

A Gender-based Approach to Parliamentary Discourse

The Andalusian Parliament

EDITED BY

CATALINA FUENTES-RODRÍGUEZ

AND GLORIA ÁLVAREZ-BENITO

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Edited by Catalina Fuentes-Rodríguez and Gloria Álvarez-Benito

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The Andalusian Parliament

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Introduction

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This book presents a study on parliamentary discourse from a gender perspective. We have chosen the Andalusian Parliament because it is a gender-balanced parliament, the first one in Spain. This is a corpus-based study, a novelty in the scientific panorama of political studies.

Previous research on political and parliamentary discourse has generally focused on legitimisation and delegitimisation strategies and their relation with power from a global perspective (Van Dijk 1998, 2002, 2005; Charaudeau 2005, Van Dijk and Wodak 2000). Besides, previous gender-based research has mainly examined gender and social roles and has also attempted to provide a sociological explanation of electoral campaigns (Campbell 1998, Ilie 2010, Mayhead *et al.* 2005, Wodak 2003). However, the literature does not abound in corpus-based studies of political discourse centred on the analysis of linguistic mechanisms that might be affected by gender differences. In addition, no research has been conducted to examine whether men and women use different communicative strategies.

Our corpus-based analysis is the Andalusian Parliament because it is the first Parliament in Spain with equal representation of men and women since the eighth term of office. This is the reason why the eighth legislature has been selected.

The main aim of this book is the identification and localisation of linguistic mechanisms and strategies used by MPs to persuade and perform their roles in parliament. The analysis has been carried out from the perspective of linguistic argumentation. It complements the type of analysis that is carried out for most gender studies in the literature, generally from a sociological perspective. Therefore, we want to examine the plausibility of the hypothesis on the speech of women and men and describe how they perceive their roles in parliament.

This book fills a gap in the existing literature on parliamentary discourse by: a) being a corpus-based analysis; b) demonstrating that gender is not a relevant variable in the selection of communicative strategies and therefore stereotyping about feminine and masculine discourse is not valuable; c) showing that parliamentary discourse is characterised by a professional style, thereby including its

study in professional discourse; d) dealing with expressions and strategies of argumentation (describing a selection of the most relevant strategies in the corpus under study); e) following a holistic perspective, including pragmalinguistic, sociopragmatic, ideological studies and sociological perspectives about communication, such as face-work, politeness and identity studies. The latter aspects have been examined in the analysis of public discourse (political and media discourse, Fuentes-Rodríguez ed. 2013). Herein we show how the main goal of the MP's intervention in debates is identity construction as a member of the government or the opposition. Ideology, face-work and argumentation are interconnected in this type of discourse.

In this book, the reader can find a description of many of the mechanisms and strategies used by politicians in parliament. This description will lead the reader to conclude that the main goals of parliamentary discourse are persuasion, face-work and role-playing.

This book is a necessary tool for any researcher interested in the description of public discourse, the ritualisation of ideological speeches and a global perspective of discourse analysis. The analysis of argumentation that we are interested in is descriptive, closer to the argumentative theory of Anscombe and Ducrot (1983). We have chosen a pragmalinguistic approach that is not so commonly used in the literature to describe the mechanisms used by MPs in parliament. Other approaches on argumentation are the new rhetoric perspective of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1989) and Toulmin (1958) or the pragma-dialectics of Van Eemeren-Grootendorst (2004). The goal of the latter perspective is to resolve confrontation; however, from our perspective in parliamentary discourse, the goal is to be the winner in confrontation, not to resolve it:

The pragma-dialectical model of a critical discussion is a theoretically motivated system for resolution-oriented discourse. In a critical discussion, the parties attempt to reach agreement about the acceptability of the stand-points at issue by finding out whether or not these standpoints are defensible against doubt or criticism. To be able to achieve this purpose, the dialectical procedure for conducting a critical discussion cannot deal only with inference relations between premises (or 'concessions') and conclusions (or 'standpoints'), but should cover all speech acts that play a part in examining the acceptability of standpoints. In pragma-dialectics, the concept of a critical discussion is therefore given shape in a model that specifies all the types of speech acts instrumental in any of the stages the resolution process has to pass. Because in actual argumentative discourse speech acts are often performed implicitly or indirectly, in practice, a great variety of speech acts may fulfil a constructive role in the resolution process (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984, 2004)

(Van Eemeren 2009:76).

1. Gender and political discourse

The literature on gender studies and political discourse is very broad, and politicians' language (both men's and women's) has been widely analysed from different perspectives and approaches such as linguistics, sociology, psychology and ethnography.

From a sociolinguistic point of view, the gender variable started to gain importance from Labov's works (1969), in which female speech was associated with ultra-correction, self-correction and greater respect for linguistic prestige. The results of the American scholar's urban surveys additionally highlighted the influence exerted by women upon linguistic change processes. In the field of Hispanic sociolinguistics, Salvador (1952) and Alvar (1956), focusing on European Spanish, agreed on the identification of a preference for Castilian phonetic variants in the speech of women living in two villages located in the Andalusian province of Granada. Alternatively, in the Latin American context, Guitarte (1955) emphasised the role played by female speech in the progress of '*rehilamiento porteño* [typical Argentinian pronunciation of Spanish "LL/Y" as "SH"]'.

Some scholars have studied the differences between men's and women's discourse styles in terms of dominance and subordination (Lakoff, 1973 and 1975,¹ Fishman, 1983). In this view, men's styles represent dominance, whereas women's style is a reflection of their subordinated role, inferiority and social dependence on men. According to Lakoff (1973, 1975), female speech projects a number of features that highlight women's lack of security and dependence on men, among others: the frequent use of question tags, the use of expressions to tone down the illocutionary force of their assertion or the adoption of an interrogative intonation instead of a categorical statement. The problem lies in conclusions that are exclusively based on insights that reduce their scientific rigour.

Societies are organised in terms of private and public domains (Reiter, 1975): women's participation in society is mostly restricted to the private domain (subordination), whereas men's participation to the public domain (dominance). Politics is an activity of the public domain, mainly controlled and led by men. Thus, politics is characterised by its masculine-based discourse style.

The so-called dominance approach was subsequently replaced by the difference theory. So, other scholars prefer to analyse language differences between men and women as a direct consequence of cultural differences (Coates, 1986; Tannen, 1990; Lozano, 1995). According to Lozano (1995), the divergences between female and male speech are not due to men's social superiority but to the difference existing in their education. In his opinion, 'the two sexes belong to different

1. See also Lakoff (2003).

sub-cultures and own peculiar psychologies which result in the existence of a feminine register and a masculine one' (p. 177). Neither of these sub-cultures must be regarded as being superior to the other. They are simply different, which is reflected in their linguistic interventions.

Patterns of behaviour as well as language styles have changed a lot in the last years. Instead of the private – public distinction, the home – work dichotomy is preferred (Tannen, 1994; Holmes and Stubbe, 2003; Kendall, 2003). This difference between home and work focuses on the new role of women in society, with an important presence in the workplace in almost every profession, including politics.

Dow and Condit (2005:450) made reference to the participation of women in public discourse and the integration of feminism in the same context, as one of the two main issues for gender studies. This, in fact, makes a direct reference to women as speakers and to the traditional difficulty that arises when women try to access political discourse. This type of discourse is designed by men and for men, who have roles of greater social significance and power (representing leadership). Dow and Condit (2005:466) also reminded that there are still few studies on political candidates' rhetoric or on the discourse of women who work as politicians.

The most recent studies advocate the combination of the gender variant with other factors determining communication such as role played, type of text and linguistic context (Van Baalen, 2001). Regarding parliamentary discourse, the analysis carried out by Power and Berardone (1998:5) on the first speeches suggests the following:

Reported differences in some aspects of language appear to be context-dependent (Crawford, 1995; Kramarae, 1981), or in Bakhtin's terms, subject to 'genre rules', and pose the possibility that one reason why distinctive women's language is not found consistently in all research is that women adapt more than men to the expectations of the setting, institution or genre in the same way as minority groups do if they wish to avoid being noticed as 'different'.

Hence, although from the research evidence we would expect women's speech at Parliament to be different from men's, we might also expect this difference to be modified by women's awareness of the existing genre and their understanding of communication rules in the sphere of Parliament.

In fact, this is precisely one of the directions or results of the studies carried out within the framework of the present research project. The studies performed by Carranza Márquez (2012), Brenes (2012) and Fuentes-Rodríguez and Brenes (2014) have broken several stereotypes stemming from Lakoff's works in relation to female speech: the tendency for women to use 1) affection and 2) verbal politeness. It has also been highlighted that there are no remarkable differences between men and women as far as the allusion to the cognitive ground of truth

(Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2012a) or the vocabulary used (Castillo and García, 2012) is concerned. The interlocutors' gender cannot therefore be the determining factor in these cases. Both genders adapt their speech to the discursive genre, as well as to the role adopted and the demands imposed on them by the context of emission. It is not gender, but the aims of political discourse, which determine the choice of verbal elements.

It has been shown that women's and men's political discourse styles differ in many respects (Harris, 1984; Wadsworth *et al.*, 1987; Williams, 1998; Mayhead and Marshall, 2005). However, women's political discourse has also been shown to have many features in common with men's discourse (Álvarez-Benito and Iñigo-Mora, 2012a). The differences may be explained in terms of culture and nurture. However, the similarities lie in their use of a common specific language: 'the language of power', which has a dominance-based style. A different problem is the way in which the same behaviour or style is interpreted, depending on whether it corresponds to men or women.

Some studies in the literature focus on the masculinisation of women's communicative style and strategies in political environments (Campbell, 1998), particularly in parliamentary discourse (Banerjee, 2003). As mentioned earlier, political discourse is a typically male territory and women have to adapt their styles to the new environment. However, do women also masculinise their style in environments or contexts where there is a balanced participation by both genders?

Some researchers have approached the relationship between the language used in Parliament and gender from a European perspective. Cornelia Ilie, one of the most active and internationally recognised researchers in the study of parliamentary discourse (Ilie 2001, 2003a, 2003b, 2004 and 2010), has been the coordinator of the GENPARDIS (Gender and Parliamentary Discourse Practices) project. This is outlined on her official website: <https://www.jyu.fi/ytk/laitokset/yfi/en/old-research/clusters/dissensus/environment/cornelia>.

Childs (2004) found that female British Labour MPs proved to have a female discursive style, after being MPs for at least three years. In her research, she interviewed 23 new female parliamentarians who were elected in 1997. Two-thirds of the interviews showed the existence of a less aggressive and more collaborative style compared with men (2004:5). Furthermore, some interviews showed that, as a result of these characteristics, some parliamentarians were criticised as being less effective and decisive. Ballington (2008:39) is clear in her interpretation: 'However, a less aggressive approach to politics does not imply reduced effectiveness, but rather should be seen as a different style. It is also interesting that a less confrontational approach is often appreciated by the wider electorate.' Moreover, she adds (2008:71): 'Overall, both men and women believed that women's presence had been influential in bringing about a change in parliamentary language.'

It is well known that people's styles are influenced by the context in which interaction takes place. All the elements involved in the communicative setting have some kind of effect or impact on the production and reception of the message. The audience is a very important element in the communicative process. Speakers are known to adapt their messages according to the audience, and parliamentary discourse does not seem to be different.

2. Gender and political discourse in the Andalusian Parliament

The importance of this book is twofold. On the one hand, it studies a gender-balanced parliament and, on the other hand, it is a corpus-based analysis of political argumentation.

2.1 A gender-balanced parliament

This book deals with a novel situation: the analysis of a parliament with a balanced gender representation, the Andalusian Parliament (2008–2012). This legislative term is particularly interesting because a very important law was passed, the Parity Law (3/2007), to ensure the equal representation of each gender. Thus, there is a balanced representation in terms of gender. Therefore, the results will not be due to a higher proportion of men, as has always been the case in previous terms. This fact makes the present book different and unique, which sheds light on men's and women's political styles and strategies in a context where they are equally represented. It is also worth mentioning that women have the same representation as men at all levels of hierarchy, in contrast to other organisations where equality is supposed to be promoted. Considering this situation, Wodak (2003:679) argued that, according to the statistics data from March 2000, in the European Commission, there were 16,279 employees, of which 47.5% were women, but only 5.9% were at the highest level of the hierarchy. Moreover, she added that 'such a distribution presents us with a picture that we know all too well: women advance only to a certain point in their careers'. This fact lends weight to the importance of our study. During the same period (2008–2012), the representation of women in other regional parliaments was smaller, as stated by Collier and Sarciat (2013:16): Catalanian Parliament 44%; Basque Parliament 43%; Galician Parliament 40%. Regarding national parliaments, the situation was very similar, with the Swedish Parliament leading the field in terms of women's representation at 46.4%.

It will be interesting to compare our results with other studies on parliaments where men are more numerous than women. Do women masculinise their speech in the Andalusian parliamentary discourse? To what extent does women's

discourse in the Andalusian Parliament differ from women's styles in other parliaments where there is no parity? If women are said to masculinise their speech when they are in a masculine context, do men feminise their speech when surrounded by more women than usual? Can we talk of the professionalisation or institutionalisation of discourse?

Men and women consider the discursive genre as aggressive and polemical. Thus, they adopt the features characteristic of this type of language style when they enter the political arena. The discursive style is also argumentative because the speaker's main intention is to establish his/her viewpoint and also to persuade and convince, so that his/her viewpoint is accepted. Men and women do not necessarily have their own personal argumentative styles. Instead, they also adopt the specific argumentative rules and strategies that are characteristic of this discursive genre. The citizens' perception of masculinisation is a product of the history of politics, generally men's territory.

The main purpose of this book is to identify many of the so-called men's and women's argumentative features and persuasive strategies, such as intensification, colloquialisation and emotion. Thus, it focuses on the study of the communicative devices used by politicians to get their message across to the voters, the political groups in power and the media. The authors explore both verbal and non-verbal argumentative strategies used by parliamentarians to win the battle against their opponents and deliver a brilliant and effective discourse, taking into account two variables: power relations and gender.

Once these persuasive strategies are identified, the next step is to compare between men and women to determine whether the discursive differences present in other fields or contexts are also present in the parliamentary arena.

In addition, the aim of this book is to investigate the influence that gender-based distinction exerts over the type of language used by Andalusian parliamentarians, either at the micro-structural level (elements, expressions, intonation) or at the macro-structural level (discursive organisation, argumentative strategies, elements of politeness,² use of different tones, use of body language). The goal is not only to identify the differences in the use of strategies, but also to provide the social reasons for their use, as well as an explanation of their discursive and strategic purposes. This detailed analysis of political argumentation could be extrapolated to other types of discourse and situations.

The analysis of parliamentary argumentation presented in this book focuses on three main issues. First, it focuses on the types of argumentation used by politicians to support their positions. Second, it centres on the nature and typology of linguistic strategies and mechanisms used by politicians to support their claims

2. See Fuentes-Rodríguez (2010b).

and respond to opposing arguments. Many of these devices have not so far been addressed as argumentative strategies. Besides, they have neither been studied in the context of parliamentary discourse nor related to the variables of power and gender, as has been done in this book. Third, it focuses on the purpose of verbal and non-verbal strategies, which implies that we must review the very starting point of parliamentary speech: it is a discourse of confrontation, which moves in the endo-group and exo-group game in a quest for domination or imposition of one over another.

Argumentation implies persuading, convincing others and making others accept ideas and positions they did not have before. However, the study of parliamentary discourse has revealed a different picture, hence the importance of this work. When a corpus is used, the investigation takes its own way and may lead to conclusions that are not necessarily expected. The purpose of using these strategies does not have to do with the other group, whose position is fixed, but with the MP's own group and the dramatisation of speech. The parliamentarian's objective is to present his opposing positions and ideas in a brilliant way. The use of these strategies is therefore formal and merely rhetorical. But there is more: this brilliant speech – which is not because of the content but because of the way it has been presented – is addressed to the MP's own political party, seeking to create an identity that makes him/her progress in the party. To study this issue, we resorted to the theory of social image or face (Goffman, 1959), which has so far been applied to face-to-face interaction and media discourse (Lorenzo-Dus, 2009; Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2013a). Argumentation becomes a self-image presentation strategy. We wonder whether this issue is even more relevant for women, who still have to fight against centuries of history that have left them out of power.

This study covers many different aspects and devices, and helps us to design a pattern of the mechanisms and strategies used by parliamentarians to build their own discourse.

The analysis of these aspects sheds more light on the field, adding a new perspective to previous research on power relations and the use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns and the binary opposition *we/they* (van Dijk, 2005). The use of strategic devices and their connection with identity and face have special importance nowadays in the study of another type of public discourse: media discourse. Social image perception is very important because the main function of parliamentary speech is not only to present an ideological position that contrasts with that of the opposition party, but also to project, especially, a personal image that makes him/her identifiable, compared to the rest of their party. Therefore, the strategies of self-introduction and legitimisation have been found to be crucial.

2.2 A corpus-based analysis

The book is also relevant because it is a corpus-based study of political argumentation, which is not dealt with in many studies. Although research on parliamentary rhetoric is not uncommon, no field studies have specifically provided evidence of linguistic argumentation. Moreover, only a few studies on argumentative discourse have focused on a discourse type, not limiting to particular cases. Eemeren's work emphasises the process of confrontation and elaborates a model of analysis, but does not provide a description of a parliament from this perspective. Even some handbooks on parliamentary rhetoric (Santiago de Guervós, López Eire) are limited to presenting inventories or making recommendations, but they do not study real discourse. This is another reason why this book is innovative.

The body of the study consists of the plenary sessions and committees of the Andalusian Parliament in the eighth and ninth legislatures, when equality has been increasing. A comparison between the two legislative terms is also provided. Although the political party in government was the same in the two terms of office, the opposition differed slightly because of alliances that were necessary after the 2012 election.

3. Studies on Spanish parliamentary discourse

Studies on Spanish political discourse, in general, have paid special attention to macro-structural issues, such as rhetorical strategies (Corcoran, 1979; López Eyre and Santiago Guervós, 2000; Hernández Guerrero, 2002; Íñigo Mora, 2005, 2007, 2010; Magaud, 2009; Blas Arroyo, 2011; Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2012b) or interruptive processes (Blas Arroyo, 1998). Some studies have also focused on elements associated with the micro-structural dimension, such as enumerative lists (Cortés, 2007), repetitions (Blas Arroyo, 1999) or lexicon (Fernández Lagunilla, 1980, 1999; Provencio Garrigós, 1994). Paralinguistic and non-verbal elements such as gestures have also been taken into account (Atkinson, 1984; Rivas Carmona and Álvarez-Benito, 2003; Íñigo-Mora and Álvarez-Benito, 2009). Some other studies have also focused on the way in which linguistic units can make discourse sound polite or impolite (Blas Arroyo, 2001, 2002, 2003; Íñigo Mora, 2008).³

3. Bolívar (2001a, 2001b, 2005); Harris (2001); Ilie (2001) and Lunginbühl (2007) applied this concept to other parliaments. Fernández Lagunilla (1999) presents the linguistic devices of the argumentation: "the word of power".

Political language has been studied by Alvar (1987), Arce (2006), Miche (1998) and Núñez Cabezas and Guerrero Salazar (2002), among others. In these studies, different issues related to gender, such as degree of planning in oral interventions (Alcaide, 1999), expressing disagreement (Miche, 1998) and forms of address (García Godoy, 2001–2), have been analysed in detail. However, a study on the influence of gender as a variable is still lacking.

The only international context studies available are: American Senate (Boxer and Boxer, 1994), British Parliament (Brookes, 1967; Vallance, 1979), Indian Parliament (Chopra, 1993; Ranjana, 1994), Bulgarian and Hungarian Parliaments (Ilonszki and Kostova, 2003) and European Parliament (Wodak, 2003).

This book is also innovative in that our gender study focuses on a specific discourse type (parliamentary discourse), an area on which little research has been done and therefore only a few contributions to the subject have been made (Igalada 2006, 2007 and 2008). Research on gender has focused mainly on conversation (Tannen, 1990, 1993; Nordenstam, 1992; Arriaga Flores *et al.*, 2009; Acuña Ferreira, 2009), communicative situations characterised by confrontation and dissent (Brown, 1993; García Gómez, 2000) and the media (Giménez Armentia and Berganza Conde, 2009). In these contexts, authors have analysed whether gender has an influence on the following aspects: frequency of talking out of turn (West and Zimmerman, 1987; James and Clarke, 1993; Redeker and Maes, 1995), use of discourse markers (Smith, 1979; Madfes, 2005), interactional strategies of politeness or impoliteness (Mills, 1995, 2000, 2003, 2005), use of emotion (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2012c) or even specific speech acts like flattery (Achugar, 2001). These works constitute a reference point for gender studies, although they are neither specific to a discourse type as strongly professional as parliamentary discourse, nor to a parliament marked by the equal representation of men and women, a unique and outstanding feature of our corpus.

Nowadays, there is a change in the focus of gender studies, taking a new direction to analyse the interrelation between linguistic mechanisms and strategies, on the one hand, and the communicative objectives, on the other hand. This new approach is more concerned with the study of rhetoric and argumentation. An example of this new trend is the project ‘The gender perspective in the Andalusian Parliament language’ (*La perspectiva de género en el lenguaje parlamentario andaluz*),⁴ whose results are presented herein.

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4. Holistic approach to parliamentary argumentation

The aim of this project is to determine whether the gender variable should be taken into account in the pragmatic analysis of parliamentarians' discourse. Particularly, it determines whether women use the same strategies to convince or whether they arrive at their own strategies within a context framed by power relations. We have analysed whether women, who have come into this 'profession' (as politicians) later, have emulated the style of a language they consider professional. Political strategies are then strategies of a professional discourse, and gender is not relevant.

Our approach is holistic: ideology (particularly, political ideology, that is, shared beliefs of a group and the involvement in a proposal to change the situation of citizens)⁵ and sociopragmatics are linked to pragmatic linguistics and discourse; pragmalinguistic elements are related to type of discourse and context, taking into account their rhetoric and persuasive functions. Generally, only one of these perspectives or views is followed in discourse studies. By contrast, to analyse the discourse product, all the aspects implied in the process must be taken into account. For this reason, we follow an integrated model proposed by Adam (1990), the Geneva School, Roulet (1997) and Fuentes-Rodríguez (2015).

The sociopragmatic or ideological approach taken into account in some studies, such as those by van Dijk, must be added to the aforementioned proposals. All politicians adapt their speech to the role adopted or played: as a member of the government or as a member in the opposition. In the legislative term (2012–2015) in the Andalusian Parliament, there was an additional role, namely that of a member of a party allied to the group in government. The group IU (*Izquierda Unida*, 'United Left') had changed its role from the previous term. The analysis of the two terms, the eighth and the ninth, has allowed us to study the role changes of this group. A sociopragmatic-based approach has also been adopted in this book for the study of argumentation, considering the theory of social face (Goffman, 1959, 1967) and (im)politeness (Brown and Levinson, 1987; Bousfield and Locher, 2008). So, we can have a more general perspective of how a politician works out his/her identity, both as an individual and as a member of a party, and what is his/her attitude like in the parliament. We have also incorporated theories such as argumentation theory (Anscombe and Ducrot, 1983; Fuentes-Rodríguez and Alcaide, 2002) or new rhetoric (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1989).

This study is of great importance for the field of linguistics (variation research and parliamentary description) as well as sociology because we analyse the connections between language and society. Note that the people behind these dis-

5. See Van Dijk (2002, 1998).

courses represent the whole society; meanwhile, they are at the highest social level, exerting a great influence upon society.

In addition, politics is an area where equality is most clearly implemented. In this field, a quota system has been established as a means to guarantee political correctness. However, a quota system does not necessarily imply that both genders have the same representation at all levels of the political hierarchy. Therefore, it is necessary to discover whether the communicative strategies used in parliamentary discourse are more or less ritualised and, consequently, men and women make use of the same rhetorical devices typical of this type of discourse. It should also be determined whether politicians make use of different discourse strategies depending on the specific tastes, preferences and styles of each individual.

Our study has centred on the description of the strategies used by politicians and attempts to determine whether gender plays a crucial role in this respect. Our research project focuses on the analysis of both verbal devices (syntactic structures, polyphonic use, presence of subjectivity, attenuation and intensity, collocations, euphemisms, lexical repetitions) and non-verbal devices (time management, gestures, visual contact). Thus, considering both verbal and non-verbal discourse elements has enabled us to outline the most typical linguistic strategies used⁶ by MPs.

In a holistic approach, we analysed some of the most relevant aspects, such as the concept of face, identity, (im)politeness and power relations.

The concept of face⁷ is crucial in a context where MPs intend to be more convincing than their opponents. That is why special attention is paid to it (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2013a) in this book. In the past, the politician's face was guaranteed by the use of rhetorical devices that supported the politician's oratory. Nowadays, rhetorical devices are replaced by argumentative strategies that might be less well known by the average citizen. In promoting oneself, self-image awareness is essential in this type of discourse, along with many other linguistic and argumentative mechanisms (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2011a, 2012c, 2013b). In the context of parliamentary discourse, the aim is to construct a self-image without taking into account the attack that is mounted on the opponent.

In parliamentary discourse, impoliteness is not taken as a way of threatening the opponent's face but rather as something unmarked and thus appropriate (Blas Arroyo, 2001). Politicians use impoliteness as a strategy (Bolívar, 2005;

6. The group members have dealt with various research areas that are specified in many publications and participated in international conferences in many European countries (e.g. UK, Italy, Sweden, Denmark, Germany).

7. Face and identity determine the public behaviour. For details, see Arundale (2006), Fuentes Rodríguez (2013a, 2013 ed.).

Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2013b) because the goal of any political discourse is precisely to reveal the opponent's weakness or incompetence. Blas Arroyo (2001) made reference to some of the strategies used by politicians to attack their opponents, such as alleging that they are lying, displaying contemptuousness, establishing unfavourable contrasts, associating opponents with negative intentions or facts and contradictory actions and lack of will. In our opinion, impoliteness is not only a question of attacking the opponent's reputation or creating a negative image of him/her but also a question of dominating the interaction.

This book is also devoted to the analysis of power relations and their linguistic manifestations. We can consider a hierarchy where members have unequal political position and influence, depending on the party they represent (in power or in the opposition) and their role in the party (the Chairperson of the Governing Board, board members, etc.). In this situation, the overall hierarchy can be represented as follows: President of the Regional Government – members of the Ministry – opposition leader – PSOE⁸ parliamentarians – PP⁹ parliamentarians – IU¹⁰ parliamentarians. However, in this regard, a number of points must be clarified. In general, the relationship is often polarised in the conflict between the government and the opposition. However, we must also take into account the role performed by the opposition groups that support the government. In the eighth term, which is part of this corpus project, the government in power was PSOE (the principal left wing party), whereas PP (the right wing party) and IU ('United Left') were the parties in the opposition. In the ninth term, however, the situation was different, although the party in government remained the same. IU, which was in the opposition in the eighth term, formed an alliance with PSOE in the ninth term. This situation has led to a different political setting where the two polarised forces form three blocks: the government (an alliance PSOE–IU), the opposition represented by PP and a non-opposing IU party, whose political behaviour differs from that of the other two forces.

The groups allied with the party in power usually agree with the government's programme (consensus). By contrast, when it comes to the other block (the groups in the opposition), we may find situations of conflict, especially when there is more than one party involved.

However, power is related not only to the position of political parties in parliament, but also to the role played by each politician within his/her political group. Within each group, there are some members with greater power than others.

8. PSOE: *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party).

9. PP: *Partido Popular* (People's Party).

10. IU: *Izquierda Unida* (United Left).

Regarding the power of political parties in parliament, politeness and impoliteness are used in a different way depending on whether the party is in government or in the opposition. The discourse of the group in government is characterised by moderation. Politicians in government have the advantage of enjoying public support as well as controlling all the government decisions. Thus, they display a more cooperative attitude and image, trying to be objective. This attitude results in well-mannered behaviour in comparison to that of the political groups in the opposition. They try to save face and minimise the risk of confrontation with the intention of convincing their audience and winning any dialectic battles against the groups in the opposition. The opposite is true of opposition politicians: they will seek conflict as a response to the government's mismanagement.

In general, politicians choose discourse strategies and linguistic devices according to social and contextual factors:

- a. The social role of the speaker (minister, deputy minister, etc.) as well as his/her political affiliation, depending on whether his/her party is in government or in the opposition. If they are in the opposition, their party's representation in parliament and their role within the party are also of great importance.

Social image perception is very important. This is because the main function of parliamentary speech is not only to present an ideological position that contrasts with that of the opposition, but also to project, especially, a personal and a distinctive identity that makes the politician identifiable and different from the rest of the members in his/her party. As we will see in the following chapters, the strategies of self-introduction and legitimisation are found to be crucial.

- b. The gender of the participants in the interaction, both the speaker and the addressee. We have evaluated whether the relations are symmetrical or not: man – man, man – woman, woman – man, woman – woman or man – House and woman – House. We have tried to discover and describe the degree of discrimination – whether such discrimination existed – in the behaviour expressed in the interactions between women and men and vice versa.
- c. The topic being discussed, especially when dealing with issues concerning specific areas such as domestic violence, chauvinist attitudes, prostitution and the social context in which these issues take place. Special attention has to be paid to women's role and historical precedents (some topics may be considered more sensitive than others and also some topics affect women directly). The position that each political party adopts with respect to the facts is also taken into consideration.
- d. The historical moment in which the intervention takes place, especially with upcoming elections, where messages become more radical.

- e. The different registers observed in political interventions, making a distinction between prepared speeches written beforehand, on the one hand, and spontaneous oral interventions, on the other hand.
- f. The type of session (plenary sessions and committees) and interaction. In this regard, oral questions follow a structure that is more fixed than the structure of debates or spontaneous arguments.

When using this holistic methodological approach, the question of ‘gender’ takes on a broader scope. As mentioned earlier, there is growing interest in the subject of ‘gender’ as evident in women’s incorporation into the workforce and social changes that have taken place in Spain shortly. Politicians and their speeches have been essential to the awareness of this issue, and therefore they are considered responsible for their consequences. Moreover, the parliamentary sphere has been the public context where equality has been imposed, as well as women have acquired unprecedented relevance in our society. It is particularly more relevant to this study. We have chosen the Andalusian Parliament as our research subject because for many years now (two terms) equality has been a reality. Women are now in positions of power and influence that they had not previously occupied, for example as regional ministers.

It may be interesting to confirm whether women’s integration is complete when dealing with language and the employment of persuasive tools or whether a certain variation can be perceived. Do women employ the strategies that are typical of this type of discourse, even exaggerate them to stand out, or do they make use of their own structural resources? It is worth mentioning that the way in which we communicate is in itself a cover letter of ourselves.

Due to their novelty in this field, as mentioned earlier, the position that women have in the Parliament can lead them towards:

- a. the use of emulation techniques and a type of language that aspires to be technical, in some cases including modifications or adjustments to intensify and reinforce argumentation;
- b. the integration of their own strategies.

Furthermore, in the very Parliament, the main policies for women’s equality – a political priority for the present government – are discussed. In fact, this is the place where we find the origin of social changes. The presence of both male and female parliamentarians enriches the debate and exhibits social diversity. In such cases, it is important to compare the ways in which each one of them and the media explain their position to convince their opponents.

The evaluation of women’s degree of equality in Parliament is a reflection and a model for society in general. Being public figures, society sets them as an

example. In addition to the usual pressure experienced by them due to their under-representation in Parliament in the past, the great interest that female parliamentarians now exhibit must also be considered. Their actions and statements are judged based on social stereotypes that make sense in private but not in public discourse. This can be seen when analysing how the declarations and statements of women in Parliament are reflected in the media. The situation becomes prominent when the person speaking is a representative of the government, whether criticising or being criticised. Some examples of women occupying positions of responsibility are Fuensanta Coves, the former head of the Chamber in the previous term, and Susana Díaz, the current President of the Andalusian Autonomous Regional Government.

The study of argumentation always entails the identification of topoi or shared knowledge that is used as a strategy to persuade the opponent. This must also be shared with the public. The analysis of speeches will help us to prove whether older chauvinistic topoi are still prevalent in our society or whether they are being eradicated. This is the most difficult step to climb in the struggle for equality. What is said might be correct but less so what is inferred or deduced. In essence, the study reveals that perceptions and ways of thinking have not changed.

The analysis of political discourse may be a very useful tool to detect any kind of discrimination on the basis of gender. It can also help us to find out whether, in such a ritualised context, men and women make use of the same type of argumentative strategies and whether gender stereotypical features, common in other contexts, are also present in the discourse of MPs in parliament.

5. Structure of the volume

This introduction provides the background information for the subsequent chapters in the book. In Chapter 1, Fuentes-Rodríguez focuses on the role of women in the Andalusian Parliament to date. This chapter provides documentary information on the weight of women in the Andalusian Parliament. This allows us to contextualise the study, as there was no parity until the 2008 legislature (Organic Act 3/2007 for Effective Equality of Women and Men). Meanwhile, the chapter shows that parity of representation does not necessarily imply parity of participation. It provides quantitative data obtained from studies on the Andalusian Parliament and from the author's own research.

After this introductory chapter, the book centres on the analysis of discourse in the Andalusian Parliament from different perspectives and approaches, as mentioned earlier in this introduction, to understand how MPs use argumentation to reach their objectives. The first issue addressed is the study of argumentative

strategies. In Chapter 2, Fuentes-Rodríguez focuses on intensification as an argumentative strategy and a discursive identity marker. Intensification is a recurrent mechanism, which serves to build the MPs' image of imposition and security when legitimising their own positions. Meanwhile, it reinforces confrontation with the other group. Parliamentarians develop and project an image of themselves that is related to the discursive role assigned to them: to be representatives of the ruling party or the opposition. In this section, the theory of argumentation merges with the theory of face-work, to explain how parliamentary discourse is regulated. Contrary to the findings of other studies, gender has been shown not to be relevant here. As some authors claim, women copy these strategies of identity construction and do not reproduce patterns of insecurity or underestimation. Intensification turns out to be the distinctive feature of parliamentary discourse, a gender feature. This is illustrated by various examples of syntactic structures introduced by the discourse marker *es que*.

In Chapter 3, Brenes explores the situations where the expected behaviour is the categorical assertion, considered in other contexts as a face-threatening act (FTA). The author discovers whether women have adapted their speech to the persuasive strategies that characterise this discursive context or whether they use other linguistic resources. Brenes analyses a linguistic device that is characterised by its intensifying action, the enumerative series. By using this device, she also studies the functions of enumeration and gender differences.

Chapter 4 centres on parody as a counter-argument strategy to discredit the opposition. In this chapter, López Martín analyses non-literal quotations as a very effective device to damage the enemy's face. He analyses the way men and women MPs repeat their opponents' words by modifying, exaggerating or parodying them.

In Chapter 5, Castillo Carballo and García Platero study pseudo-desemantisation, which is achieved by means of lexical ritualisation. They focus on the analysis of collocations, especially the combinations that involve the partial desemantisation of one of the collocative components with essentially euphemistic aims. They also explore the prototypicality links between the elements in the combination and the hierarchical imbalance between the collocated components.

Chapter 6 provides an insight into lexical colloquialisation in parliamentary discourse. In this chapter, González Sanz shows how colloquial register is used by politicians as another device to get closer to the audience, introduce some novelty and go beyond what is expected. She points out that this strategy not only constitutes a reduction of the general lexicon but also is present in media discourse, with the aim of establishing empathy with the audience. The MP makes use of these colloquial expressions as a strategy, to influence the media and therefore enjoy media coverage, which is one of the main objectives of the politician. Although this persuasive strategy is used by both genders, the analysis carried out by González

Sanz seems to show a slightly higher presence of these mechanisms in male speakers. This difference decreases in the case of phraseological units, which is almost equally employed by both genders. Therefore, the phraseological unit constitutes the most typical colloquial feature of parliamentary discourse.

After studying intensification and the strategic approach to the other, a new strategy is presented in Chapter 7, emotion. Emotion, which is often within the scope of fallacy, implies the use of syntactic, lexical and phonetic devices. It is frequently used by politicians as a persuasive device. It strengthens the politician's position and may be used as a mechanism for manipulation. In this chapter, Alcaide, Carranza and Fuentes-Rodríguez analyse emotion and its various domains used by MPs with a clear persuasive objective. By using the three subsystems of appraisal theory (affect, judgement and appreciation), politicians try to convince and defeat their opponents through affective means that are not always ethical. The authors provide a detailed inventory of the most typically used emotion markers and their functions, namely:

- a. emphasise the speaker's argumentation
- b. attack the opponent
- c. create the appearance of proximity and an 'identity' distinct from that of the rest of the group

Chapters 8 and 9 deal with the analysis of non-verbal elements in the discourse of Andalusian MPs. Both verbal and non-verbal devices occur in synchrony. Sometimes they go hand in hand and have the same argumentative functions (intensification, legitimisation, etc.). However, there are situations where the verbal message does not coincide with the non-verbal. So, the verbal message may be formulaic and institutionalised, whereas the non-verbal elements may show the true communicative intention of the message. The reason for this lack of synchrony between verbal and non-verbal messages may be lack of awareness and therefore lack of control (Álvarez-Benito, Fernández-Díaz and Íñigo-Mora 2009, Álvarez-Benito and Íñigo-Mora 2009 and 2012b, Íñigo-Mora and Álvarez-Benito 2010). These situations are very interesting for the study of discourse, not only in the parliamentary context but also in communication in general. Moreover, they may lead to methodologically relevant conclusions.

In Chapter 8, Álvarez-Benito and Íñigo-Mora analyse eye-contact behaviour as a communicative device in oral questions at the Committee for Equality and Social Welfare. The eye-contact of MPs' performs a variety of functions with different objectives, for example, to regulate turn-taking, help the MP sound more natural, signal affiliation, show disagreement, emphasise or reinforce words, express dominance and power, show self-satisfaction, express interest, save face or persuade. This chapter presents a detailed analysis of eye-contact gender differences

in relation to political colour, power relations and turn-taking sequences in a parliamentary context.

In Chapter 9, Bañón, Arcos and Requena study time and gaze management as a communication strategy used by leaders in Parliament. Their main objective is to find out whether men and women in positions of responsibility in the Andalusian Parliament handle time differently. They also argue that pauses and silences are used as mechanisms to define the different parts of speech and to help the MPs' performance.

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Women in the Andalusian Parliament

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The aim of this chapter is to provide documentary information on the weight of women in the Andalusian Parliament, from the first legislative terms until the 9th. The chapter also shows that parity of representation does not necessarily imply parity of participation.

Keywords: Women, participation, parity, legislative terms

1. The enhanced presence of women in Parliament as an evidence of ever-increasing equality

The presence of women in Andalusian politics has been growing steadily. With no more than a token presence in the first legislative terms, women at present enjoy equal representation in parliament. How has this come about?

Women's involvement in Andalusian politics is a relatively recent phenomenon. In the study conducted by Rodríguez (2011) on female parliamentary MPs (*Diputadas*), of a total of 8,723 municipal councillors elected in the first local elections of our region, only 263 (3.01%) were found to be women. Between 1979 and 1983, there were only four women compared to 215 men in the provincial councils.

Regarding parliamentary representation, the progress made by women has been remarkable. This is summarised in Table 1, based on the data presented by Rodríguez (2011) and complementary data on the current legislative term available on the Parliament's website.

In the first term, only 5.5% of MPs were women. This percentage has risen to 47.7% in the 9th term.

Regarding the presence of women in positions of responsibility, a topic studied in a different context by Montolío (2010), it is noteworthy that 'a woman did not preside over a government council until 1986, was not a member of the

ministry until 1990, was not a senator of the region until 1996 and was not a party spokesperson until 1999¹ (Rodríguez 2011:126, my translation).

Table 1. Participation of men and women in the Andalusian Parliament

Legislative terms	Total	Men	Women
I: 1982–1986	109	103	6
II: 1986–1990	109	104	5
III: 1990–1994	109	95	14
IV: 1994–1996	109	85	24
V: 1996–2000	109	78	31
VI: 2000–2004	109	68	41
VII: 2004–2008	109	66	43
VIII: 2008–2012	109	59	50
IX: 2012–2015	109	57	52

In the third legislative term, President Chaves appointed two women, one as the regional party president (Mrs Concepción Gutiérrez del Castillo) and the other as minister for social affairs (Mrs Carmen Hermosín), in addition to appointing a secretary to the Parliament's council (Mrs M. Carmen Ortiz).

The presence of women is of greater political and ideological significance in the case of the PSOE and IU parties. In the fourth legislative term, almost 20% of the 71 candidacies were headed by women, and in five lists, the number of women exceeded that of men. In the Parliament's council, one woman occupied the position of first secretary (Hortensia Gutiérrez del Álamo) and five other women headed a commission. In addition, there were three female regional ministers: one of Economy and Finance, another of Science and Education and the last one of Governance.

In the fifth term, there were five women heading commissions: Blanca Alcántara (Social Welfare), M. Carmen Ortiz (Culture, Tourism and Sports), M. José Calderón (Women's Commission), M. Dolores Núñez (Monitoring and Financial Processes) and Adoración Quesada (Education). Heading the electoral list, the PP remained the only party without any female representation.

In the sixth term, Teófila Martínez, from the PP party, became the first woman to put herself forward for election as President of the Andalusian Regional Government (*Junta de Andalucía*). The PSOE party fielded four women and four men at the top of the list, IU one and PA¹ none.

1. PA: Andalusian Party.

In the seventh term, María del Mar Moreno was appointed President of Parliament. Gender parity existed within the PSOE party, and there were three female spokespersons in the opposition. Women outnumbered men in the Andalusian Government. There were eight female council ministers in a total of 14 councils.

The eighth term represented a diminution of women's presence in the lists. However, Fuensanta Coves was elected President of the Parliament along with another three women that constituted the Board in the House. President Chaves appointed a total of eight women and seven men as his ministers.

Rodríguez (2011) found that women tend to be involved in politics for shorter periods than men. He focused on three women who were present in five terms. Rodríguez predicted that a woman would become President of the Andalusian Regional Government (*Junta de Andalucía*), a prediction that was fulfilled in the ninth legislative term, when Susana Díaz succeeded José Antonio Griñán following the resignation of the latter. She appointed six men and five women as ministers.

2. Women's opinions on equality and their role in Parliament

Rodríguez (2011) presented relevant data obtained from a survey conducted among 139 women, of whom 80 responded. The survey shows the following aspects that are directly related to issues presented in this book:

- (a) Women believe that both genders have an equal interest in politics.
- (b) Women are committed to equal opportunity and a quota policy.

Table 2. Degree of agreement with statements about equality and parity in Parliament (adapted from Rodríguez, 2011:301)

	Strongly agree	In agreement	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No answer
Men and women should have an equal role in running the government	76.3%	13.8%	1.3%	2.5%	6.3%
Women can successfully represent the interests of men in politics	15.0%	68.8%	5.0%	6.8%	7.5%
The more the women in parliament, the more the influence on priorities and policy directions	47.5%	28.8%	20.0%	0.0%	3.8%
Men can successfully represent the interests of women in politics	8.8%	62.5%	18.8%	2.5%	7.5%

(continued)

Table 2. (continued)

	Strongly agree	In agreement	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No answer
Female MPs have a responsibility to represent the interests of women in society	20.0%	28.8%	36.3%	6.3%	8.8%
Male MPs have a responsibility to represent the interests of men in society	5.0%	16.3%	52.5%	15.0%	11.3%

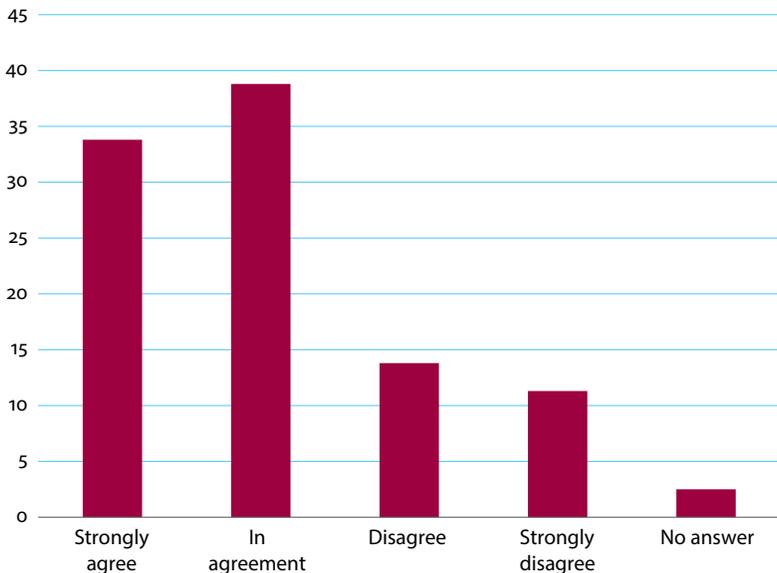


Figure 1. Degree of agreement with the quota policy for increasing women's participation in Parliament (adapted from Rodríguez 2011: 301)

The respondents generally believed that men and women can have the same role and that women can represent men's interests. This reflects a view of reality that is not restricted to gender associations.

- (c) How women view their own role in Parliament. It would have been illuminating if men had been included in that survey. Women were asked about the type of relationship they enjoyed with other members of their party. In their responses, the degree of cooperation is noteworthy: 56.3% declared that their relationships were collaborative and 30% reported that they were exclusively collaborative. Only 10% admitted that they at times collaborated and at other times dissented.

However, 8.8% of those surveyed recognised their relationship with the opposition party as characterised by confrontation, while 48.8% considered their relationship as either confrontational or collaborative. This suggests that in their consciences, women are more inclined towards collaboration than towards confrontation, a finding which deviates markedly from the general public's perception of parliamentary relationships.

Table 3. Degree of agreement with the statements about the quota policy to promote equality (adapted from Rodríguez, 2011:301)

	Strongly agree	In agreement	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No answer
The quota policy is useful but not sufficient. Policies must be accompanied by awareness	47.5%	35.0%	5.0%	2.5%	10.0%
The quota is a necessary measure to remedy the under-representation of women and increase their presence in Parliament	41.3%	30.0%	16.3%	5.0%	7.5%
Quotas set by law must be accompanied by enforceable provisions	27.5%	41.3%	11.3%	1.3%	18.8%
Quotas are not necessary. Women should be elected on the basis of their qualities and skills	13.8%	20.0%	27.5%	31.3%	7.5%
Quotas should not be applied as a temporary measure	10.0%	21.3%	33.8%	5.0%	30.0%
Quotas are discriminatory	7.5%	18.8%	27.5%	37.5%	8.8%
Quotas are not useful and lead to 'window-dressing'	5.0%	16.3%	28.8%	38.8%	11.3%
Voluntary quotas adopted by political parties are preferable to quotas set by law	2.5%	17.5%	48.8%	13.8%	17.5%

In summary, equality in Parliament can be expressed in terms of relative numbers of male and female MPs. Women also occupy positions of responsibility. Ministers are as likely to be women as men. Moreover, women think that gender does affect their work in Parliament.

3. Level of participation

A different issue concerns the degree of women's participation in Parliament. The aforementioned study (Rodríguez 2011) analysed a situation in which women were few in number and generally inconspicuous because they found themselves at the bottom of the political lists and did not occupy positions of responsibility. The Andalusian PSOE began to incorporate progressively more women as ministers, reaching the point where their number exceeded that of men.

Although the President is currently a woman, we can see that there was not much parity in the segments corresponding to the eighth and ninth legislative terms of the present study. On the one hand, there is a high participation of women in the regional ministries that raised their profile in parliament. However, this is not the case with the rest of female MPs. In this regard, we have reviewed daily records of the plenary sessions and committees of the ninth legislative term, up to 2 October 2013, to measure the level of participation of men and women. We recorded the number of women and men taking part in political interventions and the number of times they rose to speak.

Table 4. Participation of men and women in committees

9th term (until 2/10/2013)	Men	Women
Participants	916 (54.58%)	762 (45.41%)
Interventions	1597 (52.96%)	1418 (47.03%)

Table 5. Participation of men and women in plenary sessions

9th term (until 12/9/2013)	Men	Women
Participants	655 (55.32%)	529 (44.67%)
Interventions	929 (55.72%)	738 (44.27%)

From Tables 4 and 5, we see that the results are similar for men and women. Given that the percentage of women is of 47.7% compared to 52.3% of men in this term, we can conclude that women's degree of participation is slightly lower, especially in plenary sessions.

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Intensification, identity and gender in the Andalusian Parliament

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Parliamentary discourse is a confrontation talk where ideological positions are related to interactional roles. Intensification is the main politicians' strategy, an identity device, and a mark of this professional discourse. It appears in all fields: semantic meaning, sentence intonation, stress, illocutionary acts, grammatical structures and argumentative operators. Men and women use it in a similar way. This chapter aims at analysing parliamentary discourse from a pragmatic perspective, where ideology and identity work together in the process of cognitive and discourse construction.

Keywords: Intensification, identity, argumentation, strategy, pragmatic marker, discourse marker, syntax, parliamentary discourse, gender

1. Parliamentary discourse and intensification

Parliamentary discourse¹ is highly ritualised. It is characterised by the confrontation of ideological positions (Van Dijk, 2003) and the pursuit of brilliant and effective argumentation (Anscombe-Ducrot, 1983; Lo Cascio 1998). The aim of each participant is to defend his/her own ideological position and that of their group (endo-group) against the other (exo-group). Thus, each member of the Parliament defends a dual image (face): the group image of the party (Bravo, 1999; Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2010a) and the self-image of their role (as a member of the government or of the opposition). Meanwhile, he/she constructs an identity (Simon, 2004; Joseph, 2004; Spencer-Oatey, 2007) comprising interactive and social aspects, which predominates over individual aspects (Simon, 2004; Joseph,

1. For the characteristics of parliamentary discourse, see Van Dijk (2000, 2004, 2005), Chilton-Schäffner (2002), Chilton (2004), Núñez-Guerrero (2002), Ilie (2001, 2003, 2004), Bayley (2004), Arce (2006), among others.

2004; Bucholtz-Hall, 2005; Spencer-Oatey, 2007): ‘Because these tools are put to use in interaction, the process of identity construction does not reside within the individual but in intersubjective relations of sameness and difference, realness and fakeness, power and disempowerment’ (Bucholtz-Hall, 2005:607). Language is one of those factors that serve to define and constitute this identity² (Bucholtz-Hall, 2005), especially, in public personalities (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2013a:13–21). However, it can also be used, an aspect that this chapter wishes to emphasise, to create a personal communicative style. The representative of the ideological group³ has recourse to this feature as a means to stand out within the endo-group, by which he/she shares objectives and social policies (Abrams, 1999; Van Dijk, 2002, 2003). It is a strategic use, planned to create a public image that defines politicians within the parliamentary setting.⁴

Among the means used for the strategic creation of this identity, this chapter focuses on the use of intensification in argumentation (i.e. the use of elements to increase the force of the argument, such as ‘a lot of’, ‘enormously’, ‘fundamentally’, ‘essentially’, ‘absolutely’), particularly on the use of *es que* [it is that...]. Intensification is a resource for expressing one’s own opinion, whose objective is the creation of the image of someone skilled in argument and capable of defeating an opponent in the dialectic and cognitive clash. The assertion in this discourse type is always categorical and delivered with a high degree of confidence on the part of the speaker, who, rather than moderating his discourse, demonstrates a maximum engagement with the discourse content. This is due either to the type of interaction (parliamentary discourse) or to the development and configuration of interactive roles.

These roles are organised in two blocks. The first block comprises the opposition, whose function is to criticise the actions of the government and attack and destroy its image. The second block includes members of the government and PSOE, the ruling party. The socialist members support the government’s position and collaborate in arguing its case. Thus, in the following oral question, Sr. Caballos, a

2. Bucholtz-Hall (2005: 594) had already included it among its constitutive features: ‘Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one’s own or others’ identity position; c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups.’

3. For the concept of ideology in discourse analysis, see Van Dijk (2001, 2003).

4. For details of the same procedure used in other media formats, see Culpeper (1996, 2005), Garcés (2009), Brenes (2009), Fuentes-Brenes (2011), Fuentes (ed. 2013).

PSOE MP, in his reply thanks the Minister of Agriculture for information while at the same time providing moral support:

- (1) Estos datos concretos son alentadores, son importantes, interesantes y le animamos a proseguir en ese esfuerzo por el bien de todos los andaluces y para que en el presupuesto haya más margen cada vez para mantener las políticas sociales, que es lo que más nos importa. Gracias.
(DSPA⁵ 118, 24, Sr. Caballos, PSOE)

[These particular facts are encouraging, they are important and we urge you to continue your efforts for the good of all the citizens of Andalusia and so that there is an ever greater scope in the budget for maintaining social policies, which is what matters to us most of all. Thank you.]

Compare this approach with the following intervention from Sr. Sanz, a PP MP, to the same minister, with a direct attack on her. He accuses her of lying: ‘you cannot hide behind the fact that there were no performance reports, because there could never be performance reports’:

- (2) Por tanto, señora Consejera, no me saque usted las leyes. Léase... Ya ha reconocido usted que, como era tanto el carro de los helados, de tanta documentación, usted no se lo leía. Pues, era importante leérselo, porque aquí dice que el IFA incumple de manera sistemática las obligaciones de información referidas. Por tanto, se acabó la careta, ustedes no se pueden escudar en que no existieron los informes de actuación, porque jamás pudieron existir los informes de actuación porque el IFA nunca cumplió con los informes de implantación previos para desarrollar luego los informes de actuación.
(DSPA 118, 21, Sr. Sanz, PP)

[Therefore, Minister, do not wave the law in front of me. Read ... You have already acknowledged that, since the trolley was loaded with such a quantity of documentation, you didn't read it. Well, it was important to read it, because here it says that the IFA systematically flouts its obligations to inform, which we have referred to. So the game's up, you cannot hide behind the fact that there were no performance reports, because there could never be performance reports, because the IFA never complied with the implementation reports prior to compiling the performance reports.]

This chapter aims at analysing whether interactive roles are influential in the use of intensification (with *es que*) as a strategy for identity construction. Therefore, it examines whether it is used to a greater extent by members of the government and the PSOE party or by the opposition. Particularly, it examines whether the use of this mechanism depends on their institutional role in the House or whether it

5. Records of Proceedings of the Andalusian Parliament, hereafter DSPA.

depends on ideology. In addition, this chapter attempts to discover whether gender is a relevant factor, that is, whether men and women display differences in discourse use. It examines whether what is initially a strategy of personal identity ends up becoming a feature of group or gender identity, whether the use of a linguistic feature moves from being a characteristic of personal identity to that of functional identity, i.e. a characteristic of MPs' role in parliament.⁶ The types of corpus selected are the plenary and commission sessions of the Andalusian Parliament in the eighth legislative term.

The study of this particular tactic in a given type of discourse, such as that of parliament, has made it possible to arrive at more general conclusions concerning intensification as a pragmatic strategy and how in discourse, information, argumentation and text-type should be analysed together, as they interact to achieve a discourse effect (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2015 [2000]). This represents a methodological advance requiring an integrated and multidimensional linguistic approach (Roulet, 1987; Adam, 1990).⁷

2. Intensification, device or strategy?

In the specialised literature, intensification has been addressed in various ways:

- as a device
- as a pragmatic function
- as a strategy

Held (1989) considers it a device and speaks of maximisation: 'any kind of verbal utterance which is strengthened, intensified or focused in order to increase the obligations it establishes on the illocutionary and on the interactional levels' (Held, 1989: 168). Other authors have described it in semantic terms, associated with features of quantification (Suñer and Roca, 1997–98; Suñer and Rafel, 1999; Lamíquiz 1991), gradation (Ramos, 1993; Madero, 1983; Martín García, 1998; Portero, 1997) or superlativeness (Lago, 1965–67; Carnicer, 1975; González Calvo, 1984–88). From the rhetorical point of view, reference is made to expressivity (Beinhauer, 1929; Vigara, 1980, 1992; Herrero, 1991; Seco, 1970), emphasis (Vigara, 1992; Portero, 1997; Álvarez, 2000; Penas, 1993–94; Krüger, 1960) or

6. In Goffman's words (1981:145): 'some special capacity as a member of a group, office, category, relationship, association, or whatever, some socially based source of social identification.'

7. Others are in favour of this multidimensionality.

the ‘mise en relief’⁸ (Gutiérrez Ordóñez, 1997; Lamíquiz, 1971; or Krüger, 1952). All these perspectives express some partial but important feature of the concept of intensification.

For Briz (1998) and Albelda (2005, 2007), it is a pragmatic category ‘connected with the rhetorical activity of the speaker who uses it for a specific purpose, “to reinforce the truth of what has been said, and sometimes to enact speech intention” (Briz, 1998: 114, my translation) (Albelda, 2005:94). She believes that an element of the utterance, the modality or illocutionary force, the argumentation, the interlocutor’s image and social relations can be intensified (Albelda, 2005). Moreover, he includes in his analysis, together with semantic forms of quantification and superlatives, ‘devices for focusing one or various terms of the utterance’ (Herrero, 1991, my translation): structures which semantically do not assess the quality or the quantity and which involve ‘a particular syntactic organisation of the contents’ (Herrero, 1991:41), as they modify the prototypical syntactic order (Albelda, 2007:44).

For Albelda, the defining characteristics of intensification are scalarity, evaluation (non-truth-conditional modification, inferred value) and social reinforcement (‘cortesía valorizante’) (Albelda, 2007, 216).⁹ This face-enhancing politeness¹⁰ is a strategic aim, showing its communicative function. However, this affirmation is not entirely correct. Intensification can be used in the service of not only face-enhancing politeness but also impoliteness. What can be affirmed is that in both cases, it acts as a strategy for the construction of a self-image when a Member of Parliament seeks to present forcefully his/her arguments against the proposals of the opposition group. Reinforcement, which is the basis of intensification, is applied in this case to roles adopted in interactive and social relationships.¹¹ In other words, it is applied to the tasks assigned to the identity of the MP as a member of the government or the opposition.

8. a syntactic structure of emphasis.

9. ‘All in all, pragmatic intensification is an evaluative strategy located in the propositional content or in the modality, which the speaker consciously selects for a purpose: to produce specific affects at the communicative and social levels. The features which constitute intensification, scalarity, evaluation and the absence of modification of the truth content, are at the service of its strategic value: they allow commitments or obligations to be formed between the interlocutors themselves and/or between these and the message’ (Albelda 2007, 166, my translation).

10. Briz considers that intensification is used for face-enhancing politeness whereas attenuation is used for mitigating politeness.

11. Albelda (2007:164) also includes the imposition of an opinion among the pragmatic objectives of intensification.

Intensification emerges as a very broad phenomenon that should be analysed from a pragmatic and multidimensional perspective. At the microstructural level, intensification consists of the maximisation of the content of an element (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2010b). Thus, we find it in the lexical content of elements – *horroroso* [terrible], *magnífico* [magnific] and *intenso* [intense] – or by using modifiers – *correr mucho* [run a lot] and *andar rápidamente* [go fast].

At the macrostructural level (organisation of the text, Van Dijk, 1983), intensification can be understood in relation to a number of different aspects: modality, formulation, information and argumentation (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2000; Fuentes-Rodríguez 2013c). In the modal and declarative aspects (a manifestation of the metadiscursive activity of the speaker), it can be understood as intensification of the illocutionary force of the whole statement:

- (3) ¿Cuántas veces te he dicho que no me llames?
[How many times have I told you not to phone me?]

At the level of information, the term ‘intensification’ is used for purposes of focus¹² – one segment is given prominence over others in the text:

- (4) No está DENTRO del coche
[It is not INSIDE the car]
- (5) Llamó ANOCHE
[He called LAST NIGHT]

In rhetorical terms, it is a means to increase the persuasive potential of a segment:

- (6) Esta convocatoria (...) responde a la apuesta decidida del gobierno de la Junta de Andalucía, y *especialmente, muy especialmente*, de su Presidente, por una educación pública cada vez de mayor calidad. (DSPA 112, 3-3-2011, 37, Consejero de Innovación)
[This announcement (...) reflects the firm commitment of the Regional Government of Andalusia, and especially, most especially, of its President, to a public education system that is of an ever higher quality.]

In this example, there is a reiteration, and an adverb *muy* intensifies the adverb in its second occurrence.

Regarding *es que*, it can be proposed that this structure, originally used for emphasising an element of the discourse, is used in parliamentary discourse for

12. Other authors would disagree and would not equate intensification with focus, which corresponds to an intrasentential process that highlights elements within the minimal communicative component. Intensification generally affects larger components, in particular the complete assertion or the argument function of the component.

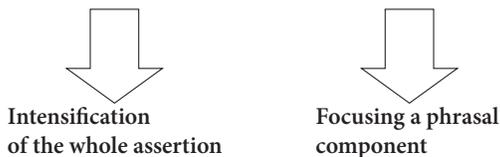
intensifying the whole assertion contained in the sentence. It is then a resource used for focusing the information and acquiring a function of argument reinforcement.

- (7) *Pero es que* es más, usted hablaba de la distancia – corta distancia, efectivamente, de dos kilómetros – de un municipio cercano, pero *es que* a la capital de Almería tan solo distan 26 kilómetros de la localidad.
(DCPA 469, 24, Sra. Tudela, PSOE)

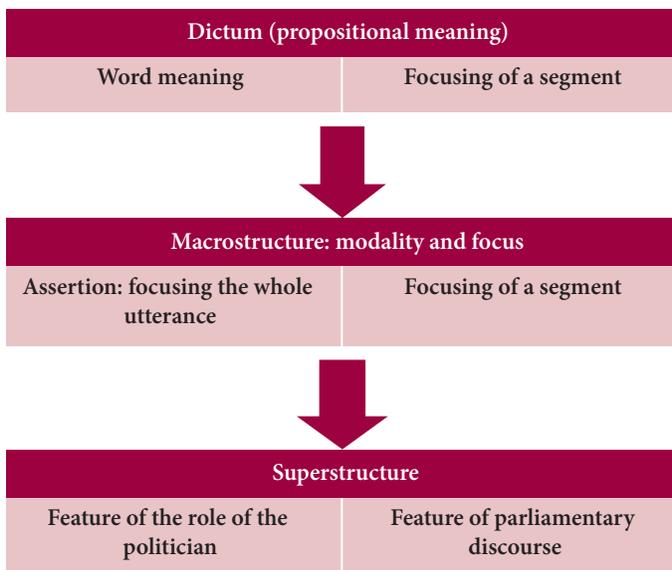
[But there's more to it, you were speaking of the distance – the short distance, in effect, of two kilometres – from a nearby town, but the fact is the capital of Almería is only 26 kilometres away from the town.]

The scope of the intensification is widened from micro- to macrostructure.

Intensification: of the content of an element



Regarding parliamentary language, the influence of the superstructure (a term Van Dijk, 1983 applies to discourse types) makes it a feature that identifies the discourse role and differentiates discourse type.



In its micro- and macrostructural use, intensification is a direct tactic used at the interpersonal level. From the context of the superstructure, a characteristic of the discourse type, it is a strategy used in the case under consideration as a feature that identifies the role of the politician and of parliamentary discourse. It is a strategy designed for the purpose of debating and projecting a powerful image.

The functions of intensification are summarised in Table 1.

Table 1. Intensification from an integrated pragmatic perspective (levels of analysis)

	Levels	Function	Contextualisation	Discursive use
Microstructure	Syntax	Maximisation of the content of a component	← Relationship with the interaction. Interpersonal level ← Context	Resource
	Semantics			
	Phonetics – phonology			
Macrostructure	Modal level	Intensification of the illocutionary force Intensification of speech act		
	Metadiscursive level			
	Informative level	Focus		
	Argumentative level	Argument force		
Superstructure	Argumentation		← Discourse type ← Gender	Strategy
	Political discourse			
	Role or identity of the Members of Parliament			

This integrated approach allows us to have a wider and more comprehensive view of the discourse.

Among the linguistic devices that Andalusian MPs deploy for intensifying their discourse, we can single out:

- Reiteration
- Focus
- Allusions to prior utterances
- Use of emotion and modality: rhetorical questions, commands, exclamation
- A clearly polarised vocabulary, which creates a field of reference, a negative cognitive universe when referring to the exo-group and positive when a member of the government defends his/her actions (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2013b)

On the majority of occasions, MPs have recourse to more than one device to achieve a discourse effect. This can be seen in the following extract, where we find some of the well-known features that characterise parliamentary discourse (Arce, 2006):

(8) Gracias, señor Presidente.

Señor Consejero, creo que no ha dicho usted en toda la mañana una verdad, y, desde luego, en este caso no la ha dicho. Y no la ha dicho porque hay, al menos, cincuenta testigos en El Pedroso, en la almazara Virgen del Espino, que podrían atestiguar todo lo contrario, y es que fue el señor Viera quien se comprometió públicamente a la concesión de esta subvención, sin que hubiera mediado hasta entonces ningún tipo de solicitud, ningún tipo de tramitación y, por supuesto, pues ningún tipo de procedimiento administrativo que, de verdad, diera crédito a lo que usted está diciendo, que todas las subvenciones, pues, estaban regladas, estaban de alguna manera amparadas por la ley.

Señor Consejero, la verdad es que los criterios de concesión de estas subvenciones no han sido, en absoluto, los que usted ha marcado hoy. Está claro que los criterios no han sido otros nada más que los de la amistad y los de la cercanía ideológica. En el caso del señor Viera, en este caso concreto, no había ningún otro criterio de concesión de la subvención. Como le decía anteriormente, hay cincuenta testigos que avalan esta situación. Fue el señor Viera el que ofreció esta subvención, con lo cual se desmonta ese tinglado que los socialistas..., ese parapeto que estáis queriendo poner, un cortafuegos, en cuanto a los altos cargos de la Junta, que lo amparáis en el Director General, en el señor Guerrero.

Ha habido personas por encima, en este caso el señor Consejero, el señor Viera, que han asumido la responsabilidad de conceder estas subvenciones. Mire usted, y, además, esto se demuestra claramente porque qué casualidad que todo este desvío de fondos para empresas y para ayuntamientos se ha concentrado en la etapa del señor Viera, exclusivamente, en la Sierra Norte. En la Sierra Norte, donde el señor Viera tiene lazos familiares, de donde es el señor Guerrero, de donde es el señor Rosendo y de donde es el señor Ángel Rodríguez de la Borbolla. Está claro que los criterios eran, desde luego, objetivos, sí, la objetividad era la del carné del Partido Socialista y de las familias del Partido Socialista.

[*Aplausos.*]

Quedan claras, pues, las responsabilidades políticas del señor Viera. Usted lleva aquí hablando toda la mañana de colaborar con la justicia, pero en democracia hay algo que a usted se le ha olvidado, *y es que*, aparte de las responsabilidades judiciales, están las responsabilidades políticas, y usted las

ha obviado por completo esta mañana aquí, señor Consejero, usted las ha obviado por completo. (DSPA 112, 31, Sra. Calderón Pérez, PP)

[Thank you, President.

Minister, I don't believe you have spoken a word of truth all morning, and definitely not in this case. And you have not spoken the truth because there are, at the very least, fifty witnesses in El Pedroso, in the olive press Virgen del Espino, who could testify the opposite, and it was really Mr Viera who publically committed himself to awarding the subsidy, without there having been up until then any kind of formal application, or process or, needless to say, administrative procedure which might render what you are saying credible, that all the subsidies were above board, in some way within a legal framework.

Minister, the truth is that in no way have the criteria for the award of the subsidies ever been those you have outlined today. It's clear that the criteria have been none other than those of friendship and ideological affinity. In the case of Mr Viera, in this particular instance, there has been no other criterion for awarding the subsidy. As I said before, there are fifty witnesses who support this version. It was Mr Viera who offered this subsidy, so that the whole setup which the socialists..., that parapet which you want to erect, a firebreak, as far as the senior members of the Government are concerned, which you make in the person of the Director General, Mr Guerrero.

There have been some above, in this case the Minister, Mr Viera, who have taken on the responsibility for awarding these subsidies. Look, and, besides this is patently the case because what a coincidence that all this diversion of funds for businesses and town councils has occurred, exclusively, during Mr Viera's period in the Sierra Norte. In the Sierra Norte, where Mr Viera has family ties, from where Mr Guerrero hails, and Mr Rosendo and Mr Ángel Rodríguez de la Borbolla too. It is clear that the criteria were, of course, objective, yes, the objectivity was that of the membership card of the Socialist Party and of the families of the Socialist Party.

[Applause]

The political responsibilities of Mr Viera, then, are clear. During the whole morning you have been speaking of cooperating with the legal authorities, but in a democracy there is something you have forgotten, that's precisely that, apart from judicial responsibilities, there are political responsibilities and you've completely avoided them here this morning, Minister, you have completely avoided them].

The speaker starts from a position that he defends robustly, and rejects that of the benches opposite. He/she has made use of repetition, of emotion (*qué casualidad...*), reinforcing discourse with enunciative markers (*de verdad, la verdad*),

modals (*por supuesto*), and justifications (*y esto lo ha dicho porque...*). If we look at the intensification, we find it encoded in the lexis: *toda la mañana, las ha obviado por completo, no ha sido en absoluto...*, repetitions, *es que...* This chapter focuses on the last mechanism, the intensifier *es que*, widely used in the plenary and committee sessions and very effective for MPs to deploy for the purposes of debate.

3. Discourse functions of *es que*

Es que is considered to have two basic functions in the grammar of Spanish. It belongs to a series of structures that foreground information and acts as a discourse marker of justification, introducing a complete sentence (RAE, 2010; Fernández Leborans, 1992; Porroche, 1998; Fuentes-Rodríguez, 1997; Gómez Torrego, 1994). In both cases, the speaker seeks to intensify his assertion and convince the listener of its importance. The discourse environment of Parliament strengthens this function, leading the speaker to use this form in different contexts and distributions, thereby widening the syntactic scope of its usage.

In a further study of the various discourse functions of *es que* (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2015), another use has been identified as an intensifier, which is very common in this type of discourse. Therefore, from a focusing device, to bring to prominence informationally one segment over the others, *es que* goes on to become an intradiscursive device (intensification) for an extradiscursive effect: insistence in argument against an opponent. It has a dual objective:

- self-image: creation of an identity as belonging to a group and as an individual representative of it
- disputation: in defence of actions (government) or attacking them (opposition)

Again, we can see how at the level of the sentence, there is always a correlation of levels: information and argumentation; modality and formulation. Therefore, to characterise an element adequately, we must always consider this multidimensionality. This research deals with Andalusian Parliament. It focuses on a series of plenary and committee sessions selected at random,¹³ within the eighth legislative term. Here, it encounters formats ranging from committee debates to appeals and oral questions. Men and women take part on an unequal footing. Although there is parity globally speaking, at the level of members' participation in the chamber, this is not the case.

13. We have analysed the plenary sessions of the VIII Legislature, no. 105, 111, 114, 117, 118, 119, 121 and 133, and committee sessions 469, 473 and 507.

The research has analysed the occurrences of *es que* in its different discourse functions:

- a. in focusing or foregrounding structures, either highlighting the argument function of what follows or its modal or declarative value
- b. as an intensifying operator, focusing the whole utterance
- c. in fixed structures, as modal (*la verdad es que*) or connector (*lo que pasa es que*)
- d. as a discourse marker of justification

In all these instances, *es que* adds greater force to the assertion and serves as a mechanism of imposition against the arguments of the opposition. Its usefulness in debate is obvious.

A) In **focusing or foregrounding structures**, it is frequent after relative clauses which highlight an element:

- (9) Mire usted, *lo que pretende el Partido Popular es que* no pase lo que ha estado pasando hasta ahora. (DSPA 122, p. 14, Sr. Ramos. PP)
 [Look, what the Partido Popular is really after is that what's been happening up to now doesn't happen.]

The speaker imposes his vision of reality on others by using a focusing strategy.

In other instances, it is preceded by a noun that acts as a discourse label signalling in the argument the content to follow:

- (10) Y aparte de su dejadez y su conformismo, *el problema es que* la agricultura no ha estado nunca en la agenda de Zapatero, y ha perdido las alianzas que teníamos. (DSPA 105, 26, Sra. Crespo, PP)
 [And apart from your laziness and conformism, the problem in fact is that agriculture has never been part of Zapatero's agenda, and you have lost the alliances we had.]

In these cases, intensification acts as a mechanism of thematic and/or argument organisation. Especially noteworthy among these are the evaluative preambles: *lo que lamento*, *lo que sí espero*, *lo que confiamos*, *lo que no voy a permitir nunca*, *lo que verdaderamente me irrita*, *la valoración que hago de ese informe*, *lo malo de esta táctica*, *lo que verdaderamente me duele*, *lo que sí le pido*, *lo que me resulta sospechoso...* [what I lament, what I do hope for, what we are confident of, what I'm never going to allow, what really irritates me, the assessment I make of that report, the worst thing about this tactic, what really pains me, what I do ask of you, what seems suspicious to me ...].As we can see, they express the desire and intention of the speaker.

- (11) *Lo que me parece verdaderamente contradictorio es que*, usted, cuando se ha suprimido esta prestación, haya dicho que vamos a entrar en emergencia social por la supresión de una prestación. (DSPA105, 52, Sr. Arenas, PP)
[What seems to me truly contradictory is that you, when this assistance has been withdrawn, should say that we are entering a social crisis for the elimination of a benefit.]
- (12) – Señor Presidente, yo asisto a este debate e intervengo como considero procedente. *Lo que me faltaba ya es que* me diga usted lo que tengo que decir en los debates, si puedo opinar de su debate con el señor Valderas o no. Mire, usted, yo he estado en Écija y Lora del Río. (DSPA 105, 50, Sr. Arenas, PP)
[Mr President, I attend this debate and participate in it in whatever ways I see fit. The last thing I need is for you to tell me what I should say in these debates, whether I can have an opinion on your debate with señor Valderas or not. Let's be clear. I have been in Écija and Lora del Río.]

This use with evaluative terms implies that it also occurs with modal expressions (*lo que está claro es que*, *lo cierto es que*) and performative ones (*lo que quiero decir es que*, *lo que digo es que*), to emphasise these discourse functions:

- (13) Mire, señoría, *lo que está claro es que* lo que hace falta es conocer todos los pagos que sí se hicieron a asesorías jurídicas en nombre, para participar en los ERE, con el chanchullo de los intermediarios, que eran los comerciales que luego se lo llevaban calentito. (DSPA 118, p. 38, Sr. Sanz, PP)
[My right honourable member, *it is crystal clear that* what is required is to know all the payments made to legal advisers, in order to participate in the EREs, with the racket of the intermediaries, who were the agents that made a packet.]
- (14) Yo no entro en eso, *lo que digo es que* es una respuesta mínima, que no llega al 15% del total de la población que está afectada. (DSPA 105,42, Sr. Sánchez Gordillo, IU)
[I don't want to go into that, *what I do want to say* is that it's a minimal response, which doesn't reach the 15% of the total population affected.]
- B) As **operator of intensification**, it emphasises a complete sentence, whether an affirmation or a question, and appears frequently in plenaries and committees (Fuentes Rodríguez, 2015). *Es que* emphasises an affirmation which is presented as a conclusion (15 and 16) or as a counter-argument (17):
- (15) Eso ustedes ya *es que* no lo pueden soportar, no sé por qué. (DSPA 114, 29, Sr. Recio, Consejero de Empleo)
[That is something, *it's just that* you really can't tolerate it, I don't know why.]

- (16) Hay que tenerla dura para hablar, un representante del Partido Socialista, aquí de diecisiete discursos distintos. Precisamente un representante del Partido Socialista. *Es que* no se cortan por nada, absolutamente por nada.
(DSPA 105, 13, Sr. Raynaud, PP)
[You've got to have quite some nerve, you a representative of the Socialist Party, to speak here of seventeen different speeches. A representative of the Socialist Party, no less. *You really stop* at nothing, absolutely nothing.]
- (17) ¿Cómo explica usted que 190 millones para 2010 sean correctos, sean suficientes, y 420 en 2011 sean insuficientes? ¿*Es que* ha crecido la inflación de 2010 a 2011 en un 200%? (DSPA 118, 74, Sr. Martínez Vidal, PSOE)
[How do you explain that 190 million for 2010 is correct, adequate, and 420 million for 2011 is inadequate. *Is it that* inflation has grown from 2010 to 2011 by 200%?]

In other instances, it can appear among opposed arguments, supporting what is affirmed (18), denied (19) or both (20):

- (18) Ya no se trata de que consideraran los 51.000 millones de 1995 como una auténtica irresponsabilidad, de que en 1996, nada más y nada menos que el señor Arenas calificara la Deuda histórica de folletín electoral, de que en ese año se resistieran a pagar de forma contumaz los 20.000 millones de pesetas ya acordados por el Gobierno de Felipe González. *Es que* el señor Rajoy, lisa y llanamente, negó la existencia de la Deuda histórica.
(DSPA105, 13, Sr. Martínez Vidal, PSOE)
[It's no longer a question of considering the 51,000 million of 1995 as rank irresponsibility, or of no less a figure than Mr Arenas, in 1996, dubbing the Historical Debt as election pamphleteering, or of your obstinate reluctance to pay the 20,000 million pesetas already agreed by Felipe Gonzalez' government. The point is that Mr Rajoy, plainly and simply, denied the existence of the Historical Debt.]
- (19) No *es que* no se contabilice, usted lo sabe, el endeudamiento, que se contabiliza todo, sino que no se aplican al cálculo del objetivo de estabilidad aquellas empresas que tienen ingresos de mercado.
(DSPA105, 12, Sr. Martínez Vidal, PSOE)
[It's not that the indebtedness, as you well know, isn't calculated, it is, all of it, but that those companies that have market income are not included in estimations of the stability objective.]
- (20) ¿Porque sabe, señora Oña, qué pasaría si se aprueba esa petición? Que se declararían nulas, se anularían todas las ayudas, señorita, que en un 99% *no es que* sean legales, que lo son, *es que* se las merecen unos trabajadores que

han pasado muchos años trabajando, ganando esas ayudas que ha concedido de forma legal el Gobierno de la Junta de Andalucía, señoría.

(DSPA 118, 83, Sra. Navarro, PSOE)

[Because do you know, Ms Oña, what would happen if that motion is passed? That all the financial assistance would be declared null, would be cancelled, my right honourable member, assistance that, in 99% of cases, *it's not that* it isn't legal, it is, *it's that* some workers who have been working many years deserve it, they have earned that aid that the Regional Government of Andalusia has legally granted, my right honourable member.]

C) We can also find *es que* in more or less **fixed structures**, where it emphasises the connection (*lo que pasa es que*) or the modality (*la verdad es que, lo cierto es que...*):

(21) Mire usted, hay que ser mucho más rigurosos. *Lo que pasa es que* a ustedes les descolocó la consignación de 200 millones en 2010.

(DSPA 118, 74, Sr. Martínez Vidal, PSOE)

[Look, you've got to be much more rigorous. *The problem is that* the assignation of 200 million in 2010 knocked you off course.]

(22) No sé si eso es la cuota que usted tiene que pagar para subirse a esta tribuna a hablar de economía y de innovación, señor Nieto, porque, *la verdad es que* me ha extrañado.

(DSPA 118, 14, Sr. Núñez Roldán, PSOE)

[I don't know whether that is the fee you have to pay in order to step onto this rostrum to speak about economics and innovation, Mr Nieto, because, *the truth is*, you've surprised me.]

D) As a **discourse marker of justification**, it is not very frequent in the type of discourse analysed. Although it is a discourse marker that requires an earlier utterance, and is not specifically an intensification marker, the result is identical. Introducing a justification or explanation of what has come before serves to highlight it:

(23) ¿Por qué no se ha hecho nada, señor Consejero? Y no me vale que me diga usted que va a recuperar el dinero, *es que* esa es su obligación, usted y el juzgado, lo que vale es el control previo, señor Consejero.

(DSPA 114, 17, Sr. Loaiza, PP)

[Why has nothing been done, Minister? It's not good enough for you to tell me that you're going to recover the money, *the fact is* that's your obligation, yours and the court's, what's needed is prior supervision, Minister.]

As we can observe in the following, the most frequent cases are cases A) and B). In other words, it is when a particular component is emphasised, or when the whole

content of the assertion is focused. This implies that for the speaker, this form is associated with intensifier use, triggering the creation of this argumentative marker, which is highly effective in this discourse type (Fuentes Rodríguez 2015).

4. Quantitative study

Table 2 provides the total number of instances in the plenary and committee sessions¹⁴ analysed and the percentage with respect to the total number of instances of *es que*.

Table 2. Most important functions in the plenary sessions

Plenaries	105	111	114	117	118	119	121	133
Focusing a segment	26/ 27.95%	11/ 28.94%	28/ 27.18%	20/ 47.61%	34/ 28.33%	19/ 36.53%	16/ 30.76%	13/ 30.95%
With labels	8/ 8.60%	4/ 10.52%	7/ 6.79%	4/ 9.52%	14/ 11.66%	6/ 11.53%	4/ 7.69%	0
With modals and declaratives	6/ 6.45%	4/ 10.52%	10/ 9.7%	0	10/ 8.33%	4/ 7.69%	3/ 5.76%	9/ 21.42%
Focusing an utterance	41/ 44.08%	17/ 44.73%	45/ 43.68%	16/ 38.09%	50/ 41.66%	15/ 28.84%	17/ 32.69%	17/ 40.47%
Fixed forms	10/ 10.75%	2/ 5.26%	8/ 7.76%	2/ 4.76%	10/ 8.33%	7/ 13.46%	10/ 19.23%	2/ 4.76%
Discourse marker of justification	2/ 2.15%	0	5/ 4.85%	0	2/ 1.66%	1 (<i>y es que</i>)/ 1.96%	2 (1 of <i>y es / que</i>)/ 3.84%	1 (<i>y es que</i>)/ 2.38%

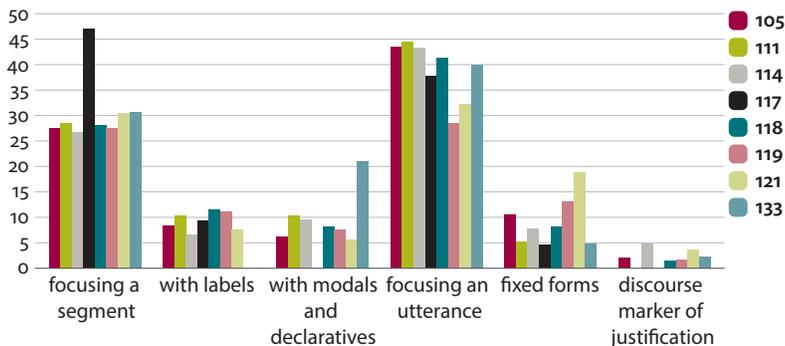
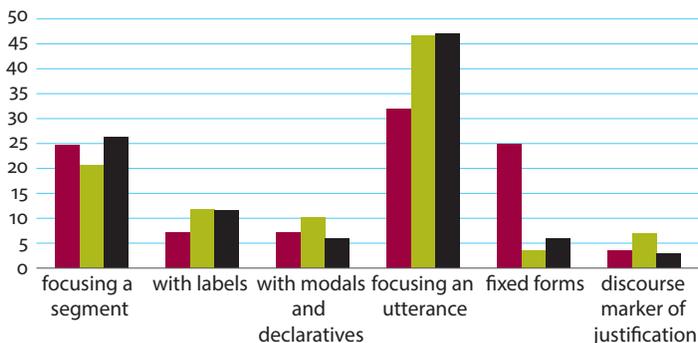


Figure 1. Presence of different functions of *es que* in the plenary sessions

14. We have analysed eight plenary and three committee sessions, presided over by both men and women, and have been always alert to the possibility of gender contrast.

Table 3. Most important functions in the committee sessions

Committees	469	473	507
Focusing a segment	7/25 %	12/20.68%	9/26.47%
With labels	2/7.14%	7/12.06%	4/11.76%
With modals and declaratives	2/7.14%	6/10.34%	2/5.88%
Focusing an utterance	9/32.14%	27/46.77%	16/47.05%
Fixed forms	7/25%	2/3.44%	2/5.88%
Discourse marker of justification	1/3.57%	4/6.89%	1/2.94%

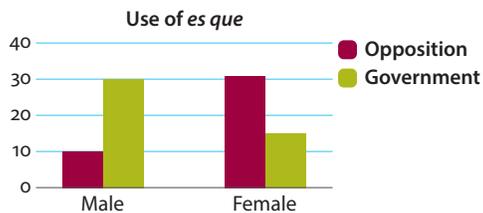
**Figure 2.** Presence of different functions of *es que* in the committee sessions

As shown in Figures 1 and 2, the most frequent functions of *es que* in the plenary and committee sessions are: when *es que* focuses a segment and when it focuses an utterance. It proves that *es que* is being used as a focus marker of a component and an intensifier of the complete sentence. It is therefore clearly established that the intensification of the assertion is the predominant function in the discourse environment of parliament.

The next step is to consider what factors of pragmatic variation are salient in this discourse type and interactive context. We begin by examining the importance of the variable of gender in parliamentary activity, given the situation of the Andalusian Parliament, which has gender parity in its composition, although not in actual participation. However, a detailed analysis of the data has made it necessary to include the role adopted by the participants and their ideological affiliations, as this has been shown to be more decisive in the use of intensifiers. In some sessions, the use of *es que* is parallel to the level of participation by gender and roles. For example, in session 117, the male – female distribution by roles is parallel to the proportion of occurrences of *es que*, as shown in Figure 3.



a.



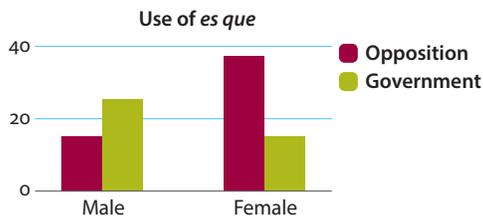
b.

Figure 3. Distribution in session 117

However, in other sessions, the use of *es que* by the opposition is clearly predominant, as against that of the government ministers.



a.

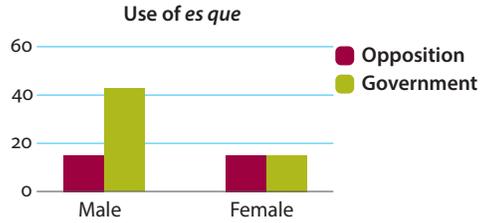


b.

Figure 4. Distribution in session 133



a.

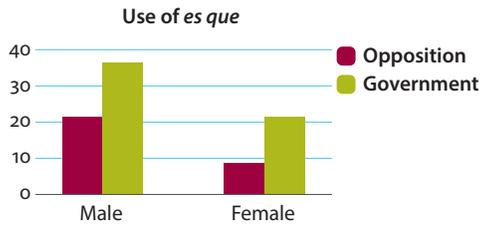


b.

Figure 5. Distribution in session 121



a.



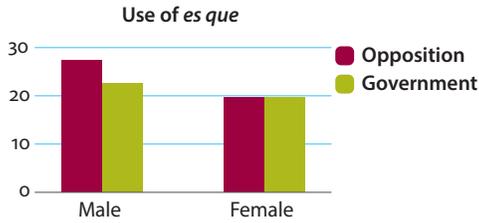
b.

Figure 6. Distribution in session 118

In some sessions (DSPA 111), women clearly predominate and in others (DSPA 114), it is men who predominate.



a.

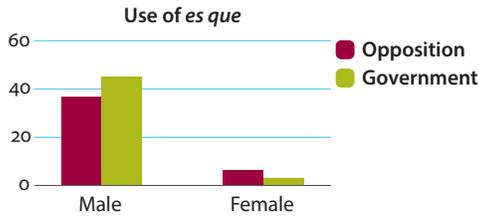


b.

Figure 7. Distribution in session 111



a.



b.

Figure 8. Distribution in session 114

Tables 4–7 outline the presence of men and women in the plenaries (1) and the committees (3) and the frequency of the use of *es que* (2 and 4). Different colours distinguish its use by members of the government (G) and by members of the opposition (OP). Table 5 highlights the cases in which the use of *es que* by both genders does not coincide with their real participation in the sessions.

Table 4. Presence of men and women in the plenary sessions

Plenaries	105	111	114	117	118	119	121	133
Men	32,5/ 30	27,77/ 22,22	34,69/ 28,57	13,63/ 36,36	28,88/ 31,11	33,33/ 46,66	27,77/ 33,33	33,33/ 25
Women	22,5/ 15	22,22/ 22,22	20,40/ 10,20	36,36/ 13,63	26,66/ 13,33	20/ 0	27,77/ 11,11	25/ 16,66
	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP

Table 5. Occurrence of *es que* in the plenary sessions

Plenaries	105	111	114	117	118	119	121	133
Men	33,69/ 20,65	15,78/ 10,52	39,80/ 52,42	14,28/ 33,33	26,05/ 35,29	29,41/ 35,29	19,60/ 45,09	16,66/ 28,57
Women	18,47/ 28,26	23,68/ 50	4,85/ 2,91	35,71/ 16,66	14,28/ 24,36	35,29/ 0	17,64/ 17,64	16,66/ 38,09
	G/OP							

Table 6. Presence of men and women in the committee sessions

Committees	469	473	507
Men	22,22/11,11	10/20	54,54/9,09
Women	44,44/22,22	40/30	27,27/9,09
	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP

Table 7. Occurrence of *es que* in the committee sessions

Committees	469	473	507
Men	14,78/0	7,14/7,14	61,29/29,03
Women	70/10,71	44,64/41,07	3,22/6,45
	G/OP	G/OP	G/OP

As shown in the above tables, session 111 shows a higher use of *es que* by female members of the opposition, although their participation was almost equal. In session 114, the opposite tendency can be observed. There are more occurrences from the government benches than from the opposition, but *es que* is more frequently used by members of the opposition. In session 133, the same occurs in both genders, with the opposition being clearly predominant. In session 118, women from the ruling party participate more, but use *es que* more than women from the opposition. In session 121, men from the ruling party and women from the opposition participate most, but in the use of *es que*, men in the opposition stand out clearly, and the women are equal. It is clear that members of the opposition use *es*

que considerably more than those of the ruling party. Therefore, gender does not appear to be a constant variable in influencing the use of *es que* as an intensifier. Intensification is used as a strategy for developing the role of opposition. Male and female MPs have recourse to it to demonstrate their capacity to perform this discourse role. It then constitutes a characteristic of an identity with a discourse – ideological function.

5. Conclusions

In parliamentary language, intensification is a strategy used by politicians to drive home their message against the arguments of their opponents. Meanwhile, it is used as:

- a. a characteristic of a particular type of discourse, parliamentary discourse
- b. an element which configures the identity of the Member of Parliament, and within that, of an interactive function: that of the opposition

Gender does not appear to influence its use. Both genders have recourse to intensification to strengthen their argument and construct their personal identities in accordance with the requirements of the discourse genre and in the context of confrontation. Intensification then is a discourse feature integral to an MP's strategy of functional identity.

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Gender differences in enumerative series

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The ‘dominance approach’ (Jespersen 1922, Lakoff 1973, 1975) has associated female discourse with mitigation and politeness, two characteristics not suitable for political discourse. The aim of this chapter is to analyse the enumerative series, a linguistic resource that is characterised by its intensifying action, in 40 oral questions of the Andalusian Parliament. Qualitative and quantitative analyses have been performed to determine whether there is any difference between men and women in their use of the enumerative series and to identify the formal aspects characteristic of the enumerative series. The results obtained indicate that the enumerative series is mainly used by male interlocutors, although there is not a marked difference.

Keywords: Enumerative series, intensification, (im)politeness

1. Introduction

Female discourse has traditionally been associated with two characteristics: mitigation and verbal politeness (Lakoff, 1973, 1975). According to the so-called ‘dominance approach’ (Jespersen, 1922; Lakoff, 1973, 1975), women are characterised by not being assertive enough, using attenuated linguistic elements and acting in an essentially soft and moderate manner. However, such characteristics clash head-on with the prevailing norm in specific fields, such as politics,¹ into which women have gradually been incorporated. Within the parliamentary context, interlocutors must vehemently defend their party’s proposals while ruthlessly attacking the opposition’s social image. Thus, the question arises: what happens in an area where the expected behaviour is characterised by categorical assertion as a way to face-threatening acts? In the Andalusian Parliament, formed by an equal proportion of men and women, have women adapted their speech to the

1. For the history of women’s incorporation into Parliament in Spain, see Igualada Belchí (2008).

persuasive strategies that characterise this discursive context or have they preferred to make use of other linguistic resources?

To address these questions, we analysed a linguistic resource, which is characterised by its intensifying action and, in accordance with the aforementioned theory, would not be typical of women's speech: the enumerative series (Cortés Rodríguez, 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c). The enumerative series is a procedure that comprises several elements that are related to one another via juxtaposition, addition or disjunction (for more information, see section 2). As mentioned in Chapter 2, intensification is one of the most relevant strategies in this type of discourse. However, we observe that the stereotype of female speech collides with this strategy characteristic of Parliament, intensification, hence the importance of its study.

The aim of this chapter is to elucidate the most relevant functions of the enumerative series as well as the gender differences in their use. For this purpose, a discursive genre characterised by a lower degree of planning was selected: the oral question (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2011, 2012a, 2012b). More precisely, a quantitative and qualitative analysis has been carried out on the enumerative series used in 40 oral questions taken from the *Diarios de Sesiones del Parlamento andaluz* (DSPA) (Parliamentary Records). To date, no case studies on the enumerative series have taken the gender variable into account.

This chapter also aims to discover whether – along the lines of Lakoff's suggestions (1973, 1975) – female interlocutors, supposedly prone to attenuation, use the enumerative series to a lesser extent than male speakers in the context of parliamentary discourse, especially in the Andalusian Parliament.

2. Enumerative series: definition

The enumerative series is an intensifying and argumentation-enhancing procedure that has attracted the attention of students of rhetoric (Berbel Rodríguez, 2008a). In the Hispanic context, this resource was analysed from a linguistic and pragmatic perspective by Cortés Rodríguez (2005, 2007 and 2008). Therefore, the enumerative series can be defined as a procedure that contributes to thematic progression in the discourse, while it comprises several elements that are related to one another via juxtaposition, addition or disjunction and serve to reformulate a previous discursive act by the addition of different themes:

- (1) Tenemos un Gobierno entero bajo sospecha, que se niega a la comisión de investigación, que esconde la información al Parlamento, que se dedica a disimular y a tapar la trama, y que... además, ustedes presumen de honestidad sin avergonzarse. (DSPA 112, p. 26, Sra.Oña, PP)

[We have a whole Government under suspicion, which refuses to establish a commission of inquiry, which hides the information from Parliament, which does nothing but disguise and cover up the plot and that... furthermore, you boast about your honesty without being ashamed of doing so.]

The reformulated discursive act or common element is referred to as the ‘matrix’. Every matrix must contain – or be related to – at least three segments.² These segments may be associated with different syntactic structures, but must be equivalent from a functional point of view. Likewise, the matrix may or may not be explicit in these segments, with a greater or lesser degree of equality in the repetition:

- (2) (...) y el *real decreto* del Estado tiene otros instrumentos que yo creo que usted desconoce: *ese real decreto* también amplía la subsidiación de los intereses del préstamo hipotecario hasta 15 años; *ese real decreto* también modifica, supone la posibilidad de calificar vivienda libre en stock, tan demandada por los promotores, como viviendas protegidas; *ese real decreto* también recoge la posibilidad de interrumpir el pago del préstamo por situación de desempleo adaptando las condiciones laborales actuales; *ese real decreto* también crea un modelo intermedio entre la aprobación de venta y alquiler, a través de la transmisión del derecho de superficie, que espero que usted sepa lo que es.

(DSPA 112, p. 52 Sra. Cruz Villalón, Consejera de Obras Públicas y Vivienda) [... and the State’s *royal decree* has other instruments that I think you are not aware of: that royal decree also extends the subsidizing of mortgage loan interest up to 15 years; that *royal decree* also modifies, it involves the possibility of qualifying non-subsidised housing in stock, so much in demand by developers, as state-subsidised dwellings; that *royal decree* also mentions the possibility of interrupting the payment of the loan due to a situation of unemployment, adapting the current working conditions; that *royal decree* also creates an intermediate model between the approval of sale and rental, through the transmission of the surface right, that I hope you will be aware of.]

2. Cortés Rodríguez (2005) only accepts the enumerative series made up of two segments if any of the following circumstances takes place: when the series is preceded by a matrix which incorporates a cataphoric element; when a closing marker appears, such as *y tal, etcétera, y demás, y eso, y cosas así* [and so on (and so forth)]; when these segments form part of a complex series or when the two segments in the series are related by means of thematic progression markers such as *sea...sea; ya ... ya; o bien... o bien; bien ... bien* [either...or], *en primer lugar, en segundo lugar* [in the first (second) place], *por un lado, por otro...* [on the one hand, on the other].

It is also worth considering the differentiation established between simple and complex enumerative series, understanding complex series as those in which one of the forming segments gives rise to subsequent series:

- (3) Por mi parte, ni miento, ni encubro, ni digo cosas que no son las que me dictan mi honor, el conocimiento de los hechos y los principios que siempre nos mueven a cualquier socialista: honestidad y transparencia.
 (DSPA 112, p. 25, Sr. Recio Menéndez, Consejero de Empleo)
 [For my part, I do not lie, or cover up, or say things which are other than those dictated to me by my sense of honour, the knowledge of the facts and the principles that always guide any of us who are socialists: honesty and transparency.]

As can be seen in both the simple and the complex series, the linked segments may maintain a juxtaposition or coordination relationship with one another.

Conversely, reformulation appears as the basic textual function in the enumerative series (Cortés Rodríguez 2005). The segments forming the series gradually add information to the matrix, thus facilitating thematic progression and intensifying the cohesion of the discourse. The recipient's understanding of the information is also made easier.³ Berbel Rodríguez (2008b) draws a distinction between a proper and an improper paraphrastic reformulation. In the former, the segments that form the series produce the same context as the matrix, but with a higher degree of specification:

- (4) Al Gobierno esta mañana lo único que le interesa es tener una música de fondo en relación con la corrupción, con el despilfarro o con cualquier otra circunstancia de ese tipo.
 (DSPA112, p. 56, Sra. Montero Cuadrado, Consejera de Salud)
 [The only thing that interests the Government this morning is having some background music with the corruption, with the waste or with any other circumstance of that kind.]

However, the improper periphrastic reformulation is characterised by the fact that the matrix is reformulated in its whole extension and meaning in each one of the segments present in the series, so that the latter has full meaning (...) the "in-

3. According to Cortés Rodríguez (2007:51), the enumerative series contributes more than discourse markers to understanding what has been said: 'If discourse markers are expressions which "impose strength over relevance by virtue of inferential connections that they express", enumerative structures, thanks to the link between the matrix and the series, take this strength – we believe – to higher limits, especially as the identity between functions and forms of the different segments which form the aforesaid series increases.'

formative” scoop, the completion, falls upon the contents of the segments in the series’ (p. 81):⁴

- (5) Más de 250 proyectos que han movilizado casi 60 millones de euros de incentivo público, que han afectado a más de 3.000 empleos y que se han centrado en sectores estratégicos como la biotecnología, la energía, la alimentación y las tecnologías de la información y la comunicación. (DSPA 112, p. 50 Sr. Ávila Cano, Consejero de Economía, Innovación y Ciencia) [More than 250 projects which have involved almost 60 million euros in public incentives, which have affected more than 3,000 jobs and which have focused on strategic sectors such as biotechnology, energy, food and information and communication technologies.]

Nevertheless, three more non-exclusive functions are added to this basic function, namely the intensifying function, the retardation function and the social function. Regarding intensification, it becomes obvious that the content amplification that stems from the reformulation carried out by the enumerative series is related to the argumentative accumulation procedure. By showing various reasons or illustrations that support a thesis, the enumerative series provides our discourse with greater emphasis and strength. Following Cortés Rodríguez (2008c), three types of intensification have been distinguished in this chapter, depending on whether the segments in the series express a synonymic, a proximity-related or a gradual idea:

- (6) Esto supone un insulto a todos los andaluces, fundamentalmente a los parados, a las familias que tienen todos sus miembros en paro a los que no reciben prestaciones. (DSPA 112, p. 30, Sr. Ramos Aznar, PP) [This represents an insult to all Andalusians, basically to the unemployed, to the families who have all their members unemployed, to those who do not receive any benefits.]
- (7) (...) a aquella caja que tenga problemas se le meterá dinero público, se le saneará, se le pondrá en condiciones para después venderla al Estado. (DSPA 112, p. 47, Sr. Castro Román, IU) [... any savings bank which has problems will be given public money, will be cleaned up, will be put (back) in good shape so that it can be subsequently sold to the State.]

4. Berbel Rodríguez (2008b) draws a distinction between the strict improper paraphrastic reformulation – explained above – and the argumentative improper paraphrastic reformulation, identified as that in which the segment forming the series reformulates an argumentation initiated in the matrix. However, given the argumentative nature of our corpus, all the enumerative series contained in it form part of an argument, hence our decision not to consider this divergence or established sub-typology.

- (8) Un imperio de la ley que en Andalucía se respeta escrupulosamente y que está por encima de cualquier *opinión subjetiva*, de cualquier *valoración política* y, absolutamente, por encima de las *mentiras* con las que ustedes se reiteran. (DSPA 118, p. 29. Sra. Moreno Ruiz, PSOE)

[A rule of law which is scrupulously respected in Andalusia and which prevails over any *subjective opinion*, over any *political assessment* and is absolutely above the *lies* which you repeatedly tell.]

The elements used in the first case are synonyms or quasi-synonyms. However, similar contents are featured in the second case. Finally, the third case shows an upward gradation that progressively increases the discursive tension.

In contrast, the retardation function is present in cases where the anaphoric repetition of the first element in the segments gives the speaker time to organise his discourse. This repetition additionally contributes to creating the ‘poetic-persuasive’ effect that is typical of political language:

- (9) La frase del señor Pizarro de que para él ‘el señor Chaves es el único presidente que tiene la Junta de Andalucía’ es muy reveladora, porque aquí hay un Gobierno roto, aquí hay un Gobierno que agoniza, aquí hay un partido dividido y aquí hay una huida hacia delante.

(DSPA 118, p. 25, Sr. Rojas García, PP)

[Mr Pizarro’s statement that, for him, ‘Mr Chaves is the only president that the *Junta de Andalucía* has’ is highly revealing, because here, there is a broken Government, here, there is a Government which is in its death throes, here, there is a divided party and here, there is a flight forward.]

Finally, the social function refers to the role played by the enumerative series in the creation and management of face. In this regard, the empirical material analysed shows that the enumerative series is used for two main purposes: updating a self-image activity⁵ consisting of the enhancement of the task performed or the justification of the decisions made, or verbalising an impoliteness strategy that degrades the face of the opposing political party in the eyes of the public:⁶

- (10) Verán, el Gobierno andaluz está fuerte, el Gobierno andaluz está unido, el Gobierno andaluz está aprobando planes de regadío, trabajando para gestionar el Guadalquivir, trabajando para legalizar viviendas ilegales,

5. The conviction expressed by D. Bravo (2002) about the need to distinguish face-work and (im)politeness activity is shared by the author of this chapter. Therefore, whereas image activities are those focused on creating a specific face of the emitter, the aim sought with (im)politeness activities is to preserve or degrade the recipient’s face.

6. These functions coincide with both macro-strategies identified by van Dijk (2003): the positive auto-presentation of ourselves and the denial of them.

trabajando para mejorar prestaciones sanitarias, trabajando para mejorar los rendimientos de nuestros alumnos, trabajando para la recuperación económica y el empleo.

(DSPA 118, p. 26, Sra. Moreno Ruiz, Consejera de Presidencia)

[You see, the Andalusian Government is strong, the Andalusian Government is united, the Andalusian Government is approving irrigation plans, working to manage the Guadalquivir (river), working to legalise illegal dwellings, working to improve health benefits, working to improve pupil performance, working for economic recovery and employment.]

- (11) (...) y, por tanto, tiene que dimitir, señor Consejero, porque el procedimiento de concesión de ayudas ha sido ilegal, porque el control de fondos ha sido inexistente, porque la publicidad oficial ha sido ninguna y porque el criterio de selección de empresas ha sido un chanchullo.

(DSPA 112, p. 23. Sr. Sanz, PP)

[... and, therefore, you must resign, Minister, because the procedure for granting financial aid was illegal, because control over funds was non-existent, because there was no official publicity whatsoever and because the criterion for the selection of firms was a racket.]

3. Methodology

The features of discourse as well as the effects caused by their appearance in discourse transform the enumerative series into one of the most appropriate procedures for parliamentary and/or political rhetoric. This is because it plays a significant part in the attainment of the goal pursued by every political figure: the construction of a robust speech and strong arguments that will attract the support of potential voters. Despite these efforts, this strategy has not been analysed in relation to the language used by Spanish politicians. There is only one monographic study that deals with the analysis of the enumerative series used by then-President Zapatero and the leader of the opposition, Mariano Rajoy, in a parliamentary debate (Cortés Rodríguez, 2007). This article shows that the use of this resource corresponds to argumentative strategies used by each of them. Both politicians admitted to using this resource in moments of great tension and confrontation in speech. However, it was Zapatero who used this resource with higher frequency and, additionally and in contrast to his rival, favoured complex series that gave way to a more refined speech.

Conversely, the gender variant has only been dealt with in the analysis of sociolinguistic style carried out by Cortés Rodríguez (2008a). Among the tendencies identified in that study is the correlation between educated speakers and the use

of complex enumerative series and the preferred use of closing devices on the part of interlocutors with a lower language competence. However, the author finds no significant difference in the interlocutor's gender.

In conclusion, the use of the enumerative series in parliamentary discourse has not been dealt with so far and even less from the perspective of gender. Therefore, the issue considered in this chapter is whether this intensifying procedure is present in much the same way in the speech of men as it is in that of women. To this end, we analysed the enumerative series of 40 oral questions⁷ used during the eighth term of the Regional Andalusian Parliament.⁸

This gender discourse was chosen, as Fuentes-Rodríguez (2011, 2012a, 2012b) explains, because it is the only moment in which the representatives in the opposition are able to question the government directly. The regulation of the Andalusian Parliament⁹ requires that these questions be presented in writing a week in advance. Therefore, the government has their response prepared in advance. However, there is a second round of questioning that is obviously characterised by having a lower degree of preparation and a greater degree of improvisation. A maximum of five minutes is permitted for the formulation of each question.

To approach the quantitative analysis of gender as a variant in relation to the role played, these 40 questions include 10 questions related to each one of the possible interaction types: minister – male MP, minister – female MP, female minister – male MP, female minister – female MP. However, we are not only considering the analysis of this procedure, taking into account the gender variant, but also the formal and discursive features to determine the general tendencies that govern the shaping of this resource in the discourse of the Andalusian Parliament.

In this regard, we analysed the enumerative series considering three main aspects: contextual data, formal features and updated discursive roles. Concerning the first aspect, we focused on the location of the enumerative series, its use in the first or second intervention and the interlocutors' characteristics. The data related to location help us to identify the diary of sessions and the specific page in which this resource is used. Gender and the discursive role played by the spokesperson as well as by the recipient of the enumerative series are essential data that allow us to carry out a quantitative analysis of the issue raised. This is the only way to see

7. These questions are equivalent to 200 minutes of recording. Therefore, we considered that it is a significant and adequate corpus to the research objectives.

8. The questions analysed are provided in Records of Proceedings at the Andalusian Parliament number 112, 118 and 120. These texts are available at <http://www.parlamentodeandalucia.es/webdinamica/portal-web-parlamento/recursosdeinformacion/diariosdesesiones.do>

9. Available at: <http://www.parlamentodeandalucia.es/opencms/export/portal-web-parlamento/composicionyfuncionamiento/normativainterna/reglamento.htm>

whether its use is determined by the gender of the interlocutor or by the discursive role adopted by the government or opposition. Also, it is the only way to verify whether gender or the recipient plays an important role.

In the second aspect, we analysed the following features, whose relevance has been indicated in the literature (Cortés Rodríguez (2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c):

- Number and composition of the sections and subsections of the enumerative series (complex or simple series according to the terminology used by Cortés Rodríguez 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2008c). If we consider that in the orality of a simple series of three sections, the superiority of simple or complex series is habitual, it is also important to confirm the degree of planning of these interventions.
- Features of the matrix series (presence of a quantifier, a hyperonym or an enumerating verb).
- Syntactic relations between the members of the series (juxtaposition, addition and disjunction).

These features are relevant because they are used to express intensification, the main function of the enumerative series.

Last, regarding the third aspect, we identified the following discursive functions:

- Intensifying function caused by the reiteration of an idea (synonymous, close, gradual, Castillo and García 2012).
- Intensifying function caused by the repetition of a structure (see Fuentes-Rodríguez in this volume).
- Clarifying function using enhancing formulas (its own periphrastic reframing, improper periphrastic reframing).
- Delaying function, caused by the anaphoric repetition of the first element in the segments. This establishes the cohesion along the text.
- Social function (self-image activity, rude attack).

4. The enumerative series in the Andalusian Parliament

Our results indicate that the enumerative series are very frequently used in parliamentary discourse. A total of 109 series were identified, amounting to an average of nearly three per oral question. From our point of view, this average confirms the importance of the enumerative series in the analysis of political discourse. Thanks to its formal features, this resource becomes the perfect medium to secure the support of the future voter. This is because ‘the elements of a series conclude with

the same idea that end up being sub-arguments and that will have an effect on the same thought simulating a wake-up call' (Cortés Rodríguez 2007:78).

However, the results of the study conclude that, in the oral questions posed in the Andalusian Parliament, the enumerative series are characterised by the following: they a) appear mostly in the second intervention, b) are normally simple, c) are composed of segments that have an addition relationship from a syntactic point of view, d) perform an improper periphrastic reformulation, e) update an intensifying function by the repetition of an idea presented gradually, f) are used by male MPs and g) respond essentially and to the interactive nature of the oral question from an impolite point of view.

Let us examine these tendencies in more detail. As mentioned above, in the oral questions analysed, there is a clear preference for the use of the enumerative series in the second round of interventions both on the part of the deputy and on the part of the minister. More precisely, over 70% of the enumerative series are concentrated in the second round of oral questions. Indeed, this datum meets the characteristics of the interactive oral question. As pointed out earlier, the question that the MP asks has been previously submitted in writing; therefore, both interlocutors are familiar with it. Consequently, the MP intervening in this type of text skips the question in the first round of interventions and does not bother to explain it. Therefore, the enumerative series, used in the first round of interventions, focuses on the discourse of the government representatives and, essentially, when they address an issue to an MP of the same party. Obviously, the interventions in which the deputies of PSOE (the ruling party) address their concerns to the representative of the government occupy the second place. In other words, the enumerative series used in the first round of interventions can be seen mainly in the interaction between the minister and the PSOE deputy.

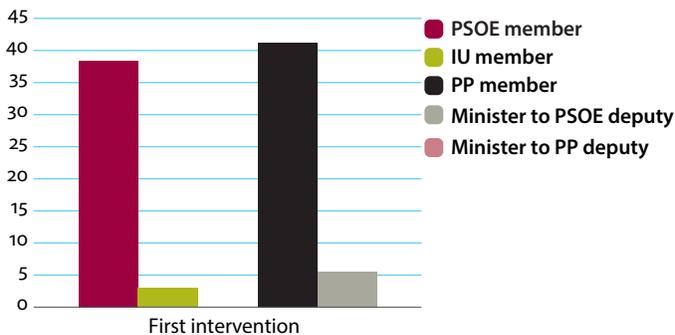


Figure 1. Enumerative series used in the first round of oral questions

When a minister addresses an MP belonging to the same party, the question is intended to applaud and publicise their achievements rather than actually obtain

information from the government. Therefore, in the first round of interventions, the MP does not simply assume that the question has been explained but rather goes a step further and explains the motives that led him to post the question. Meanwhile, the minister's intervention does not respond to the information being requested but rather can be seen as a propagandistic speech in which the enumerative series occupies a prominent position due to its intensifying nature.

Secondly, the predominance of the simple series is also obvious. Compared with the data obtained by Cortés Rodríguez (2007) on the parliamentary debate between Zapatero and Rajoy, in the oral questions posted in the Andalusian Parliament, over 90% of the enumerative series used were simple and 74% of them consisted of three segments.

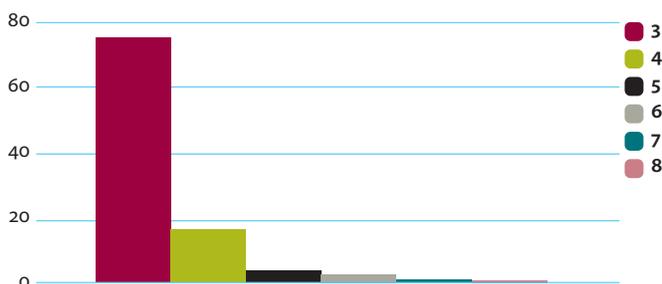


Figure 2. Amount of sections in the enumerative series

This result can be associated with the previous tendency. As stated previously, in general, the enumerative series are used in the second turn of questions, which is characterised by having a lower degree of planning as its formulation is based on the response given by the interlocutor in the previous turn. This high level of spontaneity may favour the use of the enumerative series that are characteristic of orality: the simple three-party series (Cortés Rodríguez, 2007).

Concerning formal features, our analysis has highlighted the way in which the integrating sections of the series, in this specific genre, usually keep a syntactic relation of addition. The results obtained prove that 58.71% of the series adhered to this syntactic relation, 36.69% chose juxtaposition and 11.92% preferred disjunction. Other formal features such as the use of closing devices, verbs of enumeration or hyperonyms in the matrix series do not have a direct impact on the examples that were analysed. We observed only 12 cases of hyperonyms in the matrix, another example of enumerative series containing an enumerating verb and eight closing devices.

Moreover, regarding the discursive functions, it was noted that 77.06% of the enumerative series showed an improper periphrastic reformulation. As mentioned above, this type of structure has a role in the current thematic development. Together

with this, 50% of the analysed series intensified the idea expressed by gradual elements, 35.3% favoured sections in proximity and 14.76% used synonymous elements. This discursive genre is therefore characterised by the use of the series whose sections have a tendency towards increased discursive tension and argumentative force. Thus, it is a resource used consciously to emphasise pieces of information or arguments that the interlocutor considers to be crucial for his reasoning (Cortés Rodríguez, 2007). Interestingly, the so-called delaying or artistic – persuasive function proposed by Cortés Rodríguez (2008c) is only present in 22% of the cases, despite its efficiency for speech formulation and argumentative emphasis.

Additionally, it is interesting to note how the social effect caused by the enumerative series is the degradation of the political opponent's self-image. Logically, this is very much related to the high degree of confrontation involved in oral questions as well as to a tendency to criticise and belittle which is typical of political discourse in general. In fact, as Fuentes-Rodríguez (2012a) notes, the aim pursued when posing the oral question is not to obtain information from the government but rather to damage their self-image before perspective voters, 'to criticise or blame the government for something or demand the implementation of commitments' (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2012a:133).

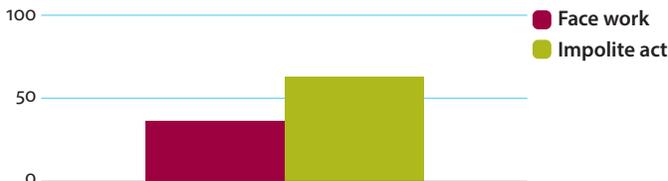


Figure 3. Social effect caused by the enumerative series

The distribution of the social and interactive functions of the enumerative series is again associated with the structure of the oral question. As shown in Figure 4, the activities related to the self-image or, in other words, the highlighting of the management and/or the praising of the political party itself takes place in the first round of interventions. The confrontation with the party in the opposition takes place in the second round of interventions:

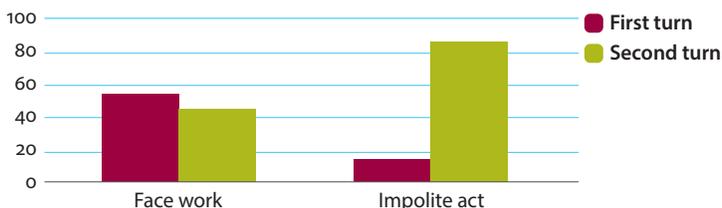


Figure 4. Social effect of the enumerative series according to the structure of the oral question

Similarly, if we include the variant ‘role played’ to the data, we can observe how the self-image is mainly used by the government representatives whether they are ministers or MPs. In other words, they are used by the interlocutors whose goal is to elevate the activity being carried out. The ill-mannered confrontation, on the other hand, is obviously performed by the opposition. Each interlocutor plays the role that they have been assigned based on their position: either defend the management of their governing team or disparage the actions and tarnish the image of the government in the eyes of the public.

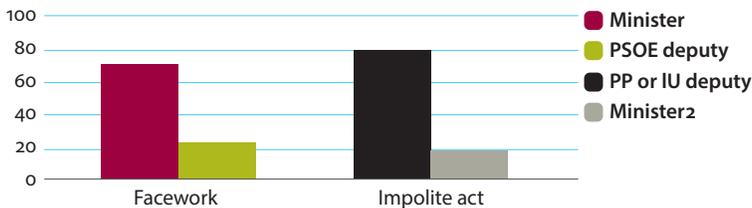


Figure 5. Social function of the enumerative series according to the role performed by the interlocutor

Finally, the quantitative analysis of the gender variable and the role performed shows that there is a slight preference on the part of male MPs for the use of the enumerative series. Nevertheless, as the gender difference is slight, we believe that these data need to be corroborated by the analysis of other genres of parliamentary discourse before reaching firm conclusions.

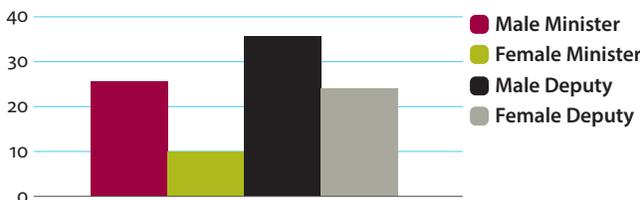


Figure 6. Enumerative series used according to gender and the role performed

5. Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to address the enumerative series in the discourse of the Andalusian Parliament as a linguistic mechanism for the intensification strategy and from the point of view of gender. Therefore, we determined whether there is a difference between men and women in their use of intensifying and argumentative devices as well as identifying the formal aspects and procedures present in this type of discourse. To do so, we analysed 40 oral questions pertaining to the Andalusian Parliament.

In general, the results obtained indicate that in the corpus analysed, the enumerative series are mainly used by male interlocutors, especially by those who perform the role of MPs. These data are consistent with Lakoff's theory (1973, 1975) which associates women's speech with a greater attenuation. However, as we are not dealing with a marked difference, we think it would be appropriate to complement these data with the study of other discursive genres.

On the other hand, we observed that the formal features of the enumerative series, together with its discursive functions, (im)politeness value and distribution between the first and the second round of interventions, respond to the typical structure and features associated with oral questions.

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Argumentation and face-threatening acts

The non-literal quotation

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This chapter analyses parody in parliamentary discourse as a strategy towards the following objective: disqualifying one's political enemies. To do this, the politician uses a very useful resource: the non-literal quotation. This form of attack is a very effective manipulation tool, which we must study by relating politeness theory and argumentation. This chapter also studies aggressive and fallacious strategies in relation to the gender of the speaker and the listener, in the context of a discourse traditionally monopolised by men.

Keywords: Disqualifying, face, parliamentary discourse, quotation, argumentation, manipulation, politeness, gender

1. Introduction

The objective of this study is to analyse parody as a strategy to disqualify the interlocutor's face in parliamentary discourse. To do this, the speaker uses a very effective resource: the non-literal quotation. Thus, the adversary's face is seriously damaged before the rest of the Members of Parliament (MPs) (Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2009, 2012 and Bañón, 2010).

In this study, parody is analysed in parliamentary discourse as a strategy towards the following objective: disqualifying one's political enemies (Brenes, 2011 and 2012). Additionally, this form of attack is a very effective manipulation tool. The blend of politeness theory and argumentation is basic to understanding how this strategy works in parliamentary discourse. It also constitutes the most important innovation of this study.

Another important novelty of this chapter involves the study of aggressive and fallacious strategies in relation to the gender of the speaker and the listener (see Introduction; Son Jang, 2010; González, 2012). Parliamentary discourse has traditionally been monopolised by men. Furthermore, we study how female politicians

use these aggressive strategies today: either they do so independently or they imitate the predominant masculine discourse.

2. Corpus

In this chapter, we study political speech acts used at the Andalusian Parliament (Van-Dijk, 2009). We delimit the corpus temporally and narrow our scope to one year: from 15 August, 2010 to 15 August, 2011. This corresponds to the eighth term, characterised by an equal representation of men and women. The specific dates are arbitrary: it is a year of parliamentary activity that coincides with the beginning of the project titled ‘The gender perspective in the Andalusian parliamentary discourse’ funded by the *Junta de Andalucía*. We focus on oral questions in plenary sessions and exclude the long appearances of government and the answers of the opposition. This is because these speeches are longer, previously planned and non-expressive, that is, they differ markedly from typical political and argumentative discourses (Bañón & Requena, 2012). Conversely, in oral questions, each speech act is short, so that we can find colloquial spontaneity (see Chapter 6) but with other kinds of objectives and with previous planning. In the parliament, a member of a party begins by putting a question to a government minister. After the government representative answers the question, a reply is given by the person who had put the question. Finally, the reply is given by the member of the government who has the last word:

1. Question – opposition
2. Answer – government
3. Reply – opposition
4. Subsequent pleading – government

The most interesting speech acts are replies and subsequent pleadings. The question (1) is usually introduced by the President of Parliament, so usually the speaker just repeats it or does not even phrase it (Brenes, 2010b). The answer provided by the government (2) is usually a short and comprehensive explanation with no controversy over the subject under discussion. Nevertheless, in the reply, the opposition politician completely dismisses the interlocutor’s argument and tries to damage their opponent’s face before Parliament. Conversely, the government’s regional ministers try to defend themselves from these verbal attacks. However, they also attack, sometimes aggressively, and try to discredit their interlocutor’s arguments.

We have selected speakers from different ideologies,¹ so that the ideological variable is apparent. All the speakers are the members of the party *Partido Popular de Andalucía* (PP), in the opposition, who ask the members of the government, *Partido Socialista* (PSOE). We have not chosen any oral questions from PSOE because, if the speaker and the audience belong to the same party, the question will usually be a pretext to praise the activities of the government. Thus, the speaker gives the Minister – a fellow party member – an opportunity to boast before Parliament about their many achievements in the area under discussion.

In this chapter, we have not selected any oral questions from the third party represented in the House, *Izquierda Unida* (IU). However, we have chosen to confront the verbal strategies of the majority parties in the House only, because of limitations. Nevertheless, we leave this for a further paper, which will analyse the verbal behaviour of *Izquierda Unida* politicians, thus showing how all the parties in the House use non-literal quotations.

We have also taken into account the gender of the speaker and the audience. Thus, we have selected 28 questions asked by men and 28 asked by women. Meanwhile, the women's questions are divided into two groups: 14 questions are addressed to men and the other 14 are addressed to women. The same applies to men's questions: 14 questions are addressed to men and another 14 questions are addressed to women. Thus, the number of speakers and addressees is equally divided between men and women, so that equality is maintained:

- Man (PP) – Woman (PSOE) – 14 oral questions
- Man (PP) – Woman (PSOE) – 14 oral questions
- Woman (PP) – Man (PSOE) – 14 oral questions
- Woman (PP) – Man (PSOE) – 14 oral questions

We have selected oral questions on a range of issues: environment, economy, education and equality. We have also selected questions about more specific and controversial points such as corruption, employment regulation documents,² and good or bad government policies. The questions about the economy, for example, are usually asked by the same MP and answered by the same government minister. We find the same situation concerning the rest of the issues. Thus, if many points are selected, a great deal of different speakers and hearers will therefore be available. Therefore, we will have more verbal strategies to analyse.

1. According to Van Dijk (2005:10), ideologies are 'social representations that define the social identity of a group, that is, their shared beliefs about their basic nature and their way of existence and procreation'.

2. Expediente de Regulación de Empleo (ERE).

3. The non-literal quotation as a face-threatening act

As analysed in López (2012), in parliamentary discourse, it is normal for a politician to try to threaten his/her ideological adversaries' face, not only by criticising their actions (in the government or in the opposition), but also by attacking their discourse (Ruhi, 2010; Samra-Frederiks, 2010). This criticism of the adversaries' discourse is used as a strategy to damage their face before the whole House. In this way, the speaker tries to get closer emotionally to his/her fellow party members; therefore, he/she builds up his/her 'affiliation face'³ in relation to them (Márquez, 2012). Therefore, these face acts show the autonomy and distance of the speaker in relation to the opposing political groups in the House. Meanwhile, the speaker displays affiliation face activities in relation to his/her fellow party members, who recognise the value of discrediting their rival's discourse effectively. The speaker tries to express himself/herself in an ingenious and efficient way against the opposing parties, to win the approval of fellow party members. The latter are the real addressees of the speaker's discourse. This is because parliamentarians are conscious that they will never be able to convince the members of an opposing party with this kind of argument. In parliamentary discourse, stances and opinions are fixed beforehand, because of either ideological affinities or previous pacts between different parties.

This kind of attack is usually achieved by the use of a quotation, a polyphonic activity that is used to take the adversary's own words to dismiss his/her arguments and discredit him/her before the rest of the members of the House or before society (the electorate). In López (2012), we already studied cases in which the speaker (a politician) quoted the literal words of his/her ideological adversary to show his/her disagreement. The speaker was trying to smear the reputation of his/her political adversaries before the audience, portraying them as self-contradictory or mendacious. Meanwhile, the speaker was trying to reinforce his/her face because he/she was boasting about his/her aggressiveness and eloquence before the audience.

According to the cited article, the speaker could express his/her disagreement with:

a. Words uttered by his/her political adversaries in their previous speech:

- (1) Es falso/ decir/ que *se están yendo a negociar a la UE/ los recursos por parte de los responsables autonómicos/ es que es rotundamente falso.*

[DSPA 28-10-2010, M (PSOE) – W (PP)]

[It would not be true to say that the resources *are being negotiated in the EU by the regional government officials responsible*. It is totally false.]

3. Fant (2007), Fant and Granato (2002) and Fant and Grindsted (1995).

b. Words uttered in a previous session:

- (2) Mire usted/ usted es el consejero que dijo/ que/ *no había nada que investigar/ porque no había nada de lo que preocuparse/* lo mismo que ha dicho ahora/ y es la consejera de Presidencia la que le dice que *un cuarenta por ciento de los eres que ha investigado la Junta tienen/ falsos/ prejubilados/* señor consejero/ ¿de dónde salían esos falsos prejubilados/ si no es del fondo de reptiles que tenía su consejería?// ¿cómo usted lo puede negar?

[DSPA 17-02-2011, M (PP) – M (PSOE)]

[Once again, Minister, you said that there was *nothing to investigate because there was nothing to worry about* and now you say as the council president that *forty per cent of the redundancy schemes that the Junta has investigated are false, early retirees*. So, Minister, where did those early retirees come from? Probably from the ‘reptiles fund’ that you have at your Department. How can you deny it?]

c. Words previously uttered by his/her political adversary outside Parliament (usually for mass media: press, radio or TV):

- (3) Dice/ en una reciente entrevista/ *no sé si Chaves averiguó cómo tirar El Algarrobico pero hoy toca esperar/* eso se lo dijo/ usted// ¿por qué no esperó el señor Chaves a tenerlo claro/ antes de decir que iba tirar El Algarrobico?/ ¿Por qué?/ ¿Acaso porque al todopoderoso Dios de esta Andalucía le molestó en su momento las manifestaciones/ de los ecologistas/ señor consejero?/¿Por qué ahora es inútil decir que si lo tiramos/ o no/ y antes no?

[DSPA 11-11-2010, W (PP)-M (PSOE)]

[You said in a recent interview *I don't know if Chaves found out how El Algarrobico was torn down but now we can only be patient*. You said that because you did not wait for Chaves to be sure about it before saying you were going to tear it down? Why? Perhaps, Minister, because Andalusia's Jehova was displeased at the time by the ecologists' demonstrations? Why is it of no importance to say that you have torn it down now and not before?]

d. Words uttered by other members of the opposing ideological group:

- (4) Se dijo/ por parte del señor Griñán/ que se iba a ser ejemplar/ en austeridad/ y en reducción de altos cargos/ y eso ha sido un auténtico fiasco/ y sobre todo/ un insulto/ al millón de parados/ andaluces.

[DSPA 29-04-2010, M (PP) – M (PSOE)]

[Mr Griñán said that they would be an example of austerity and would reduce the number of senior political posts. This has been a complete flop and above all an insult to the one million unemployed Andalusians.]

In summary, we studied the speech acts where the speaker is quoting the words of an ideological adversary in a non-literal way: deformed, exaggerated or parodied.

3.1 Quoting the words of an ideological adversary in the House

Members of Parliament usually quote the words of an ideological adversary who has just spoken in the House about the same issue, and whom they are addressing, that is, their formal interlocutor. Their intended or addressed audience is indeed their own ideological group, which they set out to impress through their discourse. The second important audience addressed in their discourse is the electorate who will know of the political arguments on television, radio or the press. As before, these arguments will also be used with the intention of discrediting their political adversary. Thus, the political rival with whom the speaker is interacting is not usually his/her true addressee. This political rival is usually just a discursive subject, a mere victim of his/her attacks that threaten the opponent's individual and group face.

We refer to verbal procedures very close to colloquial language. They are usually based on exaggerating, deforming or parodying the interlocutors' words to make fun of them, and reveal them as stupid or despotic in nature, and therefore to damage their face before their audience. In this regard, Reyes (1995) argues that direct speech is not always a literal copy of someone's words. In conversation, for example, imaginary, invented or hypothetical sentences are usually created through direct speech: 'Al que te pregunte algo tú le dices: Perdone, yo he venido a ver a un socio'⁴ [What you have to tell anyone who asks you any question is: Sorry, I've just come to be a partner].

Thus, Reyes does not say that direct speech copies another discourse literally, but that it recreates another discourse that may or may not have existed, have been invented or even wished by the speaker (Reyes 1995:25).

In direct speech, just one person (a politician) physically reproduces the discourse of another person (a political adversary). Ducrot (1986) called this person *sujeto empírico* [empirical agent]. Nevertheless, the true culprit of the words is his/her interlocutor, the political adversary who had just spoken before. Ducrot (1986) called this person *enunciador* [enunciator]. This verbal procedure is very common in conversation (colloquial language). The originality and effectiveness of parliamentary discourse is based on using this kind of colloquial strategies in formal discourse. This kind of quotation also has an important persuasive profitability because, through communicative manipulation, the speaker controls his/her own words and also his/her adversary's words. Thus, it is so easy to portray the adversary as weak, ridiculous or wrong. Discourse also becomes more dynamic, pleasant

4. Example was extracted from Reyes (1995).

and closer. Besides, discourse can also be interpreted by addressees (members of their own party or usual voters) as more garish.

The speaker usually quotes words uttered before by his/her ideological adversary in the media, but modifying what his/her adversary said in an exaggerated or simplistic way. This produces an offensive discourse for some social groups. Thus, the source of the discourse (*enunciador* – the political adversary) is shown as somebody disrespectful towards the electorate, which results in important individual face damage.

We are speaking about the so-called ‘straw-man fallacy’, which consists of repeating the adversary’s words, but manipulating and exaggerating them for the purposes of caricature and ridicule.

In the next example, the President of PPA is quoting some words from his main political adversary, the President of *Junta de Andalucía* (PSOE) José Antonio Griñán. These words are about the Andalusian youth:

- (5) Usted/ creo señor Presidente/ que como es completamente ajeno a la realidad/ tiene dos problemas/ uno lo que no hace/ y otro lo que dice// ¿usted cree que puede decir con un cincuenta por ciento de paro juvenil que *le recuerda a los jóvenes andaluces que no se puede vivir del cuento?*/ eso es estar totalmente fuera de la realidad.

[DSPA 27-05-2010, M (PP) – M (PSOE)]

[I think, Mr President, given that you are entirely oblivious to reality you have two problems, one dealing with what you do not do and another that has to do with what you say. Do you think it is appropriate to say that the youth should be reminded that you cannot sponge off of others when 50% of them are out of work? That is the proof of being disconnected from reality.]

Arenas is quoting an alleged remark of Griñán who apparently criticised Andalusian youth at a public meeting in Almería. Mr Arenas expresses his indignation by using a rhetorical question. The president of the opposition party is censuring the fact that the president of the autonomous government has said that young people must not *vivir del cuento*,⁵ a rather colloquial and offensive expression in times of crisis and youth unemployment.

Thereafter, Griñán takes the floor and corrects Arenas by uttering his own words in a literal way: if a student has received a scholarship, he has to study:

- (6) Yo/ a los jóvenes andaluces/ nunca les he dicho que no tiene que vivir del cuento/ yo lo único que les he dicho/ es que si tienen una beca/ tienen que estudiar/ tienen que estudiar[...] no lo de vivir del cuento nunca se lo he dicho yo a los jóvenes.

[DSPA 27-05-2010, M (PSOE) – M (PP)]

5. Sponge off of others, live on one’s wits.

[I have never told Andalusia's youth that they cannot sponge off of others. What I said was that if they are granted a scholarship they must study not that they cannot sponge off of others, I never said that.]

Usually, the speaker uses a quotation to show the true hidden agenda of his/her political adversary. Thus, the verb that introduces the quotation is a thinking verb, such as *pensar* [think], *creer* [believe] or *considerar* [consider]. It is not usual, but, in the next example, the quotation is already in the first question. The speaker does not wait for his second or reactive turn to launch his attack, as is usual. Actually, the question is not a real question. It is just an offensive and expositive statement. In the next example, a parliamentary colleague of the PPA holds Griñán responsible for the following words that play down the 'ERE scandal', that is, the political corruption plot linked to the Andalusian Government:

- (7) ¿Sigue pensando que esta trama escandalosa que beneficia al Partido Socialista/ a miembros del Partido Socialista y que ha durado más de diez años/ se ha mantenido *con cuatro pillos al margen del Gobierno*↑?

[DSPA 17-02-2011, W (PP) – M (PSOE)]

[Do you still think this scandalous racket which has gone on for more than ten years and which benefits the Socialist Party and its members has been maintained with four thieves outside the government?]

With the expression 'cuatro pillos al margen del Gobierno' [four thieves outside the government], the speaker is portraying Griñán as somebody who plays down the importance of the 'ERE scandal' and tries to disassociate his Government from it.

Although the speaker knows and expresses clearly that the quoted person has not said anything, sometimes he/she even dares to explain his/her adversary's silence. We need to pay attention to intonation to understand this quotation:

- (8) Somos una de las comunidades con mayor caída de venta↑/ y usted me está diciendo→/ o mejor dicho como no me ha dicho nada/ doy por hecho/ que *el gobierno andaluz no piensa hacer absolutamente nada para ayudarlo*↑/ es usted consciente de que/ como dice el presidente de la Asociación Nacional de Vehículos de Motor/ Reparación y Recambios/ los concesionarios pueden caer/ como auténticas fichas de dominó↑?

[DSPA 25-11-2010, W (PP) – M (PSOE)]

[We are one of the regions with a greater downturn in sales and you are saying, no, I am wrong because you have not said anything. I am certain that the Andalusian government will do absolutely nothing to resolve this. Are you aware of the fact that the automobile sector can fall like domino pieces as the president of the National Motor, Repair and Replacement Vehicle Association says?]

The speaker is quoting words (*el gobierno andaluz no piensa hacer absolutamente nada para ayudarlo*) from the Minister of Industry. However, these words are indeed imagined because they had never been actually uttered by the Minister. Nevertheless, these invented words show negligence and a relaxed attitude not just on the part of the Minister, but of the whole Andalusian Government.

3.2 Quoting the words of an opposing ideological group

The speaker usually quotes words of the whole ideological group, without specifying any individual member. In this way, the speaker is able to discredit the opposition party and seriously threaten its collective face.

In the next example, a PP MP who is speaking in the House is asking a socialist minister:

- (9) ¿A usted le repugna/ que se den ayudas a empresas de ex concejales con el siguiente argumento: / *porque sí/ y ya/ está?*

[DSPA O3-O3-2011, PSOE M (PP) – M (PSOE)]

[Don't you feel disgusted when you grant money to businesses belonging to former ministers with arguments like 'because I say so and that is it?']

In this question, the PP Member of Parliament is suggesting that the *Junta de Andalucía* gives one argument only to justify public grants to companies owned by former local councillors: *porque sí y ya está* [just because I say so and that is it]. This makes the government look like an institution that does not worry about corruption problems of its own party. Moreover, it presents an arrogant and inquisitorial face to Parliament and the electorate.⁶ In fact, these words were never uttered by any member of the government, but they are just a subjective interpretation made by the PP politician. This free interpretation comes from some socialist government actions: according to the PP party, the Andalusian Government is not doing anything to investigate these grants.

As we can observe, the oral question does not indeed have the usual objective of eliciting an answer from a socialist minister. However, it has just the objective of discrediting him, threatening his individual face before the House by manipulating his adversary's words.

Sometimes, a quotation translates as some sort of Machiavellian government plan. Thus, the speaker tries to damage the socialist government's collective face:

6. The public can access this discourse through the mass media (short excerpts from TV, radio or the press), and through the *Junta de Andalucía* web page where they can find the complete speeches.

- (10) Pero ustedes no tiene bastante/ con las personas que están pagando las consecuencias/ de su error↓/ de su fracaso/ de su inutilidad en crear empleo/ ustedes se ceban↑/ y deciden que *todavía no han sufrido bastante/ que todavía no lo están pasando suficientemente mal/ que hay que hacerles un poquito más/ una vuelta de rosca más*/ y a esas mismas personas que son víctimas de su incompetencia/ del Partido Socialista/ ustedes les dicen que *ahora que tienen que pagar la crisis/ ellas/ precisamente/ prescindiendo/ de una ayuda/ de cuatrocientos veintiséis euros.*

[DSPA 10-11-2010, W (PP) – M (PP)]

[Is it not enough for you to see how others are paying the price of your errors, of your failure, of your inability to create jobs. You go beyond this and decide that they still have not suffered enough and they can still struggle a bit more. You think that people who are suffering the consequences of your incompetence, of the Socialist Party, should now pay for the consequences of the crisis and they should suffer more, a little bit more. These people are precisely the ones managing to live without the 420 euro grant.]

First, the *verbum dicendi* or reporting verb is indeed a thinking verb (*deciden*) because it translates the Government's hidden agenda: *que todavía no han sufrido bastante/ que todavía no lo están pasando suficientemente mal/ que hay que hacerles un poquito más/ una vuelta de rosca más.*

Second, the speaker is using a real *verbum dicendi* (*dicen*) to introduce a sentence in which the government would want the citizens to pay the cost of the crisis: *que tienen que pagar la crisis/ ellas.*

3.3 Quoting the words of a community or common sense

Sometimes, in this invented quotation, the speaker does not use his/her ideological adversary's words, but widespread, communal words. The speaker borrows some words from a community that is usually opposed to the views of the rival party. This polyphonic activity is based on hiding one's own personal opinions behind those of society or common sense to express arguments from the speaker. These are not just his/her own responsibility, but are supported by society as a whole (implying that the speaker's words are not their sole responsibility but are supported by the whole of society). In this way, discourse achieves more credibility and political adversaries suffer from stronger face threats. In most cases, the speaker makes use of the *populist fallacy*, which is based on claiming that some opinion is true just because it is supported by the community. It is a fallacy because we cannot indeed prove that the community thinks like that. Through this strategy, the speaker tries to defame his/her political rival without taking individual responsibility for these opinions. Finally, he/she washes his/her hands of the consequences.

In the following example, the President of the PP is saying that the appearance of members of the government in state-of-the-region debates had been a botched job (*chapuza*). This opinion seems to be supported by society unanimously (*unánimemente*).

- (11) Lo que ustedes hicieron en el debate sobre el estado de la comunidad/ y lo que expresó el presidente de la Junta de Andalucía es simplemente una chapuza// lo ha dicho/ unánimemente todo el mundo/ no hay nadie que esté respaldando/ esas medidas. [DSPA 24-06-2010, M (PP) – W (PSOE)]
[What you did in the debate on the situation of the region along with what the president of the regional council said, is simply a botched job, something which is shared unanimously by everyone. There is no one supporting those policies.]

With the introduction of the adverb *unánimemente*, the idea of the government's isolation is reinforced because nobody supports them.

When the speaker uses this kind of quotation, he/she usually tries to make his/her adversary responsible for a larger lie. The bottom line is that the speaker tries to attack his adversary through hearsay or accusations that cannot be proven. Finally, this activity is a way to achieve verbal disappearance and impersonality.

We usually find this impersonal quotation (*se dice*) closer to *los mentideros*⁷ expression:

- (12) En estos momentos es importantísimo garantizar la estabilidad de España/ y le voy a decir por qué/ porque en casi todos los mentideros/ se comenta/ se dice/ se habla pero permanentemente/ de la irresponsabilidad del estado autonómico/ por lo tanto nuestro compromiso es/ dar estabilidad al gobierno↑? [DSPA 25-11-2010, M (PP) – M (PSOE)]
[In moments like these it is very important to guarantee Spain's stability. I will tell you why. In nearly every corner people are forever gossiping about the irresponsibility of the regional government. Therefore our duty is to offer stability to the government?]

The PP speaker is describing the situation of the Autonomous Communities as irresponsible. Nevertheless, this statement is not only supported by the speaker, but also by 'everybody', as several impersonal expressions are used: *se comenta*, *se dice*, *se habla* [it is commented – people comment, it is said – people say, etc.]

In the next example, the speaker does not wait for the reactive turn to use this quoting strategy. She is quoting words supported by the community in the first oral question. The speaker is María Teresa Ruiz Sillero, a PP MP. She suspects

7. 'Los mentideros': colloquialism. Place where idle people meet up to chat (www.rae.es).

that the Andalusian Government has dismissed the Public Management General Director because he has committed several financial crimes:

- (13) (...) *extraoficialmente/ se dice que son/ la cabeza de turco/ o aunque también/ se dice en los mentideros / que circulaba demasiada información sobre el exdirector de la Función Pública/ y sobre sus actuaciones no muy ortodoxas/ con el peligro de que apareciera/ más información comprometida// se dice incluso que hay amenazas para averiguar el origen de esas informaciones y los cauces de sus propagación (...)* mucho se ha hablado también del caso Utrera/ sobre filtraciones de exámenes de oposiciones/ y el Señor Ortiz Mayol/ responsable político de la materia.

[DSPA 25-11-2010, W (PP) – W (PSOE)]

[In non-official terms they say they are the scapegoat and that too much information about the former director of the public section and on its unorthodox actions was circulating with the possibility of new risky information being discovered. It is said that there are even threats to find out the origin of the information and course of its spread. Much has been said about the Utrera case on the leak of exams for public positions and about Mr Ortiz Mayol, the politician responsible for that department.]

Every impersonal quotation introduces a serious accusation. Nevertheless, the speaker is defending her own individual expression because every single accusation is supported by the community, by everybody, through Spanish impersonal verbs. First, it is said (*se dice*) that the people who were dismissed were just scapegoats (*cabezas de turco*). Secondly, it is said that a lot of dangerous information about the dismissed politician might be disclosed (*con el peligro de que apareciera/ más información comprometida*). The adverb *even* (*incluso*) introduces the most serious and relevant accusation: it is said that there have been threats to discover the source of this information (*hay amenazas para averiguar el origen de esas informaciones*). In summary, the speaker is trying to portray the *Junta de Andalucía* as a group of politicians bordering on the delinquent, or, at least, prone to illegal or shady activities.

Nevertheless, this kind of verbal mechanism has a disadvantage: the political rival can expose this strategy in Parliament. Thus, in the following example, a PSOE Minister, María del Carmen Martínez Aguayo, criticises a member of the opposition for attacking on the basis of rumours without any verified information or evidence. The government minister also takes advantage of her turn to criticise her political rival because he has not used his turn to put a question but merely to discredit the government. She clearly states that the question is just a pretext to disqualify the PSOE party:

- (14) Usted está aquí/ hablando/ de *se dice/ se comenta/* me gustaría responder algo que sabe/ porque sería un bonito detalle/ si sabe usted además/ como parece saber/a qué se va a dedicar el señor Ortiz/ ¿A qué pregunta?/ pregunta solamente para contribuir a su campaña de agitación/ y de descrédito/ exclusivamente. [DSPA 25-11-2010, W (PP) – W (PSOE)]
 [You are here talking about ‘they say’, and ‘the story goes’ and I would like to respond by saying something that would be a nice touch if you know – as it seems you do – what Mr Ortiz is going to do for a living. Why do you ask questions? You only ask questions to contribute to your electoral campaign of stirring things up and discrediting others.]

If this strategy is so easy to expose, we can ask ourselves whether it is really effective. To answer this, it is useful to recall a popular Spanish proverb: *calumnia, que algo queda*.⁸

4. Results according to gender and ideology

As we observed in López (2012), men quote ideological adversaries literally more often than women. This finding is repeated in non-literal quoting. Nevertheless, we think that men quote more frequently not because of gender but because of power relations between politicians. The most aggressive attacks appear when the head of a party, usually a man, takes his/her turn. Because quotation, a form of attack, is a very effective manipulation tool, it is usual for men, who are in higher positions inside the parties, to use quoting frequently.

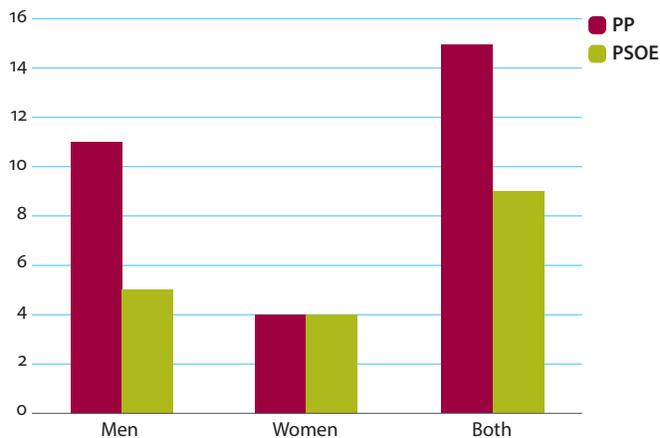


Figure 1. The literal quotation in the Andalusian Parliament

8. If you throw enough mud, some of it sticks.

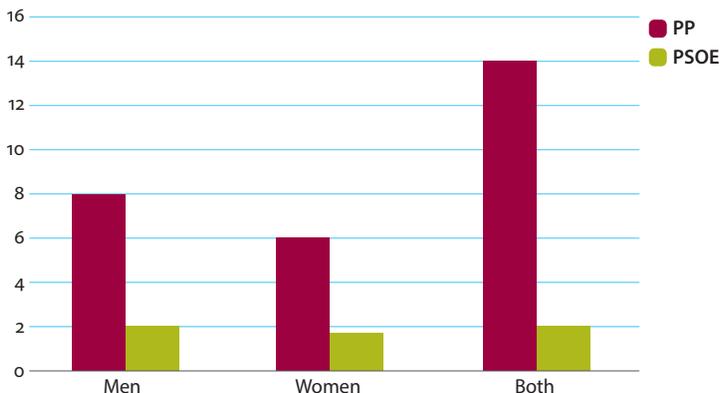


Figure 2. The non-literal quotation in the Andalusian Parliament

Concerning ideology, we observe that the Partido Popular (PP), the right wing party, uses non-literal quotations more frequently than the Andalusian socialist party (PSOE). We do not think that an ideological variable is the reason for this. In our opinion, the most important variable is the position of power. At the time of choosing our examples, the *Junta de Andalucía* was held by PSOE while PP was in the opposition. The opposition party is naturally more aggressive. Thus, members of the PP opposition usually use a lot of face-threatening acts to discredit members of PSOE. Socialist politicians also use face-threatening acts against PP politicians, but less frequently, and in a covert way, because of their position of power.

5. Conclusions

Parliamentary discourse thrives on controversy and aggression. Therefore, the speaker sets out to threaten the individual and group face of his/her ideological adversary and non-literal quoting is an effective tool to achieve this. Politicians usually borrow words from their rivals and repeat them by modifying, exaggerating or parodying them. In this way, they portray their adversary as somebody who lies to or misleads the electorate. Quoting the adversary is a very common strategy used by MPs to strengthen their argumentation (Lo Cascio, 1998).

The speaker usually attacks the politician with whom he/she is interacting in oral questions, or he/she can attack the head of a party (the President, for example). Nevertheless, the speaker does not usually quote words just uttered in the House because members of Parliament could remember them easily. Thus, it is common to quote words previously uttered by an adversary in the media.

The speaker can also quote words by attributing them to the whole opposing group. By doing this, he/she tries to threaten the collective face of the rival party.

Finally, the speaker can quote some opinions or accusations by attributing them to the community of citizens or to common sense. The speaker performs this verbal activity, first, so that his/her arguments are supported by the whole community, and secondly, with the purpose of creating rumours and spreading lies against his/her political adversary.

Concerning gender, we have observed that men quote more frequently than women. This is because most of the important positions in parties are held by men, who usually attack rival party leaders aggressively.

Finally, we have observed that PP politicians (right wing) use quotations as a face-threat more frequently than PSOE politicians (left wing). We must remember that the PP is in the opposition, so that its members have to be more aggressive and impolite to oust the socialist government. Thus, we think that the most important variable is not ideology, but the power positions of parties.

In future studies, we will try to study the entire range of quoting (literal and non-literal), and extend our research towards other kinds of discourse.

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Pseudo-desemantisation as a discursive strategy in political discourse

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In parliamentary discourse, lexical elements are routinely used by MPs, regardless of ideology and gender factors. The only important difference lies between government and opposition. Therefore, no remarkable lexical innovations are expected. In parliamentary interventions, there is a reduction in ideological polarity and a tendency to use words that suffer a process of pseudo-desemantisation (i.e. loss of its full and original meaning) with an intensifying function.

Keywords: Pseudo-desemantisation, lexical ritualisation, collocation, pleonastic uses, social lexical variation

1. Introduction

The repetition of certain words is very useful as a strategy. Therefore, this chapter analyses the way lexicon is used by politicians, desemantising (partial loss of a word meaning) certain terms and using them strategically to reinforce their position or minimise what they want to hide from the voters. Moreover, this lexicon is considered as specific and always far from the standard usage. Therefore, it constitutes a means of reinforcing the politician's face.

A number of lexical constants are assumed in parliamentary discourse to predict the way in which politicians speak. Discursive professionalisation is achieved mechanically. Lexical variation resulting from the social or professional status of the speaker is assumed unproblematically.

Both the government and the opposition tend to avoid certain words contextually (for example, *esfuerzo* [effort] is used instead of the word *decisión* [decision]).

However, other words are used with dysphemistic or pejorative meaning¹ (for example, *demagogia* [demagogy] or *irresponsable* [irresponsible]). The group in power has limited lexicon resources, whereas a broader lexical range is available for those in the opposition who have no governmental responsibilities. Therefore, the opposition will focus on facts that may cause the government discomfort. By contrast, the government clings to the generally scarce data that present any issue in a favourable light, rejecting those that might damage their image. Therefore, the MPs in government use limited topics and words in their parliamentary speeches. Role distribution is very clear during question-and-answer sessions. The government will highlight the positive aspects of its performance but simultaneously denigrate its predecessor's achievements. This strategy will enhance the role of words to create comfortable circumstances for the speaker and uncomfortable ones for the addressee.

This will lead to the use of ameliorative or dysphemistic resources. The parliamentary group supporting the Andalusian Government adopts the role of opposition as regards the national government's policy. Conversely, the main party in the opposition use the mechanisms of those who hold power at a national level. Although one group and the other evidently keep their distance, the utilisation of words apparently has a commendatory aim in all cases. This can be observed in the use of forms such as *importante* [major], with an intensification value of a quasi-grammatical noun, so that neutralisation is introduced with forms such as *brutal* [brutal], as shown in the following example:²

- (1) Como decía antes, el Partido Popular da la espalda a un sector agrario donde ha reducido en un 65% la aportación en los últimos cinco años, dejando indefensos a los agricultores ante cualquier catástrofe climática, plaga o enfermedad. Se congela la partida de seguros agrarios tras un *brutal* recorte del 30% en los últimos años. Y programas fundamentales como la calidad, la competitividad, también reciben un *importante* recorte.

(DSPA 63, IX Legislature, 4, Sra. Quintana Campos, IU).

[As I said before, the Popular Party turns its back on the agricultural sector where it has reduced its contribution by 65% during the last five years, leaving farmers defenceless in the face of any climatic catastrophe, plague or disease. The item of agricultural insurance is frozen after a *brutal* 30% cut in recent years. And essential programmes such as quality [and] competitiveness suffer a *major* cutback too.]

1. Here we refer to contextual avoidance so that no apriorisms worthy of mention can be identified outside the discursive environment.

2. The citations have been extracted from the *Diario de sesiones* [Parliamentary Records] of the Andalusian Parliament.

Remarkably, those involved in political discourse have certain preset mental structures based on a list, usually of three elements (3-part-list) (sometimes more), which aim to reinforce specific ideas, especially of emphatic relevance, that they attempt to uphold. Hence, the utilisation of adjectival phrases with a quantifying value, such as *de peso* [strong], or an adjective like *prioritarias* [most urgent], not frequently used in academic texts, is highly characteristic of political language:

- (2) Estos presupuestos nacen del Gobierno de coalición Izquierda Unida-Partido Socialista, suscrito por un acuerdo programático para esta legislatura, que antepone como medidas *prioritarias* combatir el desempleo, fortalecer los servicios públicos y luchar contra la pobreza y la desigualdad. (DSPA 26, IX Legislature, 42, Sra. Pérez Rodríguez, PSOE).
[This budget has arisen from the United Left – Socialist Party coalition government, signed through a programme agreement for this legislative term, which promotes as *urgent* measures combating unemployment, strengthening public services and fighting poverty and inequality.]

The eagerness to maintain a preconceived structure unremarkably leads to intensifying and insisting on what one is trying to support or denigrate. Curiously, the emphasis may be hindered by the unchanging strategy of always using this three-fold scheme. Moreover, it might not be possible to cover the last link in the structure, which shows politicians caught up in their constant interest to intensify or mitigate things in line with their political interests.

Besides the features shared with academic discourse, a certain degree of specificity obviously exists in the political language – including, indeed, the parliamentary context. The aim is to sell a product, hence the often studied connections with advertising discourse. Nevertheless, it is always another possible form of government that is on offer. In fact, the laudatory strategy is justified because politicians are always anxious to present their actions to the electorate in a flattering light. A specific course of action is reinforced, clearly widening the distance from the opposition. Any behaviour that is *diferente* [different] is actually highlighted explicitly:

- (3) Que se dé por enterado el Gobierno del Partido Popular, no estamos dispuestos a pasar por el aro de su igualdad, ni a gobernar igual que ellos, ni a asumir que a los ciudadanos les toca renunciar a derechos y sufrir privaciones y recortes. En Andalucía, señores y señoras del Partido Popular, entérense de una vez, hay un Gobierno *diferente*, un Gobierno que hace cosas distintas, que se rebela contra los dictados de la troika, porque es un Gobierno de izquierdas, donde está Izquierda Unida, donde la Consejería de Fomento y Vivienda la lleva esta consejera, que es comunista, señorías, y que entiende la igualdad como igualdad de condiciones, no como el

aplastamiento de los derechos colectivos, de los derechos sociales y sumisión a la élite económica. [Aplausos.] Así es como entendemos el concepto, la práctica de la igualdad, señorías del Partido Popular. Espero que se den por enterados. (DSPA 46, IX Legislature, 22, Sra. Cortés Jiménez, IU).

[We urge the Popular Party Government to take notice, we are not willing to toe the line of their equality; neither are we willing to govern as they do, or to assume that citizens inevitably have to relinquish their rights and suffer deprivation and cutbacks. Ladies and gentlemen of the Popular Party, be aware once and for all, there is a *different* Government in Andalusia, a Government which takes a different line, which rebels against the Troika's dictates, because it is a left-wing Government, of which United Left forms part, where the Regional Department of Housing and Development is run by this Minister, who is a Communist, and who understands equality as being on an equal footing, not as the crushing of collective rights, of social rights and (as) the submission to an economic elite. [Applause.] That is how we understand the concept, the practice of equality, members of the Popular Party. I hope you will take notice.]

A set of shared communicative mechanisms makes it possible to understand a large number of lexical routines. Hence, the use of *a priori* marked words, that is, the systematic actualisation of lexical units, with a limited selective possibility and pragmatic adaptation, causes few lexical innovations so that the pre-established standard prevails. The different parliamentary interventions take place within the government – opposition roles, with a reduction of ideological polarity, a tendency to repeat lexical units that undergo desemantisation, regardless of their meaning. In other words, they experience a semantic neutralisation to provide the attenuation of negative aspects and the intensification of positive aspects, or vice versa.

2. The collocational sphere

An abstraction process allows us to carry out a reinterpretation where only those words predominate that no longer have precise meanings and only provide ameliorative or dysphemistic nuances.³ Some of these diluted meanings place lexical

3. Dysphemism – and its antonym, euphemism – is used in the sense of a word which has been *a priori* catalogued as such, as is the case in the lexicographical treatment through simplification or using intuitions of lexical behaviour, sometimes based on representative corpora. Therefore, our approach describes a process, along the lines followed in recent years, which revolves around the discursive deployment of linguistic and paralinguistic resources with the aim of mitigating or intensifying the interdicted reality; otherwise, the pragmatic nature that these lexical phenomena undoubtedly have would be lost (Casas Gómez, 2009).

combination within a collocational sphere. This is because the units that relatively often appear in this type of discourse consist of a collocative and a base selected by a lexical environment that attempts either to obtain the addressee's approval or to denigrate the opponent's action or stance. It is noteworthy that the collocational structure reflects an oriented selection where a word implements lexical discrimination and infers a modification of semic features.⁴ In other words, the selection of one constituent by another takes place within the restricted combination of units which are jointly or syntagmatically involved in the discourse under analysis (as in other similar ones). This leads us to mention about a fact which is not systematic, but normative. One of the lexical elements shaping the complete pseudo-unit, insofar as a relative fixation is suggested here, is characterised by having a distinctive characteristic of the feature 'it is only said of' – hence the reference to a relative discursive fixation. One unit determines another, not only in formal terms, because the potential meaning of the co-appearing constituent is limited, thus leading to semantic specialisation (Castillo Carballo, 2005). This, in turn, excludes the possibility of referring to hierarchical equality between the collocated formants.⁵ The collocative appears as a transformed lexical element, which consolidates a new meaning that appears in most lexicographical repertoires.

Therefore, many of the new meanings adopted by lexical units are favoured by the collocational aspect. In some cases, the constituents of the noun phrase experience metabasis (or trans-categorisation) through the shift from the nucleus zone to the attributive one within a phrase. The function of nominal incrementation

4. Nevertheless, the elements that form part of the restricted combination at times develop a relationship based on typicity that contributes to fixing the specialised meanings. It is not easy for us to verify the presence of this factor in the sequences mentioned here because the type of abstract nouns (on which the collocation is based) which co-appears makes impossible or at least hinders the creation of a typical link, as would happen, for instance, in *contabilizar los votos* [count the votes] or *ocupar un escaño* [take a seat (in Parliament)]. What becomes linguistically institutionalised in Spanish is that a collocative that respectively contains a seme related to 'suma [sum]' and to 'espacio tangible [tangible space]' (we can *romper un voto* [break a vote] or *fotografiar un escaño* [photograph a (parliament) seat], but the typical association is that of *contabilizar* [count] or *ocupar* [take]).

5. Unlike those who consider that the meaning of a collocation is obtained from the content of its constituent elements – which is why one could talk about semantic transparency from a decoding point of view – some people think that the selection of the content in the determined element motivates the pseudo-compositionality of the collocation. This criterion seems to make a difference with regard to free phrases or fixed expressions, insofar as one can talk about total compositionality in the former, as opposed to expressions, where that compositionality is not perceived because of their semantic opacity. Precisely this feature shows how the co-appearance of collocated elements is violated to achieve an expressive effect, as speakers recognise the allusion to a relatively stable combination.

– which shapes a combination of words characterised by an intonational unity and a referential identity – appears, in this respect, without resorting to the prepositional transposing element.⁶ This occurs in expressions such as *asunto clave* [key issue], which is often found in the discourse analysed here.⁷ Besides the aforementioned problems, the fact that the selection of the collocative element sometimes entails its delexicalisation explains the discursive use of pleonastic units, which precisely originate due to the desemantising capacity of the base element. The meaning of both units coincides with that of the nucleus word, insofar as the iterative utilisation becomes fixed. This is a particular type of collocation, as the speaker uses a desemantised collocative when he utilises such expressions, although it has a clearly emphatic value, especially in the discourse under study in this chapter (García Platero, 2002).

Lexical collocation derives from this repetition in parliamentary language, as this is a custom-made lexical unit for certain discursive situations in which there is a need to place emphasis (Núñez Cabezas & Guerrero Salazar, 2002: 450–472). Some examples are *absolutamente falso* [completely false], *absolutamente inaudito* [absolutely unbelievable], *base fundamental* [essential foundation], *especial relevancia* [special relevance], *meridianamente claro* [unambiguously clear], *perfectamente legítimo* [perfectly legitimate], *pilar básico* [basic pillar], *plena confianza* [full confidence], *prioridad absoluta* [absolute priority], *totalmente contrario* [totally opposed]. We can conclude that in these examples, the modifier loses its lexical content when the base (noun or adjective) is present, as the speaker is not aware of the semantic repetition. This, in turn, means that the only significant source of meaning lies on the basis of such collocation (García Platero, 2002).

Besides pleonastic uses, our focus is on *hacer un esfuerzo* [make an effort]. When politicians make an *effort*, it is clearly far from the designated fact. This is because what they actually do is not ‘an energetic utilisation of vigour or a mindful activity meant to achieve something by overcoming difficulties’ and ‘the utilisation of costly elements for the achievement of some aim’, as found in the dictionary. Conversely, they simply manage a budget item, for example, even if that has previously forced them to weigh up a variety of decisions that are not at all easy to

6. This is perceived in the tendency to use nominal constructions where one of the components is a prefixed noun with an adjectival value (*manifestación antiaborto o proaborto* [anti-abortion or pro-abortion demonstration]), which is why a reference has been made to a trans-categorising value of the pre-modifying affix.

7. The quantification criterion has been followed to deny the quasi-affix character of the adjectivised noun because its frequency is higher as an autonomous form than as a syntagmatic element. In any case, it is advisable to talk about continuity, insofar as one can not only refer to the non-discrete nature of derivative and compositive formants.

adopt. In other words, *hacer un esfuerzo* [make an effort] does not always imply 'an energetic utilisation of vigour'. Alternatively, it is used as a way of presenting some difficult political decision. Especially, it is a way of presenting it to the citizens. Although it is an ideological decision, its goal is clearly persuasive.

Moreover, this *esfuerzo* [effort] is different from the *esfuerzo* [effort] that is asked from the citizen. In other words, it is the request for an effort, which, in fact, is not a request but an imposition, a measure adopted by the government – thus removing the voluntary character of any request. This means the expression has two different meanings, depending on whether the understood subject is the politician or the citizen. Therefore, *esfuerzo* [effort] suffers a semantic neutralisation with *sacrificio* [sacrifice]. In fact, the communicative situations in which both words appear are the same; they are perfectly interchangeable. When a Member of Parliament (the Andalusian Parliament) explains that society has to make sacrifices or, even better, that sacrifices have been asked from it, he is not referring to the 'action which someone is forced to undertake very reluctantly for considerations that lead him to do so', let alone an 'act of self-denial inspired by the vehemence of love'. It is true, one can expect a citizen from whom nothing is asked and who is instead forced to accept certain conditions – whether they are justified or not – to feel rejection towards an action. However, nobody is voluntarily subjected to it and no consideration whatsoever moves them. The citizen has to accept what the law demands from him. For this reason, there is no self-denial whatsoever inspired by the vehemence of love. A kind of solidarity is presupposed in the citizen that not everyone is obliged to adopt. Furthermore, the effect that the euphemistic process has on the discursive environment is a repeatedly assumed desemantisation, which is used strategically. This is obviously an example of lexical collocation – explicit or not depending on the cases – not only with a lexical and semic selection of the collocative, but also with a specialisation of the base element, frequently with emphasis by the presence of some quantifier. This would imply a qualified consideration of the concept that is usually adopted in the context of linguistic research on lexical collocation, where the base maintains its basic or literal meaning. However, we should not be surprised that the original meaning and the collocational aspect are no longer similar in the language at the service of our politicians – who so often resort to manipulation.

It is worth emphasising that the collocative is sometimes absent – in fact, the collocative is not always explicit in the restricted combination. This is a quasi-systematic actualisation of a particularly profitable resource in the formal register. Furthermore, this iterative use, as happens with other lexical constants, undoubtedly reduces discursive originality, insofar as certain words are foreseeable in accordance with the political role assumed:

- (4) Gracias, señor Presidente. Señorías. En primer lugar, agradecer la información, como es lógico, que nos traslada el señor Consejero de Economía, Innovación y Ciencia, y, en segundo lugar, diríamos, manifestar y expresar el contraste que toda esa serie de datos que nos ha dado de realizaciones por parte de su Consejería respecto de ayudas a las empresas andaluzas, pues, tiene con respecto a las cifras de paro que esta misma mañana conocíamos. Sin duda alguna, no es buena noticia el que haya hoy más que ayer, más que en febrero, 14.086 parados y paradas más en Andalucía, a pesar de ese *esfuerzo* que se realiza, inversor, de ayudas, de préstamos de todo tipo, de avales, etcétera, que acaba de relatarnos de forma pormenorizada el señor Consejero.

(DSPA 111, VIII Legislature, 21–22, Sr. Vaquero del Pozo, IU).

[Thank you, Mr. President. Members of (this) Parliament. In the first place, I would naturally like to thank the Minister of Economy, Innovation and Science for the information that he has provided and, secondly, let's say, I would like to make clear the contrast that this whole series of data which he has given us about the actions undertaken by his Department in relation to financial aid for Andalusian firms represents with regard to the unemployment figure that we found out this very morning. Without a doubt, it is not good news that today there are, more than yesterday, more than in February, 14,086 more unemployed persons in Andalusia, in spite of the *effort* which is being made, with investments, financial aid, loans of all sorts, guarantees, etc. which the Minister has explained to us in great detail.]

Besides the emphatic use of the word *esfuerzo* [effort] in the aforementioned terms, this text shows a transformation of the collocational scheme. It is the verb in the relative clause that acts as a collocative.

- (5) Bueno, pues no serán síntomas de recuperación, no será un apoyo a las empresas, no será lo relevante para usted, señora Oña; pero, desde luego, en ese respeto al dinero público del que se hablaba antes, en la responsabilidad que tiene encomendada por el Presidente de la Junta este consejero, creo que es un resultado que acompaña a un *esfuerzo*. (DSPA 111, VIII Legislature, 31, Sr. Ávila Cano, Consejero de Economía, Innovación y Ciencia).
[Well, they may not be recovery symptoms; they may not be a support for firms; it may not be what matters for you, Mrs. Oña; but, of course, within that respect for public money which was previously mentioned, within the responsibility that the President of the Regional Government has entrusted to this Councillor, I think this outcome is in keeping with the (considerable) *effort* made.]

The collocative element (the verb *hacer* [make] or *realizar* [carry out]) must be presupposed in this case, and this is why the action has been highlighted. In other words, the effectiveness of certain behaviour is referred to as *esfuerzo* [effort] (*esfuerzo + hacer: esfuerzo hecho* [effort + make: effort made]):

- (6) Con lo que está cayendo, señor Consejero, con la situación que estamos atravesando los andaluces, es, cuanto menos, un canto insensato – siento tener que decírselo, pero así es como nos parece desde mi grupo – que se reduzca prácticamente por igual el gasto corriente que el capítulo de inversiones. Habría que hacer un *esfuerzo* por reducir el gasto corriente y aumentar el capítulo de inversiones, que este año se ha reducido en 48,8 millones de euros con respecto al año pasado, con respecto a 2010.

(DSPA 141, VIII Legislature, 5, Sra. Reyes Ruiz, PP).

[Considering the extremely difficult present circumstances, Mr. Councillor, (and) in view of the situation that we Andalusians are going through, it is, to say the least, senseless – I am sorry to have to tell you but that is what it seems to us from my group – to reduce current expenditure and investment allocation in the same proportion. An *effort* should be made to reduce current expenditure and increase the funds allocated to investments, which have been reduced in 48.8 million euros this year compared to last year, compared to 2010.]

The collocation *hacer un esfuerzo* [make an effort], with the explicit collocative, is used in this example. However, it does not come from a government official but from a representative of the opposition who considers that expenditure should be cut in one budget item rather than in another. Moreover, that action of reducing current expenditure is highlighted this time. In other words, the politician adopts a specific terminology regardless of his role. It would represent an exception to the exchange of roles because the technolect element is adopted. The double emphasis does reflect the differences between roles, as shown in the following:

- (7) El manual del programa electoral de cualquiera, en época electoral, eso de subir impuestos no parece que sea algo que llame a los ciudadanos a votarle a uno. Parece que lo que da votos es decir que no hay que pagar, ¿verdad? Estos presupuestos tienen un incremento de impuestos selectivo. Pedimos un *sacrificio* a la ciudadanía, porque es lo que tenemos que hacer. (DSPA 135, VIII Legislature, 39, Sra. Martínez Aguayo, Consejera de Hacienda y Administraciones Públicas).

[The manual of anybody's electoral programme, in election times, the idea of raising taxes does not seem to be something that encourages citizens to vote for you. What seems to give votes is saying that people don't have to pay,

isn't it? This budget contains a selective tax increase. We ask the population to make a *sacrifice* because that is what we have to do.]

The fact of requesting a sacrifice, although a measure that can be more or less fair is actually being imposed on citizens, is related to the aforesaid emphatic collocation (*hacer un esfuerzo* [make an effort], with its variants and ellipsis). In other words, the positive value connoted by the word *sacrificio* [sacrifice] derives from the praising utilisation of *esfuerzo* [effort] with which it shares some meaningful contexts. If the politician strives to succeed in his actions, the citizen responds with actions characterised by sacrifice, and therefore by solidarity. Praising what the politician does is implicitly equivalent to praising what the citizen does:

- (8) Porque les delata, porque ustedes no quieren que los *esfuerzos* que haya que tomar, que los *sacrificios* que haya que plantear para salir de la situación que estamos viviendo, se les pidan más a quien más tiene – por supuesto que se les pida más a quienes más tienen. Ustedes, clarísimamente, no han optado por ese modelo. Ese no es su modelo.

(DSPA 135, VIII Legislature, 47, Sr. Jiménez Díaz, PSOE).

[Because it gives you away, because you don't want the *efforts* that need to be made, the *sacrifices* which might be suggested to get out of the situation that we are going through, are demanded from those who have more – of course, that those who have more should be asked to give more. It becomes absolutely clear that you have not chosen that model. That is not your model.]

This example shows that *esfuerzo* [effort], as explained above, is used instead of *decisión* [decision] because this Member of Parliament says '*los esfuerzos que haya que tomar* [the efforts that need to be made]', and precisely the expected combination for the verb *tomar* [take] is not *esfuerzo* [effort] but *decisión* [decision]. This shows that the *toma de decisiones* [decision-making] is present in the mind of the speaker. Nevertheless, the verbalisation of the idea, together with the intersection that takes place between the two constructions, reveals the true meaning of what is being said. Furthermore, this same text refers to *sacrificio* [sacrifice] but to a *sacrificio que hay que plantear* [a sacrifice to consider] but also that *se puede pedir* [can be asked for]. In fact, the combinatorial variability in syntagmatic constructions, where new meanings appear in the collocative element, sometimes gives rise to a synonymic relation between all the possible collocatives. Nevertheless, they are not interchangeable outside the collocations. In other words, a semantic neutralisation logically takes place. Therefore, the verbs *plantear* [consider] and *pedir* [ask for] are not synonyms if their use moves away from the standardised combination. They are therefore not interchangeable in expressions such as *plantear (un problema)* [raise (a problem)] or *pedir (un permiso)* [request (leave)]. However, they

have the same meaning in *plantear un sacrificio* [suggest a sacrifice] or *pedir un sacrificio* [ask for a sacrifice]:

- (9) Pero adaptar nuestro modelo productivo a los nuevos tiempos implica también que Andalucía cuente con una fuerza de trabajo capacitada y competitiva, que dé respuesta a las nuevas necesidades de una economía mundial que se transforma a gran velocidad. Para ello, les anuncio que vamos a elaborar una nueva ley, una ley de formación profesional, para promover la excelencia y el espíritu emprendedor, y que se desarrolle codo con codo con las empresas de nuestra comunidad. En ese *esfuerzo* ingente en materia económica estamos convencidos de que va a dar sus frutos en el año que ahora comienza. (DSPA 64, IX Legislature, 10, Sra. Díaz Pacheco, Presidenta de la Junta de Andalucía).

[But adapting our productive model to the new times also implies that Andalusia should have a qualified and competitive workforce that can meet the new needs of a fast-changing world economy. For this purpose, I announce to you that we are going to prepare a new law, a law on vocational training, to promote excellence and entrepreneurship, and which can be developed side by side with the firms based in our region. We are convinced that this huge *effort* in the economic field is going to bear fruit during the year that has just started.]

This example shows what has been mentioned above. Reinforcement is achieved by using an adjectival quantifier (*ingente* [huge]). It is a double emphasis, albeit at different levels: one case reflects an intensification that is similar to appreciative lexicogenetic affixation, equivalent to the prefix *súper-* [super-] or the suffix *-ísimo* [very/extremely]; the other illustrates the aforesaid emphasis that is implicit in the word *esfuerzo* [effort]:

- (10) Y no han tenido bastante. Pese a eso, no nos han dejado poner sobre la mesa medidas de ahorro, como la subasta de medicamentos, no nos han dejado...; nos están incluso amenazando con centrales de compra que rompen la autonomía del sistema sanitario de Andalucía y la autonomía de las comunidades autónomas, por eso no se lo voy a permitir. ¿Autocrítica?, toda, ¿crítica constructiva y fuerte?, la que quiera, pero mentir en esta cámara, no, porque esos profesionales están haciendo un *esfuerzo* ingente. (DSPA 64, IX Legislature, 45, Sra. Díaz Pacheco, Presidenta de la Junta de Andalucía).

[And they have not had enough. Despite that, they didn't allow us to put on the table savings measures such as the auction of medicines, they didn't allow us...; they are even threatening us with central purchasing offices that break the autonomy of Andalusia's health system as well as that of

the autonomous regions; that's why I am not going to let them do that. Self-criticism? Absolutely; Constructive, strong criticism? As much as you want, but lying to this House, no, because those professionals are making a huge *effort*.]

This last case exemplifies what is known as concatenated collocation: *hacer un esfuerzo* [make an effort] and *esfuerzo ingente* [huge effort], where a strategy is used to highlight the positive aspects of certain actions. The role of opposition with regard to the central government is adopted from a position of power (it is the female President of the Regional Government who is speaking). As explained above, a Member of Parliament can adopt different roles according to the moment of the session in which he/she intervenes. This depends on an intention to either defend strictly governmental, unconditional actions or justify what is being done because that is what the central government allows them to do. A gradation in the intensifying scope is seen in these cases. This is because the maximum emphasis occurs when the speaker does not feel responsible for the situation and claims that it is others – those of a different political persuasion – that make decisions which must inevitably be abided by. The *esfuerzos* [efforts] are *ingentes* [huge] because they are made against the tide. In other words, they try to remove the obstacles that need to be overcome:

- (11) Señorías, el presupuesto de la Consejería de Agricultura y Pesca para 2012 hará realidad estos objetivos de la siguiente manera: con un exhaustivo *esfuerzo* de contracción del gasto. El mejor ejemplo de contracción del gasto sigue siendo un año más – así se lo señalé el año pasado – el programa de dirección y servicios generales que disminuye un 38%. (DSC 563, VIII Legislature, 4, Sra. Aguilera García, Consejera de Agricultura y Pesca). [Members of (this) Parliament, the budget of the Agriculture and Fishing Department for 2012 will realize these objectives as follows: with a great *effort* in expenditure contraction. Yet again this year – I also told you this last year – the best example of expenditure contraction continues to be the management and general services programme which decreases by 38%.]

The double emphasis mentioned previously can also be found in this text, though with an implicit concatenation. However, one of the possible collocatives (the verb *hacer* [make] in its gerund form) is not present. The empty slot left by the implicit collocative (*haciendo* [making]) is filled using the preposition *con* [with] (which has a value of manner equivalent to that of the element that it replaces).

3. Pseudo-desemantisation

As mentioned above, lexical ritualisation is determined by membership of the government's parliamentary group or that of the opposition, regardless of ideological factors. Thus, the government provides *aclaraciones* [clarifications] while the opposition generally demands *explicaciones* [explanations]. Furthermore, pseudo-desemantisation – besides the aforesaid collocational scope – is a fact concerning the utilisation of governmental vocabulary (which, as has already been said, can be easily interchanged according to the regional and national political situation). If *aclarar* [clarify] means 'to dispel, to remove what hinders clarity or transparency', it would be appropriate to ask ourselves whether the Member of Parliament who uses the word really carries out that task. This is because he only uses his turn of intervention without necessarily entering into the details required. It is worth mentioning that this is precisely what could be expected, as the opposite would represent an unprecedented consensus in the context of parliament. Clarifying simply means to hold the floor. Hence, lexical ritualisation leads to the pseudo-desemantisation of prototypical words from the field of politics.

The adjective *decepcionante* [disappointing] rather eloquently exemplifies what is being analysed here. For example, when a President or a Minister intervenes, the opposition members describe their speech or intervention as disappointing; in other words, it does not meet their expectations. The addressee of the message becomes disillusioned, which implies that hopes were previously present in the proposals. Did the Member of Parliament who belongs to the opposition group really have any hopes? Is he speaking on behalf of the voters whom he does not represent, because it is assumed that his voters had no hopes concerning the intervention of a person on whom they have not put their confidence? This is a pre-established structure. Any speech made by a political adversary is disappointing in advance, yet another example of pseudo-desemantisation.

Finally, *demagogia* [demagogy], a particularly frequent word, is used as a wild-card-type of dysphemistic mechanism to avoid certain attacks (Castillo Carballo and García Platero, 2012). One should wonder whether, when Members of Parliament behave demagogically, they really 'flatter the elementary feelings of citizens in order to try and achieve or keep power'. This would imply a degeneration of democracy, as indicated by the DRAE (Dictionary of the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language). This is a strong accusation if interpreted in its whole semantic range. However, when it is too often repeated – as actually happens in this context – it could be understood that the criticism only refers to certain political actions. The adjectivised noun *demagogo* [demagogue/demagogic] alternates with *irresponsable* [irresponsible]. In other words, another example of semantic neutralisation is perceived. An irresponsible person 'adopts measures or performs acts

without any foresight'. There is only one truth, which does not fall within people's elementary demands and is sufficiently thought-out: that of the rulers – regardless of political beliefs. It is all about forgetting the alternatives, one of the fallacies of the discourse analysed (Sánchez García, 2012):

- (12) Presentaron una ley de calidad de la enseñanza para todo el Estado sin memoria económica ninguna. Tan válida es esa ley como esta que hoy presentamos. Por eso le digo que sus argumentos son pura *demagogia*, y además falsos, porque esta ley sí cuenta con recursos.

(DSPA 111, VIII Legislature, 14, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE).

[You presented a law on teaching quality for the whole nation with no economic report whatsoever. That law is as valid as the one we are presenting now. That is why I am telling you that your arguments are pure *demagogy*, and false too, because there are resources allocated for this law.]

- (13) Y, además, como ya anticipó la portavoz popular en esta materia, también dentro de un contexto real, del contexto real de unas circunstancias concretas, las que suponen en Andalucía un millón doscientos treinta mil parados, unas tasas de desempleo que rondan ya el 31%, toda una catástrofe de la que a ustedes no les gusta hablar, de la que a ustedes no les gusta oír ni nombrar, pero que nosotros – y les digo nosotros – no hacemos *demagogia* con los parados, ni mucho menos un uso indigno de esa desgraciada cifra. Nosotros lo que hacemos es tener muy presentes los índices de desempleo de nuestra tierra y el drama familiar que eso supone.

(DSPA 141, VIII Legislature, 5, Sra. Reyes Ruiz, PP)

[And, besides, as was already anticipated by the Popular (Party) spokeswoman in this matter, also within a real context, the real context shaped by specific circumstances, the ones which mean one million two-hundred thousand unemployed persons, with an unemployment rate that is already hovering around 31% in Andalusia, an absolute catastrophe that you don't like to talk about, that you don't like to hear of or refer to, but which we – and I am telling you, we – don't indulge in *demagogy* with the unemployed, and even less carry out an unworthy utilisation of that unfortunate figure. What we do is taking very much into account the unemployment rates in our land and the family drama that they entail.]

4. Conclusions

Our study has focused on a lexical subgroup within a social variation that tends to ideological unification. This is why it depends highly on the status of Members of Parliament: government or opposition. These ritualised uses are characterised

by their formal politeness or a reduction of the impolite content, and prevail over gender-based distinctions. We have focused mainly on the analysis of collocational schemes. Besides the prototypicality links, which are so common among these combinations of units that co-occur in the discourse, it is worth highlighting the pseudo-compositional nature – considering the hierarchical imbalance between the collocated formants. Indeed, it is necessary to emphasise the relative semantic opacity that derives from a figurative or delexicalised collocative. Delexicalisation results in the discursive use of highly intensifying pleonastic constructions, used as a discursive strategy of intensification.

Special attention has been given to the collocation *hacer un esfuerzo* [make an effort] because it illustrates how the discourse analysed works. Any political action stems from an energetic use of vigour, from spirit to courage, although, in many instances, it hides bureaucratic action. That is where the emphasis lies. In this regard, a distinction has been drawn between explicit and implicit combinations, depending on whether the collocative is present or not. Cases of double emphasis are not unusual, though, insofar as there is a growing interest to highlight the positive aspects of certain actions.

There are neither political allegiance differences nor gender-based distinctions. The only aspect that becomes visible is a number of lexical clichés among those dealing with public affairs, which politicians take up without much difficulty. The use of those lexical clichés results either in a euphemistic discourse or in an emphasising and intensifying discourse whose function is to give an image of strength ('make an effort'). Meanwhile, the politician uses lexical terms that take on different values depending on who uses them (clarifications – explanations), and which become desemantised. This case is exemplified in the use of the adjective *decepcionante* [disappointing] or the noun *demagogia* [populist rhetoric], which are frequently present in the discourse of MPs. In summary, the lexicon is strategically used and its meaning or semanticism is directed and manipulated according to ideological functions.

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Lexical colloquialisation in commissions of the Andalusian Parliament

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Through the analysis of parliamentary interventions in the Andalusian Parliament, it is shown how politicians use lexical colloquial features. We assume that there is an expansion of the colloquial employ of the Spanish language, which also reaches formal discursive types such as the parliamentary interaction. To try to confirm this claim, we work with a corpus of 4 commissions in the Andalusian Parliament, focusing on lexical features. We apply both a quantitative and a qualitative approach to prove that, generally speaking, parliamentarians often use colloquial lexical features. Basing on the gender parameter, we show that there is no relevant difference. Finally, we focus on the causes of this tendency, by addressing the interface of media and political discourse.

Keywords: Political discourse, parliamentary discourse, media discourse, lexical colloquialisation, phraseological units, lexical features

1. Introduction

In this chapter, we will focus on the colloquial use of language in Andalusian parliamentary discourse. Parliamentary discourse, ‘in which institutional facework, political meaning negotiation, and power management are being articulated and publicly displayed’ (Ilie, 2006:190), constitutes a particularly complex communicative situation, and different approaches have tried to shed light on it. There are different ways to approach parliamentary discourse, such as selecting a topic and trying to examine it from an intercultural perspective (Wodak and van Dijk, 2000), identifying the frame of contextual features of this type of interaction (van Dijk, 2000, 2004) or focusing on the cognitive resources, which is the kind of knowledge involved in the construction of parliamentary discourse (Van Dijk, 2003, 2005). Another possibility, which is the one selected in this chapter, is the lexical analysis of parliamentary discourse (Fernández Lagunilla, 1999a, 1999b; Martín Rojo,

2000; Antaki and Leudar, 2001; Chilton and Schäffner, 2000, 2002; Núñez Cabezas and Guerrero Salazar, 2002; Álvarez-Benito *et al.*, 2009).

Parliamentary discourse has been described as ‘the most formal and institutionalised variety’ of political language (Bayley, 2004:1). However, several studies have asserted its conversational style (Fairclough, 1998; Clayman and Heritage, 2002; Álvarez-Cáccamo and Prego-Vázquez, 2003;¹ Archakis and Tsakona, 2009), which presents some characteristics from informal language (Alcaide, 1999:26; Alvarez-Cáccamo and Prego-Vázquez, 2003).² This process of conversationalisation has been confirmed by a number of researchers, for instance Clayman and Heritage (2002:339):

While news interview programming *per se* has ceased expanding and has stabilized, broadcast talk more generally has grown and diversified over the course of the past decade. This growth embodies two trends that have been identified by others: the ‘conversationalization’ of the mass media that is sometimes argued to create a kind of pseudo-democratization of political discourse (Fairclough, 1992), and the growth of what Tannen (1998) calls the ‘argument culture’. (...) there can be no doubt that the modern news interview has become more ‘conversational’.

To explain the apparent contradiction between the high planning of interactions and the appearance of colloquial features, we will focus on the structure of parliamentary interaction. What follows is a description of the characteristics of colloquial Spanish and the process of colloquialisation that parliamentary discourse has undergone, taking into account the equal number of women and men in the Andalusian Parliament (see Chapter 1).

In this case, the strategy used for argumentation and to reach the politician’s goals is register,³ the transposition of elements that express closeness and proximity (Koch and Oesterreicher, 2000[1970]) to the formal situation of elements that express distance. Colloquialism is not characteristic of this type of discourse, so its use is strategic. Register, form and the formal aspect of discourse are also used as strategies to defeat the opponent.

1. According to Alvarez-Cáccamo and Prego Vázquez (2003), parliamentary discourse presents a strategic use of informal conversational resources, which is called *political cross-discourse*.

2. These features coexist with ‘some informal features, which could be motivated by the speaker’s inefficiency, due to the fixed turn-taking pattern of this type of text’ (Alcaide, 1999: 26).

3. This term is used ‘when we are talking about lexico-grammatical and discoursal-semantic patterns associated with situation’ (Lee, 2001).

2. The parliamentary dynamics

Several authors have described the planned structure of parliamentary discourse (Martín Rojo, 2000; Harris, 2001; Ilie, 2006). Thus, parliamentary interaction is said to follow a rigid pattern of turn-taking. Interaction too is pre-arranged. This means that the first turn of each question is highly planned, ‘in the sense that they are organised in advance and may even be executed with the aid of notes, memorisation, or reading aloud’ (Milroy and Milroy, 1999: 119).

Despite this initial planned structure, the level of spontaneity gradually increases (Harris, 2001:455; Igualada, 2006:1405), because this first section is followed by unplanned interventions. The unplanned phase of the interaction presents certain linguistic phenomena, such as metaphor, metonymy, polyphonic and dialectal speech, humour and narratives, according to Álvarez-Cáccamo and Prego Vázquez (2003). Colloquial vocabulary might appear in this section of parliamentary discourse. This tendency has been identified in other subtypes of political discourse, such as political interviews (Núñez Cabezas and Guerrero Salazar, 2002:355). However, it has not been analysed specifically in parliamentary discourse. To achieve this, we must first describe the colloquial use of Spanish.

Colloquial Spanish constitutes a register of Spanish language characterised by several communicative and linguistic parameters. Although there has been some debate in this field, researchers agree that a colloquial register should comply with a number of communicative parameters. In this regard, Koch and Öesterreicher (2000[1970]) make a distinction between communicative immediacy and communicative distance, based on the following parameters: private/public communication, the mutual knowledge of co-participants and shared information, the degree of emotional involvement, cooperation, topic, etc. (Oesterreicher, 1996:318–319). Specifically, communicative immediacy is based on a physical (spatial, temporal) immediacy, privacy, familiarity of the partners, high emotionality, context embeddedness, deictic immediacy, dialogue, communicative cooperation of the partners, free topic development and spontaneity (Koch, 1999:399).⁴ This language could be written or, more likely, spoken (the colloquial conversation).⁵ These

4. A similar distinction is proposed by Briz (1996, 1998) and Briz and Val. Es. Co. Group (2010). From this point of view, the colloquial register presents the following features: ‘+immediacy, +knowledge sharing, +ordinariness, +spontaneity, +interpersonal goal and social or functional equality between people’ (Briz 1998:27; 2010:6). These communicative parameters draw a distinction between formal and colloquial registers.

5. ‘[I] faut évidemment reconnaître les affinités qui existent entre le code phonique et la conception parlée d’un part et entre le code graphique et la conception écrite d’autre part [...]. C’est ce qui explique d’ailleurs pourquoi on n’a pas hésité à identifier depuis toujours le phonique avec

communicative conditions imply the presence of some phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactic features, with a common denominator: it is an unplanned and spontaneous discourse. From the lexical point of view, which is the focus of this study, the colloquial register has been associated with a low lexical density (Miller and Weinert, 2009:18). Instead, there is a marked presence of words with no specific meaning, colloquial vocabulary and phraseological units.

However, these lexical features not only appear in prototypically colloquial interactions, but also in interactions that do not comply with the situational parameters. This process is labelled colloquialisation: the colloquial features present in colloquialised interactions are not the consequence of the communicative situation, but their presence is motivated by essentially strategic factors. There are several types of discourse that have been subject to a process of colloquialisation, allowing us to speak of a progressive colloquialisation of Spanish (Briz, 2013), which has affected a number of genres, such as the media discourse (Martínez-Costa and Herrera, 2008; Brenes, 2011; Mancera, 2008a, 2008b, 2009a, 2009b; Payrató, 2010, Vellón, 2011, for instance). In this area, colloquialisation plays a strategic role, with the aim of raising or, at least, maintaining audience share.

The object of this study, parliamentary discourse, is not a prototypical colloquial situation: although there is a relationship of functional equality between participants and a framework of shared knowledge, there is no relationship of proximity, an interpersonal purpose or private communication⁶ (Briz, 1998:27; 2010:6). However, linguistic consequences of a process of colloquialisation in parliamentary discourse may be identified, as we will try to show in this chapter.

3. Data

Herein we study lexical colloquialisation in the parliamentary commissions of the Andalusian Parliament (eighth legislative term). Transcripts⁷ of these commissions have been taken from the Sessions available on the Andalusian Parliament

le parlé et le graphique avec l'écrit. Mais une telle simplification nous empêcherait justement de prendre en considération l'éventail tout entier des constellations et options médio-conceptionnelles' (Koch and Oesterreicher, 2000[1970]:585).

6. These interactions are recorded and transcribed to conform to the Sessions of the Andalusian Parliament.

7. Although some researchers have found differences between the parliamentary transcriptions and the real oral speaker's emissions (Elspaß, 2002), this is not the case of the Andalusian Parliament, because transcriptions reflect all the colloquial phenomena analysed here.

website.⁸ The corpus is made up of four commissions. Specifically, we have analysed number 364 (Economy, Innovation and Science), number 375 (Culture), number 552 (Education) and number 560 (Employment).

Table 1. Parliamentary commissions (Andalusian Parliament)

Commissions	Interventions	Male speakers	Female speakers	Male interventions	Female interventions
364	34	5	2	30	4
375	48	6	5	30	18
552	28	5	4	19	9
560	24	5	3	13	11
Total	134	21	14	92	42

The commissions were selected to represent different topics. This amounts to a total of 134 parliamentary interventions, as listed in Table 1.

4. Methodological approach

The assumption here is that the parliamentary dynamics is an oral variety, but one which combines planned interventions with others that are improvised and spontaneous. We hypothesise that parliamentary discourse is not a prototypical colloquial register, but colloquial linguistic features may be present. To test this hypothesis, we will analyse the colloquial lexical features present in parliamentary interactions.

Colloquial lexical features have been classified according to Briz's proposal (2000), which constitutes the most rigorous approach to colloquial Spanish.⁹ We have analysed the mechanisms found both qualitatively and quantitatively.¹⁰ Moreover, we have examined the statistic presence of colloquial features in each intervention. Results refer to the number of interventions rather than to the number of participants, due to the unequal presence of women and men in the parliamentary commissions selected. Hence, we take the gender parameter into account in the study.

8. Available at [www.parlamentodeandalucia.es].

9. This proposal is based on the study of a set of colloquial conversations, which are analysed from the lexical, morphosyntactic and discursive points of view.

10. Thus, we can avoid repeating some of the methodological problems present in previous research (Escandell, 2003): we decrease the partial vision of the researcher and provide reproducible results.

Finally, we will analyse how to account for the presence of lexical colloquial features in parliamentary discourse. To achieve this goal, we will start from the premise that it is related to media discourse: if politicians use colloquial features in their turns, there will be more possibilities to appear in the media. To test this hypothesis, we have analysed the presence of parliamentary discourse in the media. The corpus is made up of 360 radio programmes, television (TV) programmes and journals. Specifically, the radio programmes were selected from *Hora Sur* and *Andalucía a primera hora* (broadcast by Canal Sur Radio), the TV programmes analysed were from *Informativos* (broadcast by Canal Sur Televisión) and *Informativos territoriales de Andalucía* (broadcast by TVE) and the two digital journals chosen were *Ideal* and *El Mundo*.

5. The analysis of the data

The colloquial lexicon, one of the communicative immediacy aspects most studied in discourse (Narbona, 1988[1989]:155–156),¹¹ constitutes, in general, a reduction of the general lexicon (Briz, 2000:33; López Serena, 2009: note 8). In fact, some studies highlight that the colloquial register has less lexical variation (cf. López Serena, 2009: note 8). However, this fact does not prevent their high level of expressivity (Koch and Oesterreicher, 2000[1970]:599–600; Payrató, 2010:247).¹² In this study, we will highlight the presence of words with no specific meaning, colloquial vocabulary and phraseological units, the main lexical characteristics of colloquial conversation, according to previous research (Ruiz Gurillo, 2000).

The distribution of the colloquial features analysed here, according to the different section of a parliamentary commission, is given in Table 2.

First, we highlight the higher presence of total occurrences of colloquial phenomena in Questions, because there are more interactions in this section of the commissions. Secondly, as shown in the table, there are few words with a general meaning in Proposed Law than in other sections. This is because speakers usually read their interventions during this section or, at least, they read more than in Questions or Prime Minister's intervention. Finally, the data show (in absolute numbers) a higher presence of words with no specific meaning and phraseological

11. However, it has usually been studied from an impressionist and intuitive point of view (Hernando Cuadrado, 1988; Espi *et al.*, 1996).

12. In fact, as Vigarà Tauste points out (1996:15), 'colloquial register has been described as inaccurate, lexically poor and mistaken, in a pejorative sense, because it has been judged from the written language perspective. For this reason colloquial register should not be taken as subject of study or reference model. However our point of view is changing' (my translation).

Table 2. Appearance of colloquial features in each section of the parliamentary commissions

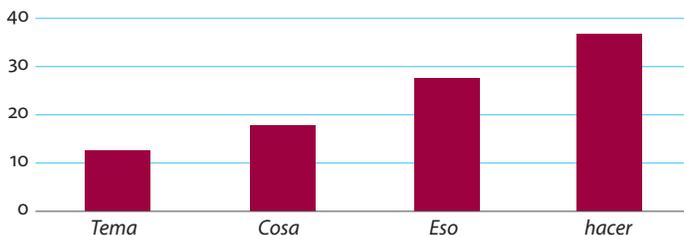
Commissions Section	Total	Pro-forms	Colloquial vocabulary	Phraseological units
Proposed Law	14	7%	14%	78%
Question	179	77%	5%	17%
Prime Minister's intervention	52	50%	3%	46%

units in Questions. The reason for this fact is that Oral Question Time constitutes the most unplanned commission's section (Igualada, 2008:241). Thus, speakers are compelled to improvise and present a tendency to use more colloquial features.

5.1 Words without a specific meaning

Lexical units with a general meaning (Stubbs, 2002:217), also known as *verba omnibus* (Beinhauer, 1985[1964]), constitute a group of words that are available to the speakers in order to name everything or almost everything (Briz, 2000:33), because they are lexically empty (Stubbs, 2002:217). According to Vigar Tauste (1992), they are non-specific meaning elements that speak about words or concepts that are not in the speaker's mind in certain circumstances (1992:289). This could be the reason for the presence of words with no specific meaning in the colloquial register. In a different communicative context, such as youthful language, the use of these lexical units may show the membership to a social group (Santos Gargallo, 1997:461).

Due to the high use of these forms, they have lost part of the original lexical weight. We refer to elements such as *tema* [issue], *cosa* [thing], *eso* [that] or *hacer* [do], whose distribution is shown in Figure 1.

**Figure 1.** Words without a specific meaning

The most frequent words with a general meaning in the parliamentary interactions analysed are *hacer* [do] and *eso* [that]. *Cosa* [thing] and *tema* [issue] appear in a lower number of interactions. In total, about 35% of the speeches present words with no specific meaning.

5.2 Colloquial vocabulary

Another feature of the colloquial register is the use of colloquial vocabulary (Briz, 2000:33). Its presence has also been analysed in political discourse (Núñez Cabezas and Guerrero Salazar, 2002). To determine this aspect in our data, we have analysed the occurrence of lexical units labelled by DRAE (2001) as colloquial words: *montón* [pile], *pillar* [get], *churro* [mess], *tufo* [smell], *tocho* [tome]. Besides, a couple of vulgarisms¹³ have been found: *cachondeo* [joke] and *chorizo* [thief].

In this section, we will also comment on professionalisms¹⁴ present in the corpus. This is done by means of units such as *tijeretazo*, defined as ‘budgetary reduction’, *enchufe* [have friends in high places], defined by DRAE as *cargo o destino que se obtiene sin méritos, por amistad o por influencia política* [to have a connection to get a job], and *fontanero* [plumber], which does not appear in the academic dictionary, but it refers to a person dealing with internal issues, but not having a public position.

5.3 Phraseological units

In this section, we focus on phraseological units (Ginzburg *et al.*, 1979; Gläser, 1986; Corpas Pastor, 1997; Cowie (ed.), 1998; Burger *et al.*, 2007), which are really frequent in parliamentary discourse in different countries, such as Germany (Elspaß, 2002, 2007) and Croatia (Gazdić-Alerić, 2009). Surprisingly, they have been scarcely studied in this specific context (Elspaß, 2002:83).¹⁵ A phraseologism (Burger *et al.*, 2007:11) or a phraseological unit of language¹⁶ may be defined as a lexicalised word group that has syntactic and semantic stability, which may have acquired a transferred meaning (i.e. idiomaticity) and may create an expressive effect in a text (Gläser, 1986: 42). As observed, this is not a closed definition, mainly because it is possible to make a distinction ‘between phraseologisms in a broad and a narrow sense: in a narrow sense, the distinguishing feature of phraseologisms is idiomaticity, whereas in a broad sense, collocations, proverbs and formula-based texts are included in the definition of phraseologisms’ (Burger *et al.*, 2007:11).

The proposal that we adopt here is the broad approach, taking idiomaticity, understood as ‘a lack of motivation’ of meaning (Ginzburg *et al.*, 1979:77;

13. ‘[C]oarse words that are not generally used in public’ (Ginzburg *et al.*, 1979:22).

14. ‘Words used in narrow groups bound by the same occupation’ (Ginzburg *et al.*, 1979:22).

15. Cf. Pamies (2007).

16. The generic term most widely used in Spanish research (Burger *et al.*, 2007:12).

Barkema, 1996),¹⁷ and functional level of every phraseological unit as criteria to catalogue the variants. This implies the existence of several subcategories (Corpas, 1997; Ruiz Gurillo, 2000:170): proverbs, collocations and idioms, whose features are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Phraseological units

Unit	Lexicalised word group	Idiomatycity	Autonomy
Proverbs	+	+	+
Collocations	+	-	-
Idioms	+	+	-

As noted, every phraseological unit constitutes a lexicalised word group. The proverb is the only autonomous subtype; that is, it can function as a complete utterance. Collocations and idioms lack autonomy. The difference between them is idiomatycity: idioms have a high level of idiomatycity, because the meaning of these subtypes is not the sum of each lexical item, unlike collocations. Regarding the pragmatic function of these units, all these phraseological units can, according to Gläser (1986:42), change the style of a text, contributing to its colloquialisation in specific communicative situations.

a. *Proverbs*

Proverbs constitute fixed structures that are frequently used as complete utterances, making a complete conversational contribution (Norrick, 2007:381), which is not the case for lexical collocations or idioms (Zuluaga, 1980:191). Researchers have highlighted the traditional nature of proverbs as units of folklore (Norrick, 2007:381): they are usually of popular origin and thus associated with the colloquial register. Regarding structure, proverbs exhibit several patterns of repetition (Norrick, 2007:384), such as an atypical sentence order: *gato escaldado del agua fría huye* [the scalded cat fears cold water].¹⁸

Among others, we have cited these examples: *la mentira tiene las patas muy cortas* [a lie has no legs],¹⁹ *lo cortés no quita lo valiente* [courtesy and valour are not mutually exclusive], *sirven lo mismo para un roto que para un descosido*

17. This factor is gradual, which means that 'between the extreme of complete motivation and lack of motivation there are numerous intermediate groups' (Ginzburg *et al.*, 1979:88; cf. also Ruiz Gurillo, 1998).

18. Translation proposed by Sevilla and Cantera (2001:156).

19. Translation proposed by Sevilla and Cantera (2001:170).

[there's a lid for every pot] and *vestir a un santo a base de desvestir a otro* [robbing Peter to pay Paul].

Proverbs are frequent in Spanish discourse (Corpas, 2003:91) and also in parliamentary discourse. This is because they are 'highly noticeable, because they are salient in context, frequently foregrounded, easily remembered, and so they can be varied and serve as templates but still remain recognizable' (Norrick, 2007:386). Specifically, in parliamentary discourse, proverbs play an argumentative role, as we can see in the following intervention:

- (1) Lo bueno que tiene la democracia es que nosotros somos dueños de nuestros silencios y esclavos de nuestras palabras. Y después los ciudadanos son los que analizan nuestros silencios y, por supuesto, nuestras palabras.

[DCPA 375, 19, Sr. Garrido Moraga, PP]

[The good thing about democracy is that we are masters of our thoughts and slaves of our words. And then citizens analyse our thoughts and, of course, our words.]

In this case, the speaker uses the proverb as a general truth, in the same way as a 'pseudoassertion' (Ramírez Angulo, 2006:223). Using the proverb, the politician seems to defend the other ideological group's version. However, in a second stage, the speaker denies the validity of the proverb in this situation, and she attacks her opponent. This example shows the multifunctionality of proverbs: this phraseological unit plays a role in the informative and axiologic structure of discourse (Corpas, 2003:95), and it has an argumentative function because proverbs imply 'striking images'. This makes them noticeable and memorable, despite relative infrequency and variation (Norrick, 2007:387).

b. *Phraseological collocations*

What follows is the study of phraseological collocations (Ginzburg *et al.*, 1979), most frequently labelled as 'colloquialisms'. According to Cowie, whose perspective is adopted here, collocations are 'associations of two or more lexemes (or roots) recognised in and defined by their occurrence in a specific range of grammatical constructions' (Cowie, 1994:580). In other words, they work as grammatical categories in the utterance. Collocations are not absolutely fixed (Corpas, 1997:53) and are less idiomatic than idioms, because at least one lexical item of the collocation keeps its original meaning (Seco *et al.*, 2004:XVI).

We have found the following combinations: *dar la talla* [to shape up, have the necessary stature],²⁰ *dar las del alba* [until the small hours], *hacer oídos sordos*

20. Buitrago (2003:174).

[to ignore],²¹ *meter prisa* [to expedite things],²² *poner a cada uno en su sitio* [put each person in his place], *por traer un botón de muestra* [to give an example], *tener una empanada* [to be discombobulated], *hacer oídos suecos* [not to want to know something],²³ *poner en solfa* [to emphasise something by ridiculing it]²⁴ and *salir por la tangente* [to give an excuse in order to get out of a problematic situation].²⁵

We should pay attention to a special group of lexical collocations whose origins are related to bullfighting. They include structures such as *dar un capotazo*, *hacer un brindis al sol* or *coger el toro por los cuernos*. The relationship between political issues and bullfighting is noteworthy because, according to Núñez-Salazar, bullfighting constitutes an important influence on political discourse in Spain (2002:380). This is not only on account of the presence of bullfighting in the common language (Luque-Manjón, 1998:46), but also because both of them involve struggle and opposition: political discourse is verbal warfare and bullfighting is physical warfare.

c. *Idioms*

Idioms are 'an integral part of conversational English' (Engkent, 1986:231) and also part of conversational Spanish (Corpas, 1996:94).²⁶ An idiom is defined as a 'set expression in which two or more words are syntactically related, but with a meaning like that of a single lexical unit' (*Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics*). They are usually expressed in an unchanging form (Čermák, 2007:21), although they may present a low formal flexibility. In fact, politicians change the basic form of the idioms, to construct the discourse (Elspaß, 2007:289). Regarding meaning, in most cases, 'the sum of the meanings of the constituent parts does not add up to the total meaning of the lexeme' (Čermák, 2007:22). Thus, idioms are idiomatic phraseological units with a conventional meaning (Everaert *et al.*, 1995:3).

The following structures have been identified in the corpus: *caérsele los anillos* [to be degraded],²⁷ *cargar el muerto* [to be blamed for something],²⁸ *codo con codo*

21. Martín Sánchez (1997:279).

22. Martín Sánchez (1997:210).

23. Buitrago (2003:368).

24. Buitrago (2003:578).

25. Martín Sánchez (1997:356).

26. In fact, they are probably universal (Čermák, 2007:20).

27. Martín Sánchez (1997:28).

28. Buitrago (2003:109).

[working together],²⁹ *cuentos chinos* [tall tales],³⁰ *dar con queso* [to deceive],³¹ *de tapadillo* [secretly],³² *echar la carne en el asador* [work one's heart out], *escurrir el bulto* [pass the buck],³³ *levantar la liebre* [spill the beans],³⁴ *llover sobre mojado* [it never rains but it pours], *para más inri* [to make matters worse],³⁵ *patata caliente* [problematic situation],³⁶ *rizar el rizo* [to crown it all].³⁷ Every idiom is present in the *Diccionario del español coloquial* (Martín Sánchez, 1997) or labelled as colloquial by DRAE. In fact, the politician may be aware of the colloquial nature of the idiom he/she is using, and at the same time he/she is contravening the norm of the communicative situation. Thus, the speaker may make a reference to the colloquial nature of the unit:

- (2) Porque no se puede dar por un lado y por otro. *Es imposible, es imposible estar en misa y repicando, ¿eh?, Como se dice.* (DCPA 364, 13, Sr. Ávila Cano, Consejero de Economía, Ciencia e Innovación)
[Because you cannot say something and the opposite. *You cannot eat a cake and have it*, as the saying goes.]

5.4 The gender parameter

Important studies have been published about the language of women since Lakoff's research (1975 and 1982). At the lexical level, Lakoff (1975 and 1982) provided confirmatory evidence that women show a tendency to use precise vocabulary or positive adjectives. Comprehensive and rigorous research on women's colloquial use of language has not yet been carried out in the Spanish context. However, there are studies that identify the following as characteristic: a high presence of prosodic resources, interjections, euphemisms, diminutives, interrogations with phatic function and prefixes such as *super* or *hyper* (Córdoba Abundis, 2003).

29. Buitrago (2003:116).

30. Martín Sánchez (1997:92).

31. Martín Sánchez (1997:319).

32. Martín Sánchez (1997:356).

33. Buitrago (2003:299).

34. Martín Sánchez (1997:211).

35. Buitrago (2003:547).

36. Martín Sánchez (1997:279).

37. Buitrago (2003:624).

To determine the presence of colloquial features in parliamentary discourse according to the gender parameter, we have considered the number of male and female interventions, instead of the number of male and female speakers. This is because men and women do not speak the same number of times in each commission. The total number of interventions in the four commissions that we have selected is 134 (92 male interventions and 42 female interventions). The next stage is to consider the number of colloquial features in the corpus selected, which differs according to the speaker's gender: the proportion of words with no specific meaning, colloquial vocabulary and phraseological units in each intervention.

Table 4. Colloquial features depending on the gender parameter

	Words without a specific meaning	Colloquial vocabulary	Phraseological units	Total
Male speakers	1.52	0.11	0.56	2.19
Female speakers	0.80	0.04	0.35	1.19
Total	2.32	0.15	0.91	3.38

Regarding the appearance of colloquial features in parliamentary discourse, depending on the gender parameter, there seems to be a high presence of colloquial phenomena in speeches in both genders. However, its use is higher in male interventions: there are 2.19 colloquial mechanisms in each male intervention. Male speakers use more words with no specific meaning (1.52 units per intervention) and colloquial vocabulary (0.11 units per intervention) than women (0.80 words with a general meaning and 0.04 colloquial words per intervention). As for phraseological units, the difference is not as significant: there are 0.56 phraseological units per male intervention against 0.35 per female intervention.

5.5 The media factor

As previously shown (section 5), there is a high presence of colloquial features in Andalusian parliamentary discourse. In this section, we will discuss several factors which may explain this phenomenon. First, we mention the global process of colloquialisation that is taking place in the Spanish language. In this regard, parliamentary discourse may be another example of colloquialised discourse. However, we also mention a strategic and conscious use of colloquialisation in this communicative situation. According to Briz,

[t]extos periodísticos y literarios actuales imitan en algún aspecto el registro coloquial con el fin de enriquecer expresivamente el mensaje, la narración, los diálogos. Se recurre estratégicamente, por ejemplo, a léxicos argóticos y jergales, a

ciertas construcciones sintácticas más propias de un registro informal, a marcas de la conversación cotidiana (...). (Briz, 1998: 20)

Nowadays, media discourse and literary discourse in some way imitate the colloquial register in order to increase the expressivity of the narration or dialogues. Lexical units from slang, syntactic structures more appropriate to an informal register and spontaneous discourse markers are strategically employed. (Briz, 1998: 20)

Thus, parliamentarians would deliberately use colloquial vocabulary and other colloquial mechanisms to draw near to the electorate, by presenting a friendly face (Gómez Alonso, 2001:215) and transmitting a simple message (Núñez Cabezas and Guerrero Salazar, 2002:356). In fact, face-work is one of the main functions of idioms in political discourse (Elspaß, 2007:288).

Besides, the politician always attempts to attract the attention of the media and the public (López García, 2004). Recent studies have investigated the interdependence between mediated political discourse and the production and interpretation of text and talk in politics (Fairclough, 1998:147; Elspaß, 2002:88; Leudar and Nekvapil, 2004; Fetzer and Weizman, 2006; Fetzer and Lauerbach, 2007; Archakis and Takona, 2009). In this regard,

it is the job of the politician to use all possible opportunities inherent in the contextual constraints and requirements of mass media to present his/her political agenda in a credible and responsible manner to a heterogeneous audience, whose members are potential voters. (Fetzer, 2009:97)

This aim can have some effects in political discourse, because

[traditional political activities and their genres] are represented within the formats and genres of the media – news, documentary, and so forth – so that their representation is always a selective recontextualisation according to the requirements of these formats and genres. (Fairclough, 1995b:188)

Thus, in light of the colloquialisation of media discourse (Fairclough, 1995a, 1995b), particularly in news language (cf. section 2), the presence of colloquial features probably works as a guideline used by the media for selecting interventions from Parliament. To confirm this hypothesis, we will show the results of research on Andalusian media discourse. As mentioned earlier, the corpus is made up of 120 radio programmes (*A primera hora* and *Hora Sur*), 120 TV programmes (*Informativos* on Canal Sur and *Informativos regionales de Andalucía* on TVE) and 120 digital newspapers (*Ideal* and *El Mundo*). This amounts to a total of 360 programmes and digital newspapers.

According to the methodology followed here, we have analysed the presence of parliamentary discourse in media discourse. The second phase of the research has

been to find colloquial features in these parliamentary interventions. Regarding the first issue, we may affirm that there is a low presence of parliamentary discourse in the Andalusian media, as mentioned in previous publications (Bayley, 2004:10). The results are summarised in Table 5.

Table 5. Presence of parliamentary discourse in the Andalusian media

Media	Total	Presence of parliamentary discourse	Percentage
Digital newspapers	120	42	35%
Radio programmes	120	41	34%
TV programmes	120	14	11%

Our findings show a higher presence of parliamentary discourse in digital newspapers and radio programmes. TV programmes represent this genre to a lesser extent. However, in general, there is a low presence of parliamentary discourse in the media. This does not mean that the media do not cover parliamentary events, but they report them indirectly, without introducing parliamentary interventions.

Concerning the presence of colloquial features in the parliamentary interventions selected to appear in the media, we have collected the following results (Table 6).

Table 6. Presence of colloquial features in the parliamentary interventions selected

Media	Total	With colloquial features	Without colloquial features
Digital newspapers	42	22	20
Radio programmes	41	14	27
TV programmes	14	7	7

As observed, digital newspapers have the highest presence of colloquialised parliamentary interventions (52%), followed by TV programmes (50%). The most typical features in the parliamentary interventions selected to be broadcast in the media are phraseological units (75% of all colloquial features), which are precisely the colloquial mechanism most relevant in parliamentary discourse (Elspeß 2002; Gazdić-Alerić 2009).

6. Conclusions

The present study supports the general assertion that parliamentary discourse constitutes a formal communicative situation that exhibits conversational features. It has been shown that it is a colloquialised discourse with informal features such as words with no specific meaning, colloquial vocabulary and phraseological units, which are used as discourse strategies to get closer to the addressee. This tendency constitutes a constant in every commission, but it is especially relevant in Question Time, the most unplanned commission section.

From our study on the use of language in a parliament with a legislative quota system, some conclusions about gender discourse can be drawn. Although both men and women make use of colloquial lexical features in their speeches, our findings suggest a slightly higher presence of these features in male speakers. The difference decreases in the case of phraseological units, which are very similar in both genders. Therefore, it could be concluded that phraseological units constitute the most typical colloquial feature of parliamentary discourse.

Regarding the cause of this tendency, our research confirms the interface between political and media discourse, which has been mentioned in previous studies. In this regard, the analysis of the data reveals that it is the presence of colloquial features that facilitates the broadcasting of parliamentary interventions. This suggests that politicians may use these mechanisms to ensure the media coverage of their parliamentary speech and for persuading the citizen, the final addressee of their discourse.

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Emotional argumentation in political discourse

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The aim of this chapter is to determine whether the expression of emotion is a meaningful variable in the argumentative discourse found in the Andalusian Parliament. The chapter also examines whether the gender factor has any relevance in the expression of emotion. This is because one of the main presuppositions in gender research is the stereotype that women are more expressive in relation to emotion and subjectivity.

We take into account appraisal theory and argumentation theory to see how affect, judgement and appreciation, less associated with formal and institutional discourse, are used with a strategic and communicative purpose: persuasion.

Keywords: Emotion, evaluation, affect, political discourse, parliamentary discourse, argumentative resources

1. Introduction

In this chapter, we begin by focusing on the notion of emotion. Schrauf and Sánchez define it as ‘complex of physiological – affective – cognitive responses to the physical and socio-cultural environment’ (2004:267). Our approach, however, is not as broad. Ochs and Schieffell associate the concept with the term ‘affect’, and their approach to emotion, which we follow, is narrower (1989:7). In this study, we view *emotion* from a rather functional perspective, as a ‘discursive practice’ which is related to notions such as self-presentation (Caffi and Janney, 1994:328–329, Goffman 1959, 1967; Bravo 2004) or argumentation (Lo Cascio 1998, Van Eemeren et al. 2007, Anscombre-Ducrot 1983).

The study of emotion and its appearance in discourse has generally been dealt with in relation to lexical and discursive issues. The expression of emotion in colloquial conversation is expected and its degree of immediacy and proximity

stimulates its presence. However, it is not the case in formal discourse, because the relationship between the interlocutors does not reach the intimate sphere, where feelings come into play.

Such a sphere, which can be included within the expression of the emotive or expressive function of language (Jakobson 1960), is verbalised, among others, through a major component of the statement: modality (Bally, 1944; Palmer, 1986). Bally specified two types of modality: the implicit and the explicit, and considered it *l'âme de la phrase* [the soul of the sentence] (1944:28). Since then, many attempts have been made to classify statements according to the modality they express, and also to study the type of words, like modal adverbs, that express such a dimension (Kovacci, 1986; Fuentes-Rodríguez, 1991a, 1991b; Fuentes-Rodríguez and Alcaide, 1996). In studies on Rhetoric (Lausberg, 1993; Perelman and Olbrechts Tyteca, 1989), emotion has already been considered as a strategy, because of its persuasive power (Walton, 1992, 1998; Woods-Walton, 1989; Woods-Irvine-Walton, 2004; Plantin, 1998; Isik-Güler/Rühi, 2010). Studies of Kientpoitner (2008a, 2008b) have followed this premise and related emotion to the argumentative process and the communicative component of politeness. Alcaide-Lara (2010 and 2011) and Fuentes-Rodríguez (2012) analysed its use in persuasive texts such as political and advertising texts.

Although emotion is not expected in formal discourse, emotional appeals are often found in political discourse to support certain claims. It appears more frequently in some discursive types, such as the political rally. Emotion is the basis of electoral propaganda. It is also an argumentative device widely used by parliamentarians.

The use of feelings and emotion as a strategy helps the MP to:

- a. strengthen his/her speech
- b. persuade the addressee
- c. ensure a successful argumentative battle

However, few studies have examined its use in parliamentary language (Macagno 2010; Macagno and Walton 2014).¹ Our goal is to analyse the extent to which the expression of emotion is used in parliamentary argumentation. We also analysed how it is expressed in a public, formal text, in a situation of distance and within a topic of common interest. Meanwhile, we determined whether gender plays a role in this case, as one of the premises in gender studies is the stereotype of linking female language to emotion and subjectivity (Acuña Ferreira, 2009).

1. Macagno and Walton (2014) published a study on emotive language in argumentation, centred in the emotive use of the lexicon. See also Macagno 2010.

This work is an introductory qualitative study that will be completed in the future. Here we will analyse the strategic use of emotion by men and women, and how it is expressed. In a further work, after specifying the emotion markers, we will proceed with a quantitative study.

2. Emotion discourse

The expression of emotion not only is a form of reflection on experience, but also occurs as a way of justifying and negotiating cultural values and power issues (Lutz 1990a:204).

We do not disregard the importance of cognition and its key notions such as that of schemata.² Its importance within the scope of emotion is based on the fact that it may work as a ‘shorthand [...] to refer to the various events and processes which comprise the phenomenon of emotion’ (Ekman, 1997:3), and can help establish coherence (Bednarek, 2009:399). We are conscious of the complexity of emotion but apply it in a very specific context (political discourse) and with a very specific goal: to analyse its argumentative value within this context. We concentrate on emotion *in use* (Edwards, 1999), which is framed within the scope of discursive psychology. One of the premises of this approach is that discourse is a ‘social practice rather than a mental expression, where mental states are talk’s categories and concerns rather than its causes’ (Edwards, 1999:288).

However, Edwards’ view is not without criticism. Gee agrees with him inasmuch as ‘we have a repertoire of different linguistic forms for and about emotions that we recruit, adapt and transform “on the spot” in interaction’ (1999:306). However, the author highlights that social groups, classes, cultures and institutions are missing from Edwards’ theory (307). Also, Pérez Campos *et al.* maintain that no social practice occurs in isolation. They make sense within collectivities and can only be separated analytically (1999:295). We agree with these remarks and therefore the concept of *community of practice* is of great importance in our analysis.

Other authors, like Bednarek (2009), claim the importance of the linguistic dimension of emotion. In her view, ‘the rhetorical – pragmatic functions of linguistic expressions of evaluation are at least as important, if, indeed, not more important [than mental representations]’ (2009:200). She refers to evaluation in general, but emotion is included in her model of analysis, which we will discuss briefly.

Bednarek (2009) defines the expression of emotion as a ‘discursive practice’ that does not necessarily represent the speaker’s real affective state (2009:405), and

2. Schema theory ‘suggests that mental knowledge is organised in structures or chunks which capture the typical features of the world’ (Bednarek, 2005:685–686).

she distinguishes between emotion and emotional talk. Emotion talk is characterised by words that directly denote emotions (love, hate, fear, etc.). However, emotional talk is created by phrasings that signal affective meanings (395). This distinction coincides with Martin's (2000) and Martin and White's (2005) distinction between evoked and inscribed evaluation. However, emotion and argumentation must be distinguished. Thereafter, this dichotomy was further developed by Hood and Martin (2007) who described three different options for inscribed evaluation: provoked, flagged and afforded appraisal. They describe these options as follows:

The term [provoke] refers to implicit ATTITUDE which is evoked through lexical metaphors. Choosing [flag] means that we deploy some kind of GRADUATION to alert readers to the feelings at risk. The [afford] option makes room for the way in which ideational meanings alone imply evaluation.

(Hood and Martin, 2007:746)

The rhetorical value of emotion is manifested through different linguistic strategies. For instance, Edwards described the importance of metaphors in emotion discourse and found that heat, pressure and container metaphors often represented anger. Lakoff (1987) noted that madness, struggle and dangerous animal metaphors were used for the like. According to Edwards (1999:279), all these choices allow speakers to construct alternative narratives of causal attribution and accountability (1999:279). Different uses of emotion discourse have been described such as justifying actions (Edwards, 1999:274), providing reasoning for unusual behaviour, bolstering justification and softening demands, and providing understanding for social actions (Bednarek, 2009:425).

Only authorial emotion has so far been considered in this work. However, in the light of emotion in use, non-authorial emotion (the speaker is not the emoter) is a valuable strategy. Emotions are considered as private states; thus, it is not easy to attribute them to other people (Bednarek, 2009). It is common to find this type of attribution performed in a mitigated way. Contrarily, it can be considered as a face-threatening act. However, we should note that although this is the case in Western societies, it is not the only way in which culture operates in relation to emotion. The concept of cultural models is central. Gee (1999:309) describes them as 'simplified pictures of the world [...] as seen from the perspective of particular discourse (social group or identity)'. Social practices guide us in relation to patterns that would separate or bring us closer to certain social groups, culture, institution or discourse (Gee 1999:310). It is in this context where gender considerations would apply.

The emotional experience is gendered as emotionality is culturally attributed to women and rationality to men (Lupton, 1998). Therefore, masculinity is partly defined by restrictive emotionality (Jansz, 2000). These are culturally accepted

stereotypes (Fischer, 1993; Plant, Hyde, Keltner and Devine, 2000; Lupton, 1998; Lutz, 1990b). Therefore, they have been taken for granted in different studies bounding gender and emotion in everyday language (Chodorow, 1999; Langford, 1999; Locke, 2002) or in the political sphere (Carranza, 2012, 2013; Fuentes-Rodríguez, 2012).

Nevertheless, a framework or model is advisable for any analysis. Until now, no specific model for emotion has been described, but this concept has been included in models devoted to evaluation. We will briefly describe two of the most widely recognised models of *evaluation*, Bednarek's and Martin's (appraisal), and the role of emotion within them.

Martin's appraisal theory (2000) is developed within systemic functional linguistics, aimed at exploring interpersonal meaning. It distinguishes three main subsystems: engagement, graduation and attitude. Engagement deals with concepts such as voicing, modality or evidentiality, for example. Graduation focuses on grading. Attitude is related to positive and negative evaluations. It is further divided into affect, appreciation and judgement. In this model, affect is dealt with through dichotomies like in/security, dis/satisfaction or un/happiness.

Bednarek, unlike Martin, takes cognition into account in her model, which 'draws on a wide range of linguistic studies on evaluation to establish its [her] own framework of evaluative parameters' (2006:187). She describes nine 'sets of values' or evaluative parameters, one of which is emotivity:

1. Comprehensibility (comprehensible/incomprehensible)
2. Emotivity (positive/negative)
3. Importance (important/unimportant)
4. Seriousness (humorous/serious)
5. Expectedness (expected/unexpected, contrast/contrast – comparison)
6. Mental state (belief/disbelief, emotion, expectation, knowledge, state-of-mind, process, volition/non-volition)
7. Evidentiality (hearsay, mindsay, perception, general knowledge, evidence, un-specific)
8. Possibility/necessity (possible, not possible, necessary, not necessary)
9. Reliability (genuine/fake, high/medium/low)
10. Style

In spite of the utility of these models, emotion can be analysed from different perspectives. Recently, Fuentes-Rodríguez (2012) has connected the concepts of emotion and politeness within the context of political discourse and argumentation, a field that will be further developed in this work.

Within the linguistic sphere, emotion has been approached from the perspective of modality as an expression of affect on the part of both the speaker and

the listener. Other aspects of the appraisal classification already mentioned are studied at different levels: engagement or graduation. Attitude is the field that is most directly related to linguistic modality. Conversely, while studying the expression of the speaker's emotion, we should take into account the discourse type as an essential variable. Therefore, our study focuses on one specific discourse type: parliamentary discourse. We attempt to study the discursive behaviour of the different ways in which emotion is expressed.

Each of these fields should be considered in relation to diastratic and diaphasic variables, such as the role of the speaker in Parliament, the position of their party and the gender of the Parliament Member. These factors condition the use of the verbal resources oriented towards a strategic goal: persuasion.

We will divide the analysis into two parts: the study of the strategic expression of the subjectivity or emotion of the speaker, and that directed towards the hearer. We will aim at the argumentative goal of the speaker and the different linguistic tools adopted.

3. Emotion in parliamentary discourse: the speaker

First, parliamentary discourse is not a field prone to the expression of personal content. It is used in a setting where public issues affecting the community are discussed. Therefore, the expression of feelings is not expected. This means that resorting to it will be a productive, informative procedure due to its novelty. Therefore, it implies a strategic rhetoric use.

Modality, a statement component, is found in this discourse type, as in any other message, as a variable of the expression of the attitude towards what has been said. In this sense, what is frequent (and expected in a discourse type) is: a) representative, declarative modality; b) appellative modality, at a high level, when rebuking the interlocutors, accusing them, to undermine their face (reprovals, accusations, recommendations, demands, etc.) or even insulting them; c) some expressions are ritual or formulaic – thanking, congratulating or lamenting (again in relation to accusation). In this case, we observe a displacement: the speaker's negative emotion is transferred towards the interlocutor; it means a rejection and a negative assessment of 'the other'. On the other hand, modality, the expression of the speaker's attitude, is neutral for the expression of 'the self', and directive when referred to 'the other':

- (1) Quiero deciros que me encuentro extraordinariamente satisfecho de la gestión y del esfuerzo que está haciendo mi Gobierno por cambiar la

mentalidad de una cultura turística, de una cultura deportiva y de una cultura comercial.

(DSPA 111,³ 50, Sr. Alonso Alonso, Consejero de Trabajo).

[I want to tell you that I feel greatly satisfied with the management and the effort that my government is making to change the mentality of a tourist culture, of a sports culture and of a commercial culture.]

In this section, we concentrate on the expression of the modality of ‘the self’ (the speaker). We specifically study the presence of marked modality (emotive), identifying the traces and the function they fulfil in the discourse type under consideration.

3.1

Emotion appears in these discourses with clear objectives. Its strategic functions are:

- (a) To reinforce the argumentation of the speaker (Anscombe-Ducrot 1983, Fuentes-Alcaide 2002). To achieve this objective, one’s own personal emotions are expressed: *con mucha ilusión* [with great excitement], *con la sensibilidad a flor de piel* [intensely sensitive], *de lo que me siento más orgulloso* [what I am most proud of].
- (2) – Bueno, la verdad es que – gracias, señor Presidente, señorías – *echaba de menos* que, normalmente, en la batería de preguntas que me hacen ustedes aquí, siempre me piden la dimisión todas las semanas, y hoy lo estaba echando de menos, y veo que usted aprovecha la última pregunta, a la que hace caso omiso, para hablar de otras cuestiones y, lógicamente, para pedirme la dimisión.
Mire, *estoy orgulloso* de ser profesor. Creo que es una profesión noble y bonita. (DSPA, 122, 58, Sr. Recio, Consejero de Empleo)
[– Well, the truth is that – thank you, Mr President, Your Honours – *I was missing* that, usually, in the battery of questions you pose here, there are always demands for me to resign every week and today I was missing that, and I see that you use your last question, to which you pay no attention at all, to talk about other things and, logically, to ask me to resign.
Look, *I am proud* of being a teacher. I think that it is a noble and beautiful profession.]

3. All of the Parliamentary Records referred to in this chapter correspond to the eighth term of office.

- (3) Yo subo aquí, a esta tribuna, *con la sensibilidad a flor de piel*, como persona, como comunista y como nacionalista de izquierdas, porque tuvimos una reunión con el Presidente de la Junta y con la señora Consejera en la que se nos dijo la importancia de la Política Agraria Comunitaria 2013–2020, y que íbamos a discutir profundamente y a consensuar para llevar un punto en común hacia Bruselas. (DSPA 111, 9, Sr. Sánchez Gordillo, IU)
[I come up to the stand, *hyper-sensitive*, as a person, as a communist and as a left wing nationalist, because we had a meeting with the President of the Junta de Andalucía and the minister in which we were told the importance of the European Community's agricultural policy for 2013–2020, and that we were going to discuss it thoroughly so as to have something we can all agree on for Brussels.]

Or the assessment of what the interlocutor said: *no sé cómo no se les cae la cara de vergüenza...* [I don't understand how you don't blush with shame...], *hace falta muy poca vergüenza política* [it takes a total lack of political morality], *me encantan sus intervenciones* [I love your interventions], *es sorprendente* [it's amazing], *nos deja perplejos* [you leave us open-mouthed], *qué pena* [what a pity], which normally involve an accusation:

- (4) Porque *hace falta muy poca vergüenza política*, señora Consejera, de que ahora se presente como la solución al problema de Alcosa cuando no se va a tocar ni el 15% de los 180 bloques que componen Alcosa. (DSPA 105, 42 Sr. Sánchez Gordillo, IU)
[Because *it takes a total lack of political morality*, Minister, to come here as if you were the solution to the Alcosa problem when 15% of the 180 housing blocks that make up Alcosa are not going to be touched.]

Traces/marks can be explicit with modalised statements (*qué pena* [what a pity]; *qué tontería* [how ridiculous], etc.):

- (5) Ay, qué pena. Qué pena. (DSPA 105, 34, Sr. Pizarro, Consejero Gobernación y Justicia)
[Ay, what a pity. What a pity.]
- (6) Pero a la Junta, directamente, la Unión Europea no le permite endeudarse: *qué tontería, en qué cosas se pierde el tiempo, qué falta de coherencia*. (DSPA 105, 10, Sr. García Rodríguez)
[But the EU doesn't allow the Junta to have debts directly: *how ridiculous, the sort of things time is wasted on, what a lack of coherence*.]
- (7) Pero es que hay más: Ustedes incumpliendo un año sí y otro también, un cuatrienio sí y otro cuatrienio también, los planes de construcción de

viviendas sociales, y ahora le endosan suelos a EPSA. *¡Pero si son ustedes incapaces de cumplir con el programa de construcción de VPO!*

(DSPA 105, 14, Sr. Raynaud, PP)

[But there is more: You fail to carry out year after year, quadrennium after quadrennium, the social housing building plans, and now you offload land to EPSA. *But if you're incapable of implementing the VPO [official protection housing] construction programme!*]

It can also be explicit in declarative statements where the tone of the discourse is informative. Here, evaluation is found in the meaning of the terms:

- (8) Y ya concluyo: señor Ramos Aznar, señorías del Partido Popular, *la mentira no es un instrumento tolerable* en política. Las responsabilidades políticas también están para la oposición, y, cuando uno miente en cualquier país democrático, tiene que asumir responsabilidades. Y *ustedes mienten, crisan y juegan sucio*. Y, para superar sus frustraciones históricas electorales, *por favor*, no merece la pena caer tan bajo.

Muchas gracias.

[*Aplausos.*]

(DSPA 122, 13, Sr. Vázquez Bermúdez, PSOE)

[And I now I'm coming to an end: Mr Ramos Aznar, Your Honours of the Popular Party, *lies are not a tolerable instrument* in politics. Political accountability is also meant for the opposition, and, when you lie in any democratic country, you have to accept the consequences. And you *lie, irritate and cheat*. And, to overcome your historic electoral frustrations, *please*, it is not worth it to stoop so low. Thank you very much (Applauses)]

No es tolerable [it's not tolerable] and *ustedes mienten* [you are lying], which is a direct accusation, although it appears in a declarative statement: *no merece la pena* [it's not worth it] and *caer tan bajo* [to stoop so low]. The assessment relies on the semantic value.

- (b) As a mitigating strategy of 'the self': it has a polite value and, at the same time, it is used as a mitigation tool to persuade (*este humilde diputado* [this humble Member of Parliament]; *ingenua de mí* [I am very naive]; *soy muy poca cosa* [I am very insignificant]) (Fraser 1980, Briz 2007, Caffi 2007, Fuentes Rodríguez 2010) :

- (9) Y mi segunda reflexión: *mi gratitud personal* al Presidente del Grupo Parlamentario Popular, al señor Arenas, por haber confiado, en este *humilde diputado* de la provincia de Jaén, la defensa del proyecto de ley en lo que significa y en lo que representa para la provincia jiennense.

(DSPA 111, 11, Sr. Fernández de Moya, PP)

[And my second reflection: *my personal gratitude* to the President of the Popular Parliamentary Group, to Mr Arenas, for having entrusted *this humble MP* of the province of Jaén, with the defense of the draft bill for what it means and represents to the province of Jaén.]

(c) As an argument: it causes a shock which is not expected. Personal feelings, the sphere of intimacy, are used as argument whether they refer to the MP or a narrative leading to feelings of compassion:

- (10) *Conoce su señoría que soy de Huelva, conoce su señoría, no tiene por qué conocer, se lo puedo decir yo, que conozco esas barriadas desde que era una niña y, por lo tanto, sé cómo están esas viviendas. No le quepa la menor duda de que tenemos una prioridad absoluta puesta en Marismas del Odiel, particularmente en Santa Lucía, y que es el compromiso del Gobierno y que yo espero que en un par de meses podamos dar inicio a las obras.* (DSPA 122, 36, Sra. Cruz Villalón, Consejera de Obras Públicas y Vivienda) [Your Honour knows that I am from Huelva, Your Honour knows, there's no reason you should know, I can tell you, that I have known these neighbourhoods since I was a little girl, and thus, I know what these houses are like. Do not have the slightest doubt that we give total priority to Marismas del Odiel, particularly to Santa Lucía, and that it is the Government's commitment and that I hope that in a couple months we can start construction work.]
- (11) Permítanme, por ser esta la única intervención que voy a tener hoy en el Pleno, y aunque no tenga que ver con el asunto, tener *unas palabras de recuerdo y de reconocimiento a un antiguo camarada de mi partido, a don Enrique Curiel, fallecido, una persona honesta* que, cuando abandonó mi organización política, entregó su escaño a la organización política, algo que creo que viene bien anotar en estos tiempos que corren, ¿no?, donde la política y la honestidad, a veces, están tan separadas. *Me apetecía decirlo...* (DSPA 111, 35, Sr. Mariscal Cifuentes, IU)
[Allow me, as it is the last intervention that I will make today in the plenary session, and although it is not related to the issue, to say *some words in memory and recognition of a deceased comrade and friend, Mr Enrique Curiel, an honest person, who* when he abandoned my political organisation, entrusted his seat to the political organisation, something that I think is worth recording in these times, don't you think?, where politics and honesty, sometimes, are so apart. *I really felt like saying it...*]
- (12) Y termino diciéndole... Y creo que *es muy triste, muy triste*, que en una legislatura como esta, con dos presidentes y seis gobiernos, no hayan planteado ni una sola reforma de calado. *Y es triste* porque Andalucía es la

mejor tierra de España, Andalucía es la mejor tierra de Europa, y todos los que estamos aquí tenemos un objetivo común: ganarle a la crisis y ganarle al paro, objetivo común de todos los parlamentarios.

(DSPA 120, 47, Sr. Arenas, PP)

[And I finish saying to you...And I think it is *truly sad, truly sad*, that in a term like this, with two different presidents and six different governments, not a single important reform has been proposed. *And it is sad* because Andalucía is the best place in Spain, Andalucía is the best place in Europe. All of us here have a common goal: to overcome the crisis and to overcome unemployment, a common goal for all Parliament Members.]

- (13) Pasamos, a continuación, a la siguiente pregunta con ruego de respuesta oral. Para formular la misma... Bueno, perdonen, relativa al acuerdo entre el Gobierno central..., acuerdo Gobierno central convocatoria oposiciones cuerpo de maestros. Para formular la misma, *y me alegro muchísimo de verla*, tiene la palabra la señora Carrillo Pérez.

(DSPA 120, 39, Sra. García Pelayo, Vicepresidenta Parlamento)

[And now, we move on to the next question with an oral answer requested. In order to ask this question... Well, I'm sorry, in relation to the agreement between the Central Government..., agreement Central Government call for public examinations for teachers. To ask it, and *I'm very happy to see her*, Mrs Carrillo Pérez has the floor.]

- (14) Hombre, *a mí me daría vergüenza* en relación a la situación de Andalucía, en relación a esos 1.187.000 parados, decir que toda la política de austeridad de la Junta de Andalucía en materia de la Administración supone un ahorro de 3 millones de euros. *A mí me daría vergüenza*. y se lo digo así de claro porque me parece que no es de recibo. (DSPA 119, 56, Sr. Ramos Aznar, PP) [Well, *I would feel ashamed* of the situation in Andalucía, of those 1,187,000 unemployed people. I must say that all the austerity policy of the Junta de Andalucía with the Administration means a saving of 3 million euros. *I would feel ashamed* and I tell you this so clearly because I think it is not acceptable.]

- (15) En fin, compañeras y compañeros del Grupo Socialista, al que este militante de base tiene *el orgullo* de representar en este debate, quiero recordarles, precisamente ahora, hoy, con Miguel Hernández, que siempre hay un rayo de luz en la lucha que deja a la sombra vencida, y que nadie nos podrá quitar nunca que la transformación de esta tierra, con el apoyo del pueblo andaluz en estas tres décadas, la ha realizado el Partido Socialista, *del que me honro*, hoy más que nunca, en pertenecer desde hace 36 años.

(DSPA 119, 58, Sr. Caballos, PSOE)

[Well, fellow members of the Socialist Group, which this member *is proud* of representing in this debate. I want to remind you, just now, today, Miguel Hernández. There is always a ray of light in the battle that leaves the shadows defeated, and nobody will ever be able to take from us the fact that it is the Socialist Party, with the support of the Andalusian people in these three decades, that has transformed this land, a Party *I am proud*, today more than ever, of having belonged to for 36 years].

3.2 In the analysis of our corpus, the emotion markers that are most widely used to express these strategies are:

(a) Lexical elements: the semantic field to which the terms belong are related to subjectivity or feelings: *pena* [pity], *sorprender* [surprise], *vergüenza* [shame], *perplejo* [puzzled], *preocupante* [alarming], *satisfacción* [satisfaction], *encanta* [love], *lamentable* [deplorable], *alegría* [happiness], *ilusión* [excitement], *sensibilidad* [sensitivity], *gratitud* [gratitude], *humilde* [humble], *decepcionar* [disappoint], *apetecer* [feel like], *satisfecho* [satisfied], *sentirse feliz* [feel happy], *orgulloso* [proud], *doler* [hurt], *alegrarse* [be glad], *repugnar* [disgust], *indignar* [outrage], *cariño* [affection], *respeto* [respect], *afectuoso* [affectionate], *triste* [sad]:

(16) Señoría, *me hubiera gustado* que el Presidente le hubiera dejado la palabra para que siguiera usted haciendo la valoración que hace de los servicios jurídicos de la Junta de Andalucía. Me hubiera gustado que el Presidente le hubiera dejado la palabra, me hubiera gustado. Pero, bueno, no ha podido ser.

(DSPA 105, 53, Sra. Cruz Villalón, Consejera de Obras Públicas y Vivienda) [Your Honour, *I would have liked* for the president to have given you the floor so you could continue your evaluation of the Junta de Andalucía's legal services. I would have liked the President to have given you the floor, I would have liked that. But, well, never mind, it wasn't possible.]

(17) Bueno, *es sorprendente*, porque hasta hace unos minutos hemos estado escuchándolos diciendo que, de los funcionarios, todos nos tenemos que, lógicamente, poner en sus manos, fiar de ellos en la Administración, y este Consejero lo que ha hecho, ante las dudas que existían, es hacer un grupo de investigación interno en el que hay tres funcionarios.

(DSPA 105, 55, Sr. Recio, Consejero de Empleo)

[Well, *it is amazing*, because till some minutes ago we have been listening to you saying that, clearly, we all have to seek civil servants' help, we have to trust them at the Administration, and what this Minister has done, in view of the doubts that existed, is to create an internal research group in which there are three civil servants.]

- (18) Señor Consejero, *nos deja usted perplejos*. (...) Lo cierto es que me parece que hay algún cinismo en su respuesta, señor Consejero, como lo hubo en el comentario del señor Griñán cuando dijo que las ayudas no se eliminaban sino que, simplemente, no se prorrogaban. (DSPA 105, 57, Sra. Oña, PP)
[Your Honour, *you puzzle us*. (...) The truth is that it seems to me there is a certain cynicism in your answer, Your Honour, as there was in Mr Griñán's comment when he said that subsidies were not eliminated but simply they were not extended.]

Among those terms, there are some that indicate a feeling at a higher level of intensity, like *encantar* [to love]. Also, it should be noted that besides fixed or semi-fixed formulas, they have a metaphoric meaning, like *no tener abuela* [to be vain-literally, not having a grandmother] and *sacar de sus casillas* [to really irritate-literally, to get people out of their mind].

- (b) Operators, such as *desgraciadamente* [unfortunately] in the following example:

- (19) Señor Griñán, no hay confianza, tome medidas urgentes, cambie radicalmente si quiere que en Andalucía haya confianza, porque, *desgraciadamente*, cada día es más difícil encontrar oportunidades para trabajar en nuestra querida Andalucía. (DSPA 105, 51, Sr. Arenas, PP)
[Mr Griñán, there's no confidence, take measures urgently, change radically if you want Andalucía to be confident, because, *unfortunately*, it becomes more difficult each day to find opportunities to work in our beloved Andalucía.]

- (c) The syntactic construction: asides, which have a clear argumentative value. It is the case of *y me alegro muchísimo* [and I am very happy] of a previous excerpt, where the president of the House expresses her feelings to an MP, or the introduction of an argument *Porque soy madre de una niña* [because I am the mother of a little girl], which justifies the assertion that follows (Fuentes-Rodríguez 1998):

- (20) A mí me gustaría, señora Consejera, *porque además soy madre de una niña*, que mi hija tenga más oportunidades de las que yo tengo; que mi hija, cuando sea mayor, pueda desarrollarse y pueda desenvolverse en términos de igualdad con los hombres de su generación.
(DSPA 111, 39, Sra. Pérez Fernández, PSOE).
[I would like, Your Honour, *because besides I am the mother of a little girl*, my daughter to grow up and develop and be able to live in conditions of equality with the men of her generation.]

Sometimes, the aside causes an argumentative counter-orientation: it is a comment that clearly shows the disagreement with what has been expressed and leads to a contradictory conclusion:

- (21) Y mire usted, yo creía, en el día de hoy – *ingenua de mí* –, que usted iba a retractarse realmente; retractarse de esas afirmaciones escandalosas que realizó usted en la Comisión el mes pasado. Usted llegó a decir que la Empresa Pública del Suelo ejerce de asustaviejas. Esas fueran sus palabras.
(DSPA 117, 54, Sra. Cuenca Cabeza, PSOE)

[And look, I thought, today – *how naïve on my part* – that you were going to really take back the scandalous statements you made in the Committee last month. You said that the Public Land Company acts as a harrasser of old ladies [= long-standing tenants who pay low rents]. Those were your words.]

- (d) Intensification is a recurring procedure in the assessment (as noted in Chapter 2): *es una cosa verdaderamente increíble* [it is something really incredible], *a mí me parece absolutamente irresponsible* [I think it is absolutely irresponsible] and *de verdad que me deja bastante perpleja* [It truly amazes me]. We show more examples in the following fragments:

- (22) Mire, y señora Cuenca, de verdad, como digo – y que no sirva de precedente –, *me ha gustado muchísimo* más el debate, el propio debate que ha tenido el Partido Socialista que el debate que ha mantenido el Grupo Parlamentario de Izquierda Unida.
(DSPA 105, 22, Sra. Martín Moya, PP)

[Look, and Mrs Cuenca, really, as I say – without setting a precedent – *I liked* the debate, the real debate of the Socialist Party *much better* than the debate held by the Parliamentary Group Izquierda Unida.]

- (23) Señoría, que no sirvan de precedente las palabras que voy a decir ahora mismo, pero por una vez *he visto bastante más correctas* la intervención del Partido Socialista que la propia del Grupo Parlamentario de Izquierda. Porque, mire, Sr Mariscal, usted se va de viaje – *me parece muy bien* –, usted controla los fondos de cooperación. Y aquí ¿qué hace? ¿Le ríe las gracias al Gobierno? [*Aplausos.*] Usted se va de viaje por ahí a controlar los fondos, y ahora viene aquí a réirle las gracias usted al Gobierno. Mire, *de verdad que me deja bastante perpleja*, porque es usted muy joven para utilizar las palabras que utiliza, para utilizar la demagogia que utiliza.
(DSPA 105, 21, Sra. Martín Moya, PP)

[Your Honour, without setting a precedent with the words that I am going to say right now, but for once *I have found* the intervention of the Socialist Group *more appropriate* than that of the Parliamentary Group of Izquierda Unida. Because, look Mr Mariscal, you travel – *that's fine by me* –, you control the cooperation funds. And here, what do you do? Play up to the

Government? [Applause.] You go on a trip somewhere to control the funds, and now you come here to play up to the Government. Look, *you truly amaze me*, because you are very young to use the words you use, to use the demagoguery you use.]

Sometimes intensification focuses on the illocutionary force of the statements. It is expressed through exclamations, direct expression of the emotive modality: *qué tontería* [how ridiculous], *hay que tenerla dura* [what a nerve] and *qué divertido* [how funny], as we have already seen:

- (24) Diecisiete discursos distintos. *Hay que tenerla dura* para hablar, un representante del Partido Socialista, aquí de diecisiete discursos distintos. (DSPA 105, 13, Sr. Raynaud, PP)
[Seventeen different speeches. *What a nerve*, for a representative of the Socialist Party to talk about seventeen different speeches here.]

- (e) We should also consider expressions such as *nuestros hijos* [our children], *nuestros jóvenes* [our young people] and *nuestra tierra* [our land], which, by appealing to patriotism, seek to transform a feeling into an argument. The pronoun, inclusive first person, creates an affiliation with the receiver that activates a community of feeling.
- (f) There are other expressions of emotion. However, they are connected to rituals in the discourse type under consideration: *agradecer* [thank], *felicitar* [congratulate] and *lamentar* [lament]. The latter has an accusatory force in the following example:

- (25) Señora Oña Sevilla, *lo lamento mucho*, su tiempo ha concluido. (DSPA 105, 58, Sr. Gracia Navarro, Vicepresidente Primero del Parlamento de Andalucía)
[Mrs Oña Sevilla, *I am very sorry*, your time is up.]

4. Emotion in parliamentary discourse: the hearer

Here we will focus on cases in which the expression of the speaker's emotion and evaluation has a clear appellative purpose, which means that the hearer is encouraged to change his/her behaviour or opinion. In this respect, we detected two levels of appeal in the use of emotion in speech. One is directed at the immediate recipient (the political addressee), another at the final addressee (the citizen). So, in political discourse, we can say that 'appellative' emotion works at two levels:

- a. Emotion and evaluation are used to move the spirit of either one, addressee 1 and/or addressee 2, with a purely appellative purpose of changing the behaviour or conduct of the other.
- b. The emotion of the citizen (final addressee) is used to achieve affiliation with the addressee through discourse. The purpose is persuasive, as we show in the following case:

The way of the Government of Andalusia is not correct. Ours is.

This procedure is different from the expression of one's own emotion or evaluation with a persuasive effect. It involves using other people's evaluation as if it was your own to attract the addressee. We can ask the question: 'why politicians use this persuasive strategy if, which has been said repeatedly, what happens in Parliament rarely gets to the citizens?' However, we must note that, when somebody puts into practice this mode of operation, representatives of the target sector, always committed to the interests of the Andalusian people, are usually present. Therefore, we can almost say that it is a case of diaphony⁴ with a persuasive effect.

On many occasions, resorting to emotion is a purely appellative activity, which is aimed at moving the spirit of the most immediate addressee, the political opponent. This is shown in the following example:

- (26) Y debo decirle que es importante que usted conozca que también hemos planteado *nada más y nada menos* que el aprovechamiento energético de los residuos del olivar como fuente de generación de energía renovable, y ustedes han dicho que no. (DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)
 [And I must tell you that it is important that you know that we have also proposed nothing more and nothing less than that olive residues should be exploited as a source for generating renewable energy, and you have rejected it.]

This is a case of reproach, understood as an act in which an action, an opinion, etc. is evaluated, with the clear aim of modifying the hearer's actions or thoughts in any way. In this example, the reproach is emphasised by the marker *nada más y nada menos* [nothing more and nothing less], which acts as an *overperformant*⁵ on what was said by the government about its reform: *lo que nosotros planteamos es bueno, pero ustedes han dicho no* [what we suggested is the correct course of action

4. Diaphony is the phenomenon by which the words, or possible words, or conscience states of the listener are used in the speech of the speaker. See E. Roulet (1987).

5. *Overperformant* is our translation for a term used in Spanish (*sobrerrealizante*) to identify an item that gives argumentative force to other discursive item. See García Negroni (1995), Portolés (1998) and Fuentes-Alcaide (2002).

but you have rejected it]. Obviously, this operates also on the opinion created by the addressee/citizen, in favour of the government.

We can see this type of evaluation, negative undoubtedly when it is a question about an aspect that concerns the government, in the following cases:

- (27) Mire, señora Consejera, a las cuatro menos veinticinco he consultado los precios, esgrimidos y dados a conocer por el *Plus Reg*, como usted sabe. El 2 de marzo me subí a esta tribuna y le enseñaba también este gráfico. Hoy subo a decirle que el precio del aceite de oliva virgen extra, a las cuatro menos veinticinco del día de hoy, estaba en 1,91 pesetas/kilo, y el aceite de oliva virgen en 1,67. *¿Para qué sirve esta ley si los agricultores y los olivares andaluces y jiennenses están muy por debajo del umbral de rentabilidad que en pesetas/kilo aceite debería estar situado en 2,30 o 2,40?* Si esta ley no tiene planificación hidrológica, si esta ley no tiene dotación presupuestaria, si esta ley establece órganos al servicio del Gobierno y no al servicio del sector, *¿qué ley nos trae usted hoy aquí, señora Consejera?* No queremos una ley política. Queremos una ley al servicio del sector, para que este pueda salir adelante.

(DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)

[Look, Regional Minister, at twenty-five to four, I consulted the prices, put out and made public by *Plus Reg*, as you know. On March 2nd I stood on this platform and showed you also this graph. Today, I stand to tell you that the price of extra virgin olive oil, at twenty five to four today, was 1.91 pesetas/kilo, and olive oil 1.67. What is this law for, if farmers and the olive farmers of Jaén and Andalusia are below the profitability threshold, which would mean that the price should be between 2.30 and 2.40 pesetas/kilo? This law doesn't have any planning regulating water resources, this law has no budget, this law sets up authorities that serve the Government and not the olive sector, what kind of law are you bringing to us here today, Regional Minister? We do not want a political law. We want a law at the service of the sector, so that it can move forward.]

- (28) *¿Usted se cree que mientras que los olivares están sumidos en la ruina pueden estar Ministra y Consejera a la greña? ¿Usted se cree que es de recibo que la Ministra de Agricultura, hace un año, ya rechazara la petición del almacenamiento privado? ¿Usted se cree que es de recibo que la Ministra dijera que tiró de libro para no llegar al precio mínimo para solicitar el almacenamiento privado, y los agricultores jiennenses y andaluces en la ruina?*

(DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)

[Do you consider it appropriate that at a time when the olive oil producers are facing economic ruin the National Minister and the Regional Minister are at each other's throats? Do you believe it is acceptable that the Minister of Agriculture already rejected the request for authorisation of private storage a

year ago? *Do you believe* it is acceptable for the Minister to say that she made an effort to avoid reaching the minimum price for requesting private storage, with Jaén and Andalusian farmers facing ruin?]

Both cases have in common the use of interrogation, an interactive resource, by which the speaker tries to change the interlocutor's opinion. Its purpose is to question the conduct of the government and weaken its credibility and reinforce our own actions. The second example, with its insistent repetition of *¿usted se cree...?* [Do you believe...?], is even clearer. Moreover, the speaker not only questions the opponent's actions, but also rebukes the Government. To achieve this purpose, expressions like *que es de recibo X* [that it is acceptable that] follow. This gives greater weight to the accusation because the interrogative structure directly suggests the negative presupposition *no lo es* [it is not]. Therefore, this structure serves to make the accusation stronger by capturing the audience's attention.

By contrast, there are directive acts, whose semantic content is negative, such as:

- (29) Y, fíjense, *no engañen más al sector*. Fíjese lo que decía el señor Soler, Consejero de Agricultura. Que en el año 2009 estaría la Ley del Olivar. Estamos en septiembre de 2011, casi dos años y medio después, y ustedes traen hoy un texto impuesto, un texto que no ha sido dialogado, un texto que no ha sido consensuado, y un texto en el que ustedes, desgraciada y lamentablemente, han perdido el liderazgo político y social en defensa del olivar ante la Unión Europea. (DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP) [And, look, *don't deceive the sector any further*. Notice what Mr Soler, Director of Agriculture, said. In 2009 the Olive Sector Law would be ready. It is September 2011, almost two and a half years later, and today you bring a text which has been imposed today, a text that has not been discussed, a text that has not been agreed, and a text with which you, sadly and unfortunately, have lost the political and social leadership of defense of the olive sector at the European Union.]

The emotional value of the word *engañar* [deceive] is added to the appellative nature of the act itself (a request). It is a highly reprehensible act in our society. For instance:

- (30) Pero *no haga demagogia*, señor Fernández de Moya, no diga que nosotros podemos fijar precios, porque no es así. Como el almacenamiento privado, señor Fernández de Moya. ¿Tenemos capacidad nosotros para activarlo, señor Fernández de Moya? No hay capacidad desde este Parlamento, lo podemos pedir, lo ha pedido la Consejera, lo ha pedido la Ministra. (DSPA, 129, 11, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)

[But *do not make use of demagoguery*, Mr Fernández de Moya, do not say we can fix prices, because it is not so. It is the same situation we have with private storage, Mr Fernández de Moya. Do we have capacity to activate it, Mr Fernández de Moya? This Parliament doesn't have that capacity, we can demand that capacity, the Regional Minister has demanded it, the National Minister has.]

In this instance, it is uttered by a member of the party in government, and, besides urging a change of conduct, he makes an accusation of demagoguery, for instance, with the use of the verb 'deceive'.

In conclusion, the clear intention is to strengthen one's own position against the position of the opponent. So, when the speaker is allowed in such interventions, he presents himself as someone who can perform this task. Of course, this favours his image as a strong politician towards the citizens and also strengthens his arguments.

Frequently, the politician incorporates the general public's feelings and evaluations in his discourse. As mentioned earlier, it is true that parliamentary discourse is mainly characterised by the fact that it does not reach citizens directly. It is through the media, the real catalyst, that he is able to reach them. Then, one may wonder why this strategy is used and what its purpose is. There is one important thing that we must take into account: the representatives of the citizen – addressees, or at least of part of them, are present in the situation of use. Moreover, the subject of the speech is highly emotional; that is, it touches citizens' hearts because of its relevance and impact in their everyday lives. For instance:

- (31) El tercero viene de las continuas OCM que nos han hecho. Primero fue Fischler. A pesar de la maravillosa lucha que el pueblo andaluz hizo en la defensa del olivar, *no fue suficiente*, ya nos puso el primer recorte el señor Fischler, nos puso en la línea del neoliberalismo que nos vendría después. Primero, Fischler, después fue la reforma del 2003, *después, el chequeo médico*. La desregularización total del mercado hizo que, bueno, no tuviéramos más que los precios que las grandes superficies y las grandes multinacionales imponen. Por tanto, al quedarnos sin regulación nos quedamos sin defensa. (DSPA, 129, 9, Sr. Sánchez Gordillo, IU)
- [The third one derives from the continuous CMOs they've imposed on us. The first one was by Fischler. Despite the wonderful campaign that the people of Andalusia waged in defense of the olive sector, *it was not enough*, and Mr Fischler imposed the first cutback on us, he pushed us in the direction of neoliberalism, which would come later. First, Fischler then, the 2003 reform, later *the medical checkup*. The total market deregulation caused that, well, we only had the prices that supermarkets and big multinationals

imposed on us. Therefore, when we were left without regulation, we were left defenseless.]

This is the final debate of the Olive Sector Law in Andalusia. The olive tree issue is one of the most controversial topics affecting Andalusian agriculture. This is because it is one of the great farming resources and has a direct impact on the economy of Andalusia. The public is therefore very sensitive to it. The next Member of Parliament opens his intervention in the following way:

(32) – Gracias, señora Presidenta.

Saludo al sector que nos está observando aquí en directo en este Parlamento.
(DSPA, 129, 7, Sr. Sánchez Gordillo, IU)

[Thank you, Mrs President.

I greet the sector that is watching us live here in this Parliament.]

These words indicate that the politician will bear in mind this sector, or rather the members of this economic sector.

In the excerpt, we provide an example of this strategy. Here the MP uses the third-person singular to talk about the subject and evaluate the defence made by the Andalusian people regarding the olive sector. Thus, he adopts a certain distance. He states it was *wonderful*. Moreover, as an Andalusian, he states that it was *not enough*. At this moment, he changes his discourse and returns the first-person plural again to signal his solidarity and imply that the Andalusian public's assessment is also his own.

This kind of affiliation has a persuasive purpose:

To connect with the olive sector at an emotional level



To reach the Andalusian people emotionally



To persuade them that their positions are the correct one

The following example, from the same session, operates in a similar way:

- (33) En cuarto lugar, porque echábamos de menos un plan de promoción institucional del aceite de oliva. Y, *siendo jiennense*, vuelvo a reclamar ese plan de promoción institucional de lo que significa la dieta saludable con el aceite de oliva. (DSPA, 129, 9, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)
[Fourth, because we missed a plan of institutional promotion of olive oil. And, *coming from Jaén* myself, I call again for the institutional promotion plan relating to the importance of olive oil in a healthy diet.]

The expression *siendo jiennense* [coming from Jaén] implies affiliation to the citizen. The place of origin of the speaker is used as an emotional argument to affirm

his familiarity with the topic under discussion.⁶ He knows the sector and defends it. Obviously, emotion, in cases like this, serves also to reinforce the claim made against the opponent.

We can see the same intention in the following example:

- (34) Yo vengo de una provincia, la provincia de Jaén, donde hay 109.000 familias que dependen directamente del olivar, siete millones de jornales al año, y nos encontramos con el 40% de la producción nacional *en mi provincia*. Y le hablo desde una provincia que es cabecera de cuenca.

(DSPA, 129, 9, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)

[I come from a province, the province of Jaén, where 109,000 families depend directly on olive trees, seven million day's wages a year, and 40% of the national production is found *in my province*. And I speak from a province that leads the sector.]

The same emotional appeal is used as a reinforcing argument towards the addressee, the political opponent. This is an 'authority argument'. So, the expression *mi provincia* [my province] shows the politician to be keen personally to resolve the problems of the people whose livelihood depends on this sector. It is a way of aligning oneself with the electorate.

The use of emotion is often a means to intensify a request. For instance:

- (35) Señora Consejera, *desde mi condición de jiennense* y reclamando esa cabecera de cuenca, ¿quiere decirme dónde se plasma la inversión en infraestructura hidráulica para el olivar y la dotación presupuestaria en el binomio irrenunciable que necesitan el olivar jiennense y el olivar andaluz? No aparece por la ley. (DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)
- [Regional Minister, *as a native Jaén* and claiming [as I am] that basin headwater, would you like to tell me where the investment in water infrastructure to the olive grove and the budget in the indispensable pairing that the olive grove from Jaén and Andalusia need are shown? It is not referred to in the law.]

In this case, the speaker uses his origins in the province to legitimate the appellative act of asking for explanations. Its force is higher than it would be if he had not used this argumentative strategy. Moreover, the request appears 'reasonable' and 'authorised' when accompanied by this type of argument.

Other resources work in a similar way, such as those found in the following example:

6. Jaén province is the main producer of olive oil in Spain and almost 80% of its territory is devoted to the cultivation of olive trees.

- (36) Termino, señora Presidenta, con algo que me parece sumamente importante. Vamos a pedir la votación por el conjunto del articulado. No podemos dar el voto a favor, un sí a esta ley, porque no representa al sector, porque no se ha dialogado y – le voy a decir algo que es sumamente importante – porque incumple el abecé de lo que significa la defensa del olivar. La a mayúscula, no hay agua, no hay infraestructura hidráulica; la b, *golpea al bolsillo de los olivateros que están en la ruina* – se están abandonando explotaciones agrarias por la ruina social y económica del olivar andaluz y jiennense –, y la c, porque *la gran asignatura pendiente*, que es la comercialización, el valor añadido en Jaén y en Andalucía, *es la gran asignatura pendiente que tampoco se contempla en este...* (DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)
- [I conclude, Mrs President, with something that I think is extremely important. We will demand that all of the articles should be voted on as a unity. We cannot vote in favour of this law, because it doesn't represent the sector, because it has not been agreed and – I am going to say something that is extremely important – because it violates the ABC of what defense is all about. The capital A, there is no water, no hydraulic infrastructure; the B, *it hits the pockets of the growers who are broke* – farms are being abandoned because of the social and economic ruin of the olive in Andalusia and Jaén, and C, because *the great unresolved matter*, which is marketing, the added value in Jaén and in Andalusia *is the great unresolved matter and it not considered here either ...*]

Metaphors move the parliamentary discourse towards the electorate's sensibilities with the aim of aligning theirs with the speaker's, as shown in the following case:

- (37) Porque, mire, señor Fernández de Moya, *el sector lo sabe bien*, hay que hablar más con el sector, señor Fernández de Moya, seguramente se entere. (DSPA, 129, 11, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)
- [Because, look, Mr Fernández de Moya, *the sector knows it well*, we must communicate more with the sector, Mr Fernández de Moya, you surely know that.]

The parenthetical words (Fuentes-Rodríguez 1998) shift the emphasis to the perspective of the sector, which the politician implies is his own.

The most widely used resources (emotion markers) adopted in these discursive strategies are as follows:

- (a) Operators that reinforce the appellative value of discursive constructions, such as *desgraciadamente*, *lamentablemente*, *por desgracia...* [unfortunately, regrettably, sadly]:

(38) ¿Qué recursos financieros estamos destinando al sector del olivar, que, *desgraciadamente*, no se encuentra en su mejor momento?

(DSPA, 129, 9, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)

[What financial resources are we allocating to the olive sector, which, *unfortunately*, is not in very great shape at the moment?]

(b) Enhancer elements (Albelda 2007, Briz 2003, Fuentes-Rodríguez 2010), such as *absolutamente* [absolutely] or the expression *solo faltaría que ...* [all we need now is for it to... – ironic use], which appears in the following example, reinforcing the reproach act as done by the PP deputy:

(39) Tienen ustedes a los sindicatos mayoritarios de la Función pública en contra, les están denunciando todos los días, tienen un montón de sentencias contrarias, y usted no ha reconocido aquí *absolutamente* nada, sino que se ha producido la reordenación de acuerdo al ordenamiento jurídico. Pues *solo faltaría*, señor Consejero, que no se hubiese producido de acuerdo al ordenamiento jurídico, que por otra parte lo hacen ustedes, porque recientemente hemos asistido a la «ley del enchufismo», se comprometieron ustedes a que iban a designar a través de esa ley a los directivos solo si eran funcionarios y después le añadieron una coletilla: «funcionarios o quien se establezca por el Consejo de Gobierno...» (DSPA, 129, 56, Sra. Oña, PP)

[The majority of the civil service trade unions are against you, they are reporting you every day, you have plenty of judicial decisions against you, and you have admitted here absolutely nothing, but rather, the reorganisation has occurred according to law. Well, *all we need now*, Regional Minister, is for it to have not been in accordance with the law, which, incidentally, you are responsible for. We have recently witnessed the ‘cronyism law’, you pledged that you were going to appoint directors through that law only if they were civil servants and then you added a postscript: ‘civil servants or whoever Governing Council designates ...’]

(c) Expressions with emotional charge that seek the empathy of the addressee, the citizen, such as allusions to the MP’s origins. These may invest the speaker with the authority to give an informed opinion:

(35) Señora Consejera, *desde mi condición de jienense* y reclamando esa cabecera de cuenca, ¿quiere decirme dónde se plasma la inversión en infraestructura hidráulica para el olivar y la dotación presupuestaria en el binomio irrenunciable que necesitan el olivar jienense y el olivar andaluz?

(DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)

[Regional Minister, *as a native of Jaén* and claiming [as I do] those basin headwaters, would you tell me where the investment in water infrastructure

for the olive groves and the budget in the essential binomial that the Jaén and Andalusia's olive groves need?]

(d) Expressions of reproach with pejorative value, as we can see in the following example:

- (40) *¿De qué ley me habla usted a mí, cuando el sector está sumido en la ruina y ustedes una vez más se convierten en el enemigo público número uno del olivar jiennense y andaluz? Una vez más.*

(DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)

[*What law are you telling me about? the sector is ruined and you again become public enemy number one for Jaén and Andalusia's olive groves. Once again.*]

(e) Augmentative morphemes:

- (41) Han hecho un *papelón* con el almacenamiento privado.

(DSPA, 129, 10, Sr. Fernández Moya, PP)

[*You have made a fool of yourselves with the private storage.*]

(f) Figurative language, specifically metaphors, sarcasm and irony:

- (42) Mire, señor Fernández de Moya, habla usted de que esta ley no arregla el problema de los precios. *Hombre, parece mentira que una persona como usted, formada en Derecho, no conozca, cuanto menos, cuáles son las competencias que tiene atribuidas este Parlamento, porque, hombre, no solo está formado en Derecho: cuanto menos, debería conocer nuestro Estatuto como diputado y saber qué competencias tenemos.* [*Aplausos.*]

(DSPA, 129, 11, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)

[*Look, Mr Fernández de Moya, you say that this law does not resolve the price problem. Well, it seems incredible that a person like you, trained in law, does not know, at least, what the competences of this Parliament are, because, well, you are not only trained in law: at least, you should know our Constitution as a Member of Parliament and you should know what competences we have.* [Applause.]

- (43) Y, mire, señor Fernández de Moya, es bien sencillo, cuéntenles a los andaluces que su modelo pasa por la reconversión, una reconversión que consiste en que el Estado, que la Junta, me dé ayudas para reconvertir – es decir, para arrancar las plantas y poner nuevas – , que la Junta me dé ayudas para poner regadíos, que la Junta me dé más ayudas para eso que dicen ustedes que es sobredimensionar explotaciones – *qué término más bonito* – .

(DSPA, 129, 11, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)

[And, look, Mr Fernández de Moya, it is very simple, tell the people of Andalusia that your model involves restructuring, [it involves] restructuring consisting of the State, the Junta, giving me money to restructure – that is, to uproot the plants and put in new ones – that the Junta gives me money for irrigation, that the Junta gives me more money for what you call oversizing farms – *what a nice term.*]

(g) Parenthetical structures that insert the addressee's feelings in the discourse of the speaker:

(44) Porque, mire, señor Fernández de Moya, *el sector lo sabe bien*, hay que hablar más con el sector, señor Fernández de Moya, seguramente se entere.

(DSPA, 129, 11, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)

[Because, look, Mr Fernández de Moya, *the sector knows it well*, we must communicate more with the sector, Mr Fernández de Moya, you surely know that.]

(h) Quasi-rhetorical interrogative structures that alter the action:

(45) Pero para eso que también me den ayudas, para eso que también me den ayudas. Ayudas para reconvertir, para comprar tierras, para poner regadíos, rebaja fiscal... Para todo eso piden el apoyo y la ayuda de la Junta, pero, luego, después tachan a esta ley de una ley intervencionista. *¿En qué quedamos?* Pero si no hacen nada más que recurrir al Estado y a las ayudas públicas para imponer su modelo y, por otro lado, lo tachan de intervencionismo. Claro, es que ya sabemos el intervencionismo que le gusta al Partido Popular, ese es el intervencionismo que le gusta.

(DSPA, 129, 12, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)

[But for that also [you say] give me aid, for that also give me aid. Aid to restructure, to purchase land, for irrigation, tax relief ... For all that you demand support and assistance from the Junta, but, then, you fault this law as an interventionist law. *You contradict yourselves.* You do nothing other than use the State and public aid to impose your model and, then, you label it as interventionism. Sure, we already know the Popular Party likes interventionism, that is the interventionism you like.]

(i) Directive structures with a high negative semantic charge:

(46) Cuéntennos cuál es su ley, cuéntennos cuál es su proyecto, qué quieren hacer, cuál es su modelo de olivar, señor Fernández de Moya, porque en ese debate estuvieron criticando esta norma, como ahora, pero no nos contaron lo que quieren hacer. *Dejen de tener vergüenza por su ideología, defiéndanla, dejen de avergonzarse de su modelo*, cuéntenlo, díganse a los andaluces y a las andaluzas.

[*Aplausos.*] (DSPA, 129, 12, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)
 [Tell us what your law is, tell us what your project is, what you want to do, what your model is for olive oil industry, Mr Fernández de Moya, because in that debate you were criticising this rule, as you are now, but you didn't tell us what you wanted to do. *Stop being ashamed of your ideology, defend it, stop being ashamed of your model*, tell us, tell the people of Andalusia.]
 [Applause.]

(j) Complex syntactic structures of reproach, such as unreal conditional clauses:

- (47) Y, mire, recordaba usted ese decálogo que expuso en el debate de totalidad. Es verdad, usted ese 2 de marzo daba diez razones por las que rechazar la ley. Pero, mire, *si usted hubiese sido un poco serio, en lugar de diez razones hubiese traído una, solo una, para dar coherencia a su discurso, que era un texto alternativo, señor Fernández de Moya.*

(DSPA, 129, 12, Sr. Sicilia Alférez, PSOE)

[And, look, you remembered that decalogue which you set out in the full debate. It's true, that 2nd of March, you gave ten reasons why you reject the law. But, look, *if you had been a little serious, instead of ten reasons, you would have given us one, only one, to give coherence to your speech, and that was an alternative text, Mr Fernández de Moya.*]

(k) Register shift, from formal to colloquial. This act brings politicians emotionally closer to people, especially in situations where members who represent the sector whose problems are being dealt with are present, as shown in the following example:

- (48) Por eso, señora Consejera, lamentamos profundamente la oportunidad perdida; pero no le quepa ninguna duda de que vamos a seguir reivindicando, a través de las enmiendas que no nos han sido aceptadas, la defensa que siempre hicimos del olivar jiennense y andaluz, justo esa que ustedes en Europa han dejado de la mano de Dios.

(DSPA, 129, 11, Sr. Fernández de Moya, PP)

[That's why, Regional Minister, we deeply regret the lost opportunity; but there is no doubt that we will continue in our defense, through the amendments that have not been accepted, of Jaén and Andalusia's olive groves as we have always done, defense you have for saken in Europe.]

5. Conclusions

Parliamentary discourse is a discourse type that involves formality, not proximity, where the expression of emotion is not *prima facie* to be expected. Emotion is used to:

- A. emphasise the speaker's argumentation
- B. attack the opponent
- C. express proximity and create a distinctive 'identity' in relation to the rest of the group

Emotion is not only a dimension working as an enhancer or mitigator for the persuasive aim. It is not only a 'réalisant' or 'dérealisant' (Ducrot 1995), an element of strength or attenuation. It is used as an argument itself. Resorting to it provides the following advantages:

- a. It imparts veracity to discourse. The speaker presents himself/herself as an enunciator, responsible for and involved in what is being said. It implies maximum engagement and increases the persuasive force.
- b. It positions political discourse closer to everyday language, therefore allowing alignment with another type of receptor: voters, who will receive this discourse indirectly.
- c. It deritualises and refreshes the argumentation, creating its own rhetoric. Therefore, it is more efficient and helps create a new image (Goffman 1959, 1967; Arundale 2006).
- d. At the same time, emotion is used as an argument. From the perspective of classical rhetoric, the use of emotion belongs to the sphere of *pathos*. Thus, we would be dealing with an argumentative fallacy (van Eemeren and Grootendorst 1992, 2004). Classical rhetoric based the force of argument on reason and objectivity. Resorting to the passions discredits the speaker, which confines him/her to the sphere of the individual. However, in political discourse, flawlessly constructed argumentation does not guarantee persuasion. Logic and accuracy may be sacrificed in favour of efficiency in communication. Is political discourse then argumentatively correct? Obviously it is, but it may not be rhetorically perfect. This indicates that the theory of argumentation, which focuses on discourses and not on rhetorical tradition (limited to ritualised written discourse such as legal discourse), has widened its scope and criteria. It seeks communicative efficiency by legitimising fields other than the merely rational.

The functions of parliamentary discourse are:

- a. To defend your own argument: argumentative goal
- b. To face the opponent: efficiency
- c. To be more brilliant than the other members of the own group: creation of an identity or image

The first two objectives fall within the persuasive goal of this discourse type. The last one belongs to the sphere of the form, rhetoric. It enables the creation of a strong image, a role identity that identifies the speaker within his/her own group.

Taking this into account, we could think about other possibilities such as: is it the result of not knowing the rules of oratory? Are these adopted strategies enhancers of argumentation or enhancers of the projected role image? Is the expression of emotion an argumentative instrument or is it a metaphorical use, a mechanism of communicative brilliance at the service of the image of the politician?

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Gender differences in eye-contact behaviour in parliamentary discourse

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The aim of this chapter is to analyse the main functions of eye-contact in the Andalusian Parliament (Committee for Equality and Social Welfare). The corpus consists of 12 oral questions (from March to September 2010) raised by the two main political parties. The study focuses on three aspects: 1) turn-types; 2) political allegiance; 3) gender differences. Regarding turn-types, the results showed that longer eye-contact tended to be more frequent in the second turns. Concerning political allegiance, eye-contact was used as a means to signalling affiliation and loyalty towards the Regional Minister. Regarding gender differences, men seemed to keep more eye-contact than women.

Keywords: Eye-contact, Andalusian Parliament, oral questions, turn-type, political colour, gender, non-verbal devices, regulators, power relations, face

1. Introduction

This chapter aims at analysing eye-contact as a communicative device in the Andalusian Parliament, especially in oral questions. It analyses eye-contact behaviour based on three variables: turn-type, political colour and gender. The corpus consists of 12 oral questions (from March to September 2010) raised by the two main political parties, PSOE (the socialist party in government) and PP (the party in opposition), at the *Comisión de Igualdad y Bienestar Social* (Committee for Equality and Social Welfare). This makes a total of 48 turns: 24 corresponding to Members of Parliament (MPs) and 24 to the Regional Minister (RM). The distribution is as follows: 6 turns by PP men, 6 by PP women, 6 by PSOE men and 6 by PSOE women. The study focuses on eye-contact behaviour in relation to: 1) the analysis of the two turns of oral questions; 2) the differences between the two main political parties; 3) the study of gender differences; 4) the identification of its most relevant functions.

Eye-contact is one of the most important non-verbal devices that is used as a means of expressing what somebody feels or even thinks. This is why it is said: 'The eyes are the window to the soul.' Through eye-contact, we can express the following: tenderness/coolness, love/hate, affiliation/aversion, kindness/unkindness, happiness/sadness, closeness/distance, admiration/disgust and agreement/disagreement. Our knowledge of other persons is very often based on inferences that we make based on observations of their non-verbal behaviour (Henley, 1977). The eyes are the first non-verbal element that we see in others. Therefore, it is the first source for our inferences. In this regard, Dodd *et al.* (2010) assert that:

Joint attention has been observed in individuals as young as 3 months (e.g., Scaife and Bruner, 1975) and is thought to be a critical first step in learning social interaction given that gaze provides important information regarding an individual's interests and intent (e.g., Moore and Dunham, 1995). (Dodd *et al.*, 2010:1)

Eye communication is an important area of research that has been carried out by numerous studies. The majority of these studies have attempted to reveal important information about its social and communicative functions (Kendon and Cook, 1969; Argyle and Cook, 1976; Kendon, 1973; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972; Duncan, 1974; Goodwin, 1991; Heylen, 2005; Maatman, Gratch and Marsella, 2005). In fact, when studying non-verbal gender differences, the following behavioural variables have been proved to be an important area of research: gaze/visual contact, touch, facial expression, posture, proxemics, vocalics and body movement (emblems, illustrators, affect displays, regulators and adaptors) (Burgoon, Buller, and Woodall, 1996; Henley, 1995).

Unlike other means of communication, the eyes are a continuous source for the transmission of information. While they are visible, anyone can read what is written in them, although there are no words. This may explain why shy people or poker players usually wear sunglasses, as a way of locking the communication channel. In fact, Argyle and Dean (1965:289) state that 'Without eye-contact (EC), people do not feel that they are fully in communication.'

A number of studies have been carried out on the importance of eye-contact since the beginning of the 20th century. However, the first relevant and extensive study on this topic was performed by Exline (1963) and his co-workers (Exline and Eldridge, 1965 and 1967; Exline, Gray and Schuette, 1965). They found that women were more affiliative than men and also maintained more eye-contact. Thus, affiliation was found to be one of the functions of eye-contact.

Psychologists have long acknowledged that there are important gender differences in the way people express their feelings. According to Allport (1924), women are more 'personal and emotional' than men. Moreover, according to Allport and Vernon (1933), gender is an important influence on a person's non-verbal

expressive style. More recent studies (Buck, Miller, and Caul 1974; Buck, Savin, Miller, and Caul, 1972; Hall, 1984; Rotter and Rotter, 1988; Tucker and Riggio, 1988) have also documented that women convey emotions better than men (though not in all cases and situations). Tucker and Friedman (1993:103) explain that:

Expressive females, who appeared friendly and dominant in social interaction, were found to have a hostile/aggressive personality (but this was not true of males). Expressive females also tended to look angry/disgusted when describing happy and sad experiences.

Additionally, Hall (1984) explains that ‘... men are more relaxed, restless, and expansive, whereas women are more involved, expressive, and self-conscious’ (Bente *et al.*, 1998:33). In this sense, Bente *et al.* (1998) analysed female and male non-verbal behaviour in dyadic interaction and report that:

Data analysis revealed significant sex differences in individual frequency and duration of movement and gaze, as well as dyadic differences for both behavior measures. Men, in general, were more active while women were more visually attentive. (Bente *et al.*, 1998:31)

In particular, eye-contact behaviour differs cross-culturally. In some cultures, individuals are encouraged to look into the other person’s eyes when interacting – such as in the case of Hispanics, Italians, the Spanish, Americans, etc. (Argyle, 1988). In other cultures, it is the opposite because direct eye-contact is considered rude, for example among the Japanese (Kagawa, 1997). Sometimes eye-contact behaviour may vary within a culture according to the participants’ attributes: status and power, gender, age, and distance (Argyle and Dean, 1965; Crowne and Marlowe, 1964; Efran, 1968; Hearn, 1957). For example, in Muslim cultures, women should avoid eye-contact with men because it is considered to be inappropriate (Safadi and Valentine, 1990:279). Likewise, Japanese children are advised not to look directly into the eyes when interacting with adults.

As mentioned above, eye-contact may express a wide variety of meanings, depending on the linguistic and situational context where it co-occurs. As with verbal skills, individuals need a good command and control of this tool to be effective and successful, so that the listeners receive the message in the way intended. Depending on each individual’s skills, eye-contact can be used as a strategy to persuade, influence, appease, irritate or enlist the support of other participants, among many other functions.

2. Corpus

The corpus analysed in this chapter consists of the *Diario de Sesiones* (Parliamentary Records) of the Committee for Equality and Social Welfare in the Andalusian Parliament. Particularly, we selected the records from 10 March 2010 to 22 September 2010:¹

- 10 March 2010
- 14 April 2010
- 5 May 2010
- 2 June 2010
- 22 September 2010

It is also important to highlight that all these parliamentary records are subsequent to the *Ley Orgánica 3/2007* (Organic Law 3/2007 for Effective Equality of Women and Men), requiring equal representation of women and men. In this context, the results will not be due to a larger representation of men, as in previous legislatures.

Committees normally include the following procedures:

- *Comparecencias* (appearances)
- *Preguntas orales* (oral questions)
- *Proposiciones no de ley* (motions)

Our goal was to study all the possible differences and similarities in the use of eye-contact among parliamentarians of the same and/or other political party. Therefore, we decided to focus on the most lively and spontaneous interaction: oral questions, although 1) the questions raised have been prepared in advance and 2) the RM (who has advance notice of the questions) has also prepared the answers beforehand. From the RM's answer onwards, everything is improvised and non-scripted.

The oral questions can be divided into two different sections:

1. The first section corresponds to the question raised by the parliamentarian (it has been previously prepared and it is written) and the Minister's answer to that question (it has also been prepared beforehand).

1. The reason for selecting this corpus is that it was part of a larger project (P10-Hum 5872) funded by the *Junta de Andalucía* to analyse the Andalusian parliamentary discourse of the eighth term of office (March 2008-March 2012) from a gender perspective. This legislature was especially interesting because, for the first time, it had a balanced representation of men and women. We considered that the corpus should be selected from the second half of the legislature, so that the MPs had already adapted to the new situation.

2. The second section, however, is less formal and more similar to the common oral language because both the parliamentarian and the Minister have to accommodate their speech to his/her opponent's answers.

Therefore, we selected:

- 3 male MPs from the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)
 - 1M PSOE, September 2010
 - 2M PSOE, June 2010
 - 3M PSOE, April 2010
- 3 female MPs from the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (PSOE)
 - 1W PSOE, September 2010
 - 2W PSOE, May 2010
 - 3W PSOE, April 2010
- 3 male MPs from the People's Party (PP)
 - 1M PP, September 2010
 - 2M PP, April 2010
 - 3M PP, May 2010
- 3 female MPs from the People's Party (PP)
 - 1W PP, June 2010
 - 2W PP, September 2010
 - 3W PP, June 2010

This makes a total of 48 turns: 24 correspond to MPs (6 male MPs' first turns, 6 female MPs' first turns, 6 male MPs' second turns and 6 female MPs' second turns) and 24 to the RM (12 RM's first turns and 12 RM's second turns). Thus, the corpus was absolutely balanced.

The corpus selected is part of a more ambitious project entitled *La perspectiva de género en el lenguaje parlamentario andaluz* (Gender perspective in Andalusian parliamentary language). This project studies the eighth and ninth terms of office. We focused on the period from 10 March to 22 September 2010 (eighth term). Moreover, we always selected three questions raised by men and three by women from the three parliamentary groups: PP (the People's Party), PSOE (the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) and IU-*Los Verdes* (United Left). Thus, the corpus consisted of three men and three women from each of the three groups, comprising a total of 18 questions. However, it was impossible to include any questions from the party IU-*Los Verdes* because 1) we found only two questions and both were raised by the same male MP (Mr José Manuel Mariscal Cifuentes) and 2) these two questions, which should have been raised on 10 March 2010 and 22 September 2010, respectively, were withdrawn, as shown in the following entries in the Records:

8-09/POC-000326. Pregunta oral relativa a la integración de las personas que sufren enfermedad mental internadas en centros penitenciarios andaluces. Retirada. (10 de marzo de 2010)

[8-09/POC-000326. Oral question related to the integration of people who suffer from mental illnesses and are in Andalusian prisons. Withdrawn]. (10 March 2010)

8-09/POC-000327. Pregunta oral relativa a acciones para la prevención en barriadas marginales respecto a personas que sufran enfermedad mental en situación de alto riesgo predelinencial. Decaída. (22 de septiembre de 2010)

[8-09/POC-000327. Oral question related to preventive actions for people who suffer from mental illnesses and live in marginal districts. Lapsed]. (22 September 2010)

3. Methodology

In the following sections, we briefly describe the materials and procedures of analysis that are relevant to the current research.

3.1 Technical material

Due to video downloading problems with the *Junta de Andalucía* website, we were obliged to use a real-time video capture software (FRAPS) to record the videos of our corpus.

The downloaded material allowed us to study the MPs' eye-contact behaviour in detail, as videos could be replayed as many times as necessary and could also be slowed, sped up and paused to arrive at a complete and reliable analysis.

3.2 Procedures

After reviewing the material several times, the following features were measured to distinguish the functions of each type of eye-contact performed according to its duration:

- Total amount of time of the turn
- Total eye-contact time per MP per turn in seconds
- Total number of eye-contacts of less than 1 second (*glances*)
- Number of eye-contacts of less than 1 second per minute
- Total number of 1-second-long eye-contacts
- Number of 1-second eye-contacts per minute

- Total number of 2/3-second-long eye-contacts
- Number of 2/3-second eye-contacts per minute
- Total number of 4/5-second-long eye-contacts
- Number of 4/5-second eye-contacts per minute
- Total number of eye-contacts of more than 5 seconds
- Number of eye-contacts of more than 5 seconds per minute

Two different observers (the authors of this chapter) measured the politicians' eye-contact behaviour and then compared the results, to ensure that the measurement is reliable.

All the aforementioned features were analysed by considering three main variables:

- Turn-type (first or second turn of the oral question)
- Political colour (opposition or ruling party)
- Gender

After the above analysis, the videos were viewed again to match the eye-contact structure with discourse, to make an inventory and classification of functions.

4. Turn-type: prepared in advance versus spontaneous questions

As mentioned previously, two different sections must be distinguished in oral questions. The first section, which corresponds to the MP's and RM's first turns, contains the formal statement of the oral question by the MP and the RM's answer. The second section, which corresponds to the MP's and RM's second turns, contains the MP's supplementary question and the Minister's subsequent reply.

As stated in Álvarez-Benito and Íñigo-Mora (2012:17), these two sections present two different discursive styles: the much more formal style of the first section, which is prepared in advance, and the more natural style of the second, which is closer to oral discourse. The differences in discursive styles between the two sections are also reflected in eye-contact behaviour.

Regarding PP MPs, all types of eye-contact, except eye-contact of more than 5 seconds, were found to rate higher in the first section than in the second, as shown in Figure 1.

As shown in Figure 1, eye-contact of more than 5 seconds is non-existent in the first section of oral questions, the MP's first turn (0.05 occurrences per minute per MP). In fact, only one case is found in our corpus (Female 1 PP, Mrs Botella Serrano), a 13-second eye-contact, which coincides with the MP's last words of her first turn (eye-contact is marked in bold letters):

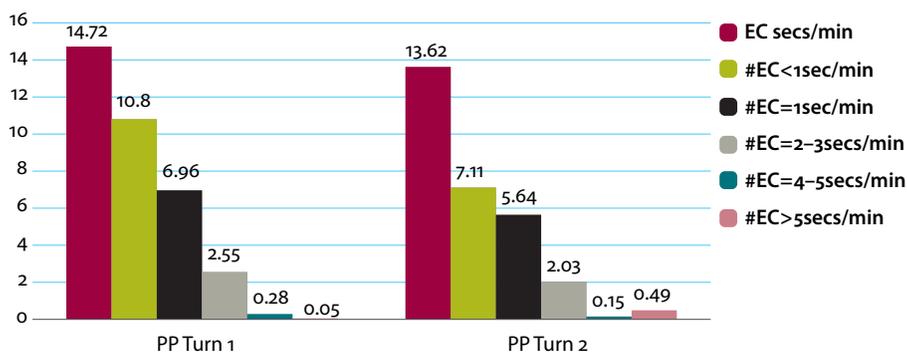


Figure 1. PP MPs' eye-contact in turns 1 and 2

- (1) En fin, señora Consejera, si nos puede dar **un poco información y aclarar qué está pasando con esta unidad de estancia diurna, pues yo se lo agradezco, y la ciudad de Córdoba y las familias de Córdoba que quieren compatibilizar la vida laboral y familiar, y, sobre todo, las personas mayores que lo necesitan, pues se lo agradecerán. Nada más y muchas gracias.** (8-10/POC-000446, Mrs Botella Serrano, June 2010)
 [Well, Regional Minister, if you can give us a bit more of information and clarify what is happening with this daytime stay unit, I would be grateful, the city of Cordoba too, and the Cordoba families who want to reconcile working and family lives, and, above all, elderly people who need it, they would be grateful to you. That is all, thank you.]

The main purpose of this long challenging eye-contact in the first turn is to signal power and dominance in demanding an explanation from the RM. The MP is confident of the soundness of her argumentation. Additionally, by using direct eye-contact, she reinforces the strength of her final words in the turn. However, this is not the usual tendency, as argumentation is more commonly used in the second turns in the case of the group in the opposition (PP), and when present in the first turn, they generally occur at the very end.

In contrast, our analysis shows that eye-contact of more than 5 seconds is present in all PP MPs' second turns, with an average of four occurrences per MP (0.49 occurrences per minute).

The following example comprises the opening of Mrs Obrero Ariza's second turn:

- (2) Bueno. Pues, señora Consejera, **usted misma se delata. Si usted dice que en el año 2008 se hizo una inspección y que estas deficiencias se subsanaron, yo ya le digo de antemano...**, y le voy a explicar cuáles son, las deficiencias que actualmente tienen esas residencias y que parece ser que usted tiene

previsto mandar una inspección este año 2010. (8-10/POC-000628, Mrs Obrero Ariza, September 2010)

[Well, Regional Minister, you give yourself away. If you say that in 2008 an inspection was made and that these deficiencies were corrected, I already tell you beforehand that ..., and I am going to tell you what are the deficiencies that those residencies currently have and it seems that you are planning to send an inspection this year 2010.]

In this example, the function of the 15-second eye-contact is twofold. On the one hand, it is used as a signal of confrontation and disagreement, as the MP does not agree with the RM's explanation given in the first turn. On the other hand, it also serves to assert power or dominance. This is because the MP is confident that she can prove that the RM is not telling the truth. Having initially denied that there were any deficiencies in the residential home for the elderly, the RM then asserts that they were corrected (*se subsanaron*), thereby implicitly acknowledging their existence. The MP's long eye-contact is then a kind of triumphalist celebration at having caught the RM off-guard.

However, most occurrences of long eye-contact (of more than 5 seconds) are found at the end of the MPs' second turns. The main reason is that MPs in the opposition basically use eye-contact as a means of reinforcing their argument and bringing it to a close, thus adding a confrontational element to their discourse.

This is shown in the following example:

- (3) Esto acompañado de otras serie de deficiencias que son puramente falta de mantenimiento, y que, quizás, ahí, el ayuntamiento de Córdoba tendría que actuar. Estamos hablando de bombillas que no se cambian, cables rotos, **manillares de puertas rotas, mangueras de duchas rotas, entre otras muchas. Con lo cual, señora Consejera, mi pregunta y mi petición expresa para su Consejería es: actúen; es una inversión muy grande, dinero de todos los andaluces, a los que usted respeta profundamente y los representa y tiene la confianza de todos los cordobeses, pero que también yo en el día de hoy le exijo que ese compromiso que usted dice aquí, que lo tenga con la ciudad de Córdoba, y que, por favor, que actúe porque son los trabajadores de esa residencia los que están haciendo una magnífica labor, que se está desprestigiando la calidad del sistema, del servicio que allí se presta, y que, por supuesto, esto va en detrimento de todos los cordobeses y, por supuesto, de las personas residentes que allí están en la residencia. Nada más, y muchas gracias.**

(8-10/POC-000628, Mrs Obrero Ariza, September 2010)

[This comes with a string of other shortcomings that stem entirely from lack of maintenance, and perhaps Cordoba City Council would have to act there. We're talking about light bulbs that are not replaced, broken wires, broken

doorknobs, broken shower hoses, among many other things. Therefore, my question is, Regional Minister, and my specific request for your Ministry is: that you act; it is a very large investment, money which belongs to all Andalusians, whom you deeply respect and represent and you have the confidence of all the citizens of Cordoba, but today I also demand that this commitment you declare here, that you have it towards the city of Cordoba, and, please, do act because the staff at that residence are doing a magnificent job and this is discrediting the quality of the system, of the services provided there, and, of course, this is bad for all the citizens of Cordoba and, of course, for the people living in the residence. Nothing else and thank you very much.]

In this excerpt, there are two long eye-contacts, one lasting 24 seconds and another 19 seconds. It could actually be considered a single long eye-contact, broken by a one-second interval when the MP utters the word *aquí* (here) to refer to the Committee. The purpose of the MP's supplementary question is not to demand information. Instead, Mrs Obrero Ariza is finding fault with the RM, emphasising her failures and mistakes with a long eye-contact, which serves to make her argument more forceful.

The eye-contact behaviour of PSOE MPs is found to differ from that of PP MPs. The reason is that only two types of eye-contact rate higher in the first section of oral questions than in the second. They are one-second eye-contact (6.22 occurrences per minute per MP in the first section vs. 3.49 occurrences per minute in the second) and eye-contact of less than one second (2.97 occurrences per minute in the first section vs. 1.80 occurrences per minute in the second), as shown in Figure 2.

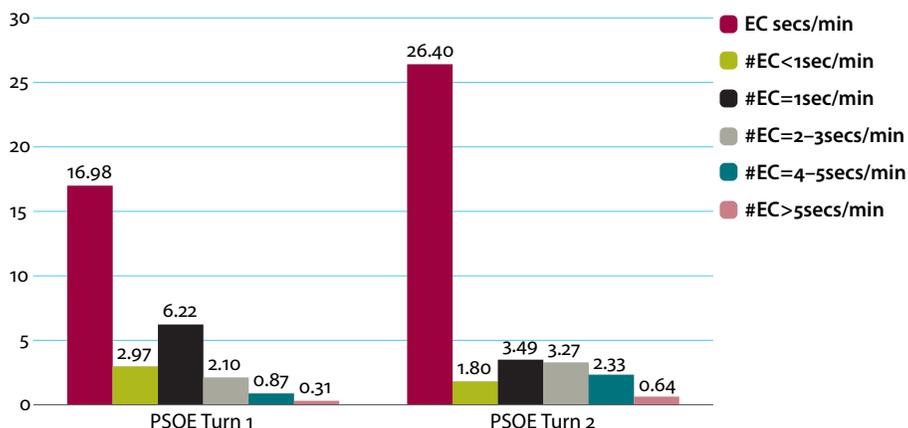


Figure 2. PSOE MPs' eye-contact in turns 1 and 2

The reason for this difference may be that the purpose of PSOE MPs' oral questions is not really to ask the RM for information (as they belong to the same political party). Instead, it is to provide her with an opportunity to advertise her achievements. In other words, PSOE MPs' oral questions are 'intended to praise a particular action of the Government and allow the Regional Minister to show off with a propaganda speech previously prepared for the occasion' (Álvarez-Benito and Iñigo-Mora 2012:11).

The eye-contact used in this first turn allows MPs to avoid the formal reading of a question. They accompany their speech with glances and short eye-contacts, mostly with a regulating function, to make their performance appear more natural.

This regulating function was described by Argyle and Dean (1965:290) as follows: '... people look up at the end of their speeches and of phrases within them, and look away at the start of long utterances.' This is shown in the following example:

- (4) **Además, estas labores voluntarias, bueno, pues se complementan con otra parte lúdica y recreativa. Del mismo modo, bueno, pues estos proyectos ofrecen a los jóvenes andaluces la la posibilidad de conocer otros lugares, otras culturas, de contra- de contactar con otros jóvenes y de participar y colaborar entre sí. Constituyen, en en definitiva, una forma útil de de pasar el verano y sus vacaciones. Por todo, bueno, al Grupo Socialista nos gustaría conocer cuáles son las principales novedades que va a presentar la siguiente edición y cuáles van a ser las las actividades principales. Muchas gracias.**

(8-10/POC-000137, Mr Rodríguez Acuña, June 2010)

[Furthermore, these voluntary activities, well, they're complemented by other leisure and recreational activities. Similarly, well, these projects offer Andalusian young people the opportunity to get to know new places, other cultures, and to connect with other young people and to participate and collaborate together. They are, in short, a useful way of passing the time in the summer and spending their holidays. For these reasons, well, the Socialist Group would like to know what are the main changes for the next package and what the main activities are going to be. Thank you very much.]

As PSOE MPs' first turns are not genuine questions, a supplementary question is not required. Therefore, the second turns, if present, are merely positive comments on the RM's words, where eye-contact is used as a signal of affiliation, as shown in the following example:

- (5) **Señora Consejera, buscando en la red comentarios sobre... o la evaluación de este programa, encontré una cosita que decía: «Tengo 32 años. Soy madre de dos niños y este año por fin he podido disfrutar de mis hijos, olvidando los problemas que día a día padecemos, tanto ellos como yo. Han sido unos días maravillosos que jamás olvidaremos mis hijos y yo».**

Simplemente por escuchar o leer este tipo de comentarios creo que merece la pena que después de 16 años sigamos manteniendo esas políticas sociales, que sabemos que no a todo el mundo le gustan, pero por el que el Gobierno andaluz y desde su Consejería siguen apostando día tras día y año tras año. Enhorabuena, señora Consejera, y nada más. Muchas gracias.

(8-10/POC-000400, Mrs Quevedo Ariza, September 2010)

[Regional Minister, searching the Internet for commentaries about... or the evaluation of this programme, I found one that said, 'I am 32 years old. I am a mother of two children and this year I was finally able to enjoy my children, forgetting the daily problems that we have, them as much as me. It's been a wonderful time that we will never forget, my children and me'. Just to hear or read this kind of comment, I think it's worthwhile after 16 years to have maintained these social policies, which we know not everyone likes, but the Regional Government and Ministry are committed to them day after day, year after year. Congratulations, Mrs Regional Minister, and nothing else. Thank you very much.]

Regarding the total amount of eye-contact in the two turns, differences are found between the two political parties. The PP MPs display only a little more eye-contact in the first turn (14.72 seconds per minute) than in the second turn (13.62 seconds per minute) (Figure 1). There are no significant differences in quantity. Additionally, the PP MPs' eye-contact behaviour is nearly balanced in the two turns. However, the eye-contact displayed in the first turn has primarily a regulating function, whereas the main function of eye-contact in the second turn is to show disagreement and to reinforce the argument. Regarding PSOE MPs, there are differences between the two turns both in quantity and in function. As for quantity, there is also more eye-contact in the second turn (26.40 seconds per minute) than in the first turn (16.98 seconds per minute). Nevertheless, most of the PSOE MPs, as mentioned earlier, did not ask a supplementary question and therefore the second turn is practically non-existent (Figure 2). The function of eye-contact in PSOE MPs' first turn is regulatory, whereas in the second, it is to show affiliation.

Regarding the RM's behaviour in the two turns, there is more eye-contact in the second turn than in the first with both PSOE MPs (Figure 3) and MPs in the opposition (PP) (Figure 4).

As stated in Álvarez-Benito and Íñigo-Mora (2012), the objective of the PP MPs' questions is mainly to put the RM on the spot by asking her about a variety of problems and demanding an explanation. By contrast, the purpose of PSOE MPs' questions is quite different, as stated above. That is, they just want to allow the RM to show off with a prepared speech. In both cases, the RM knows the question in advance and she has already prepared the answer, so her first turn will be a detailed

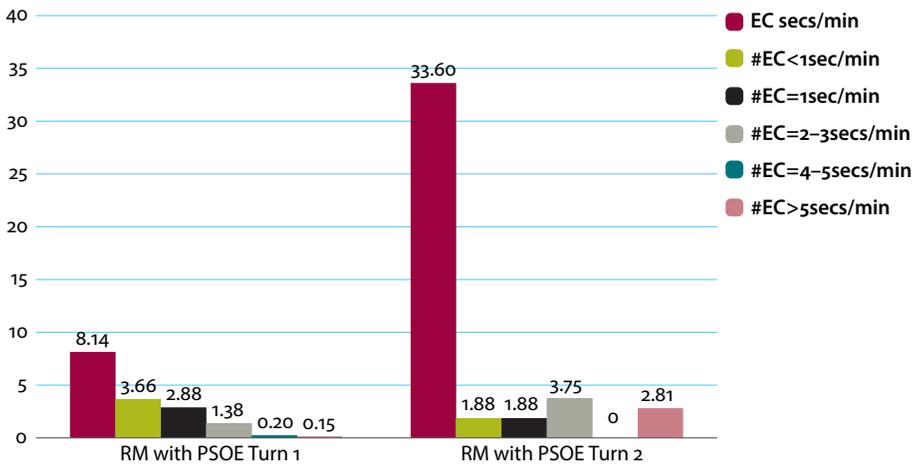


Figure 3. RM's eye-contact with PSOE MPs in turns 1 and 2

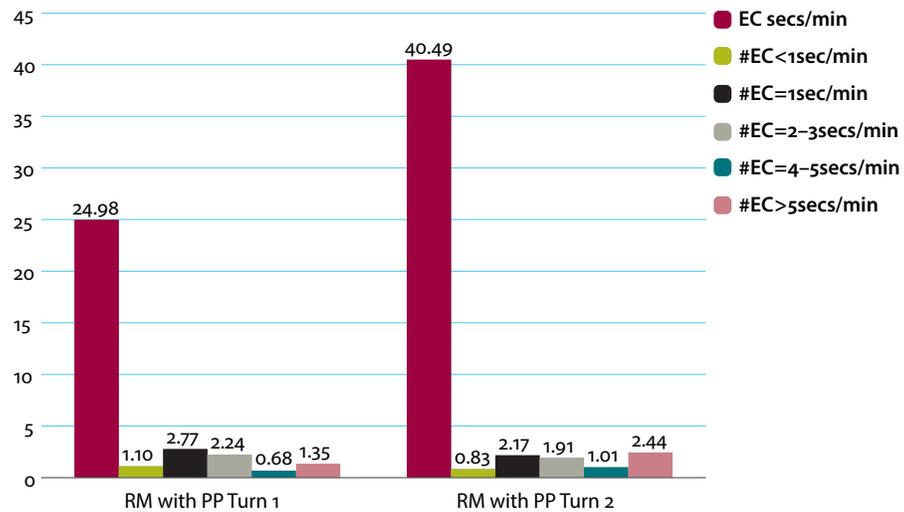


Figure 4. RM's eye-contact with PP MPs in turns 1 and 2

account of the reply she has prepared. When reading her prepared speech, she uses eye-contact mainly as a regulator and sometimes to reinforce her speech.

The following quotation comprises a question raised by Mrs Quevedo Ariza (PSOE MP):

- (6) ... desde el año 1993, el Instituto Andaluz de la Mujer viene convocando el programa Estancias de Tiempo Libre para mujeres con hijas e hijos exclusivamente a su cargo; un programa que, desde el Grupo Socialista, sabemos que hace posible que muchas mujeres andaluzas que están solas

cuidando a esos hijos y a esas hijas pues tienen la posibilidad, pueden acceder a unos días de descanso y disfrute. ... El pasado 10 de abril finalizó ya el plazo para la presentación de ayudas **de este programa**. Y al Grupo Socialista le interesaría conocer **cuántas mujeres se han podido beneficiar de dicho programa** este año. Muchas gracias.

(8-10/POC-000400, Mrs Quevedo Ariza, September 2010)

[...since 1993, the Andalusian Women's Institute has made calls for the Time-Away programme for single mothers, a programme which we in the Socialist Group know makes it possible for many Andalusian women who are the sole carers of their children, well, to have the opportunity, to be able to have a few days' rest and relaxation. ... Last April 10th was the deadline for applications for this programme. And the Socialist Group would like to know how many women have benefited from this programme this year. Thank you very much.]

The MP's question serves merely to praise the government's promotion of these time-away programmes for single mothers with their children as well as to affirm how positive they are for many women and their children who would not otherwise enjoy a holiday. Finally, the MP asks the RM how many women have benefited from this programme, to enable the RM to deliver her propaganda. The RM's first turn is a prepared speech in which she reads a detailed list of facts and figures:

- (7) Año tras año se realiza una convocatoria pública, y en la actualidad la selección de las participantes se efectúa mediante la aplicación de un **baremo** en el que se valoran diferentes aspectos, como el número de hijos que tienen a cargo, la cuantía de los ingresos, situaciones de especial necesidad o el haber sido **víctima** de violencia de género. Al igual **que** en otras convocatorias, se han beneficiado de esta, que es una estancia de siete días, en el mes de julio **normalmente** y en las costas andaluzas, 198 **mujeres** y 252 niños y niñas residentes **en las ocho** provincias andaluzas. El destino de estas estancias vacacionales han sido los hoteles de la localidad de **Mojácar**, en la provincia de Almería. En total, el Instituto Andaluz de la Mujer dispuso de 400 **plazas** para este programa, aproximadamente cincuenta por cada provincia andaluza, dado que las mujeres participantes tienen una **media de dos** hijos. (8-10/POC-000400, Mrs Navarro Garzón, September 2010)
- [Year after year, applications are invited, and currently the participant selection is carried out by applying a scale in which various aspects are taken into account, namely the number of children in their care, their income, situations of special needs, or if they have been victims of domestic violence. As on past occasions, the beneficiaries of this time-away period, which is a seven-day stay in July normally on the Andalusian coast, have been 198 women and 252 boys and girls resident in the eight provinces of

Andalusia. The destination for these holiday stays have been the hotels in the town of Mojácar, in the province of Almería. In total, the Andalusian Women's Institute offered 400 places for this programme, about fifty for each Andalusian province, since most women participating have an average of two children.]

The type of eye-contact found here is regulatory, corresponding to one-second contacts or just glances.

Once the Minister has answered the question, the MP adds a supplementary question to indicate (if the MP is in the opposition) that he/she is not satisfied with the answer and to counter-attack. At this point, the RM has to make use of any device she can to save face. Certainly, one of these tactics will be eye-contact, by means of which the RM will try to reinforce her argument as well as intimidate the MP:

- (8) Señora Obrero, decirle **que no tengo previsto mandar ninguna inspección. La inspección sabe cuál es su trabajo, y ellos organizan ese trabajo y hacen las inspecciones oportunas. ... Y he de recordarle, en cuanto a las responsabilidades o posibles responsabilidades que tenga que pedir por la obra o no la obra, o la inversión de los siete millones de euros, que tendrá que hacer el Ayuntamiento, porque el edificio lo hizo y la inversión la hizo el Ayuntamiento. Luego si alguien tiene que pedirle, porque haya supuestamente una grietas o unas filtraciones de agua, a la empresa correspondiente tendrá que hacerlo el Ayuntamiento que es el dueño del edificio, y no se lo voy a pedir yo. Nosotros podemos en una inspección, si hay una circunstancia que afecta a la calidad en la atención de las personas mayores, no le quepa ninguna duda que vamos a actuar, ninguna, ninguna, ninguna, señora Obrero. Ahora, también me gustaría decir una cosa. Me llama poderosamente la atención... Yo no tengo por qué poner en duda lo que usted ha manifestado en este momento, no tengo que ponerlo en duda. Pero si eso es cierto, ¿por qué los trabajadores y trabajadoras que están allí, en vez de colocarlo en un boletín en Internet no lo denuncian a la Delegación, al Servicio Inspección de la Delegación?**

(8-10/POC-000628, Mrs Navarro Garzón, September 2010)

[Mrs Obrero, I have to tell you that there are no plans to carry out any inspection. The inspection committee know their job and they organise their work and carry out the appropriate inspections. ... And I have to remind you, regarding any accountability you may demand and potential liabilities regarding the construction work, or regarding the seven million euro investment, that you will have to ask the City Council, because the building was commissioned and the investment made by the City Council. Then, if there's anyone who has to hold the construction company accountable,

because there seems to be some cracks and water seepage, it's the City Council, which is the owner of the building, it's not going to be me. We can act after an inspection, if there is any circumstance that affects the quality of care of the elderly, have no doubt that we will act, have no doubt, no doubt whatsoever, Mrs Obrero. But, I would like to say something else. It really struck me ... I have no reason to doubt what you said just now, no reason at all. But if that's true, why don't the men and women who are working there, rather than put it in a newsletter on the Internet, report it to the Delegation, to the Delegation Inspection Service?]

In contrast, when interacting with MPs from the same political party, the function of long eye-contacts in the second turn is that of affiliation towards the MP who raised the question. Also, it is that of self-satisfaction for her achievements and power as an indirect address to the opposition:

- (9) ... evidentemente, cuando se toma contacto, se conoce realmente a esas mujeres, dejan de ser un número. Aquí son un número, en esta exposición; pero detrás de cada una de ellas hay unas necesidades muy especiales, y unas circunstancias, en muchos casos muy duras y muy difíciles, y, cuando se tiene la oportunidad de conocer esa circunstancia, de ver a esas mujeres, nos damos cuenta de que tenemos que seguir manteniendo el compromiso para que esas mujeres y sus hijos puedan disfrutar también de unos días de convivencia; que puedan acceder a un programa de estas características, que es el que les va a permitir a esos niños tener un día de vacaciones, que va a permitir que esos niños puedan volver al colegio y puedan contarles a sus compañeros de colegio que ellos también tuvieron vacaciones. (8-10/POC-000400, Mrs Navarro Garzón, September 2010)

[... obviously when you get in contact, you really get to know these women, they stop being a number. Here they are a number, in this statement, but behind each one of them there are very special needs and circumstances, in many cases very hard and very difficult ones, and, when you have the opportunity to find out their circumstances, to see these women, we realise that we must maintain the commitment, so that these women and their children can also enjoy a few days together, so that they can have access to a programme of this kind, which will allow those children to have a day's holiday, which will allow these children to return to school and to tell their classmates that they too had holidays.]

5. Political colour: ruling party versus opposition party

The connection between gender and ideology has already been dealt with in the literature on political discourse. In this regard, Hidalgo Tenorio (2002:244) argues that:

In short, I wanted to see the influence of gender and ideology on the specific language usage of the politicians under scrutiny and, subsequently, to try to make some suggestions about the possible repertoire of linguistic features indicative of political success, if any.

According to Bente *et al.* (1998) and Burgoon *et al.* (1996), ‘... gaze aversion is more frequent when discussing difficult topics, when uncertain, or when ashamed’ (Bente *et al.*, 1998:36). Thus, it is interesting to study differences in eye-contact while taking into account the MPs’ political colour. It does not require the same effort to interact with a politician of the same political party as with a politician in the opposition. A politician’s psychological stance changes when his/her interactant’s political colour also changes. Moreover, as Dodd *et al.* (2010:1) point out, ‘gaze direction can also influence affective evaluations of objects (Bayliss, Frischen, Fenske, and Tipper, 2007) and judgments of trustworthiness (Bayliss and Tipper, 2004).’

Regarding the use of eye-contact related to political colour, we obtained the results shown in Figure 5.

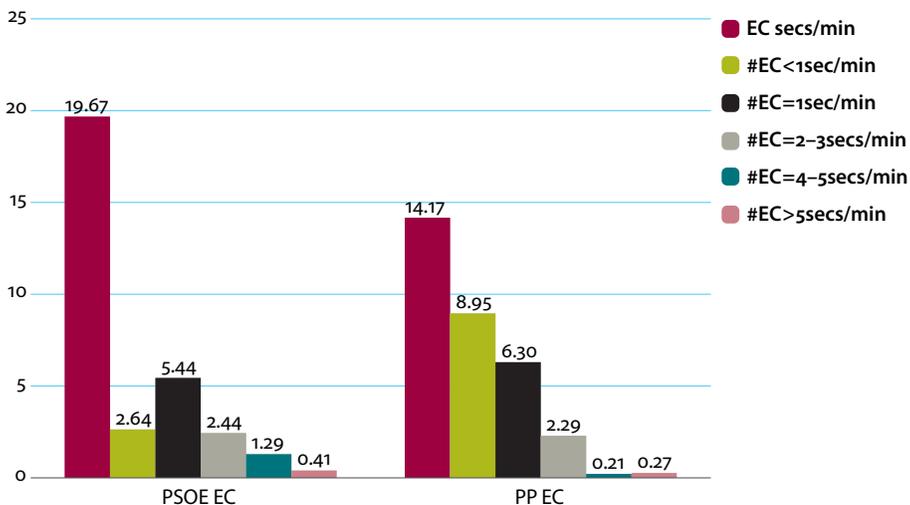


Figure 5. PP and PSOE MPs’ eye-contact

As shown in this figure, PSOE MPs maintain more eye-contact (19.67) than PP MPs (14.17). This suggests that eye-contact is used as a tool that signals affiliation and loyalty to the highest representative of the PSOE party in this Committee. Additionally, longer eye-contacts (i.e. 4–5 seconds or more than 5 seconds) are much more common among PSOE MPs than PP MPs. Argyle and Dean (1965: 290–91) had already pointed out that ‘There is more gaze direction if A likes B, and if they are cooperating rather than competing. There is less eye-contact if there is tension in the relationship, ..., or if A has recently deceived B.’ In the following extract, we can see an example of a 6-second eye-contact that Sr. Rodríguez Acuña (PSOE MP) holds while directing a question to the RM:

- (10) ... las necesidades informativas, bueno, pues ofrece información de las actividades o actuaciones que se puedan ofrecer desde la propia ...
 (8-09/POC-000423, Sr. Rodríguez Acuña, September 2010)
 [... the information needs, well, it offers information about the activities or actions that could be offered from the ... itself ...]

This is part of a question about the advantages of an information telephone line that the *Junta de Andalucía* has made available for young people. In this extract, Sr. Acuña is telling the RM that she is offering young people what they need, and he says this while looking at her directly. So, positive and laudatory language is accompanied by prolonged eye-contact. As mentioned above, there is a strong correlation between long eye-contacts and expressions of affiliation and loyalty.

By contrast, PP MPs prefer to use regulators (i.e. glances or just one-second eye-contacts). In the following extract, we can see an example of a succession of 13 glances cast by Sra. Palacios Pérez (PP MP) while asking the RM a supplementary question:

- (11) ... que continúan siendo excluidas por un bajo nivel educativo, una precariedad laboral, una situación degradada de vivienda y una sensible menor calidad de vida. Por eso, cuando hablamos de discriminación étnica en España y en Andalucía, no sólo nos referimos a los pobres derivados de la inmigración, sino también a la comunidad gitana, de la cual un tanto por ciento muy elevado de los más de setecientos mil miembros residen en nuestra Comunidad, en Andalucía.
 (8-10/POC-000418, Sra. Palacios Pérez, June 2010)
 [... who carry on being excluded due to low educational level, a precarious work situation, impoverished housing and an appreciably lower quality of life. That is why, when we talk about ethnic discrimination in Spain and in Andalusia, we do not mean just poor people resulting from immigration but also the Romani community, seven hundred thousand-strong, a high percentage of which lives in our community, in Andalusia.]

In this question, Sra. Palacios Pérez is asking the RM about the effects of the current crisis on the Romani community. She uses a number of words and phrases which have very negative connotations such as ‘exclusion’, ‘low educational level’, ‘precarious labour situation’, ‘impoverished housing’, ‘lower quality of life’ and ‘ethnic discrimination’. At the end of the list comes Andalusia, the region principally mired in these difficulties. While uttering this litany of disasters, Sra. Palacios does not look at the RM directly; instead, she resorts to a succession of darting glances. PP MPs appear to use these regulators to show detachment and opposition.

It is striking that the opposite is the case when analysing the RM’s discourse.

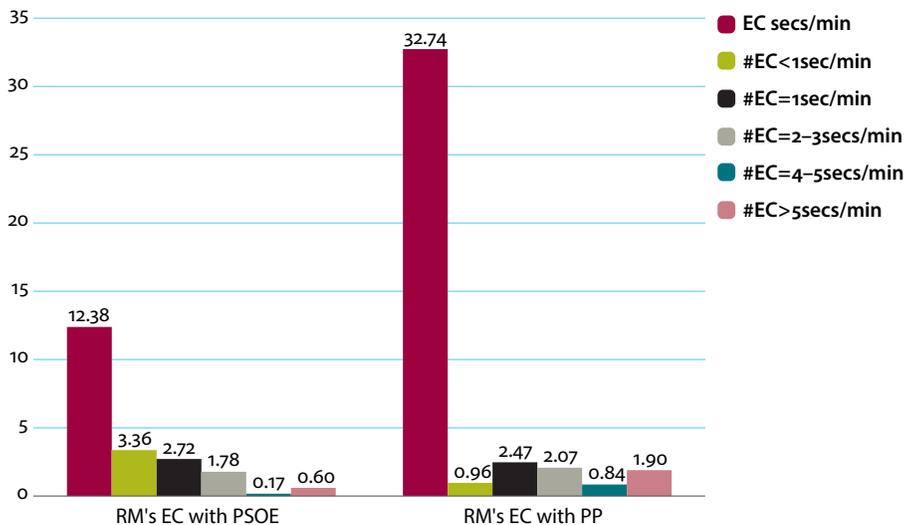


Figure 6. Regional Minister’s eye-contact with PSOE and PP MPs

These results confirm that the RM keeps more eye-contact with the opposition (32.74) than with her colleagues (12.38). Surprisingly, she also uses many more regulators (i.e. glances) with members of the same political party (3.36) than with MPs in the opposition (0.96). Equally unexpectedly, she uses many more long-eye-contacts with the opposition (1.90) than with PSOE MPs (0.60). In this instance, eye-contact may have a persuasive function. The RM does not have to convince her colleagues of anything. In fact, the main reason for raising these questions is to provide the RM with the opportunity to promote her achievements and positive policies. However, when she answers the opposition’s questions, she has to be as convincing as possible because these questions tend not to be straightforward but rather tricky and loaded. Therefore, she must use all the weapons at her disposal, both verbal and non-verbal, with one of them being eye-contact. As prolonged eye-contacts are related to honesty and sincerity (Exline *et al.*, 1970; Stass and Willis, 1967), they are an effective tactic to counter questions of this sort.

In the following extract, we can see an example of a succession of 13 glances cast by the RM while answering a question raised by Sra. Quevedo Ariza (PSOE MP):

- (12) ... ejemplo de **colaboración** entre administraciones con el fin de garantizar a estas familias andaluzas la posibilidad de disfrutar de unos días de ocio **en un** ámbito diferente al de **su** convivencia diaria. Como valor añadido ofrece prestaciones específicas para estas familias, como son las actividades complementarias **para las madres**, pero también para sus hijos e hijas. Año tras año se realiza una **convocatoria** pública, y en la actualidad la selección de las participantes se efectúa mediante la aplicación de **un** baremo en el que se valoran diferentes **aspectos**, como el número de hijos que tienen a cargo, la cuantía de los ingresos, situaciones de especial necesidad o el haber sido **víctima de** violencia de género. Al igual **que** en otras convocatorias, se han beneficiado de esta, que es una estancia de siete días, en el mes de julio **normalmente** y en las costas andaluzas, 148 **mujeres** y 252 niños y niñas ...
(8-10/POC-000400, Sra. Quevedo, September 2010)

[... example of collaboration among administrations with the aim of guaranteeing to these Andalusian families the possibility of enjoying a few days' time off in an environment different from the one in which they live daily. They have an added value because they offer specific benefits to these families, such as some complementary activities for the mothers, but also for their children. Year after year an official call for applications is published, and currently the selection of participants is made by means of the applying criteria in which different factors are evaluated, such as the number of children, income, special needs situations or if they have been victims of gender violence. Just as on previous occasions, 198 women and 252 boys and girls have benefited from a 7-day stay, normally in July ...]

This is part of an answer to a question about the programme of Time-Away stays. In this extract, the RM offers a long and well-rehearsed list of the advantages of this programme. She also mentions those who have benefited from this programme. She does not have to convince Sra. Quevedo Ariza of anything she says but merely takes advantage of the opportunity that has been offered to her. Thus, the RM does not bother to look in her direction for any length of time; it is merely a cue to spell out what she had well prepared in advanced.

By contrast, in the following example, we can see a 16-second eye-contact that the RM maintains while answering a question raised by Sr. Armijo Higuera (PP MP):

- (13) ... **sino intentar que estén lo más cerca posible de su pueblo. Pero, en el conjunto de la provincia de Jaén, en este momento, señoría, créame, no**

faltan plazas. Hay plazas que se están pagando en este momento, que están concertadas, que no están ocupadas.

(8-08/POC-000145, Sr. Armijo Higuera, April 2010)

[... but to ensure they are close as possible to their villages. But as a whole, in Jaén province, at this moment, your honour, believe me, we are not short of vacancies. There are vacancies which are being paid for at this moment, which are provided, which are not occupied.]

The purpose of this question was to obtain information about the Dependence Law in Jaén. In her answer, the RM is categorical: ‘we are not short of vacancies’ and ‘there are vacancies which are not occupied’. Moreover, she even addresses the MP directly by means of an imperative: ‘your honour, believe me.’ In other words, she is doing her utmost to convince Sr. Armijo Higuera of her honesty and sincerity, and uses long eye-contact to this end.

6. Gender differences

As already observed by Hidalgo Tenorio (1997), there has been a wide range of studies devoted to the subject of gender in the field of English linguistics. R. Lakoff (1975), the undoubted doyenne of this research, suggests, as almost all her followers do, the existence or construction of a linguistic stereotype, which sometimes contrasts with the empirical evidence. Therefore, it is interesting to carry out a study in which gender differences are analysed in this particular context.

According to Rubin (1970) and Harper *et al.* (1994), women tend to maintain more eye-contact than men. Rubin (1970) concludes that women who score high on affiliative tendency have also more eye-contact. Furthermore, Harper *et al.* (1994:230) explain that ‘Sex differences in eye-contact can be summarized rather simply: women look in the direction of their conversational partners more than men and, logically, participate in more mutual gaze during interaction.’

Bente *et al.* (1998) conclude that there are important differences between men’s and women’s gaze behaviour. They explain that (1998:53–4):

Men showed much more variation in gaze behavior and much shorter gaze periods than women ... In contrast to the male interactants, female interactants showed prolonged gaze during the partner’s speech, while males tended to look away from their partner, even when she was speaking.

Similarly, Dodd *et al.* (2010:1) cite Bayliss, di Pellegrino and Tipper (2005) who report ‘gender differences in the magnitude of gaze-cuing effects, with females exhibiting larger cuing effects’.

However, the results of our study show that men, in general, maintained more eye-contact than women (18.50 vs. 14.38) and women used many more glances than men (7.23 vs. 3.48).

Additionally, women also made use of more regulators than men (7.23 vs. 3.48). These data are shown in Figure 7, where political allegiance is not taken into account. In other words, the data show men's and women's behaviour without taking into account the political party they belong to.

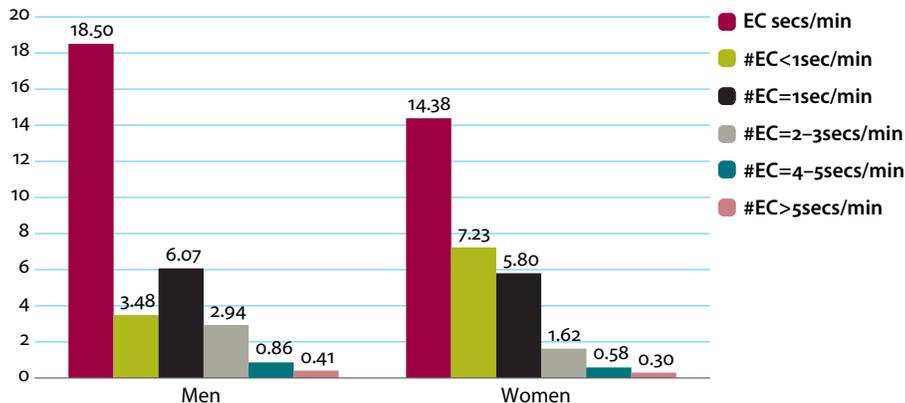


Figure 7. MP's eye-contact

As mentioned above, men usually kept more eye-contact than women. However, as shown in Figures 8 and 9, this is only the case when analysing PSOE men and PSOE women (24.15 vs. 13.71). The opposite is the case when studying PP men and PP women: PP women maintained more eye-contact than PP men (15.05 vs. 12.85). So, although there are differences in the way women and men behave in

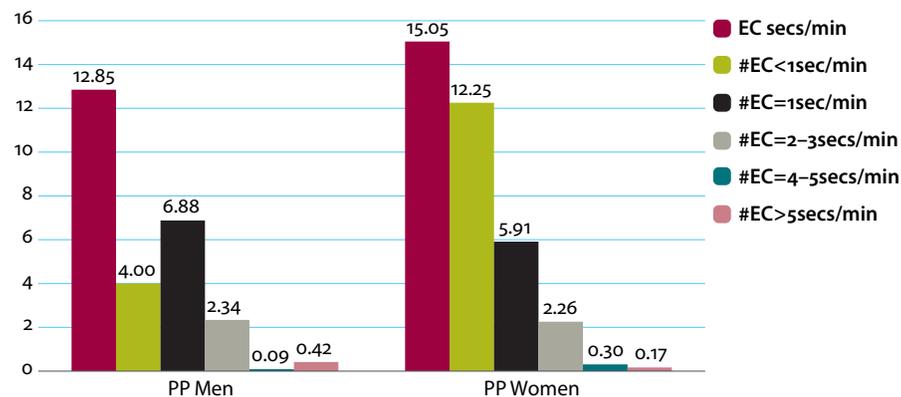


Figure 8. Eye-contact of PP men and women

general, these differences may disappear or even be more marked when the MP's political allegiance is taken into account.

As shown in Figure 8, there are two important differences that are worth mentioning: 1) women kept more eye-contact than men (15.05 vs. 12.85) and 2) women used many more glances than men (12.25 vs. 4.00).

Glances function basically as regulators and may be related to detachment and non-affiliation. So, these results indicate that when communication is between equals (i.e. woman – woman), there is a tendency to foster political and gender distance. In the following extract, we can see a succession of eight glances cast by Sra. Palacios Pérez while asking the RM about the effects of the present crisis on the Romani community in Andalusia:

- (14) ... Señora Consejera, desde que en 1982 el PSOE ganó por primera vez las elecciones **al Parlamento** de Andalucía, la verdad es que se ha hecho algo, como usted está diciendo, por paliar las necesidades puntuales **de la** población gitana, **pero muy** puntuales, pero se ha trabajado muy poco en actuaciones encaminadas a corregir definitivamente los desarreglos sociales **de estos** conciudadanos y conciudadanas...
(8-10/POC-000418, Sra. Palacios Pérez, June 2010)

[... Regional Minister, since the first PSOE victory in the Andalusian Parliamentary Elections in 1982, the truth is that work has been done towards alleviating the specific needs of the Romani community, but very specific work, but very little has been done to definitively solve the social problems of these fellow citizens ...]

Here Mrs Palacios Pérez blames the RM's party (i.e. PSOE) for doing nothing to help the Romani community in Andalusia. She uses glances just to regulate her discourse that describes this political party as negligent and incompetent. In this case, Sra. Palacios Pérez's willingness to increase her political – gender distance with the RM is obvious.

When analysing eye-contacts among PSOE MPs, we found that they were differed considerably (Figure 9).

Men kept much more eye-contact than women (24.15 vs. 13.71) and used more 2/3-second (3.53 vs. 0.97) and 4/5-second (1.62 vs. 0.85) eye-contacts than women. The reason is that they need to compensate for the fact that they are of different genders. PSOE male MPs and the RM share the same political ideology, but they differ in gender. Thus, the distance between PSOE male MPs and the RM is diminished. The following extract comprises a question about the youth card that was raised by Mr Rodríguez Acuña:

- (15) ... **y constantemente se está aumentando el número de empresas** que se ofrece para ofrecer las ventajas y los descuentos a los jóvenes. **Por todo**

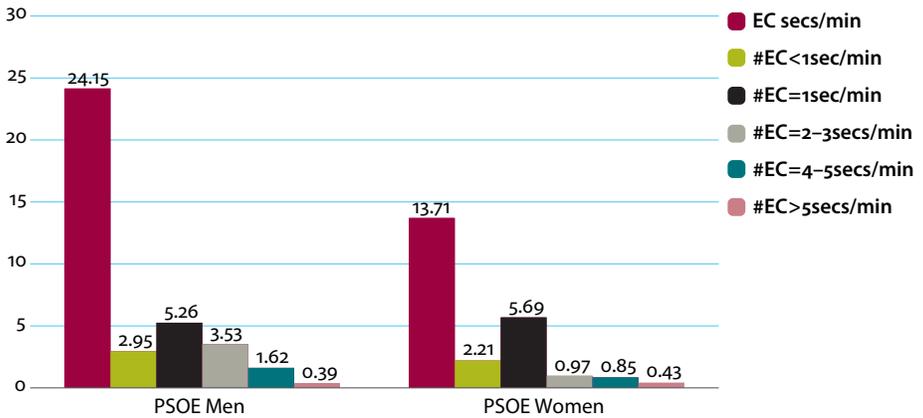


Figure 9. Eye-contact of PSOE men and women

ello, al Grupo Socialista le gustaría conocer en el día de hoy hoy la gestión, gestión, las últimas actuaciones que se están llevando a cabo ...

(8-09/POC-000774, Sr. Rodríguez Acuña, April 2010)

[... and the number of firms prepared to offer advantages and discounts to young people is constantly increasing. For this reason, the Socialist Group would like to know today, today the management, the management, the latest measures which have been taken ...]

As we can see here, he uses two two-second eye-contacts (one at the beginning and another at the end) and one one-second eye-contact (in the middle). Mr Rodríguez Acuña mentions the Government's effective policies. He uses eye-contact when referring to the increasing number of firms and 'the management [and] the latest measures'. Thus, he seeks to show support and proximity.

In summary, eye-contact is used as a discursive strategy that fosters 1) gender distance between PP women and the RM and 2) gender proximity between PSOE men and the RM.

The RM keeps more eye-contact with women (25.11 seconds per minute) than with men (20.19 seconds per minute) (Figure 10).

On examining the different types of eye-contact, only eye-contact of less than one second has been found to have more occurrences in the RM's interaction with men (2.50 occurrences per minute) compared with women (1.89 occurrences per minute).

However, our data also reveal that gender differences do not carry over when MPs' political allegiance is taken into account (Figures 11 and 12).

In other words, gender differences are still present in the RM's interaction with MPs from the same political party (6.6 seconds of eye-contact per minute in interaction with PSOE men vs. 18.17 seconds per minute in interaction with PSOE

women), as shown in Figure 12. By contrast, regarding the RM’s interaction with MPs from the group in the opposition (PP), there were no significant differences

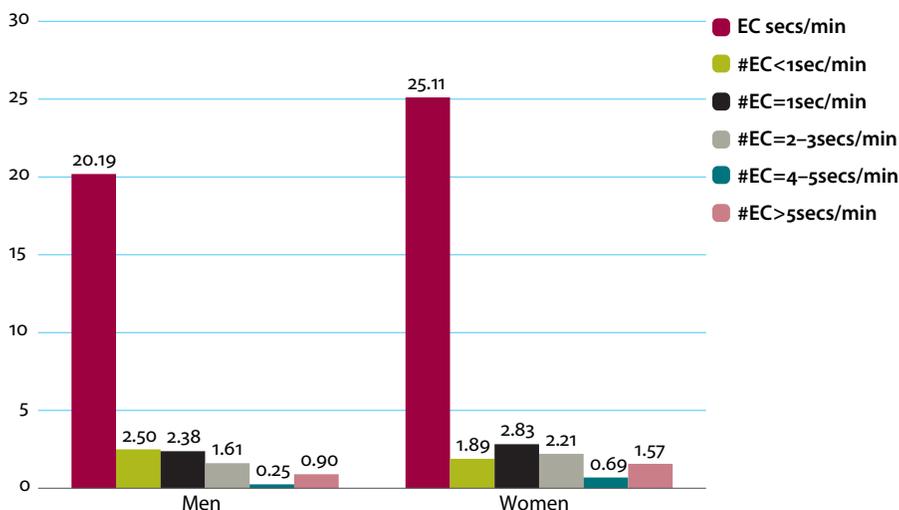


Figure 10. Regional Minister’s eye-contact with men and women

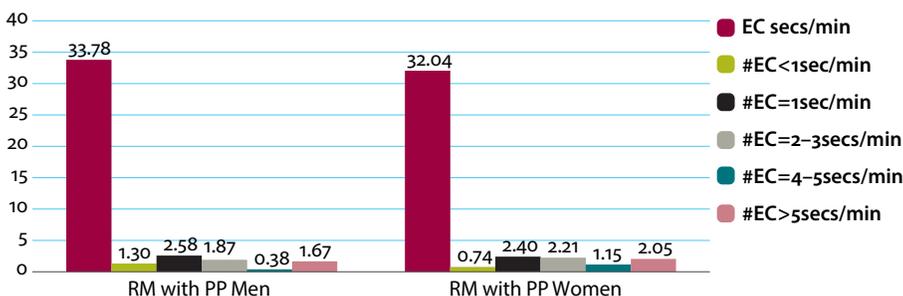


Figure 11. RM’s eye-contact with PP men and women

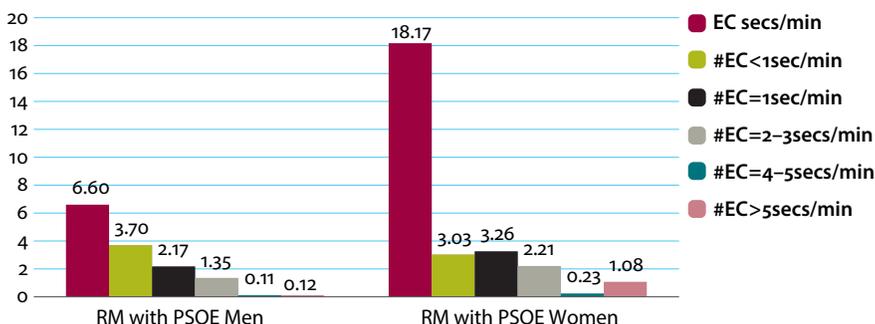


Figure 12. RM’s eye-contact with PSOE men and women

found in the amount of eye-contact (33.78 in interaction with PP men vs. 32.04 in interaction with PP women), as shown in Figure 11.

From these data, it can be concluded that political differences are more important than gender differences. When the RM interacts with a PP MP, she tends to follow a common eye-contact strategy, without distinguishing between women and men, basically with the purpose of saving face and trying to reinforce her argument. When interacting with PSOE MPs, the RM does not consider her face at risk and behaves more naturally. One of the reasons for this differing behaviour with PSOE men and women can be that women tend to be more affiliative (Mehrabian, 1971). Thus, the RM encounters more positive feedback when interacting with PSOE women than when interacting with PSOE men. These results are in agreement with those of Bente *et al.* (1998) and Zanna and Pack (1975) who reveal that ‘... females alter their nonverbal displays “on the demands of the situation”’ (LaFrance, 1981:130).

Similarly, Hidalgo Tenorio (2002) analyses the strategies that politicians use to defeat their political adversaries. To this end, she taped some of the speeches, interviews and debates of the 2000 electoral campaign in Andalusia (Spain) and paid special attention to the way they interact with each other. She hypothesised that gender might influence their choice of discourse structures. Interestingly, Hidalgo Tenorio highlights the importance of politicians’ political allegiance and states that this factor can even override gender differences:

... the female candidate very often employs the linguistic features that are generally said to characterize male linguistic behaviour; on the other hand, the three male candidates can also use those other features which have tended to be ascribed to females; moreover, Conservatives can try to adopt from the non-Conservatives some linguistic habits unfamiliar to them; and non-Conservatives can also make use of some features which, normally, we would not associate with them. The way in which these politicians select some discourse features instead of others can be explained by a consideration of political and personal factors. It goes without saying that their ideological orientations, their educational backgrounds and their political intentions are mapped onto the selection of vocabulary, the pronominals used and certain pragmatic features: in other words, their own linguistic choices.

(Hidalgo Tenorio 2002:258)

So, gender differences may increase or decrease depending on the context. Bente *et al.* (1998:35) explain that ‘when context information is taken into consideration, many gender differences in nonverbal behavior disappear or change.’ Dovidio *et al.* (1988) examined how both gender and situation-specific differences relate to non-verbal displays of dominance. They obtained different results depending on the women’s and men’s expertise or power. So, on the one hand, when women

and men (in mixed-gender interactions) did not possess differential expertise or power ‘... women looked significantly more while listening than while speaking, whereas men displayed more equivalent levels of looking while speaking and looking while listening’ (1988:239). On the other hand, when women and men had high levels of power or expertise they displayed equivalent levels of looking while speaking and listening. Thus, when the women’s position of power was well defined, they were as likely to display their power non-verbally as men. Dovidio *et al.* (1988:240) state that:

In general, the visual behaviour results are consistent with previous research of same-sex interaction demonstrating that higher visual dominance ratios are displayed by people higher in status (Ellyson *et al.* 1980), military rank (Exline *et al.* 1975), or the desire to control others. (Ellyson *et al.* 1980; Exline *et al.* 1975)

This may explain the RM’s behaviour: she is in a position of power and this variable has been shown to be more important than the gender variable. Dovidio *et al.* (1988:241) coincide with Rosa and Mazur (1979) in that:

The relatively high levels of looking while speaking displayed by high-power persons may allow them to closely monitor the responses of their partners and thus make effective adjustments that will enable them to maintain social control. Relatively high levels of looking while speaking may also more frequently create periods of mutual gaze. Interactants who maintain their gaze may then elicit submissive displays from their partners.

Exline *et al.* (1965) describe this visual pattern exhibited by high power interactants as ‘high visual dominance behaviour’.

7. Functions of eye-contact

It is difficult, if not impossible, to offer a full typology of all the possible functions associated with eye-contact behaviour. For example, Vincze and Poggi (2011) present a typology of eye-closing behaviours based on a semantic taxonomy of communicative signals. They distinguish between communicative and non-communicative eye-closing, and analyse three different types of eye closings during political debates: blinks, eye-closures and winks. Additionally, they explain that communicative eye-closing can be grouped on the basis of their meaning. Poggi (2007, 2002) explains that any communicative signal (verbal or non-verbal) conveys information concerning a) the World, b) the Speaker’s Identity and c) the Speaker’s Mind. Vincze and Poggi (2011:400) state that:

Information on the World concerns the concrete and abstract entities and events of the world outside the speaker (objects, persons, organisms, events, their place and time); Information on the Speaker's Identity concerns his/her age, sex, personality, cultural roots; while Information on the Speaker's Mind concerns the Speaker's mental states: his/her goals, beliefs and emotions referred to ongoing discourse.

After a detailed examination of the MP's eye-contact behaviour in this particular political context (i.e. oral questions), the following functions have been identified:

1. To sound more natural and avoid the formal reading of a question. Glances or eye-contacts of less than one second are the most frequent types used for this function. This function is much more frequent in the first turns, because most MPs confine themselves to reading the speech they have prepared. Thus, the use of short eye-contacts or glances serves to mitigate the formality of reading and make their utterances closer to spoken communication.
2. To regulate communication and turn-taking. Regulators are more commonly used by MPs in the opposition, that is, PP MPs. This could be because they try to avoid eye-contact with the RM. Regulators are also used by the RM when interacting with PSOE MPs. Probably this is because there is no need to persuade them and so she has no need to use long eye-contact as an additional strategy for persuasion.
3. To signal affiliation and loyalty, mainly by means of long eye-contacts. This visual behaviour is typically used by PSOE MPs because they are the party in government and are keen to show agreement with the RM.
4. To express disagreement. This function (typically long eye-contacts) is found in the RM's behaviour when interacting with the opposition and the other way round. When using this function, eye-contact serves to make the interaction more confrontational.
5. To reinforce certain elements of the discourse and thus to contribute to the force of argument. Eye-contacts tend to be used at the end of the interaction to bring the argument to a close.
6. To display power relations. This type of function (usually long eye-contacts) is typical of the RM to show her dominance over the MPs. Long eye-contact has also been found to be used with the same function when MPs from the opposition demand some kind of explanation from the RM.
7. To express self-satisfaction. This function has been observed in both the RM's discourse and the PP MPs' questions. The RM uses this function when she is proud of her achievements. By contrast, the PP MPs use this function when they are aware that they have defeated the RM in argument.

8. To indicate interest. Studies have shown that our pupils dilate when we are interested in something, and that people with dilated pupils are considered to be more attractive (Marshall, 1983, cited in De Vito, 2002).
9. To save face. This function is evident when the RM interacts with a PP MP. She feels her face at risk when interacting with the opposition but not with PSOE MPs.
10. To persuade. This function (generally long eye-contacts) is used to respond to difficult and loaded questions from the opposition.

Similarly, the lack of eye-contact is also a source of information. It has been observed that politicians avoid visual contact with the following aims:

1. To imply detachment and opposition. This is a common feature of communication between members of different political parties.
2. To show affiliation instead of detachment. This behaviour is typical when the RM answers a question raised by MPs from her own political party, PSOE, whose loyalty can be taken for granted.

Both the presence and absence of eye-contact may serve as communication strategies for politicians to get the better of their political adversaries.

8. Conclusions

Regarding turn-types, we can conclude that longer eye-contacts tend to be more frequent in the second turns (the supplementary question). The reason for this is closely related to the turn-type nature: the first turn closer to written speech and the second turn to spoken discourse. Thus, it could be argued that long eye-contact is more characteristic of spoken discourse than that of written discourse. Thus, regulators (mainly glances) are more frequent in the first turns because most politicians simply read the questions that they have prepared in advance.

Regarding political allegiance, it has been observed that PSOE MPs maintain more eye-contact than PP MPs. Furthermore, PP MPs tend to use more regulators, while PSOE MPs display longer eye-contacts. The difference between the two political parties lies not only in eye-contact duration but also in the total amount of visual contact: PSOE MPs maintain more eye-contact than the MPs in the opposition party. Thus, it can be concluded that eye-contact is used as a means to signalling affiliation and loyalty towards the RM. Regarding the RM's eye-contact behaviour, she not only keeps more eye-contact with MPs in the opposition, but also her eye-contacts themselves are of much longer duration. In contrast, she uses more regulators with PSOE MPs.

Concerning gender differences, men seem to keep more eye-contact than women. This generalisation is only true if political allegiance is not taken into account. When distinguishing between the two parties, the generalisation holds true only for PSOE MPs. Concerning PP MPs, it is women who keep more eye-contact than men. In general, women use more regulators, but the difference between men and women is more evident in the case of PP MPs. These results are very interesting but, at the same time, they may lead us to a wrong interpretation. Although female PP MPs and male PSOE MPs seem to have a similar behaviour regarding the amount of eye-contact, it does not mean there are no gender differences. The reason why PSOE men show such a prolonged eye-contact behaviour is to show affiliation with the RM.

As for the RM, her behaviour is practically the same when interacting with male and female PP MPs, but not with PSOE MPs. The results show that the RM maintains more eye-contact with female PSOE MPs. Surprisingly, similar results were found concerning the use of redundancy in oral questions in the Andalusian Parliament (Álvarez-Benito and Íñigo-Mora, 2012). It is worth mentioning that PSOE MPs' eye-contact behaviour is not reciprocal: male MPs keep more eye-contact with the RM, but the RM keeps more eye-contact with female MPs.

Eye-contact has been shown to have a wide variety of functions: to appear more natural, to invite feedback, to signal affiliation and loyalty, to show disagreement, to reinforce words and reinforce the argument, to display power relations, to express self-satisfaction, to indicate interest, to save face and to persuade. Avoidance of eye-contact has also been shown to perform different functions: to imply detachment and opposition, and to show affiliation. This varied typology is highly context-dependent and dependent on factors such as type of discourse, political allegiance or gender. Although there may be very broad and general considerations regarding eye-contact behaviour, every single interaction exhibits specific traits typical of that communicative encounter.

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Time, gender and parliamentary discourse

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The main objective of this chapter is to show the importance of politicians' time management and its relation to gender. We focus on how men and women manage time through pauses and speech rate. The idea of rhythmic pattern has already been studied (Bañón, Arcos and Requena 2012), and pausative pattern has been discussed in relation to the electoral political debate.

Our hypothesis is that women and men in positions of responsibility in the Andalusian Parliament handle time management differently, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Therefore, we analysed the interventions of several regional ministers of the Andalusian Government to study whether pauses, length and speed of MPs' speeches have a strategic persuasive or argumentative value.

Keywords: Time, gender, parliamentary discourse, pause, Andalusian Parliament, pausative pattern, time management, persuasive strategies, argumentative strategies

1. Introduction

Time is an essential factor in the study of both persuasive and argumentative strategies not only in public discourses (Bruneau, 2007:92; van Leeuwen, 2008:81) but also in those involving the political sphere (Dunmire, 2005; Hyatt, 2005). These strategies have a close relation to the strengthening function or attenuating function developed by elements such as the speed or the duration of speech (Machuca and De la Mota, 2006). Therefore, the analysis of the pause has a close relation to the study of argumentative processes (Fuentes and Alcaide, 2007:58–60; van Eemeren, 2012:50). In fact, politics make use of the pause to reinforce or soften their proposals depending on the context where the communicative interaction takes place. In this study, we focus on how people in positions of political responsibility manage time through the use of pauses and speech rate. Researchers

on political discourse have emphasised the importance of rhythm and prosody (Duez, 1991, 1999). In addition, we aimed to determine whether there is an intention in the management – a strategy – and whether such a strategy may differ in terms of gender. Clearly, pause and silence are rhetorical elements that help define the parts of speech as well as give a great expressive performance (Álvarez, 2001; Rebollo, 1997).

In this chapter, we will start from the idea of rhythmic pattern (Bañón, Arcos and Requena, 2012), defined as the combination of three related discursive time elements: duration (D), speed (S) and pause (PA). Previously, Bañón and Requena (2010) discussed about pausative pattern in relation to the electoral political debate. Our hypothesis is that women and men in positions of responsibility in the Andalusian Parliament handle time management differently, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

2. Corpus

We analysed the parliamentary discourse of two regional ministers (one male and one female) of the *Junta de Andalucía*. To this end, we gained access to all Parliamentary Records (*Diario de Sesiones*) of the ninth legislative in 2012. We then searched for all the interactions in which the same male or female Regional Minister of the Andalusian Government replied to oral questions (OQ) raised by a MP of either gender from his/her own party (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, PSOE)¹ and from the opposition party (Popular Party, PP).²

We observed that in the time period considered, the combination of all the three elements appeared only in the interactions of Mr Antonio Ávila (Regional Minister of Economy, Innovation, Science and Employment) and the interactions of Mrs Mar Moreno (Regional Minister of Education). The details are presented in Tables 1 and 2.

There are a total of 19 interactions. We randomly selected eight interactions in which all the possible combinations occurred:

- OQ.1. Antonio Ávila – Rafael Carmona (10/25/2012)
- OQ.2. Antonio Ávila – M^a Teresa Ruiz-Sillero (10/25/2012)
- OQ.3. Antonio Ávila – Carmelo Gómez (10/25/2012)
- OQ.4. Antonio Ávila – M^a Cinta Castillo (11/15/2012)
- OQ.1. Mar Moreno – José E. Díaz (10/11/2012)

1. PSOE: *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party).

2. PP: *Partido Popular* (People's Party).

- OQ.2. Mar Moreno – M^a Francisca Carazo (11/15/2012)
- OQ.3. Mar Moreno – Francisco J. Aragón (10/25/2012)
- OQ.4. Mar Moreno – Adela Segura (11/15/2012)

Table 1. Mr Ávila's interactions

MP PP	MP PP	MP PSOE	MP PSOE
Rafael Salas (10/25/2012)	Teresa Ruiz-Sillero (10/25/2012)	Carmelo Gómez (10/25/2012)	M ^a Cinta Castillo (10/11/2012)
Rafael Carmona (10/25/2012)	M ^a Esperanza Oña (11/15/2012)		M ^a Cinta Castillo (11/15/2012)
Rafael Ruiz (10/25/2012)	M ^a Rosario Alarcón (11/15/2012)		M ^a Cinta Castillo (11/29/2012)
Jaime Raynaud (11/15/2012)			
Rafael Carmona (11/29/2012)			

Table 2. Mrs Moreno's interactions

MP PP	MP PP	MP PSOE	MP PSOE
José E. Díaz (10/11/2012)	M ^a Francisca Carazo (11/15/2012)	Francisco J. Aragón (10/25/2012)	M ^a Carmen Pérez (10/11/2012)
			Adela Segura (10/25/2012)
			Adela Segura (11/15/2012)
			Adela Segura (12/13/2012)

3. Methodology

After the transcription of the oral questions selected, we separated the content into statements (S), defined as long syntagmatic units with autonomous meaning. Each S was analysed by measuring the following data: duration in seconds (DS), number of syllables (NS), number of syllables per second (NSS), number of words (NW), number of words per second (NWS), number of pauses (NPA), duration of pauses (DPA), average pause (APA) and percentage of pause in relation to the total duration of the utterance (PPA) for each intervention (Bañón, Arcos and Requena, 2012: 53–54).

This information allowed us to arrive at the rhythmic average of each interaction and identify statements or parts of statements that are above or below it. The units above or below the average pausative pattern have a discursive intention: either to intensify or to diminish the message. Likewise, we calculated the interdiscursive pause of each interaction – the average value of the APA – to show, using a quantitative analysis, possible gender differences in the discourses of Mr Ávila and Mrs Moreno.

Of the models analysed, two are shown as an example (Tables 3 and 4).

Table 3. Data from the first of Mr Ávila's interactions

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Antonio Ávila (PSOE) – Rafael Carmona (PP)

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

Date: 10/25/2012

Topic: Oral question about Invercaria criteria

Duration: 34"120

Antonio Ávila (PSOE)

FIRST INTERACTION

(S1) Gracias, Presidente, de Economía, Innovación, Ciencia y Empleo, señor Carmona (0.587).

[Thank you very much, Mr Carmona, President of Economy, Innovation, Science and Employment.]

(S2) Los técnicos de Invercaria han (0.234) estudiado la inversión (0.552), y lo sabe también usted, en más de mil de iniciativas (0.645) empresariales que, finalmente, han dado (0.704) pie a doscientos setenta y ocho intervenciones, lo hemos dicho (0.493) en más de una ocasión.

[Invercaria technicians have studied the investment, and you know it too, in more than 1000 business initiatives that, finally, have given way to 278 interventions, we have told you in more than one occasion.]

(S3) Para ello se han tomado decisiones sobre criterios (0.622) recogidos (0.426) tanto en las órdenes de ayuda, que en su caso regulaban (0.446) las líneas (0.457), como por criterios también conocidos públicamente y que aparecen, por ejemplo, pues en la web (0.399) de la propia Invercaria (0.246).

[For that purpose, decisions have been taken on criteria from the orders of aid, which in the case regulated the lines of action, but also on the criteria which publicly known and which are published on the Invercaria website.]

(S4) Gracias.

[Thank you.]

MEASURES

S	DS	NS	NSS	NW	NWS	NWA	DPA	APA	PPA
1	4.389	23	5.24	10	2.27	1	0.587	0.587	13.37%
2	15.003	69	4.59	40	2.66	5	2.628	0.525	17.51%
3	13.533	77	5.68	41	3.02	6	2.596	0.432	19.18%
4	0.504	2	3.96	1	1.98	0	0	0	0
T	34.120	171	5.01	92	2.69	12	5.811	0.484	17.03%

Table 4. Data from the first of Mrs Moreno's interactions

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT

Mar Moreno – M^a Francisca Carazo Villalonga (PP)

TECHNICAL DESCRIPTION

Date: 11/15/2012

Topic: Oral question about nursery non-payment

Duration: 45^{''}705

Mar Moreno

FIRST INTERACTION

(S1) Sí, muchas gracias (0.082), señor Presidente (0.059).

[Yes, thank you very much, Mr President.]

(S2) Señora Carazo, como es natural, el Gobierno andaluz (0.129) respeta (0.106) cualquier (0.130) protesta ciudadana (0.388); paro, en este caso (0.493), que no huelga (0.634).

[Mrs Carazo, naturally, the Andalusian Government respects any citizen's protest; unemployment, in this case, but not strike.]

(S3) Eh si bien, en relación con (0.164) los (0.117) pagos a (0.247) las escuelas infantiles y centros infantiles (0.411), lo reitero: la Junta de Andalucía (0.305) está pagando (0.153) prioritariamente (0.716), son objeto de absoluta prioridad (0.470) en el pago.

[Well, in relation to payments to kindergartens and preschools, I repeat it again, The Andalusian Government is paying, is giving them absolute priority in the payment.]

(S4) De hecho, en el día de hoy se están librando ya (0.129) los pagos – entre hoy y mañana (0.469) – eh (0.141) correspondientes al mes de septiembre (0.176).

[In fact, at this moment the payments corresponding to September are taking place – between today and tomorrow.]

(S5) Luego quiero dejar meridianamente claro dos debates (0.341): uno, el de la puntualidad en los (0.106) pagos (0.563), que (0.188), con todas las dificultades que hay, son (0.176) prioritarios absolutamente (0.399), y dos (0.153), del momento en el que estamos (0.165) revisando (0.388) los criterios y las condiciones de los convenios y del pago (0.282) a las escuelas infantiles.

[Then I want to make two things absolutely clear: first, punctuality in payments, with all the difficulties that we have nowadays, they are given absolute priority; and second, that we are reviewing the criteria and conditions of payment agreements with kindergartens.]

(S6) Muchas gracias.

[Thank you very much.]

(continued)

MEASURES

S	DS	NS	NSS	NW	NWS	NWA	DPA	APA	PPA
1	1.620	11	6.79	5	3.08	2	0.141	0.070	8.70%
2	7.887	40	5.07	19	2.40	6	1.880	0.313	23.83%
3	12.289	64	5.20	32	2.60	8	2.583	0.322	21.01%
4	6.444	33	5.12	23	3.56	4	0.915	0.228	14.19%
5	16.620	95	5.71	49	2.94	10	2.761	0.276	16.61%
6	0.845	4	4.73	2	2.36	0	0	0	0
T	45.705	247	5.40	130	2.84	30	8.280	0.276	18.11%

The same procedure was applied to the remaining six interactions.

4. Analysis

4.1 Quantitative analysis

We present a summary of the quantitative data of all the interactions analysed, focusing on the values of the APA and speed. Table 5 summarises the results of Regional Minister Ávila and the MPs who interact with him. Table 6 presents the results of Regional Minister Moreno.

Minister Ávila's use of the interdiscursive pause is 0.421 seconds, whereas Minister Moreno's is 0.311 seconds. This information is significant because there is a difference of more than a second between them.

We can also observe that the APA values of Minister Ávila are below the average (0.391 and 0.374) when interacting with the members of his own party and

Table 5. APA and speed of Mr Antonio Ávila's interactions

	Rafael Carmona (PP)	Antonio Ávila (PSOE)	M ^a Teresa Ruiz- Sillero (PP)	Antonio Ávila (PSOE)	Carmelo Gómez (PSOE)	Antonio Ávila (PSOE)	M ^a Cinta Castillo (PSOE)	Antonio Ávila (PSOE)
APA (I)	0.530	0.484	0.378	0.478	0.466	0.391	0.390	0.374
APA (II)	0.626	0.461	0.314	0.423	–	–	0.308	–
APA AVERAGE	0.578	0.472	0.346	0.450	0.466	0.391	0.349	0.374
SPEED (I)	155	161	178	184	177	149	152	166
SPEED (II)	132	163	175	174	–	–	162	–
SPEED AVERAGE	143	162	176	179	177	149	157	166

Table 6. APA and speed of Mrs Mar Moreno's interactions

	José E. Díaz (PP)	Mar Moreno (PSOE)	M ^a Francisca Carazo (PP)	Mar Moreno (PSOE)	F. Javier Aragón (PSOE)	Mar Moreno (PSOE)	Adela Segura (PSOE)	Mar Moreno (PSOE)
APA (I)	0.241	0.335	0.275	0.276	0.440	0.318	0.265	0.307
APA (II)	0.297	0.311	0.398	0.318	0.443	–	0.308	–
APA	0.269	0.323	0.336	0.297	0.441	0.318	0.286	0.307
AVERAGE								
SPEED (I)	153	201	140	170	204	175	194	186
SPEED (II)	202	196	152	183	198	–	187	–
SPEED	177	198	146	176	201	175	190	186
AVERAGE								

above the average when interacting with the members of the opposition (0.472 and 0.450). In other words, Mr Ávila delivers the information slowly when he talks to the members of the opposition party than with the members of his own party. This may be a case of different communication styles.

It is clear from Table 6 that Minister Moreno's management of time differs depending on whether she interacts with a man or a woman. When interacting with PP MP Mrs Carazo or PSOE MP Mrs Segura, the interdiscursive pause value is below the average (0.297 and 0.307, respectively). In contrast, it is slightly higher when addressing PP MP Mr Díaz (0.323) or PSOE MP Mr Aragón (0.318).

As a provisional conclusion, the Regional Minister of Education manages time almost equally when she interacts with a man or a woman of the same or opposition party.

Concerning the number of words per minute uttered by Mr Ávila and Mrs Moreno, we see that there is a clear difference in the rate of exposure. The average rate is 164 wpm for Mr Ávila while 184 wpm for Mrs Moreno. To calculate the number of words per minute, we have multiplied the result of the NWS variable by 60.

Mr Ávila talks faster when interacting with Mrs Ruiz-Sillero and much slower when interacting with male MPs, irrespective of their political party. As Table 5 shows, the lowest value is found when interacting with a male MP of his own party (149 wpm). In this regard, Mrs Moreno talks faster when interacting with male opposition MPs (198 wpm) than with male MPs from her own party (175 wpm). These data suggest that speed is managed differently when interacting with a member of the same political party. When compared with female MPs, the result is reversed. Mrs Moreno talks faster when interacting with Mrs Segura than with Mrs Carazo.

4.2 Qualitative analysis

In this section, we first discuss how time management is represented in the speech of politicians in the *Junta de Andalucía*. Pauses and rhythm are tools adopted to persuade or convince Members of Parliament, from the same or opposition party. Our second objective is to determine whether these strategies are used differently by men and women when it comes to strengthening or attenuating certain elements of their speeches.

4.3 Regional Minister Mar Moreno

Each interaction undertaken by Minister Moreno is divided into reply and rejoinder when interacting with a PP MP and only reply when interacting with a member of her own party.

The topics covered in the various oral questions are as follows. With Mr Díaz, she discusses overcrowded schools in Marbella. With Mrs Carazo, she debates about non-payments in nurseries. Then, with Mr Aragón (a member of her own party), she exchanges views on the Sectorial Conference on Education. Finally, with Mrs Segura, she deals with the estimations of scholarships for 2013.

Her first interaction is with PP MP Mr Díaz, which is composed of nine statements. Of these, we highlight the following: S3, with an APA of 0.468 (i.e. 20.27% of the time); S4, with an APA of 0.367 and a PPA of 25.58% because these are above the average; S8, targeting segments.

S3 is the statement that has a higher number of pauses. Here Mrs Moreno exposes the core of the information as a reply to the question raised by Mr Díaz.

In S4, there is a very long pause in which she emphasises that her party has not stopped working to solve these problems. There are also two other segments with a very high number of pauses to focus and give strength to the interaction: *no hemos dejado de trabajar* (0.457) [we have not stopped working (0.457)] and *en estos últimos años para solucionarlo* (0.575) [in recent years to solve (0.575)]. In this regard, it intensifies not only the effort made by the government, but also its effectiveness.

In the rest of her speech, we highlight a number of segments in S8 that are above the APA:

- (1) S8. Y es verdad que (0.152) por distintas dificultades, al encontrarse en el casco antiguo (0.434), pues es verdad (0.212) que este proyecto va con retraso (0.399); no el anterior, que las obras, desde luego, podemos contar con ellas (0.247) de manera inmediata y se van a desarrollar durante este curso (0.293).

[It is true that (0.152) on account of various difficulties, being in the old town (0.434), it is true (0.212) that this project is delayed (0.399), not the

previous project, that construction work, of course, will be forthcoming (0.247) immediately and will be undertaken in this session (0.293).]

Mrs Moreno intensifies in this statement the idea of 'delay'. By doing this, she shares the same discourse of Mr Díaz.

In the second interaction (rejoinder), she uses a pause of almost half a second to highlight the idea of the effort made by the Andalusian Government: *un esfuerzo la Junta de Andalucía también está realizando* (0.480) [an effort the *Junta de Andalucía* is also making]. This is why that pause appears with a strategic intention of reinforcing the effort made by the Andalusian Government.

In this interaction comprising eight statements, only the first four are above the APA (0.311). The speed at which she delivers this information is very high (196 wpm).

One statement that deserves comment is S8. This is because she acknowledges that the information she has may not be correct and says: *tengo pendiente una conversación con la alcaldesa de su ciudad, y por lo tanto* (0.222), *revisaré bien la información* [I have still to speak to the mayor of your city, and therefore, I will review the information thoroughly]. Here Mrs Moreno speaks very fast and uses a short pause to draw attention to the fact that there might have been a mistake.

The Regional Minister of Education when interacting with Mrs Carazo (PP MP) poses two interesting arguments. The first argument deals with the timeliness of payments. The second argument focuses on the revision of the criteria used for the payment of nurseries.

This interaction comprises six statements, with an APA of 0.276, where S2, S3 and S5 are above this value. Throughout this interaction, she repeatedly uses the pause with an emphatic value: *prioridad* (0.716) [priority], *absoluta prioridad* (0.470) [absolute priority] and *prioritarios absolutamente* (0.399) [absolute priorities]. The pause marked with each of these segments confirms this intensification and the three occurrences are clearly above the APA. As observed, the non-verbal function supports the verbal function. In other words, silence reinforces the words used.

In the rejoinder with Mrs Carazo, the interaction is composed of 12 statements, with an APA of 0.318 seconds. Statements 2, 5, 6, 7 and 11 are above this value, and it is precisely here that the most relevant information appears. Mrs Moreno notes that the *Junta de Andalucía* is making a huge effort, both financially and administratively, to find alternatives to solve these problems. The Regional Minister of Education incorporates strategies in her speech, in which the rhythm has clear prominence. We talk, for example, about the inhibition of alleged liability of the members of the PP, represented by the idiom (S10) *no se rasguen ustedes las vestiduras* [don't throw up your hands in horror]. Mrs Moreno takes a pause here of 434 milliseconds in *vestiduras* [garments]. This is a colloquial expression that

may be considered out of place in such a formal setting. Therefore, it acquires a greater expressive power.

When Minister Moreno replies to a question raised by a MP of her own party, Mr Aragón, her response is more relaxed than the previous two in which a degree of tension was evident. This interaction is the longest, with a duration of 174 seconds, which therefore leads us to believe that the pace of delivery is slower (175 wpm).

This interaction comprises 24 statements, with an APA of 0.318. Statements 2 to 6, 17 to 20 and 22 are above this value. She first thanks him specifically to appreciate the effort. Then, she offers dialogue and consensus to carry out the Sectorial Reform on Education. Throughout her speech, several pieces of information can be highlighted in which essential concepts and expressions appear:

- (2) S8 Diálogo (0.410); S8 consenso (0.319); S9 nuestra obligación y nuestra responsabilidad no es solamente quedarnos en la descalificación (0.513); S10 podemos dialogar (0.467); S22 ya que en España alcancemos un consenso (0.365); S24 con un ofrecimiento de diálogo para alcanzar (0.342).
[Dialogue (0.410); consensus (0.319); our obligation and our responsibility is not only to stay in disqualification (0.513); we can discuss (0.467); since in Spain let's reach a consensus (0.365); with an offer of dialogue to reach (0.342).]

Another relevant discursive technique is marked by pauses of segments in which the first-person plural is used as a way of integration or inclusion of consensus. Here a clear reference is made to the inclusiveness of the Socialist Party that makes use of it to solve problems and accept responsibilities. Two examples are *tenemos la obligación también, como Gobierno, de expresar* (0.456) [we have an obligation too, as a Government, to express] and *podemos dialogar* (0.467) [we can talk].

Finally, Mrs Moreno interacts with Mrs Segura (PSOE MP). This interaction comprises 10 statements with an APA of 0.307 seconds. Only S2, S3, S7 and S8 are slightly above this value. It is precisely in these statements that the most relevant information of the entire interaction is exposed. Other statements are given below.

As she is a member of the Socialist Party, we may think that her rhythm would be slower, as in the case of Mr Aragón, due to shared ideology. However, the data show the opposite. The speed of her speech is 186 wpm, which can be interpreted as a means of rendering a rejoinder unnecessary, as when interacting with Mr Aragón.

In S2, she enhances the expression *del presupuesto para educación importante, yo creo que junto con el esfuerzo que hacemos en mantener la plantilla del profesorado* (0.857) [the substantial budget for education, I think that along with the effort we make to keep the teacher workforce] by making a pause of 857 milliseconds to acknowledge the *Junta de Andalucía's* efforts to maintain teacher numbers.

In S3, she uses the same discursive strategy to highlight the amount of money invested in scholarships: *El conjunto de estas ayudas sube (0.105) un catorce por ciento (0.305) en el presupuesto, alcanzando los doscientos doce millones de euros (0.786)* [The whole of this aid rises fourteen per cent in the budget, reaching two hundred and twelve million euros]. In this case, the duration of the pause with an intensifying function is 0.786 seconds. This is an example of how political argumentation frequently focuses on economic data. This is why members of the Andalusian Parliament aim to base their discourse on all that is related to investment or funding.

In S4, she presents a number of scholarships and grants, but reminds parliament that they are disappearing where the PP is in power. This indicates a clear political strategy to criticise what is considered an evasion of responsibility by the opposition group. In this statement, there is a succession of 24 pauses, 12 of them being above the APA. Note the mark strategically placed on concepts related to 'school', 'family' and 'support':

- (3) S4. *Becas y ayuda a las familias (0.141), como las de transporte escolar (0.411), que pasamos de sesenta y ocho millones a (0.071) ochenta millones, y atendemos a más de noventa mil (0.399) alumnos (0.411); ayudas como las de los libros de texto gratuitos (0.364), que es un programa que únicamente queda ya en Andalucía y en Navarra (0.317), y que ha desaparecido allí donde ha ido (0.164) llegando al gobierno (0.329) el Partido (0.129) Popular (0.470); ayudas y becas como las que permiten (0.247) a seis mil alumnos ahora mismo en (0.188) Andalucía (0.293) disfrutar gratuitamente de una plaza de residencia (0.105) escolar (0.599); o ayudas y becas como las de los comedores escolares (0.387), que hacen que doscientos mil niños andaluces acudan a los comedores (0.516) escolares (0.129) cada día (0.446), casi la mitad de ellos (0.141) gratis total (0.141), en un momento en el que las familias andaluzas están (0.399) particularmente necesitadas de apoyo (0.458).*
- [Scholarships and financial assistance for families (0.141) such as for school transport (0.411), we increased spending from sixty-eight million (0.071) to eighty million, and serve the needs of more than ninety thousand (0.399) students (0.411); aid such as that for free textbooks (0.364), which is a programme that only Andalusia and Navarra now operates (0.317), and has disappeared where (0.164) reach the government (0.329) Popular (0.129) Party (0.470); grants and scholarships that allow (0.247) six thousand students now in (0.188) Andalusia (0.293) to freely enjoy a place of school (0.105) residence (0.599) or grants and scholarships as school canteens (0.387), which make two hundred thousand Andalusian children (0.516) eat at school (0.129) each day (0.446), almost half of them (0.141) completely

free (0.141), in a time when Andalusian families are (0.399) particularly in need of support (0.458).]

Finally, S9 reminds that what is happening in other communities where the opposition party rules is not going to happen in Andalusia. It uses seven pauses, three of them being above the APA. In contrast to the idea of help and support highlighted in the previous extract, the pause used here focuses on the lack of support from other parties, as well as strengthens the emotive dimension of political parliamentary discourse. This emotive dimension is mainly addressed to Andalusian citizens. This is the reason for underlining the segment 'boys and girls' to whom the Andalusian Government will provide necessary aids during economic crisis. Again, there is a strong interest in focusing the political discourse on every economic aspect. Furthermore, another essential element in this context is the search for expressions that reinforce the idea of a common belonging of all actors. This is the strategic function that we assign to the concept of *orgullosos* [proud].

In contrast to the idea of help and support expressed in the previous extract, the pause used here focuses on the lack of support from the other party as well as on the concept of *orgullosos* [proud]:

- (4) S9 Y, por lo tanto, le digo, creo que, junto al esfuerzo en profesorado (0.270), nos podemos sentir orgullosos (0.317) de que en las escuelas andaluzas (0.176), las familias (0.270), y, por lo tanto, los niños y las niñas (0.364) no van a sufrir la crisis, no será por falta de ayudas (0.376) de la Junta de Andalucía el que no puedan seguir estudiando (0.270).

[And therefore, I tell you, I think, by the effort in teaching staff (0.270), we can be proud (0.317) that in Andalusian schools (0.176), families (0.270), and therefore children (0364), boys and girls, will not suffer from the crisis. It will not be for lack of support (0.376) from the *Junta de Andalucía* that they can continue studying (0.270).]

4.4 Regional Minister Antonio Ávila

The topics covered in his interactions are very diverse. With Mr Carmona (PP MP), he discusses about Invercaria criteria. With Mrs Ruiz-Sillero (PP MP), he debates about forecasts in relation to actions for care, guidance and job placement for the unemployed in Andalusia. With Mr Gómez (PSOE MP), he exchanges view on Decree Law in extraordinary and urgent measures on former employees affected by restructuring and sectors in crisis. Finally, with Mrs Castillo (PSOE MP), he debates concerning authorisation for the development of a mining complex in Huelva.

The first interaction with Mr Carmona on Invercaria criteria comprises only four statements lasting about 35 seconds, with an APA of 0.484. Only S1 and S2 are above this value. In S2, after thanking the president of the chamber, Minister Ávila declares that Mr Carmona knows these criteria, using the expression *y lo sabe también usted, en más de mil de iniciativas* (0.645) [and you know it too, in the course of a thousand initiatives]. This pause has a clear strategic value. It emphasises his thought about the activity already generated and, therefore, the constant ability to work: *en más de mil iniciativas* (0.645) [initiatives in more than one thousand].

In the second statement, *doscientos setenta y ocho intervenciones, lo hemos dicho* (0.493) [two hundred and seventy eight interventions, as we have said], the Minister makes it clear that his party has been the only party that has indicated this fact. However, Mr Ávila also incorporates other strategies in his speech where rhythm has an important role. This is exemplified in his brief expression, *de Economía, Innovación, Ciencia y Empleo, señor Carmona* (0.587) [Economy, Innovation, Science and Employment, Mr Carmona], in response to the previous comment by Mr Carmona who addresses the Minister as *Consejero de Economía e Innovación* [Regional Minister of Economy and Innovation]. It is a way to strengthen their image.

The first interaction has a total of 12 pauses, with an APA of 0.484. Only S1 and S2, which form the core of the debate, are above the average (0.587 and 0.525, respectively). A pause on the segment in S3, *se han tomado decisiones sobre criterios* (0.662) [decisions about criteria have been made], indicates the impersonal value.

Mr Ávila's rejoinder consists of 161 seconds, with 74 pauses and a duration of 34 seconds (i.e. more than 21% of the time). Of these pauses, 34 (50%) are above the APA (0.461), an undoubtedly important fact.

In the rejoinder, there are three very interesting moments from the political point of view. First, Minister Ávila presents specific Invercaria criteria to Mr Carmona; secondly, the Minister takes a challenging role by emphatically stating that he watches him with the face he has and not with what pleases him to look at. In this idea, the tone and the rhythm have a clear self-image function. Two pauses, *Mire, yo lo miro con la cara que tengo* (0.634), *como usted comprenderá* (0.504) [Look, I watch you with the face that I have, you understand], that are above the APA give expressive power. Finally, he indicates that as a trusted person, Mr Arenas, had the responsibility in this matter and did nothing (inhibition of responsibility). This fact is reinforced by three long pauses in which an interest in intensifying the concept of responsibility is expressed through repetition and the reinforcement of Mr Arenas' inactivity. Moreover, the Management Department of the Popular Party is held responsible for his inactivity. As noted in previous examples, introduction of economic data is always accompanied by a long pause (investment):

- (5) S16 y que tenía una responsabilidad, tenía una responsabilidad en el área de promoción de inversiones (0.516), le pueden preguntar por qué tipo de evaluaciones estratégicas hacía (0.681), porque era quien las elevaba a la dirección (0.892).

[and he had a responsibility and had a responsibility in the area of investment promotion (0.516), you can ask what kind of strategic assessments made (0.681), because he was the one who rose to the direction (0.892).]

In contrast, the Regional Minister focuses on the following concepts with very long pauses: *faltando a la realidad* [oblivious of reality] (0.786); *página web* [web page] (0.974); *que se exige* [that is required] (0.516); *eso lo conoce usted* [you know that] (0.587); *lo sabe usted, pero a usted le da exactamente igual* [you know, but you just don't care] (0.575); *si usted está tan interesado en los criterios* [if you are so interested in the criteria] (1.854); *mentir* [lie] (0.739). We can see, for example, the importance of the idea of truth and lie.

The end of the interaction is also noteworthy. Five statements, which contain the most relevant information about this interaction (S14, S15, S16, S18 and S19), are above the APA. In S15, it is unremarkable that there are several very long pauses that emphasise his prosecuting discourse regarding the opposition party: (A) *Usted* (0.364) *le interesa* (0.974) *corrupción* (0.435), *identificar* (1.151), *mentir, señoría, mentir* (0.739) [You are interested corruption, identify, lie, Your Honour, lie].

At the end of his speech, again, he takes up the idea that we discussed in the previous statement. Minister Ávila indicates that the criteria are available on the Invercaria web page. However, he states that he does not want to see them. Thus, the Regional Minister passes the responsibility to the Popular Party. This information has a higher number of pauses: *Ahí pueden ver* (0.552) *cuáles eran* (0.599) *los* (0.540) *criterios* [There you can see what the criteria were].

Next, Mrs Ruiz-Sillero interacts with Mr Ávila that lasts 46 seconds. This interaction comprises three statements, with an APA of 0.478 seconds. S3 is the only statement that is above the APA (0.526 seconds). In this case, the speed of her speech is higher (184 wpm) than that when interacting with Mr Carmona (161 wpm). In other words, the speech can have either an attenuator or an enhancer function. In this instance, it clearly has an enhancer function.

S3 is above the APA. First, in the segment *y en eso, pues, me gustaría que tuviésemos* (1.221) [and in that, therefore, I would like to have], we find from the inclusive term *tuviésemos* [we had] a political strategy of consensus between two parties to reach an agreement on this matter. A very long pause is made on the term *Partido Popular* (0.705) [Popular Party]. Finally, in this statement, a long pause is also used when referring to the state budget, *se pongan de nuestra parte, apoyen las*

enmiendas que se han presentado en los Presupuestos Generales del Estado o se van a presentar (0.681) [Put yourselves on our side, support the amendments that we have tabled in the State Budget to be proposed]. This statement is uttered in a fast manner, intensifying this idea.

In S2, *Señoría, la atención específicamente* (0.447), *y la orientación profesional, qué duda cabe, que deben de ser* (0.799) [Your Honour, specific attention, and career guidance, no doubt, that should be], Minister Ávila provides two arguments for improving employability and inclusion of these works. He uses a pause of 799 milliseconds to target two concepts, ‘care’ and ‘career guidance’, as well as the obligation. Moreover, the rejoinder with Mrs Ruiz-Sillero lasts 127 seconds. It comprises 17 statements, with an APA of 0.423 seconds.

In S8, there is a segment, *a ver si se entera ya, señoría* (2.019) [let’s see if you can understand it, Your Honour], where the pause after the vocative *señoría* [Your Honour] with a duration of more than 2 seconds has a phatic value. This pause gives the Popular Group the opportunity to be aware of what had just been said about not receiving a ‘cent’ from the central government. Moreover, the sarcasm latent in *a ver si se entera ya* serves to intensify the confrontation.

There is also a very long pause used in S12 *no, si está gobernando Rajoy, señoría* (0.915) [no, if Rajoy is in power, Your Honour], recalling that Rajoy governs Spain and not Zapatero, to whom the causes of the crisis are attributed. Moreover, the tone used also seeks confrontation. Note that this segment is the result of an interchange of turn-taking that intensifies the confrontation motivated by an identification of responsibilities in relation to the economic problems occurring in Spain and particularly in Andalusia. The main representatives of PSOE attributed all these problems to the Spanish government, ruled by PP. Meanwhile, Andalusian Members of Parliament ascribed all these problems to José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, the former Prime Minister and General Secretary of PSOE.

The interaction with Mr Gómez (a member of the same political party) comprises 11 statements, with an APA of 0.391. Only four of these statements (S3, S6, S7 and S10) are above the APA. S3 is noteworthy which represents 57.11% of the interaction, with an APA of 1.005. Strictly speaking, the rhythm is very slow and deliberate in relation to the rest of the statements.

Concerning pauses, the most interesting segment is found in S3: *El Gobierno, efectivamente* (1.784), *creo que ha cumplido con ese compromiso* (1.021) [The government effectively, I think, has fulfilled that commitment]. The expressive power of these two pauses gives the intensification that makes the most important words of this intervention: government and commitment. These pauses could probably be the slogan of a campaign with the same idea in S10 of getting a reminder that the *Junta de Andalucía* has met the objectives it had set. These two concepts appear between long pauses *que pone de manifiesto el compromiso* (0.622) *del Gobierno*

de Andalucía (0.446) [which highlights the commitment of the Government of Andalusia]. In a parliamentary intervention in which the spokesperson is from the government and the reply is made by a Member of Parliament of his/her own party, arguments are always directed to strengthen positive aspects related to a good political management and the fulfilling of promises made. In this interchange of opinions between Mr Ávila and Mr Gómez, we can perfectly observe a tone of friendliness and agreement as well as a positive self-valuation derived from the combination of the words ‘commitment’ and ‘government’ in both S3 and S10.

Finally, the interaction with Mrs Castillo (PSOE MP) has an APA of 0.374, the lowest value obtained by Mr Ávila. The rhythm is paused (166 wpm).

Mr Ávila presented the proposals that the *Junta de Andalucía* will launch a new mining complex in Huelva. In the last statement of his speech, S16, the Regional Minister addresses the socialist MP to warn that while things are being done and are doing well, the Popular Party used this draft as an electoral reform. In this statement, three pauses are above the APA (0.374 seconds). The strength of these pauses targets ideas such as clarity, seriousness and rigour: *quiero decirles también muy claro* (0.446); *trabajar de forma seria* (0.658) and *trabajar rigurosamente* (0.411) [I would also say very clearly; work seriously and working rigorously]. It could also be, as we said before, the slogan of a political campaign.

5. Conclusions

Regional Minister Ávila takes shorter pauses when interacting with the members of his own party than when he does with the members of the opposition, irrespective of men and women. When Regional Minister Ávila uses shorter pauses than the average, it means that these pauses do not have a discursive value; however, they are used to present the argument in a more natural and neutral way. Conversely, when this value is above the average, it means that he uses it with an intensifying purpose.

His interdiscursive pauses are 484 milliseconds when interacting with Mr Carmona, 478 milliseconds with Mrs Ruiz Sillero, 391 milliseconds with Mr Gómez and, finally, 0.374 seconds with Mrs Castillo. The interdiscursive pause of Minister Ávila is 421 milliseconds. In other words, when replying to opposition members, pause values are higher than that when he does with the members of his own party. Therefore, we add that the pauses between parties are very close to each other, i.e. between 478–484 milliseconds with the members of the opposition and 374–391 milliseconds with his political associates.

Furthermore, Mrs Moreno manages time differently when interacting with men and women, with no distinction among parties. When addressing Mrs

Carazo (PP MP) or Mrs Segura (PSOE MP), the values of the interdiscursive pause are below the average (0.297 and 0.307, respectively). However, when interacting with Mr Díaz (PP MP) and Mr Aragón (PSOE MP), these values are slightly above the average (0.323 and 0.318, respectively).

There are no definite, but only partial conclusions regarding speed. This is because the data did not reflect clear differences between whether the person with responsibility in the government talks faster or slower with MPs of the same party or the opposition. In future studies with a larger sample, we will seek to isolate this variable.

Another interesting factor is the focus on or avoidance of discourse segments through the use of speed and pause, a valuable technique for those engaged in political parliamentary activity. However, we have not identified words or phrases that are used exclusively by men and women to mitigate or intensify the ideas they want to highlight. Throughout the qualitative analysis, we have seen that Minister Moreno tends to value consensus and dialogue more than Minister Ávila when she speaks to MPs of the opposition. Meanwhile, Mr Ávila's interactions with the members of the opposition, however, are completely different. There was a considerable discursive tension in form. This tension results from the elevation of tone and content. This fact was clearly marked by pauses that were generally above the APA with a political confrontation, being the opposition party.

Regional Minister Moreno uses colloquial expressions enhanced by a pause, a strategy that cannot be observed in the case of Regional Minister Ávila.

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Conclusions

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The novelty of this book, as mentioned in the introduction, is that it is a corpus-based study on gender differences in parliamentary discourse. It is also the first study to focus on a gender-balanced parliament, the Andalusian Parliament. The book describes some of the argumentation strategies and mechanisms used by female and male MPs to achieve their political objectives. We perform a documented study on argumentation strategies, with the objective of not only associating these strategies with the politicians' persuasive purposes, but also finding an answer to the question 'do female MPs, with a late incorporation into parliament, make use of different strategies from male MPs?'

We started with a series of questions in the introduction. Do women masculinise their speech in the Andalusian parliamentary discourse? To what extent does women's discourse in the Andalusian Parliament differ from women's styles in other parliaments where there is no parity? If women are said to masculinise their speech when they are in a masculine context, do men feminise their speech when surrounded by more women than usual? Can we talk of the professionalisation or institutionalisation of discourse? Now we are in a position to provide an answer for all of these questions.

One of the main findings of the book is that gender differences are not as decisive in the use of discourse strategies as expected. However, the MPs' role in government is found to be a determinant. Men and women use different discourse strategies according to their position or role in Parliament and depending on whether they belong to the group in power or the group in the opposition.

The results show that the type of speech used in Parliament is a professional discourse equally used by men and women. Most of the strategies used by them in parliament were considered as masculine. This is because most of the MPs until recently were men and they have been pioneers in this setting. This means they have been the creators or makers of the ritualistic and formulaic language used in this parliamentary context.

Based on previous research, the stereotype of female discourse is mainly characterised by the use of emotion and mitigation (among many other linguistic

features such as intensifiers, hesitations, tag questions, qualifiers and unassertive speech) (Lakoff 1973, 1975). However, our data reveal that the picture is rather different in this specific context. MPs make a strategic use of linguistic mechanisms to achieve their persuasive goals. Moreover, it is well known that their final objective is not really to convince their opponents, whose positions are unchangeable. Alternatively, linguistic mechanisms are used as a face-work strategy to maintain their own and their group's social prestige, to impose themselves on opponents and reinforce their face in opposition to the other group (Goffman 1959, Bravo 1999). Politicians try to strengthen not only the group face, but also their own private face as individuals to create impressions of themselves and construct their personal identity. This situation is very similar to that of media discourse (Fuentes-Rodríguez 2013). With this in mind, both verbal and non-verbal mechanisms are strategically used by MPs.

Our research shows that parliamentary discourse is highly ritualised. For this reason, it is far from old female and male stereotypes that may be found in other contexts. However, female and male Andalusian politicians have proved to make use of the persuasive and argumentative strategies that are triggered, in many cases, by institutionalised and formulaic discourse patterns. Thus, the reason for the differences found between men and women should not be explained in terms of gender differences but based on other factors, such as political party, being a member of the opposition or ruling party and the role played in Parliament. In other words, a woman MP in the opposition party and a man MP in the party in government will probably use different discursive strategies when addressing the Regional Minister, not because they are men or women but because they perform different roles. In fact, many of the strategies displayed will probably coincide with those displayed by men and women in the same political party.

The strategies analysed in this book are intensification, emotion – both used by MPs through verbal and non-verbal devices – and colloquialisation. After the analysis of these linguistic mechanisms, we reach the conclusion that gender is not a significant element of change or variation, as stated at the beginning of this chapter. Women have adopted these strategies as characteristic features of political discourse, thereby assuming that this is a professional discourse and legitimising these strategies. The use of these strategies has probably become a process of legitimisation of the endo-group: female MPs talk like male MPs, they have entered men's world and have also been admitted.

The role that MPs perform in Parliament is a crucial factor in the selection of discourse strategies, and equally important is their need to create an identity that stands above the endo-group and the exo-group. Being part of the opposition or the government is associated with specific roles. This is clearly reflected in MPs' speech, regardless of their political party or gender. MPs try to complete their

assigned task brilliantly, that is to say, by making use of rhetorical language to be seen as good speakers.

Both genders have made use of intensification to strengthen their arguments and construct their personal identities in accordance with the requirements of the discourse genre and in the context of confrontation. Intensification, then, is a discourse feature closely related to the MP's construction of identity. Therefore, the linguistic devices found in the corpus differ very little between men and women.

In this book, we have analysed some of the means of expressing intensification which have neither been studied in detail nor even addressed before:

- a. The use of *es que* as a discourse marker, which introduces statements to strengthen the argument and place the politician above his/her adversary.
- b. The enumerative series as an argumentation-enhancing procedure, which contributes to thematic progression in the discourse.
- c. The indirect quotation as a way to damage the adversary's face in front of the rest of the Members of Parliament.
- d. The use of quantitative expressions (*brutal, importante, prioritario*, etc.) as a device to emphasise the MP's own proposals.
- e. The use of eye-contact as a way to strengthen the MP's arguments, mainly at the end of interactions.

The result of the research does not confirm some of the stereotypes derived from Lakoff's suggestions (1973, 1975) which state that female interlocutors are prone to using attenuation strategies. Female MPs make use of the same intensification strategies as men. In some cases, they even surpass men, as mentioned in Chapter 2. These data do not coincide with Lakoff's assumptions, at least with respect to the sample considered. However, it is worth mentioning that Lakoff's claims also had obvious limitations on the corpus used.

Surprisingly, some of the results regarding the MPs' non-verbal behaviour do not completely coincide with the conclusions about their verbal behaviour. The reason may be that verbal strategies are accepted and ritualised structures, whereas non-verbal mechanisms are not so systematised, maybe because of lack of awareness.

Given our findings, is Lakoff right when she claims that women are more likely to make use of attenuation and emotion? The answer is not straightforward. She is probably right in a different discourse context but not in the context of the Andalusian Parliament. It has already been stated that women and men make the same use of intensification. Our study reveals that in certain traits, men use more intensification devices than women (enumerations, quotations). However, the difference is not significant enough to support this conclusion. Our data reveal that gender is not the most relevant factor in the analysis of MPs' discourse strategies.

Women enter this new discourse context and repeat not only the expressions used by men, but also the same strategies. The reason is that they either accept the value of these strategies or assume them as gender-specific. Therefore, women have to show they are capable of doing their job as well as men. Owing to this, they do not use their own strategies but the ones used by men. This is not because they are masculine, as we said earlier, but because these strategies are part of a professional discourse, where the main objective of the politician is to strengthen his/her own position and face against the *exo-group*. It does not mean that women accept using masculine expressions without any type of opposition. It means that women do not see these expressions as masculine but simply as professional terms of parliamentary discourse.

Our results differ notably from other studies on parliamentary discourse where there is not a balanced representation of men and women. For example, Atanga (2010:90) found important differences between men and women in the Cameroonian Parliament, stating that ‘men generally talk disproportionately more and for longer in this public institutional setting’. She added that ‘men ... use more than double the time women use, with an average of 7 minutes per speaker, while women generally take less, with an average of 3 minutes’. However, Shaw’s findings regarding the linguistic behaviour of both genders in the House of Commons and in the Scottish Parliament seem to be in the same line as ours. Shaw (2002:280) stated that the differences found between men and women in the House of Common are almost non-existent in the Scottish Parliament. She added that this may be due to a higher representation of women MPs in the second institution.

From our analysis, we draw the following conclusions:

1. Parliamentary discourse is a professional type of discourse, understood as such by men and women. MPs repeatedly make use of certain discourse strategies to get closer to the audience – intensification (through different verbal and non-verbal mechanisms), emotion and colloquialisation.
2. One of the linguistic mechanisms used by MPs as an intensification strategy is the enumerative series, which according to our results, are often used by male interlocutors. It has also been observed that the formal features of the enumerative series, together with its discursive functions, (im)politeness value and distribution between the first and the second round of interventions, respond to the typical structure and features associated with oral questions.
3. Another intensification strategy used by MPs is the non-literal quotation. This mechanism is mainly used to threaten the individual and group face of their ideological adversaries. In our analysis, we observed that men quote more frequently than women. However, this could be because most of the important positions in the parties are held by men. Besides, we also noted that PP

politicians (right wing in the opposition) use non-literal quotations more frequently than PSOE MPs (left wing in government). The reason may be that they have to be more aggressive just because they are the group in the opposition and not because of ideology.

4. The lexicon is strategically used and its meaning or semanticism is directed and manipulated according to ideological functions.
5. Parliamentary discourse constitutes a formal communicative situation that exhibits conversational features such as words with no specific meaning, colloquial vocabulary and phraseological units. Colloquialisation is a constant in every commission, but specifically relevant in Question Time. In this context, both genders make use of colloquial lexical features in their speeches. However, our findings suggest a slightly higher presence of these features in male speakers. The difference between men and women decreases in the use of phraseological units, which is very similar in both genders. Phraseological units constitute the most typical colloquial feature of parliamentary discourse. The presence of colloquial features facilitates the broadcasting of parliamentary interventions. Thus, politicians could use these mechanisms to ensure the media coverage of their parliamentary speech. The strategy provides success to the MPs' argumentation.
6. Although parliamentary discourse is a type of discourse that involves formality, emotion is used by MPs to emphasise the speaker's argumentation, to attack the opponent, express proximity and create a distinctive identity.
7. Non-verbal devices are as important as verbal devices. In some cases, non-verbal signals go in the same direction as verbal signals but sometimes there is no synchrony, either consciously or unconsciously. MPs make use of eye-contact with different intentions, such as to appear more natural, invite feedback, signal affiliation and loyalty, show disagreement, reinforce words and the argument, display power relations, express self-satisfaction, indicate interest, save face and persuade. Avoidance of eye-contact is also used by MPs with different functions, such as to imply detachment and opposition, and show affiliation. Longer eye-contact tends to be more frequent in the second turns of Questions (the supplementary question). Concerning political allegiance, we observed that PSOE MPs maintain more eye-contact than PP MPs. This may lead to the conclusion that eye-contact is used as a means to signalling affiliation and loyalty towards the Regional Minister.
8. The Regional Minister Mr Ávila makes use of shorter pauses when interacting with members of his own party than when interacting with members of the opposition, with no significant differences between men and women. However, the Regional Minister Mrs Moreno manages time differently when interacting with both genders, with no significant differences between parties.

9. Regarding speed, no conclusions can be drawn because there are no significant differences between the Regional Ministers' speed behaviour when they interact with members of the same party or MPs of the opposition.
10. For the MP, the tasks of creating his/her own image and attacking the adversary are equally important. This book provides an unprecedented coverage of argumentation and social face as well as a description of the linguistic mechanisms used for those purposes.

In conclusion, this book shows that women have entered into the political arena and make use of argumentation strategies at the same level as men, in a type of discourse that is clearly professional. At the beginning of this chapter, we mentioned that men have been the creators of this professional discourse used in Parliament, and that is why women in Parliament have been considered to adopt a masculine style. With the presence of women in politics, at all levels of hierarchy, it will be very interesting to see whether, in the future, MPs also incorporate feminine discourse features which become part of this professional discourse. Perhaps with the time we can assert that men feminise their speech not because they have a feminine style but because they use some of the strategies incorporated by women.

This book concludes that equal representation of men and women seems to be a determining factor in the lack of gender differences in parliamentary discourse, contrary to what could be expected based on previous research on parliaments with no equal representation of both genders.

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Does gender condition politicians' discourse strategies in parliament? This is the question we try to answer in *A Gender-based Approach to Parliamentary Discourse: The Andalusian Parliament*. This book, written by experts in the field of discourse analysis, covers key aspects of political discourse such as gender, identity and verbal and nonverbal strategies: intensification, enumerative series, non-literal quotations, pseudo-desemantisation, lexical colloquialisation, emotion, eye contact and time management. It provides a large number of examples from a balanced gender parliament, the Andalusian Parliament, and it focuses mainly on argumentation, since parliamentary discourse is above all argumentative. This book will prove invaluable to students and teachers in the field of discourse analysis, and more specifically of political discourse, and will also be very useful to politicians and anyone interested in communication strategies.

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