foreignisation' (*Verfremdung*) and 'domestication' (*Einbürgerung*) introduced by Friedrich Schleiermacher (1813) and later widespread by Lawrence Venuti (1995) that will be illustrated with the examples of the various Polish translations of English literary texts. Moreover, the authors present other translation techniques and strategies absent from Schleiermacher's article and neglected by the contemporary translation studies. It seems to us that the presence of *culturemes* in the translation process is not necessarily the characteristics of an interlingual translation. It was Friedrich Schleiermacher who gave the foundations of *domestication*. The core of the *tertium comparationis* of Schleiermacher's theory of *Einbürgerung* is that the translator focuses primarily on the target text receiver. For this reason, the intercultural text communication is limited to a relatively closed number of its receivers in the target language. The authors of the paper also concentrate on the translator, who performs the function of the mediator of the message between two languages and at the same time is responsible for the rendering of the *culturemes* in the target language.

*Culturemes* are simultaneously observed in the intralingual interpretation of text which are, in principle, closed in their cultural anchorage. However, reading old texts that contain enormous number of archaisms brings their receivers difficulties either on the semantic or on the pragmatic level. As a result, the present paper is devoted to the intentional use of 'domestication' and 'foreignization' as the methods of the presidential speeches translations/interpretations. We intend to investigate the application of this approach to the contemporary Polish translations the presidential speeches.

On the one hand, the translator who favors domestication method is expected to shape the semantic value of the original for the purpose of its final receives representing the target language culture, whose socio-linguistic anchorage is hypothetically different from those who were the receivers aimed by the original author.

On the other hand, if the translator prefers foreignisation as a mode of text interpretation, the final product of the entire translation process becomes a simple calque of the source text.

We are also aware of the fact that an absolute text translatability is hardly attainable. A translator who aims at producing most faithful source text equivalent in the target text is advised to use *skopos* theory, elaborated by Hans Vermeer (1989). *Skopos* theory says that the translation strategies (or techniques, cf. Garcarz (in press)) are determined by the function of the translated text, which may not be the same as that of the original in its original culture. *Skopos* theory is based on producing an equivalent translation which performs the same functions as the original. Translator acting in accordance with the *skopos* theory knows perfectly the aim and purpose of decisions he takes, having in mind their crucial importance in the process of text interpretation and transmission from one system of signs into another. A translator who seeks equivalence has to reduce untoward vocabulary, useless grammatical constructions and myopic style of his final product.

Equivalence, to continue with the problem, is never invariable. The constantly changing language affects the cultural transformations. From the translation point of view most studies in discourse have started the assumption that the meaning, structure and texts under analysis are socially and culturally variable. This assumption yielded significant differences in styles between different contexts of utterances. First, structural patterns have been noted to be context-sensitive: the amount of descriptive or evaluative content, the play between implicitness and explicitness of speech events proved to be highly contextually and culturally dependent. Moreover, the need of communication purposes are fully satisfied with a proper and faithful translation diligence of a hypothetical presidential discourse interpreter.

**Key words:** culture, cultureme, translation, contextual embedding, cultural/spatial gap, (linguistic) incommensurability, untranslatability, equivalence, socio-linguistic anchorage, pragmatic enrichment.

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## **Making sense of sense making discourse coalitions**

### **A case study on parliamentary debating practice on asylum policy in the Netherlands**

Karin Geuijen and Eugène Loos

#### **1. Introduction**

Like many European societies, Dutch society is currently grappling with a host of new challenges and dramatic changes. The Dutch policy on political asylum is an interesting case in point. The views on this issue have changed radically within a very short space of time. For a long time, Dutch asylum policy was held, like that of Sweden, to be one of openness and tolerance. Today, the Netherlands heads the list, together with Denmark, of countries with the most restrictive policies in this area inside Europe.

In this paper, we propose to examine how the changes in this policy were argued by the politicians concerned, and subsequently attempt to establish why this occurred in that manner. To this end we have focused on parliamentary debates on asylum policy conducted during the period between 1986 (when the granting of asylum appeared on the political agenda in the Netherlands and the rest of Europe) and the year 2000 (when it had become one of the dominant political issues).<sup>2</sup> In a democratic constitutional state, parliamentary debates are the designated forum for cabinet members and members of parliament to argue their position, and to respond to each other's arguments. Their audience chiefly consists of the voters who listen to the arguments presented in these debates. This may affect their voting behavior. Thus viewed, parliamentary debates may be considered to offer an important means to render account to the voting public. They allow politicians a chance to demonstrate to the voters that they have their interests at heart.

#### **2. Research questions and conceptual framework**

Little research has been performed on political discourse of this kind, and even fewer studies have been devoted to parliamentary debates on asylum policy.<sup>3</sup> We have therefore centered our case study in political discourse on asylum policy on the following questions:

1. *What discourse coalitions can be distinguished in Dutch parliamentary debates on asylum policy?*
2. *What are the rhetorical argumentative strategies characterizing these discourse coalitions?*

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<sup>2</sup> The corpus derives from the dissertation study of Geuijen (forthcoming).

<sup>3</sup> An exception is the study conducted by Steiner (2000) on asylum debates in Great Britain, Germany and Switzerland. Wodak and Van Dijk (2000) also devote attention to this subject, but they focus on racism in debates on immigration and asylum policy in a number of European countries.

3. *To what degree has one of the discourse coalitions succeeded in becoming dominant, and how this can be explained?*

We view debates, in the first instance, as a contest for dominance over sensemaking, and not as a tug of war about interests. After all, interests are bound up with sensemaking. They are not given in advance, but are constructed in texts, in the course of a debate. The challenge is to discover which arguments are successful and the reason for their success. To gain insight into the changes in (parliamentary debates related to) asylum policy, we made use of the argumentative discourse theory as developed by Hajer (1997: 65) in which discourse coalitions play a central role:

‘(...) in the struggle for discursive hegemony, coalitions are formed among actors (that might perceive their position and interest according to widely different discourses) that, for various reasons (!) are attracted to (a specific set of) story-lines. Discourse coalitions are defined as the assembly of (1) a set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based.’

Story-lines are the key concept in this kind of discourse analysis. They facilitate the reduction of the discursive complexity of a problem and create the possibility for problem closing, as they are accepted they get a ritual character and give a certain permanence to the debate and they provide the narrative that allow actors like politicians to illustrate where his or her work fits into the jigsaw. The power of story-lines is essentially based on the idea that it sounds right. (Hajer 1997: 63)

### **3. Two discourse coalitions in Dutch parliamentary debating practices: the battle about problem definition**

Controversy about the relationship between controlling migration and protecting refugees arose in 1986 in the Netherlands. By the year 2000, the storm had (temporarily) died down following the introduction of new legislation in the form of the Aliens Act 2000. Based on the analysis of asylum debates in the interim period, we constructed two meaning systems used by politicians to interpret this theme. Each is supported by a discourse coalition: one in favor of a restrictive asylum policy and another supporting a liberal asylum policy. We view their debates as a contest for sense making, in which considerable shifts were seen in the course of these fifteen years.

In the beginning, their ideas about what the problem was, what the solution was and how this could be achieved were still relatively vague. The problem was viewed as a fairly broad, global refugee problem. Supporters of both restrictive and of liberal asylum policy expressed their understanding for the reasons people were forced to flee. They saw this in terms of vast human rights infringements, including poverty. In their view, it was important that the international fora also devote attention to tackling the root causes, and hence to preventing developments causing people to flee. Up to a certain point, there was a feeling of international solidarity with people who found themselves in such desperate situations, that they were forced to abandon hearth and home.

This problem definition has shifted. For advocates of a restrictive asylum policy, the key problem emerging in the course of the controversy became the huge influx of asylum seekers into the Netherlands, and the abuse by some of these of the asylum system. This has caused economic problems (high costs), political administrative problems (mounting pressure on the civil service, lost credibility of the civil service and political system), social problems (there is too much resistance from the population against asylum seekers) and problems in foreign policy (we have to keep pace with our European partners, otherwise they shift the costs on to us). According to them, Dutch society must now confront the problem of finding the right

measures to prevent so many asylum seekers from knocking on our front door. By contrast, advocates of a liberal asylum policy see the lack of legal protection for refugees and asylum seekers as the most important problem.

In short, both positions have crystallized in the course of the controversy, to such an extent that two (somewhat ambiguous) discourse coalitions have adopted completely opposite stances. The discourse coalition in favor of a restrictive asylum policy is focused on controlling the number of asylum seekers, while the discourse coalition advocating a liberal asylum policy is directed at their (legal) protection.

#### **4. Argumentative strategies**

Both discourse coalitions are very concerned about the harmful effects on the constitutional state, as in their view, a crisis situation has developed, caused by the huge number of bogus asylum seekers. This has wrought harm to the constitutional state, one of our central values. Where they differ is in their views on how the constitutional state has been harmed.

Proponents of a restrictive asylum policy are primarily concerned about the abuse of the system by asylum seekers, while those in favor of a liberal policy are apprehensive about the government's abuse of the system. Advocates of a liberal policy choose to admit bogus asylum seekers rather than refuse protection to bona fide asylum seekers. To them, protection is more important than fighting abuse by asylum seekers. Advocates of a restrictive policy take the exact opposite position, as in their view, the constitutional state is being gravely encroached upon by the assumed abuse.

Proponents of a liberal asylum policy are of the opinion that the constitutional state is harmed by the lower, and to their mind insufficient, level of legal protection and legal security provided to aliens. This formed the central argument in their reasoning from the very start of the controversy. This also jibes closely with the importance that they attach to human rights. Every time restrictive measures were proposed, those in favor of a liberal asylum policy were quick to point out that these would jeopardize the rights of refugees and the legal guarantees granted to asylum seekers. As they feel that a constitutional state should also offer protection to aliens, they are persuaded that an erosion of the legal guarantees afforded to aliens will inexorably lead to the erosion of the constitutional state. As the constitutional state is a central value of Dutch society, they present their fear of its erosion as a serious reason for rejection of the proposed measures. Hence, they make use of jeopardy, one of the classic reactionary rhetorical strategies described by Hirschman (1991). They employ this strategy to make the following clear: the proposed measure endangers an important accomplishment of our society, in this case the constitutional state. It goes without saying that no one wants that to happen. Therefore, we cannot accept this measure.

Proponents of a restrictive policy have long wrestled with this problem. In the debates in 1987 and 1993 they were forced to acknowledge that these measures were far from exemplary. They also said that they were not happy with these measures. However, they countered with a shrewd response, namely that the constitutional state was, at that time - the nineties - being encroached upon by the chaos ensuing from what they interpreted as abuse of the asylum procedure by bogus asylum seekers. They asserted that they, too, cherish and uphold the constitutional state: that it is indeed an important accomplishment, a central value in our society. However, it is precisely because we all feel so strongly about its importance that we must take care to ensure that it can, indeed, function properly. This is not the case if it is impossible to be taken seriously due to the fact that so many wrongful petitions for asylum are filed, or if the executive selection system and judicial system become overburdened. Advocates of a restrictive asylum policy therefore point to the danger of non-intervention,

making use of the Hirschman's 'imminent danger thesis' (1991:151). Whereas advocates of a liberal asylum policy state: we must not impugn upon the constitutional state by undermining the legal protection of aliens, those in favor of a restrictive policy on asylum argue: precisely because we wish to preserve the constitutional state are we compelled to take these measures that encroach upon the legal protection of aliens. The measures proposed by the restrictive discourse coalition will therefore uphold and reinforce the constitutional state. This is the well-known 'mutual support' thesis of Hirschman (1991: 151): the proposed measures will reinforce earlier accomplishments. The fact that the restrictive discourse coalition has appropriated the central story-line of the liberal discourse coalition is of crucial importance to the course of the controversy. Not only is legal protection, and hence the constitutional state, no longer the sole prerogative of the liberal discourse coalition, its most fundamental argument has been twisted around 180 degrees, backfiring on itself.

#### **4. Construction of the context by the dominant discourse coalition**

Over the course of time, the arguments of the restrictive discourse coalition grew progressively more convincing compared to those of the liberal discourse coalition. The majority of cabinet members and parliamentarians involved, as well as the electorate and the European partners increasingly viewed the situation as a crisis against which harsh measures were inexorable.

After having first exposed the untenability of the existing situation (a crisis on a serious scale), the restrictive discourse coalition subsequently proceeded to make use of reactionary rhetorical strategies to demonstrate that, as a small country, the Netherlands was unable to cope with this. Finally, they presented the restrictive measures which they supported, and the cooperation between the countries of Europe required to put these in place as unavoidable, desirable and practicable, doing so with the help of progressive, rhetorical strategies<sup>4</sup>. They demolished the arguments of the liberal discourse coalition to uphold the rights of refugees by portraying these as naive and dangerous. An important part in this process was played by what Hajer (1997: 265) has called the 'emblematic issue': the restrictive discourse coalition emphasizes the number of bogus asylum seekers again and again. They acquire a symbolic function: they come to personify the entire problem. It has proven virtually impossible for the liberal discourse coalition to set up a counterattack. It has therefore found itself facing a discursive dilemma (Hajer 1997: 167). Ignoring the numbers of bogus asylum seekers, or contradicting this 'fact' would simply place them outside the discussion. To be heard, they are forced to talk along with the discourse of their opponents. However, the central theme of that discourse is controlling the number of asylum seekers, which leaves little room for the protection of refugees, which is the central point in the liberal discourse coalition.

Our analysis, based on Hajer's argumentative discourse theory demonstrates the way in which the restrictive discourse coalition has been able to generate more effective constructions within the context of globalization. Two important symptoms of globalization in the area of asylum – migration change and control problems are construed by this discourse coalition as being threatening, our ensuing vulnerability as large and the European cooperation required to enable this tiny country to tackle this threat, as unavoidable. The restrictive discourse coalition thus also convincingly broadcasts the fact that it has a vital

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<sup>4</sup> At the Parliamentary Panel and/or in the contribution to the edited volume, we will use Geuijen's corpus to present concrete examples of the aforementioned rhetorical reactionary and progressive strategies formulated by Hirschman (1991).

partner on its side (the European partners), while the liberal discourse coalition makes do with a few inconsequential partners (NGOs, churches, sometimes municipalities, UNHCR). This enables the story-line of the restrictive discourse coalition to succeed in becoming dominant: discourse structuration (Hajer 1997: 60-61). This reaction to globalization may be seen as the renationalisation of the asylum policy (partly in the form of a regional cooperation between national states), precisely at a time when the legitimacy of constitutional states has come under pressure due to globalization.

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## **Historical background and identities in parliamentary discourse**

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Political discourse is currently the central point in my research. Nevertheless, I have not particularly studied parliamentary debates, which are, obviously, the most pure of the political genres. The main focus of my studies has been the statements in newspapers and television interviews and debates.

Despite this circumstance, I consider it extremely important to undertake parliamentary discourse, especially from the comparative perspective proposed in this Panel. Therefore, I am intending to present the issue of historical background and identities in order to discuss how to integrate them in an analysis model. This will be illustrated by some French and Spanish samples<sup>5</sup>.

The participants in a verbal interaction are there according to a precise social identity. We all speak depending on our identity in a particular socially determined situation: as parents, as customers, as supervisors or as subordinates, for instance. The words are adapted for this precise identity. Thereby, two mothers in a school meeting have common features in their discourses but also differences depending on the individual personality, situation and so on. These differences are related to the complexity of the individuals and with the strategies they perform in order to achieve their goals in the interaction.

The discourse used by political deputies also has similarities and these are even closer when they belong to the same party. The differences arise especially from ideologies, but there are also other causes for the diverse ways of speaking in Parliaments. The main causes are historical background and identities (party, position, etc.), in which I would also include individual personalities.

These similarities and differences cross several genres of political discourse. I will present some hypotheses on the discursive features in the French and the Spanish parliaments especially concerning the forms of confrontation.

The first hypothesis concerns the rhetorical tradition in each country. We should ask if it is the prestige of controversy itself in France which has created a variety of expressions hence showing such behaviour as the temporary concession of the other's proposals, preceding the disagreement. Thus, M. J.-P. Raffarin, before his counter-attack and his explanation, tells the deputy R. Thomas, "la question est en effet d'importance" ("the question is in fact of importance") and "je mesure les difficultés des conditions de travail des chauffeurs routiers" ("I am taking into account the difficulties of the work conditions of lorry drivers"). It would

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<sup>5</sup> I am at present responsible of the project "El discurso de los políticos en géneros televisivos de entrevista y debate", BSO2001-0771 ("The discourse of politicians within the televised genres of interview and debate"), subsidized by the Spanish Minister of Science and Technologies. Our theoretical point of view is comparative, between Catalan, French and Spanish interviews.

be worth studying how these rules of politeness impregnate the interaction in the French parliament. The discussion can often be compared to a performance of fencing (in which French swordsmen and swordswomen were brilliant in Athens!). The attack is scarcely direct, and frequently irony is used. For instance, Raffarin responding to another member of the opposition who criticized the government: “Merci de cette question qui montre que vous n’êtes pas à l’écoute des Français” (“Thank you for that question which shows that you are not listening in to the French people”).

But, the second hypothesis is that individual characteristics of one speaker can refute a general tendency and it seems to me that it is necessary to take into consideration this reality in the construction of an analysis model. I will cite the case of the Minister of Economics in the French Government, M. Nicolas Sarkozy. As I have demonstrated in another study<sup>6</sup>, this politician expresses himself very directly and in his discourse he builds an identity made up of strength, determination and clarity; whilst other French deputies criticize the opposition in indirect ways. He says, for instance, “nous allons attaquer la politique des socialistes” (“We are going to attack the socialists policies”) or “notre objectif est de ne pas faire comme eux, Messieurs et Mesdames de l’opposition!” (“Our objective is not to be like them, ladies and gentlemen of the opposition”). This style, a bit amazing in Voltaire’s country, is however, succeeding according to public opinion. N. Sarkozy is becoming a very popular politician and his ambition is feared by other important “dinosaurs” of the UMP<sup>7</sup>.

But, in the end, N. Sarkozy shares the “valeurs républicaines” (“the republican values”) with others who share his ideology. He tempers his strength presenting himself as capable of humanity and pity. These characteristics connect well with the principles proposed in the same debate by J.-P. Raffarin and used as the guide to his task: Sécurité, Autorité, Humanité (security, authority, humanity). The Prime Minister shifts the traditional French triad in a more politically conservative direction, but he remains in the frame of Republic values and recognizes the revolutionary tradition in his discourse: “je sais que le conflit social fait partie de notre histoire” (“I know that social conflicts forms a part of our history”). And this is an aspect of the historical background which has, in my opinion, an indelible mark on the whole discourse of French politicians.

Thus, if the right wing parties, in general, stress freedom versus equality, French right parties speak of “liberté républicaine”. This freedom is not, even in the frame of the UMP, the same concept as in other liberal parties in European countries, especially in the Partido Popular<sup>8</sup> (“Popular Party”) in Spain, as I will demonstrate below.

The French republic tradition belongs to history, but “stories” also has an influence on parliamentary speaking. I mean, for instance, the use of an adversary’s mistakes (and surprising and curious statements) in controversial exchanges, either both in France or in Spain. Recently, discussing the European construction, the new Spanish Prime Minister, J.-L. Rodríguez Zapatero, reminded the opposition (which pressed him to defend the interests of Spain) that J. M<sup>a</sup> Aznar had called F. González “pedigüeño” (“a demanding child”), when trying to obtain more economic help from the Union for Spain; the French opposition, too, often accuses J.-P Raffarin of forgetting “la France d’en bas”(“the French down below”), which he claims to protect.

Looking again at Spain, it seems that the PP is far from French politicians when speaking of freedom and that is due to a very different historical background. J. M<sup>a</sup> Aznar, justifying his

<sup>6</sup> “La séduction par la construction de l’identité (Nicolas Sarkozy, une star médiatique)” publication in near future

<sup>7</sup> “Union pour un Mouvement Populaire”, the “gaulliste” party of J. Chirac (moderate right wing and republican)

<sup>8</sup> PP, the right wing political party in the Spanish parliament.

support of the United States to attack Irak had said that “*nostros estamos con los países que eligen la libertad*” (“we are with the countries that choose freedom”). In the last investiture debate, the new PP leader, M. Rajoy, again, when inviting the candidate to maintain a good relationship with the USA, said that this would be “*optar por la paz y la libertad*” (“to choose for peace and liberty”). Obviously, the representation of freedom is quite different in the right wing parties of the two countries.

In this debate, M. Rajoy was well-mannered and attacked the candidate using irony: it appeared as a “new style” of the PP. To explain this opinion I must briefly review the rhetorical evolution of the Spanish Parliament; and we must also remember that democracy is very young in Spain.

It seems that, unlike the rhetorical French tradition, Spanish discursive uses are direct, sharp, and sometimes coloured with seriousness and drama. Nevertheless, there were elaborate forms of speaking during the early stages of the democracy, during the period after the death of the dictator Franco and what is called “the transition”. In fact, the speakers were very careful, especially the extreme right and left, as the ghost of the civil war was still soaring. But during the later years of the Socialists, when F. González was the Prime Minister, the PP deputies began a period of very hard attacks and insults were not uncommon everywhere and as well as in the Parliament itself. These times were called “the edgy era”.

The same tactics were used when this party, having the absolute majority and led by the Prime Minister, J.-M<sup>a</sup> Aznar, decided to support the aggressive politics of G.W. Bush against Irak, against the position of all the other parties and against the public opinion. In the debates related to this issue, J.M<sup>a</sup> Aznar refuted the arguments of his opponents often by ad hominem argumentation, disqualifying them. J.-L. Rodríguez Zapatero was called a “bankrupt leader” and a “slogan-leader”.

Since the elections on March 14th, 2004, the Socialists are back in power. The new Prime Minister, J.-L. Rodríguez Zapatero, has announced the renewal of parliamentary life with dialogue and respect. The new style of an individual has influenced the general style of the entire parliament, even influencing the new leader of the PP, as I have said above. But, even if M. Rajoy is less aggressive than his predecessor, all his discourse at the investiture debate consisted of devaluating all the proposals of the new Prime Minister, saying that his program had contradictions, weakness, lack of definition and that no one could take him seriously. But finally, another period has begun in the Spanish parliament. A Catalan deputy, in the investiture debate said: “Montesquieu<sup>9</sup> has resurrected”. Thus, my third hypothesis is that different periods of history can transform the discursive uses in the parliament.

Finally, what I propose to the participants is this discussion: how to articulate the rhetorical tradition, the specific historical background of each country and the characteristics of the individuals in the construction of a discourse analysis model for parliamentary debates.

From my theoretical point of view, the notion of genre is a basic one. Therefore, in my opinion, we should study how such features in general political discourse are modulated by the two other parameters which define the discursive genres: the enunciation device and the purpose of the interaction.

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<sup>9</sup>He wrote in 1750 *De l’esprit des lois*, where he described the division of the three powers; legislative, executive and judicial.



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## **Generic Structure in the House of Commons**

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The aim of this paper is to study the Generic Structure Potential (GSP) (Hasan, in Halliday and Hasan 1989) of the parliamentary genre of Question Time in the British House of Commons, and to consider how the Contextual Configuration of the British Parliament, and specially the norms of Erskine May affect the rhetorical style of MPs in this particular genre. The constraint to produce questions, together with the face-threatening nature of the genre, lead to the systematic production of politeness strategies (Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987), in an attempt to comply with the principle of “parliamentary language” (May 1989). As I will try to explain, and counter to intuition, politeness becomes an element constitutive of this aggressive genre.

One of the most popular genres of the British Parliament is Question Time, that hourly space of time from Monday to Thursday, in which Members of Parliament from both sides of the House, Government and opposition, can put questions to Members of the Government benches. All Parliamentary procedure is organized according to Erskine May’s *Treatise on the Law, Privileges, Proceedings and Usage of Parliament*, which is considered “the authoritative source book for the procedure of Parliament” (Silk 1989:37). This treatise constrains the form and rhetorical style of the different genres developed in the British Parliament, both at the House of Lords and the House of Commons. May gives directions regarding the content and form of speeches, debates, questions, etc, but also regarding the type of language that is considered “parliamentary”. The resulting genres show linguistic properties that are a reflection of the institution in which they emerge.

Question Time consists not only of oral, but also of written questions. The latter are so different from the often broadcast oral questions that might altogether be considered a different sub-genre. From a linguistic point of view, oral questions offer a complex and interesting field of study, because their structure is elaborate and they combine ideational and interpersonal features to a higher degree. Written questions consist of a written question and its corresponding answer. Oral questions, however, have a much more complex procedure. The procedure starts with a written question, which is published a fortnight before it is actually answered in Parliament. Questions to different Departments are answered on different days, on a rota basis, and are printed in advance on the “notice paper”, numbered. On its corresponding day, the Speaker calls the number of a particular question (not all questions can be answered, due to lack of time), the MP responsible for it rises, and the Minister or MP to whom the question was directed gives a quick answer. Then, the MP who wrote the question has the right to make a *supplementary question* (May 1989:295): “supplementary questions, without debate or comment, may, within due limits, be addressed to them, which are necessary for the elucidation of the answers that they have been given”. The supplementary question is answered, and often another supplementary question is called (or even two or three), frequently from MPs of different parties. When the Speaker decides to move on to the next question, the procedure is repeated. Apart from the structure of Question Time itself, May (1989) also gives other rules concerning the purpose, form, topic and relevance of the questions.

From an *ideational* point of view, these norms have some consequences. First of all, questions have to be kept as questions, and not become speeches (May 1989:287). The topics of initial questions, which should not be too general in their formulation, have to be related to the public affairs with which each Minister is officially connected. Supplementary questions have to be related to the preceding answer (May 1989:287ff) The procedure obliges initial questions to be prepared in advanced by the Department to which they are directed. As they are relatively “old” questions, they lose their initial force. The early notice of questions also enables the preparation of the answer, which means that the first adjacency pair is not spontaneous, but carefully prepared in advance. On the other hand, supplementary questions are much more spontaneous, and it is actually in this type of question in which Question Time achieves its main aim, which is to surprise the Minister, and oblige him/her to improvise. This is not a simple task, because the Minister is briefed with all possible

questions related to the topic proposed in the initial one. The result is that each question becomes a short, quick and often aggressive debate. Initial questions are often unimportant, and are used as a springboard for supplementaries. These do not look for information, but are, rather, challenges or supporting comments, depending on the ideology of the MPs formulating them.

From an *interpersonal* point of view, the May Treatise also constrains the genre of Question Time in a very important respect, which is the protection to MPs' *face* (Goffman 1967, Brown and Levinson 1978, 1987). This can be seen, first of all, in the rule that obliges Members to refer to each other in their official, not personal capacity (May 1989:380) ("the honourable gentleman / Member for York", etc). This rule derives from another, more general rule, that says that "It is not in order in a question (...) to reflect on the conduct of other persons otherwise than in their official or public capacity. [...]" (May 1989:287). This protection afforded to MPs' personal face is in contrast to the risk that Question Time means for their professional, *public* face (Gruber 1993). Question Time can be seen as a face-threatening genre, since MPs' public face is exposed to reference, discussion, criticism and threat.

From a *textual* perspective, language in the House of Commons is constrained by a most important rule, often repeated by Speakers in the House, which is the rule of "parliamentary language", which talks about "good temper and moderation" in the formulation of speech (May 1989:380). More specifically, there is a series of expressions which are considered unparliamentary and are therefore forbidden, like "charges of uttering a deliberate falsehood", or "abusive and insulting language of a nature likely to create disorder" (May 1989:381). These rules may seem to be in conflict, at first sight, with the principle of freedom of speech which presides over the British Parliament. Interestingly, MPs seem to find the way to say whatever they want to say, complying at the same time with the norms of good temper and moderation. The solution is the use of what we call *politeness strategies*: almost anything can be said, provided that it is formulated with the appropriate degree of politeness. Any type of face-threatening act, even forbidden by the rules of the House, can be expressed, if it is wrapped in the moderation of politeness. From the point of view of politeness, as conceived by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), this use of politeness strategies exceeds the original function of politeness, the softening of the face-threat, to smooth over the ways of communication between potentially aggressive parties. In Question

Time –and potentially also in other parliamentary genres – there is an aggressive use of politeness (Calvo 1991), as a result of mutual knowledge of the contextual rules and generic constraints. Politeness strategies are the conventionalized means to formulate freely any type of face-threatening-act. It is in this way that we could speak of *parliamentary institutionalized hypocrisy*.

Finally, politeness can also be seen to play an important role in the meta-discourse of Question Time. Institutional politeness has become a frame to construct this genre. The first question is formulated as an indirect question, “To ask the Minister if he will...”; the rest of the questions often do not require information, but are still kept in an interrogative syntactic form. This syntactic form achieves a secondary function, which is Brown and Levinson’s Strategy 2 of Negative Politeness: *Question, hedge*, as a result of not assuming that the hearer is able or willing to do the required act. The interrogative syntax of Question Time is the required meta-discourse, which helps to organize the topical progression of the genre.

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## **Parliamentary debates on international terrorism: propositional, modal and textual components**

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The analysis of parliamentary debates on terrorism involves material of extreme social value, which is united by common content and argumentative structure. It lies at the interface of discourse, society and personality and is analyzed within several research paradigms. The theoretical basis is multidisciplinary: critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2001), argumentation theory (Ducrot, 1996), relevance theory (Sperber & Wilson 1986) and theory of modality (Coates 1987).

In the texts of transcripts of debates in the House of Commons (the Hansard records) we investigate propositional, modal and textual components, as the basis for cognitive linguistic interpretation and pragmatic parameters of argumentation.

The discourse organization of parliamentary debates presents a complicated mixture of political institutional practices of joint discursive activity of decision-making through convincing, persuading and reaching consensus in the on-line negotiation process. The rhetorical dimensions are explored through the application of a multifaceted structure-of-argument model.

The aim is to suggest how several prominent characteristics of this discourse—namely: epistemic and logic conceptualizing serve to outline the overall structure of the text, to highlight its themes, and to enhance the effectiveness of pragmatic functions.

### 1. GENERAL FEATURES OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM

In parliamentary debates representatives of different parties, who expose interests of their electorate, advance motions and legislative acts, trying to convince other members of parliament in the necessity of adopting their policy. It is the opposition that formulates the content of debates, their specific argumentative structure, their special aims and tasks. It is usual practice that questions recall a big amount of discussion and argument, and only in exceptional cases there are issues that most of parliamentary members support. So far as interests and the degree of support are concerned, we can speak about the typology of parliamentary debates, based, in particular, on modality and argumentative structure of discourse of parliamentary sittings, directly or implicitly reflected in language.

From the *content point of view*, the specific features of parliamentary debates on international terrorism, taken place on 14<sup>th</sup> September 2001, are determined by the fact that they were not carried through in the atmosphere of opposition of parliamentary groups against each other. On the contrary, parliament unanimously stood against Islamic fundamentalists (“Today we have set partisan politics aside. In the face of great evil, we are one Parliament and one House”). Parliamentary debates on international terrorism, above all,

reflected the evaluation of the events of the 11<sup>th</sup> September, condemnation of terrorists, understanding of the events not as a private act of terrorism, but as a challenge to the whole civilized world, the challenge to freedom and democracy. Important is the fact that parliamentary debates on international terrorism express the interests of the absolute majority of people of the United Kingdom and objectively coincide with international interests of all civilized countries of the world. The expressed points of view reflect the interests of majority, that is why argumentation acquires institutionalized character. It is all human values that are under discussion, so argumentative means used are frame argumentative means, they reflect the things and assumptions common in the mentality of the civilized world and everything that has become an axiom for the absolute majority of people.

## 2. THE ARGUMENTATION OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

The argumentation of parliamentary debates contains *evaluative* and *epistemic* components, *action prescriptive* and *formal-logical* components. The evaluative component of argumentation contains positive and negative assessments of events, activities, processes, participants and phenomena of reality within the frameworks of aesthetic, ethic and pragmatic standpoints of people. The epistemic component of argumentation is connected with the degrees of knowledge, and it includes the gradation of sureness, certainty, confidence, conviction, assertion or hesitation, uncertainty, disbelief, doubt in the truth or acceptability of suggested assessments and decisions. The action prescriptive component of argumentation, in other words, deontic module, includes substantiation of aims setting, tasks for aims achievement, means and manner of their realization in sociophysical sphere. It is pragmatically oriented for expression of different social attitudes, such as necessity, obligation and permission. All content oriented components of argumentation are characterized by their profile language means. The *formal* component includes thesis/antithesis, arguments/counterarguments, and conclusions/counterconclusions.

## 3. THE LANGUAGE OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES ON TERRORISM

From the *linguistic point of view*, parliamentary debates on terrorism have their own specific features. Debates on terrorism differ in *argument structure*, *distribution of epistemic and deontic markers*, *functions of causal and consecutive markers*. Their argumentative structure is penetrated by the maximal force of modality of certainty and assertiveness, in comparison with other types of parliamentary debates.

## 4. MODAL DIMENSIONS OF TEXTS OF PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES

The importance of modal dimensions study is determined by the fact that modality, as a sentence modifier, reflects an attitude to the state of affairs, the way a speaker perceives the world, as a structured area of the ways of speaking, underlying all the utterances (Ruthhof 1991). From broad perspective, modality is general attitude of the speaker towards the content of what he says. It expresses a gradient link between the message area and reality, semantically being the subjective evaluation of the propositional content of the uttered sentence (Palmer 1990). From cognitive point of view, modal predicates open an embedded modal space within the truth domain or basic reality (Fauconnier 1985, Sanders&Spooren 1996). Modality of parliamentary debates expresses attitude in *evaluative* and *action prescriptive terms*. It incorporates pragmatic interests of people, ideological assumptions and credo of parties and groups, moral and aesthetic values. Every motion advanced by parliament members receives evaluations, gets positive and negative assessment, is tested through discussion in parliament, and calls for argumentation/counterargumentation.

Epistemic adverbs (*perhaps, of course, maybe, probably, surely, possibly*) take a particular place within the field of expressing modality among epistemic verbs, nominal word-combinations with modal meanings and forms of subjunctive mood with modal verbs. In real communication these means differ in social application spheres. We attempt to explain the coexistence of these means in parliamentary debates discourse. The main corpus of epistemic particles of English is analyzed as a systemic formation, where every element takes a certain place in the scale of certainty – from disbelief, doubt, hesitation, uncertainty to sureness, confidence, conviction, assertion, certainty.

The theoretic basis for the description of epistemic particles has been the assumption that they serve as markers of epistemic inferences or conclusions. The microtexts with the adverbial epistemic indices form supraphrasal unities, based on cause-result or ground-consequence relationships. Within this approach we distinguish consecutive epistemic reasoning (*perhaps, maybe, possibly* – weak epistemic adverbs, *certainly, surely, of course* – strong epistemic adverbs) and logical reasoning, marked by consecutive and conclusive indicators, such as *therefore, thus, hence, that's why, so, so that*, etc.

In the discourse of parliamentary debates on terrorism strong epistemic markers in combination with evaluation words form an argument base for inference and entailment, thus determining the acceptance of a practical course of action.

#### 5. AXIOLOGICAL FEATURES OF THE DEBATES

The axiological, evaluative language performs in a narration and argumentation of the parliamentary debates a mechanism for encouraging the audience to view the situation through the speaker's eyes and to thereby support his value judgments. Evaluations express biased attitudes with an important role of cognitive effort. Active information processing includes formulating arguments on the basis of evaluating biased language, which is a necessary condition for attitude change. This way happens the transformation of consciousness into action.

The *emotive component* occupies a substantial area in this type of discourse. The argumentative discourse of parliamentary debates is based *on intertextuality* that extracts speech from one speech event and decontextualizes it into a new field – actual speech, forming epistemology and evidentiality.

The rhetorical strategies in speeches of parliamentary members contain such features as self and other presentation (we/they opposition), causal explanation and justification, condemnation of terrorists, propaganda of the ideology of democracy, tolerance, freedom, foregrounding of values of civilized world, as a validation for the union against terrorists.

#### 4. LOGICAL MEANS OF INFERENCE, CONCLUSION.

It would be interesting to compare the logical means of inference and conclusion (*therefore, thus, hence, so, as a result, consequently*) in the contexts of parliamentary debates on terrorism. The adverb *therefore* is a consecutive element of conclusion in the structure of the simple syllogism in formal logic. The use of this consecutive is, in our opinion, the expression of the truth of the expressed arguments.



## 5. INTERTEXTUALITY

An important place in the specter of expression of arguments during the discussion of terrorism takes the phenomenon of intertextuality. Practically all the parliament members referred to this or that issue in the report of the Prime Minister, considering it right and effective and to the report on the whole, and showed solidarity with the course of thoughts of the Prime Minister. The solidarity was exhibited also with the standpoints of other speakers on the problem of terrorism. The thread of discussion did not tear off during the whole discourse. In most of the cases the reference to the standpoints of other speakers should be understood as an argument *ad hominem*, which is a means of solidarity of the opinions of parliamentary members.

The argumentative structure of the sitting of Great Britain Parliament (House of Commons) of the 14<sup>th</sup> September 2001, devoted to the actual theme of international terrorism, was pre-designed by the program speech of Tony Blair, the Prime Minister, whose discursive strategies involved the overall debates management, guidance of the flows of speeches in formal procedures, as well as in content of dialog building. The management speech acts were directing, supporting, stipulating and summing up, in general, a lot of metadiscursive activity. The discursive practices were: repetitive parallelism, direct/indirect quotes, evidentiality, sequencing, etc. He thanked the Speaker for the possibility to recall of Parliament to debate the hideous and foul events in the USA, gave arguments for the importance of the discussion, described the current situation connected with the terror acts, expressed condolences, called for union in assessment of this terrific event, expressed admiration with the bravery and heroism of American emergency workers, spoke about casualties among the citizens of Great Britain, compared the scale of tragedy with other terror acts, informed of the precautionary measures, the defense against terrorism, suggested the tactics of fight against the evil, expressed the opinion about the danger of generalizations and that terrorism is not the property of Islam and people who believe in it. He gave an assessment to the democratic values and compared them with the priorities of terrorists, and finally, characterized terrorism as a frightening aspect of modern life and substantiated the readiness to start fighting and prove the advantage of reason, democracy and tolerance, because these beliefs are the foundation of our civilized world.

Parliamentary debates belong to the genre of political discourse, sharing with it common rhetorical and linguistic features. It has the aim of convincing the audience of a certain state of affairs, giving different sets of evaluations, points of view, or of some risks evoked by doing or not doing something that is connected with political, social or economic advantages for the country. The analyzed text of parliamentary debates on international terrorism open a new domain in forming the ideology of democracy, humanity, reason, tolerance in the civilized world.

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**GENDER ASPECTS IN THE DISCOURSE OF BELARUSIAN  
PARLIAMENTARIANS**  
**(on the basis of parliamentary debates in the House of Representatives  
of the Republic of Belarus)**

Tanya Radchuk  
Belarus

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Minsk, 2004

## INTRODUCTION

The research, the results of which are presented in the following abstract, is dedicated to speeches of Belarusian parliamentarians, particularly to their reactions to speeches of women-deputies in the course of plenary debates in the House of Representatives of the Belarusian parliament. The received results of the research are urgent for my country democracy of which has just started to develop and the culture to hold parliamentary debates is still not formed as well as hasn't been reached equality of women rights in language and in the society.

### Parliament – National Assembly of the Republic of Belarus

Parliament, i.e. the National Assembly of the Republic of Belarus, is a two-house legislative and representative body of the Republic of Belarus.

The House of Representatives of the National Assembly consists of 110 deputies elected by secret ballot on the basis of universal, free, equal and direct suffrage.

The Council of Republic of the National Assembly is a house of territory representation which consists of 64 members.

The term of office of Parliament is four years. The autumn session starts on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of October and lasts 80 days, the winter session starts on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April and lasts 90 days.

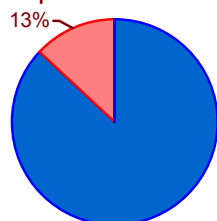
## Women in the politics of Belarus

The Convention on the Political Rights of Women (December 20<sup>th</sup>, 1952) came into effect in Belarus on November 9<sup>th</sup>, 1954. The right of a woman to elect, to be elected and to hold a post in public sector and social service was confirmed in it<sup>10</sup>. The 1994 Constitution of the Republic of Belarus (with amendments and additions that were ratified after the referendum of November 24<sup>th</sup>, 1996) secures all fundamental human rights to Belarusian citizens. The Constitution proclaims the principle of omni parity in law and states that “everyone has a right to have his or her rights and lawful interests protected”(art.22). Equality has legally been achieved social inequality continues to exist. The reasons can be explained by the established norms and rules of employment in the society, as well as by the established stereotypes of thinking and behaviour.

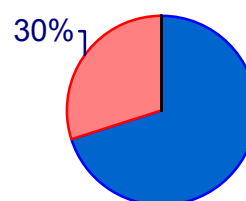
There’s an evident disproportion in the parliamentary gender staff. To date there’s 13 % of women from the total number of deputies of the House of Representatives (14 women, 96 men)<sup>11</sup>. For comparison: in the year 1997 there were only 5 women-deputies – that is 5 %!

And there’s 30 % of women from the total number of members of the Council of Republic (19 women, 45 men).<sup>12</sup> At the same time as surveys show political claims of modern Belarusian women complete with authoritative ambitions of men. 15,5 % of men and 11,9 % of women would like to become a deputy of the House of Representatives<sup>13</sup>.

The House of Representatives



The Council of Republic



<sup>10</sup> [http://www.gender.by/en/gender\\_research1.html](http://www.gender.by/en/gender_research1.html)

<sup>11</sup> [www.house.gov.by](http://www.house.gov.by)

<sup>12</sup> [www.sovrep.gov.by](http://www.sovrep.gov.by)

<sup>13</sup> Bubnov U. Politics as a sphere of woman’s self-actualization.

## SPEECH CONDUCT OF DEPUTIES DIRECTED TOWARDS WOMEN- PARLIAMENTARIANS

### Recipient's signals

The stenographical report of the parliamentary debates in the House of Representatives on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2002 was chosen for a discourse analysis. The topic of the discussion was “ State Housing Policies in the Republic of Belarus: Achievements and Prospects”. In the course of the meeting 27 speeches<sup>14</sup> were made, 12 from which were delivered by women, 15 – by men. The debates were carried out in the form of a dialogue. One of the participants of a parliamentary dialogue is a deputy who makes a speech, the other – a group recipient i.e. all other present deputies. The speech is addressed to the latter. A “speech-making-deputy” has a possibility to start an interpersonal contact with each of the “listening-deputies”. Both participants are active: the one produces a text, the other listens in an active way reflected in a large number of so-called recipient signals (“feedback” signals). These signals of recipients have both a verbal form: *remarks, shouts, spontaneous commentaries, intermediate questions*, as well as a non-verbal form: *laughter, murmurs of discontent, noise, applause*. Every speech of the analyzed debates was accompanied on average by 3-10 such signals. They all were stated in the above-mentioned stenographical report and reflect deputies’ personal attitudes to the pronounced speeches and their authors. The given research investigates only verbal signals of recipients, i.e. remarks, shouts, spontaneous commentaries, intermediate questions, from the meeting-room during speeches of women-deputies.

### Verbal signals directed towards women-speeches

It was counted that 92 recipients’ signals (both verbal and non-verbal) were directed towards women-speakers: 62 signals of support, 30 signals of disapproval. On the whole the women’s speeches in the course of the parliamentary debates were apprehended with a considerable prevalence of positive emotions (67 %). This fact testifies to respect of women on the one hand, on the other – to the growing acknowledgement of women in the political sphere of life which ceases to be the prerogative of men.

<sup>14</sup> <http://house.gov.by/index.php/1002.354...0.0.0.html> (in russian)

However a more detailed analysis of the signals directed towards women-speakers let make a conclusion that in spite of the prevailed number of positive signals from men-parliamentarians their attitude to women-colleagues doesn't contain a complete acknowledgement and equality.

All 38 verbal signals were divided into signals of conflict emotions – (22 signals) and signals of support emotions – (16). The following calculations show that verbal signals towards women-speakers are more often of a negative nature.

### **Verbal signals of conflict emotions**

As it's seen from the name verbal signals of conflict emotions are produced by recipients (usually by political opponents) in a conflict communication. On the basis of the object-oriented classification made by Thimm C. **three types of a conflict communication** are singled out.

The first type is a **dispute** the disagreement object of which is facts of matter. The latter don't relate to participants' personalities and is an objective reality.

The second type is **conflict negotiations** the disagreement object of which is activities carried out or intended to be carried out by conflict participants.

The third type is **an attitude conflict** the disagreement object of which is a personality, his/her individual, professional and social qualities.

Verbal signals of conflict emotions produced in a conflict communication of the first type *estimate a delivered speech*. They are placed on the scale "truth-lie" and contribute to a constructive dialogue.

Verbal signals of conflict emotions produced in a conflict communication of the second type *estimate activities undertaken by a speaker*, e.g. a politician or a party, subjectively. Such verbal signals contribute both to a constructive dialogue and to solution of a conflict. They are placed on the scale "right-wrong".

Verbal signals of conflict emotions produced in a conflict communication of the third type *estimate a speaker*, his/her individual, professional and social qualities, subjectively. They are placed on the scale "good-bad". Neither speech contents nor speaker's activities are evaluated. It's the least constructive type of a conflict dialogue. Solution is not looked for. Transition of a conflict to the sphere of personal relations takes place.

*Table number 1* shows the distribution of the analyzed verbal signals of conflict emotions among three types of a conflict communication and within every type according to participants' sex.

Types of a conflict communication	The number of the verbal signals of conflict emotions directed towards women's speeches					
	Common		<b>Men</b>		Women	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Dispute	8	36,4	6	<b>33,3</b>	2	<b>50</b>
Conflict negotiations	5	22,7	3	16,7	2	<b>50</b>
Attitude conflict	<b>9</b>	<b>40,9</b>	9	<b>50</b>	-	-
Total:	22	100	<b>18</b>	100	<b>4</b>	100

As it's seen from the table:

- 1) The communication between a man and a woman is more intense (18 verbal signals) than between a woman and a woman (4 verbal signals). That serves as a confirmation of a more aggressive nature of men's verbal conduct.
- 2) Men mostly use an attitude conflict in their dialogues with women (50%) although it is the least productive and constructive type of a conflict communication. Women avoid an attitude conflict (0%) and prefer to it more constructive types of a conflict communication (a dispute – 50%, conflict negotiations – 50%).
- 3) Altogether an attitude conflict is mostly used as a reaction to women's speeches (9 verbal signals or 40,9% from the total number). Thus transferring a conflict into the sphere of personal relations. Men's verbal signals produced in a conflict communication of the third type:
  - a) humiliate a woman as a professional,
  - b) cast doubt on woman's adequacy of thinking,
  - c) sneer at the political party a woman represents,
  - d) find fault with an external form of a woman's statement.

The emotions are placed on the scale "good – bad", as it was mentioned before. Women are estimated as bad professionals, bad speakers, and representatives of bad parties.



- 4) A dispute as a type of a conflict communication use 33,3% of men and 50% of women. With its help deputies catch an opponent in a lie or cast doubt on the truth of his/her speech. The emotions are placed on the scale “truth-lie”. A dispute is preferred by women-deputies, who use the tactics of a complete refutation. Men-deputies use the tactics of a partial refutation.
- 5) Conflict negotiations are the least to be heard from men as a reaction to speeches of women-deputies. Women-deputies’ actions are considered by men-deputies to be wrong, the own actions - right. Verbal signals of conflict negotiations either prove one’s actions – **defensive tactics**, or dispute about opponent’s actions propriety – **offensive tactics**. The emotions are placed on the scale “right-wrong”. Women are inclined to conflict negotiations of offensive tactics more than men. Men prefer conflict negotiations of defensive tactics.

### Verbal signals of support emotions

As it’s seen from the name verbal signals of support emotions are produced by recipients (usually by political allies) in a harmonious communication and are placed on the scale “approval-disapproval”. There’re two types of verbal signals of support emotions:

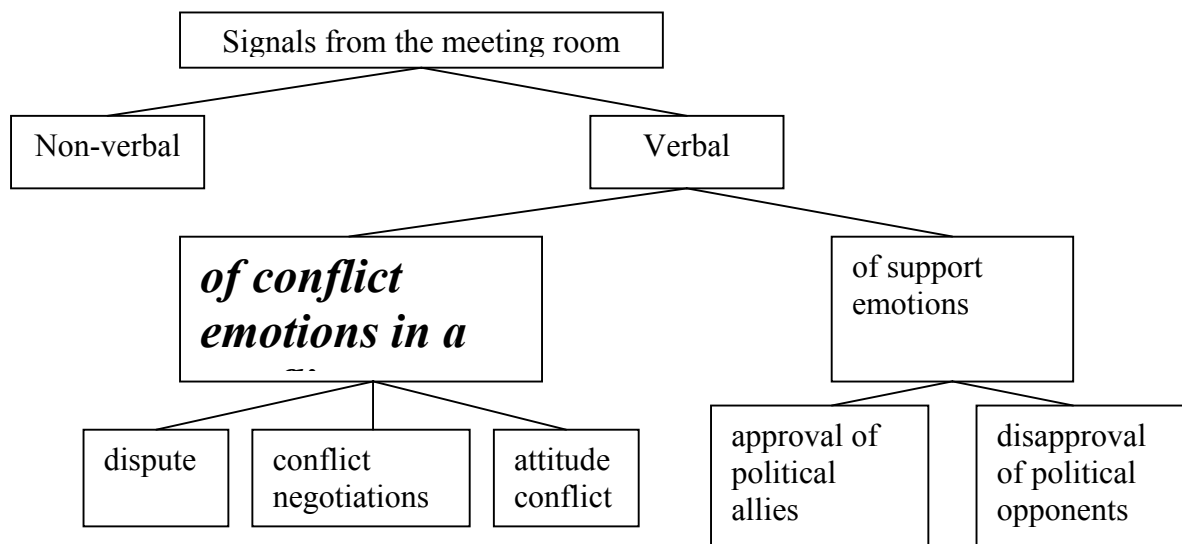
1. verbal signals of approval of allies’ points of view,
2. verbal signals of disapproval of political opponents’ points of view with the aim to support allies in their critics.

*Table number 2* shows the distribution of verbal signals of support emotions between two types and within every type according to participants’ sex.

Types of support emotions	The number of the verbal signals of support emotions directed towards women’s speeches					
	Common		<b>Men</b>		Women	
	Abs.	%	Abs.	%	Abs.	%
Approval of political allies	10	62,5	6	60	4	66,7
Disapproval of political opponents	6	37,5	4	40	2	33,3
Total:	<b>16</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>100</b>

As it’s seen from the table 16 verbal signals of support emotions were pronounced during the meeting, 10 – by men-deputies, 6 – by women-deputies. But as the ratio of men and women

in the House of Representatives is 7:1, support emotions are produced much more frequently by women (81 %) than by men (19%). Women prefer to approve of political allies, men – to disapprove of political opponents. Women lay emphasis on commonness of views and opinions during a communication. They avoid accentuating disagreements and are more inclined to a harmonious communication, not to a conflict one. *Chart number 1*



## CONCLUSION

The fulfilled analysis of the signals from the meeting-room directed towards the speeches of women-deputies lets make the following conclusions:

1. On the whole the speeches of women-deputies are apprehended by other deputies in the meeting-room with prevalence of positive signals, mainly due to a non-verbal signal – applause. The analysis of the verbal signals shows that they are more often of a negative nature and produced chiefly by men-deputies.
2. The gender factor plays a significant role in deputies' speech conduct.
  - 2.1. Men-deputies are more inclined to a conflict communication than women-deputies. The speech conduct between “a man and a woman” is more aggressive than between “a woman and a woman”. Women-deputies prefer a harmonious communication the aims of which are to provide support and to display solidarity. Verbal signals of conflict emotions are used mainly for the purpose of self-defense and support of allies not for self-affirmation of images.

- 2.2. Men-deputies aim at shifting a conflict from the business sphere to the interpersonal one more often than women-deputies. The latter choose either a dispute (in the course of which the search of the truth takes place) or conflict negotiations (in the course of which an outline of future actions takes place) in a conflict communication. Verbal signals of conflict emotions are placed on the scales “truth-lie” and “wrong-right”.
- 2.3. In the course of a dispute women-deputies are inclined to a complete refutation of an opponent, but men-deputies – to a partial, “gentle” refutation. In the course of conflict negotiations women resort to offensive tactics, but men – to defensive tactics.
- 2.4. Speech conduct of women-deputies is more straightforward, simple and frank as it should be in the course of a constructive dialogue carried out on equal terms. The seeming softness and favour of men-deputies is just a manifestation of patronage and underlines inequality.
3. In a conflict communication women-deputies practice on the one hand a more strict and straightforward on the other hand a more business, productive approach that results in successful conflicts solution. Men-deputies’ personification of political disagreements leads to conflict aggravation and to kindling of personal enmity, not to problem solution.

The fact that women often don’t endure slander and insults to their images and abandon politics is quite understandable. There’s about 53 % of women from the total population in Belarus and only 4,5% of them are deputies and members of the National Assembly. As we know democracy – it’s an opportunity of every social group to assert its interests including to assert them in legislative bodies. If there’s less than 10 % of women in Parliament of the country then it’s difficult to implement a law that reflects women’s interests.

Let’s hope that in the coming elections to the House of Representatives that’ll take place on October 17<sup>th</sup> of this year<sup>15</sup> more women will become deputies and will assert women’s rights of the country more productively.

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<sup>15</sup> <http://news.tut.by/42682.html>  
<http://news.tut.by/politics/42790.html>

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## **Squaring the circle?**

### **Parliamentary „debate days” in the mediatised Hungarian political life**

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#### *Introduction*

Although the phenomenon of mediatisation of politics has been well-known for students of Western democracies for decades (see e.g. Meyrowitz 1985, Mazzoleni 2002), it appeared in the post-socialist countries only recently, after the democratic changes in the early 1990s. Hungarian political parties started to design their messages, actions and appearance consciously according to the expectations of the media first during the 1998 electoral campaign, and in the mediatised world Hungarian politics could not avoid its fate either: by now Hungarian political life has become mostly shaped by the aims and logic of media.

Today Hungarian political discourse in general (briefings, political actions, campaign design, etc.) can be characterized as highly mediatised, showing properties such as tabloidisation, personalisation, spectacularisation, and commercialization. However, there are other genres of political communication that, because of their very function, are supposed to be more resistant to mediatisation, e.g. multiparty television debates during electoral campaigns, and, first of all, parliamentary debates. In these political genres „real” discussion between the partners is supposed, including elaborated argumentation, answers for the questions, formulating opposing ideas, etc.

This paper is a pilot study of a more thorough research on the question whether Hungarian parliamentary debates can be characterized as mediatised or rather as „classical” rhetorical speeches. For this first analysis I chose the four main speeches of a so called „debate day”. Before presenting the data, I briefly describe the main characteristics of the Hungarian parliamentary discourses.

#### *The parliamentary context and the „debate day” genre*

The Hungarian Parliament (HP) has two regular sessions each year (from 1 February to 15 June, and 1 September to 15 December). The regular sittings are on Monday and Tuesday each week. For the proposal of the Government, the President or one fifth of the MPs extraordinary sittings can be called together. The sittings are public and are broadcasted by the Hungarian National TV as well as by the Internet. The written text of the speeches as well as their video can be freely downloaded from the website of the HP.

There are four main types of the regular plenary discourse in the HP.

1. „Motion”: by the Government reported by the PM or the appropriate minister or independent motion of an MP. Usually pre-written texts read.
2. „Debate”: in general and on the details of a proposed law or of an independent motion. Giving the floor, the chairperson of the sitting shall alternate between the speakers of the government and the opposite parties if possible.
3. „Before proceeding speech”: according to the rule of the HP it is a speech on „extraordinary matters”<sup>16</sup> but since all the parties use it as a possibility to get on the agenda in the news, it is exceptional if a party does not ask for this possibility in a sitting.
4. Speech on procedure: a one minute speech and a two minutes justification concerning the orders of the day or the order of the day being proceeded with.

There are strict time limits in each type of speech and the chairperson warns and then, if necessary, cuts off the speaker when he/she used up the time allotted to the speech.

The „debate day” differs from the regular sittings. It is usually called together on the proposal of a party and is held not on the usual sitting days. The party proposes the theme of the debate. First the representative of the appropriate ministry has the right to explain their viewpoint about the problem, then each party, alternating between the government and the opposition parties,<sup>17</sup> has 20 minutes to elaborate their opinions. It is done by the „leading speaker” of the party who is supposed to be a specialist of the field of the topic. Then also other MPs can join the debate.

### *Data*

In the following I present the data of the analysis of the four leading speeches of a debate day. I chose features to characterize the speeches from the point of view of mediatisation as well as rhetorical construction, and grouped them into three groups according to whether they are appropriate, irrelevant or inappropriate for media logic.

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<sup>16</sup> „In matters which are not on the orders of the day but are of national importance, urgent, and extraordinary (hereinafter referred to as "extraordinary matters"), before proceeding with the orders of the day - indicating the subject matter and reason for the speech - faction leaders shall be entitled to speak for at most five minutes on behalf of their faction. The intention to speak shall be reported in writing to the Speaker at least one hour before the opening of the sitting.” (Resolution on the standing orders of the Parliament of the Republic of Hungary, 39§, 1.)

<sup>17</sup>In this period (2002—2006) there are four parties in the HP, two govern in coalition, and two are in opposition.

- Title: „What brings the future that is how much money will be taken out of the purses of the families by the Medgyessy-package?” („Mit hoz a jövő avagy mennyi pénzt vesz ki a Medgyessy-csomag a családok pénztárcájából?”)
- Date: 17 September 2003, right before the debates about the budget of 2004
- Initiated by the Fidesz-MPSZ, the bigger, right wing opposition party
- Leading speakers of the parties: István Göndör, MSZP; János Áder and Mihály Varga, Fidesz-MPSZ; Gábor Kuncze, SZDSZ; Sándor Font and Imre Sisák, MDF.<sup>18</sup>
- Time limit for one party for the leading speech: 20 minutes.

	MSZP	Fidesz-MPSZ		SZDSZ	MDF	
	Göndör 9:49	Áder 10:00	Varga 10:11	Kuncze 10:21	Font 10:36	Sisák 10:46

**Features appropriate for media logic** (easy to cut out and edit into the news, a unit easy to remember, prepared sentences, short, simple messages, etc.)

metaphors	—	1	1	3	4	4
humor, irony	4	—	1	4		1
attack of persons without supporting the statement	2	14	9	1	19	16
building units of a possible narrative	1	4	2	1	9	5
pre-written text approximately	85%	90%	90%	5% (all data)	97%	100%

**Features irrelevant for media logic**

„apostrophe”, addressing present MPs	4	2	1	2	1	—
general addressing of the audience	9	3	6	7	2	2
short anecdote, joke	1	—	—	—	—	—

**Features inappropriate for media logic**

<sup>18</sup>MSZP: Hungarian Socialist Party; Fidesz-MPSZ: Alliance of Young Democrats - Hungarian Bourgeois Alliance; SZDSZ: Alliance of Free Democrats; MDF: Hungarian Democratic Forum. MSZP, a social democratic party and SZDSZ, a liberal party are governing Hungary in coalition from 2002. Fidesz-MPSZ and MDF are conservative right wing parties, they were governing in coalition between 1998 and 2002.

	MSZP	Fidesz-MPSZ		SZDSZ	MDF	
	Göndör 9:49	Áder 10:00	Varga 10:11	Kuncze 10:21	Font 10:36	Sisák 10:46
reaction to the ongoing events in the sitting room (e.g. comment on the behavior or comment of an MP)	2	2	2	10	2	
rhetorical figures that need longer texts (parallel, opposing, and repetitive structures, quotation, etc.)	3	6	12	21	6	11
listing of data (approximately, compared to the whole speech)	30%	20%	15%	40%	0	25%
explicit logical relations (conjunctions between sentences)	—	—	—	20	—	4

*Controversary forces in work: tense between the pretended and the real aim of a debate day*

The name of this parliamentary institution suggests that this is a field where real debates occur, where the main aim of the speakers is to persuade others and convince the public with detailed argumentation, data, and rhetorically well-formed speeches. (Also the debate days are broadcasted by TV and the Internet.) However, there was only one speaker (Gábor Kuncze) whose speech showed the properties of classical rhetorical debates. It seems that convincing others is not the real aim of the speeches in the debate day sitting.

First, as the above analysis shows, speakers with one exception do not discuss others' opinions, do not reflect others' ideas, rarely react to other speakers' speeches and do not support their own statements with arguments. Speakers, with the same exception again, use pre-written texts, and read them, independently from what others said in the same „debate”.

Second, on a debate day, there are very few MPs in the sitting room, almost only the ones in charge as the chairperson and the notary, and those who had or will have a speech.

Third, players of the game know well that few people watch these programs live, and they are certainly aware of the fact that the news editors will pick up only some sentences from the long speeches to illustrate the parties' opinions about the topic, and the parties can hope only for some short shots about the event.

Fourth, they also know they will persuade neither each other, nor the voters of parties of the opposite side. First of all, because this is not their goal. But even if this was their goal, most probably, it could not be achieved. Hungarian political life is sharply polarized, voters are attached to their „favorite” parties mostly on emotional and not on rational basis. Most



voters would rather not go to vote than to vote for a party „of the other side”.<sup>19</sup> Shortly: convincing others is definitely a pretended aim of the debate days in the HP.

Considering the above circumstances, one may wonder why Hungarian political parties still initiate „debate day” sittings. I suppose, they try to highlight their standpoints on a current political issue with the very act of proposing the debate day. This act ensures several possibilities to get into the news and political background programs, and its topic is referred to as important to the proposing party many times. Thus, from the point of view of political marketing, the most valuable part of a „debate day” in HP seems to be — its title.

The title is the most quoted part of the debate day, it appears weeks before the sitting, it is mentioned in all the news as the official label of a particular debate day, and it can be referred to long after the event as well. Thus it is essential that the title shall be well constructed. The title of the analyzed debate day is a good example how the title can be used perfectly in the mediatised political discourse. „What brings the future that is how much money will be taken out of the purses of the families by the Medgyessy-package?” states that

- money will be taken out of the purses of the families by the government
- future (that should be rosy) is black
- it connects the unlucky future to the prime minister (Péter Medgyessy at that time) himself
- the phrase *Medgyessy-package* refers to the so called *Bokros-package*, the name of a very strict financial policy initiated in 1996 and calls all the bad connotations the Bokros-package had<sup>20</sup>
- *family* is a keyword in the Hungarian conservative political discourse, and expresses the conservative identity.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, with different kinds of pragmatic tools, the title tells a whole story, nominates who is guilty for the unhappy situation, and strengthen the conservative identity of the conservative voters.

With a carefully designed title, the parliamentary institution of the debate day offers the parties nice chances to point to a topic and to highlight its importance for them. However, though title is crucial to gain the possible media-advantages out of a debate day, the whole procedure of the debate day must be carried out. The relatively long speeches are more or less irrelevant in the mediatised political discourse, but they are unavoidable, too. In the mediatised political life, it does not make much sense to elaborate these speeches according to the rules of classical rhetoric. At the same time these speeches are too long and thus can be used only with difficulties for the political thinking governed by the media logic. It also means that if parties want to use the institution of the debate day as a tool of political communication in the future, the role of the speeches in sittings must be re-evaluated. The Hungarian opposite parties seem to have some advantage in applying media logic in their communicational strategy.

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<sup>19</sup>Since 1990 Hungary has been divided by political ideologies but the polarization strengthened enormously during the 2002 campaign when at then governing right wing parties equalized in their terminology „right wing” with „Christian” and „Hungarian” whereas they nominated „non right wing” parties (the social democrats and liberals) „communist”, „cosmopolitan” (with a supposed pejorative connotation), and „anti-Christian”. On the other hand, both social democrats and liberals pointed to the vague financial businesses of the right wing parties.

<sup>20</sup>Lajos Bokros was the minister of finance in 1996, when the same MSZP—SZDSZ coalition was governing.

<sup>21</sup>E.g. where social democrats or liberals would say „people”, like „we should work for a country where people are wealthy”, conservative politicians would say „families”, etc.

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## **FROM REFERENCE TO RITUAL: A CASE STUDY FROM THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT**

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### **1. A sub-genre of parliamentary discourse**

In the introductory part of his analysis of parliamentary debates on immigration (van Dijk & Wodak 2000), van Dijk gives a detailed description of the properties which characterise the context and structure of communication in this setting. He mentions time and space constraints as well as the communicative roles and the aims of the participants in the communicative event. The analysis of context features could be expanded, to include, for example, the occurrence of spontaneous vs. rehearsed speech, or the presence of crucial side participants (Goffman 1981), e.g. reporters and political analysts. In the perspective adopted for this paper, however, it is more important to point out that parliamentary discourse itself can be further divided into more specific forms of talk. Among them, it is possible to single out the opening speech of the Prime Minister on the occasion of the presentation of a new Government to Parliament.<sup>22</sup>

Actually, the session that examines and debates the programme of a new government has some special characters of its own, with different conventions across different countries. Firstly, it is a significant event in home politics, which in some cases can have international relevance. It is interesting for the citizens, and therefore is given particular importance by news reporters and commentators. Secondly, it is characterised by a high level of rituality. It is the formal presentation to the Parliament and to the country of a programme of government already made public through political debates and party propaganda during the electoral campaign. In most cases, there is little new in the Prime Minister's speech, but the attitude and the overtones are given great importance and can give rise to long debates and even contrasting interpretations. Obviously, this particular sub-genre of parliamentary talk has significant rhetorical implications, though it does not normally aim at persuasion but rather insists on the ethical commitment of the speaker to a certain course of action.

The official beginning of a 6-months' presidency of the Council of Union can be considered the European version of a "presentation to Parliament". There are some obvious differences between the two types of situation. The President-in-Office is not directly elected by European citizens, nor is s/he appointed as a consequence of the results of some form of public consultation. The Presidency does not start immediately after the conclusion of the General Elections, which are normally preceded by an electoral campaign. In other words, the European MPs, as receivers of her/his speech, the reporters, as side-participants in the communicative event, and the general public, as absent recipients, may have only superficial knowledge of her/his programme. So, the contents of the speech should be given adequate attention. However, analysts, specialised reporters and politicians in general are usually well informed about the programme of a new Presidency-in-Office thanks to the publication of its official version - which today is usually available on the Internet, and therefore accessible also

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<sup>22</sup> Some instances from the Italian Parliament are analysed in Santulli (in print).

to the general public. This circumstance emphasises the ritual implications of the speech in the House, whose rhetorical structure and argumentative schemes have great importance for the creation of the image of the Presidency that the speaker wants to convey. The more technical presentation contained in the official programme, which can be assumed as the neutral version of (referential) communication, is therefore “ritualised”, and thus becomes an instance of a special form (or “sub-genre”) of parliamentary discourse.

The texts examined in this paper refer to the programme of the Italian Presidency-in-Office of the European Union in the period spanning from July to December 2003. In the perspective of the specific forms of sub-genre described above, the analysis will consider, and compare, the official programme of the Presidency published by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the speech delivered by the Italian Prime Minister, Mr Berlusconi, before the European Parliament.<sup>23</sup>

## 2. Macro-structure of texts

The speech delivered by Berlusconi opened the morning session on July 2<sup>nd</sup> and lasted about 33 minutes. The President-in-Office illustrates the most important aspects of his programme, which is divided into different points, each beginning with the ritual address: “Mister President, president of the Commission, ladies and gentlemen”.<sup>24</sup> The first part of the speech is actually a long introduction ending with the discussion of a crucial point, that is the Intergovernmental Conference and the signing of the new constitutional Treaty. Then Berlusconi goes on to discuss economic and political issues within and outside the Union, to conclude with personal and almost poetic comments. The speech is therefore articulated in the following points:

- 1 – introduction: the intergovernmental conference;
- 2 – economic issues;
- 3 - the Union in Europe and in the Mediterranean;
- 4 - the relationship with the outer world:
  - 4.1 the US and Middle East,
  - 4.2 the rest of the world,<sup>25</sup>
- 5 – safety of the citizens (immigration);
- 6- conclusion.

This pattern reproduces the list of priorities which opens the official programme. Priorities are presented in the first two pages of the official document and are divided into 5 points:

- 1 – La conferenza intergovernativa (The Intergovernmental Conference)
- 2 – L’Europa dell’economia (Economy in Europe)
- 3 – Verso la “Grande Europa” (Towards a Wider Europe)
- 4 – La presenza dell’Europa nel mondo (Europe on the World Stage)
- 5 – La sicurezza dei cittadini (Safety of the citizens).

In this introductory part of the official programme, the issues are presented briefly (in some cases only in a few lines), but in the second part of the document (which consists of 12 pages) they are analysed discussing the reasons and giving a clearer definition of the goals of the Italian Presidency. The short list of priorities, however, contains almost all the referential

<sup>23</sup> Both the official programme and the text of the speech were downloaded from official Sites on the Internet.

<sup>24</sup> Quotations in English are taken from the official translation of the speech, available on the Internet Site of the European Parliament.

<sup>25</sup> It seems more convenient to sub-divide point 4 (though the beginning of 4.2 was marked in the same way as the other points) because the whole paragraph is rather short, and in particular the second part (4.2) consists of a few lines, in which the President-in-Office underlines his impossibility to deal with all the aspects of international politics and simply mentions what he cannot discuss.

information which is included in the speech, which seems to reproduce this already existing pattern.

### 3. Framing

The speaker intends to adhere to the structure of the official programme, but introduces it in the context of a new frame. Most efforts aimed at “keying” (Goffman 1974) the communication are obviously concentrated in the initial and the final part of the speech. Typically, a “frame” - also in its primary referential meaning of “painting frame” – gives an object its place, separating it from the environment and thus “giving structure to both the object itself and to the way the object is perceived” (Ensink & Sauer 2003: 2). The opening and the final paragraphs bear the heavy burden of putting the official programme in perspective, making it more accessible and acceptable to the (present and absent) receivers. The global strategy adopted to this end is to start from traditionally shared values (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1958) to move towards a brilliant future. Although Berlusconi does not offer a systematic synthesis of the history of the Union, he mentions some important steps, emphasising their cultural and moral relevance. The presentation is full of moral tension and ethical commitment. Historical facts dating back to the initial stages of the European co-operation and gradual unification, as well as crucial events belonging to a recent past of innovation are exploited to create a climate of shared experiences and convictions. In the same perspective, Berlusconi makes frequent reference to other institutional components of the Union, the Parliament and the Commission in the first place, implying that they all participate in a joint effort aimed at a common goal.

This form of presentation, both in the diachronic and in the synchronic perspective, induces the perception of the Union as a more stable whole. The speaker enhances this idea of cohesion thanks to a careful use of personal pronouns which create a form of embrayage (Greimas 1966, Greimas & Courtés 1979). In the first part of the speech there are 27 occurrences of the first person plural (verb forms, clitics or possessives), which contribute to reinforcing the idea of “belonging” to the same context and being all part of the same community. As pointed out by Fairclough, the use of we “serves corporate ideologies, which stress the unity of a people at the expense of recognition of divisions of interest” (1989: 128). Actually, the use of the first person plural does not necessarily imply an attempt of “inclusion” of the audience, because there are also instances of “exclusive” we, which does not include the addressees. What is interesting in Berlusconi’s speech is that the shifting from inclusive to exclusive we is almost continuous, so that in many cases it is difficult to tell them apart. Moreover, the actual referential meaning of these forms is often ambiguous: we, in its inclusive version, can refer to the European Parliament or institutions in general, but also to European citizens or the continent as a whole. Even when the exclusive interpretation seems to prevail, the reference is by no means univocal: we sometimes refers to Italy (or the Italians), but it can also mean the Italian institutions or simply the Italian Government. Thanks to these ambiguities, the difference between addressee-inclusion and exclusion is left blurred, and this reinforces the possibility of gathering the audience (and the absent recipients) in one single, pathetic embrace.

There are also some occurrences of the first person singular (4 in the first part of the speech), which emphasise the personal involvement of the speaker. This personal commitment is mainly linked to the duties of the President-in-Office to the Parliament: Berlusconi commits himself to trying to involve the Parliament in the work of the Intergovernmental Conference and pronounces a solemn pledge to appear before the Assembly at the end of his 6-months’ Presidency to verify the results of his action. The use of the singular (I), which alternates with we in the expression of commitments, emphasises the ethical implications of the speech, and enhances the speaker’s credibility and the integrity.

In this perspective, little room is left for actual, logical argumentation, that continually runs the risk of being overwhelmed by pathetic and ethical fallacies (van Eemeren et al 2002 :120-21). This occurs above all in the introduction and in the final part of the speech. As a matter of fact, the conclusion – which may be considered in the perspective discussed above as the second important part of the frame – starts with renewal of all the promises made in the course of the speech. Berlusconi indulges in a description of the attitudes which will characterise his Presidency (“spirit of humility and service” in the first place), thus playing on ethical implications, then he exploits a metaphor, comparing the Union of the origins to “an airy kite capable of playing the winds of history”. Now the Union has become “much stouter”, but is also “weighed down with responsibilities and duties”, so that it seems necessary to restore to this “institutional giant something of its lightness and its original energy”. This image was defined “delicate” (it. ‘delicata’) or even “lyrical” (it. ‘lirica’) in news commentaries. Actually, it is particularly effective, as it combines the historical perspective with the difficulties of the present, giving at the same time suggestions for future directions. Moreover, it has strong a emotional impact, as a kite can evoke the positive values of a childlike atmosphere, which in turn reinforces the idea of sincerity and credibility: ethical commitment and pathetic appeal are skilfully intertwined.

#### 4. Argumentation

Texts aiming to illustrate a programme are normally focussed on the definition of goals and priorities and on the illustration of the strategies to be adopted to reach them. This basic structure rests on bare descriptions on the one hand and the expression of commitment on the other. Argumentation proper seems to be left in the background.

In the official programme, the typically argumentative sections are more frequent in the second part, which contains a more detailed analysis of the problems. The emphasis on commitment is revealed by the frequent use of future forms, which normally occur in the third person (“the Presidency/Italy will...”). On the whole, the document adopts a rather neutral style, and the definition of goals tends to avoid the expression of “points of view”.<sup>26</sup> Using Cohen’s terminology (1992:71), the text exploits “statements” rather than “assertions”, as the possibility of a challenge to the statement seems to be excluded. Only in some case is the choice of priorities of the Italian Government supported by arguments.

On the contrary, in Berlusconi’s speech the identification of goals is often obtained through the expression of points of view: “we believe/we consider/we confirm the conviction...”, etc. This is evident in the very frequent use of “indicators of anticipation of doubt in the speaker’s presentation of a speech act” (Houtlosser 2002:163). These indicators involve strengthening the force of the speech act (I am sure, convinced, etc.) or weakening it (I think, in my opinion, etc) (Holmes 1984). In both cases, and for different reasons, “the speaker conveys that he does not expect the interlocutor to accept the asserted proposition at face value” (Houtlosser 2002:174). Probably, this can explain why Berlusconi seems to be ready to justify his point of view. He actually does it in a few cases, as, for example, when he affirms that the European economic strategies should, in his opinion, be based on the policy of major Trans-European infrastructural networks. Here, he justifies this assertion saying that the internal market of an enlarged Union “will require greater mobility of goods and services and a more efficient transport network”.<sup>27</sup> But in other occasions argumentation is rather left implicit, while the claims seem justified simply by a consolidated tradition. The use of lexemes that presuppose

<sup>26</sup> For an interesting discussion of this specific matter within the general framework of pragmadialectics, see Houtlosser 2002.

<sup>27</sup> It is worth noting that in the original Italian version of the speech there was a subtler articulation and an explicit link between premise and conclusion: the internal market needs more mobility and *therefore* (it. ‘perciò’) a more efficient transport network.

the existence of such a tradition (as *prosequire* ‘go on, continue’, *ribadire* ‘reaffirm’, etc) is frequent. Berlusconi is similarly willing to mention other components of the European Union (the Commission, for example) or previous decisions taken by them, to suggest that his Presidency will act in response to the “invitation” of other European institutions, which are supposed to have authority as well as general approval.

A rather interesting example of claim justification, which allows a comparison with the official version of the programme, comes at the beginning of the actual illustration of the priorities, after the introduction. The point concerns the timing of the work of the Intergovernmental Conference and, as a consequence, the signing of the new Treaty. The official programme starts with the commitment of the Italian Presidency to open the Conference in October and work on a tight schedule in order to reach an agreement as soon as possible. The document gives a clear and argued justification for this intention, as it is affirmed that this determination stems from respect for the values of democracy and transparency, because in this way the European citizens who will vote for renewal of the Parliament in June 2004 will be informed of the contents of their new constitution. In other words, the intention to hasten the process is presented as a need, in the name of universal values (democracy, transparency) which are supposed to have general approval. A further argument, ‘voters must be informed’, is then introduced, to justify the assertion that ‘to be quick is to respect democracy’. This point is further developed in the second part of the document, with detailed indications of the advantages stemming from a tight schedule. In Berlusconi’s speech, the whole matter is presented as an ethical commitment of the Presidency and of the President himself (here, the first person singular is used), and the final goal – i.e. signing the Treaty in the period between the official admission of the ten new Member States (May 1<sup>st</sup>) and the elections for the renewal of the Parliament – is expressed in form of statement rather than assertion (Cohen 1992). The wording of the following sentence suggests that the speaker is explaining, not arguing. He adds that “any extension of the negotiations beyond those dates would mean dissipating the precious store of constitutional wisdom developed by the Convention; it would also involve asking European voters to elect their Parliament without knowing the institutional shape of the future Union”. The reference to the Convention is in line with the constant effort to rely on tradition and on the results already obtained by other European institutions, implying that there is a common view shared by all the parties involved. This emotional appeal makes the explanation more varied, and confirms the impression that the speaker does not intend to justify his point of view, but simply wants to underline the crucial importance of a certain course of action, which is a primary object of his strong commitment.

## **5. Arguing a controversial issue: Europe and the US**

To conclude this analysis, it is worth examining one single point, i.e. the relations between Europe and the United States. It is easy to understand that it was for the Italian government a delicate and controversial issue, as there had been contrasting opinion among the Member States about the Iraq war and the relations with the US in general. In this case, the Italian Presidency cannot rely on a common and widely-accepted policy, and therefore has to put forth its own point of view, possibly trying to mitigate it in order to obtain general consensus. Therefore, rhetorical techniques as well as argumentation schemes are fully exploited.

### **5.1 The official programme**

In the list of priorities which opens the official presentation of the programme, the issue is dealt with under point four (Europe on the World Stage), which also tackles the situation in the Middle East, and occupies two paragraphs. The first starts with a general statement: Europe must become strong and authoritative at international level, it must speak with one

and the same voice, and it must intervene in critical areas in co-operation with the US, in order to preserve security and peace all over the world. It is obviously implicit that security and peace are important values, but the assumption that co-operation with the US is necessary to preserve them is not justified. Actually, the statement as a whole becomes a premise, as it is followed by indications on how to reach the objective mentioned (i.e. through adequate defence facilities, in synergy with Nato). The second paragraph tackles the problem explicitly: here, the premise is that the Iraq crisis has weakened the UE-US relations, and therefore (it. 'quindi') it is necessary to restore previous, and privileged, relations with Washington (claim). Here, a new perspective is adopted, so that the first statement, which implies that co-operation is necessary for peace, becomes an argument to justify the claim.

The difficulties in presenting and supporting this standpoint emerge also in the second, more detailed part of the programme. The section starts (under "point A.") with a description of the international context, which includes the presence of potential elements of crisis and instability, the threat of terrorism, and the need to restore a climate of confidence and co-operation "with our American allies". Again, what actually is the intention of the Italian government (i.e. to restore the EU-US relations) is listed among the premises, and this is reinforced by the use of the first person plural and the lexical choice (our allies), which imply that 'we all know that we are allies'. However, after a discussion of the defence strategies ("point B."), the EU-US relationship is tackled again ("point C."), and the premise becomes the standpoint: The Italian Presidency considers an urgent priority to re-establish good relations with the US, restoring the climate that has traditionally characterised them and strengthening a partnership which is a fundamental strategic relation for the European Union. Here, it is presupposed (in the use of lexemes like restore, re-establish) that the relations have worsened and it is also taken for granted that this relation is essential (the idea is introduced in a relative clause). The enunciation of the standpoint is followed by the ethical commitment to reaching the goal, with the indication of the political strategies of mediation that will be adopted. The strength of the commitment is highlighted by the use of the first person plural (we'll try to, we'll make every effort to), which does not occur in the rest of text. Finally, an argument is introduced to support the claim: co-operation with the US is essential in the fight against terrorism and mass destruction weapons. Ethical commitment, pathetic embayage, and logical argumentation are played with to overcome the difficulties connected with this particular issue.

## 5.2 The speech

In the speech, the Premier tries to create agreement with the audience, affirming that "establishing conditions for international security is now a key task for the countries which share a set of universal values based on freedom, democracy and peace". Universal values are explicitly mentioned as such, and it is implied that European countries are among those which share these values and have the task of guaranteeing international security. The link between universal values and security is implicit and not supported by argumentation: by virtue of a form of *petitio principii*, it becomes part of the preliminary agreement over fact and values. "This is the main area in which fundamental transatlantic relations and the partnership between Europe and the United States must now be reinvigorated. We wish to confirm our conviction that there is no incompatibility between a strong European undertaking and an equally strong transatlantic solidarity." The objects of agreement with the audience become the footing for the claim, which is emphatically affirmed and modulated, and is then followed: firstly, by the (ethical) expression of commitment ("we will strive to restore..."), secondly, by (logical) argumentation (the relation is vital "if Europe is to have greater authority on the world stage"). Finally, "the fight against terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and the support for the promotion of democracy and respect for human rights and



fundamental freedoms are specific areas in which to test our ability to build a solid relationship of cooperation between the two shores of the Atlantic.” The arguer goes back to the starting point: mentioning universal values again, he appeals to pathos and leaves no more room for argumentation proper. In the ritual, public presentation of the programme the logical support of the claim becomes even thinner.

## 6. Final remarks

The analysis of the texts has shown that different contexts, which imply different participants and aims in the communication, determine significant shifts in rhetorical and argumentative style. The differences stem from the co-ordinates of the communicative event as a whole, depending in particular on the receivers (the audience as “a thought construction” of the arguer, Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca 1954) and on the medium for the transmission of the message. In turn, these are linked to the (overt and covert) aims of the sender, which ultimately justify the strategies adopted.

In the official programme, which consists of a written document meant for “specialists” of political issues in the first place, the main, overt goal is that of informing about the policy of the new Presidency. This implies identification of priorities (points of view) and possibly justification of choices (arguments). Yet the intention to communicate the determination of the Italian government and its strong commitment to the implementation of the programme introduces further ethical implications, aimed at emphasising the abilities and the willingness of the actors involved.

In the ritual speech delivered before Parliament, the President-in-Office aims at convincing his audience of present (MPs) and absent recipients (the European, and in particular the Italian, citizens) both of the correctness of the programme and of his capacity of implementing it. To achieve the former objective, he widely relies on the construction of a common ground, made of shared facts (the history of the Union) and values (the universal values of democracy, freedom, etc). In this perspective, the choices of his government become almost a necessity, and they are presented as the development of a common and consolidated policy. In most cases, the priorities are illustrated with no proper argumentation, relying simply on tradition (strength of authority). Ethical implications, which are particularly evident when the speaker commits himself to a certain course of action, are however mingled with pathetic appeal to the audience, which is attributed the same intentions and feelings as the speaker.

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