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PRONOMINAL AND SPATIO-TEMPORAL DEIXIS IN CONTEMPORARY SPANISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE: A CORPUS-BASED PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS

A Thesis in

Spanish

by

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ABSTRACT

The research reported in this study investigates deixis in contemporary Spanish political discourse. In particular, it focuses on the pronominal and spatio-temporal aspects of deixis and establishes a comparison with a corpus of everyday talk. Although the behavior of pronouns has received a substantial amount of attention in the Anglo-American scholarly literature, the present project represents a significant contribution to the field in Spanish. This dissertation studies in depth pronominal forms (such as yo/nosotros/usted, etc.), professional terms of address (su señora, señor diputado), and spatio-temporal deixis (aquí, hoy, en esta tribuna, etc.), in order to highlight the differences between political discourse in the parliament and everyday talk. Methodologically, this project draws from different paradigms. While its general framework is discourse analytic, it provides a pragmatic interpretation of the data, taking into account the linguistic and extralinguistic contexts of the speeches. It also takes from corpus linguistics in that it highlights the quantitative differences between two large corpora (political discourse and everyday talk).

The results suggest that several factors affect language in the parliamentary setting beyond the lexical level. Immediacy, iconicity, and the confrontational character of the interaction between members of the parliament, for instance, are aspects to be considered when analyzing the language in this particular setting.
This project is organized as follows: Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of the most relevant research paradigms in the study of political language. Chapter 2, in turn, reviews the literature on deixis, keeping a special emphasis on deixis in political discourse. Chapter 3 is concerned with the methodological approaches of this dissertation. Chapter 4 studies first person pronouns, analyzing how \textit{yo} and \textit{nosotros} differ in function in the two corpora. Chapter 5 focuses on the other-referential deixis, demonstrating the ways in which politicians take advantage of the potential vagueness of impersonal pronouns in order to confront their opponents. On the other hand, certain professional terms of address show a tendency to keep in-group solidarity. Finally, Chapter 6 illustrates how political discourse, in the setting of the parliament, is mainly concerned with indicating the immediate circumstances of the act of speech (now, today). This differs greatly from the control corpus, in which such context-related references are extremely infrequent.

This dissertation highlights the need for a deeper understanding of political discourse beyond the lexical level. In studying deictic expressions, it reveals the indivisible relationship between language and its social function.
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Esta tesis está dedicada a mi madre, a Gus, a mi hermana, i la memòria del meu pare.

Using a very common metaphor, many people compare the completion of a dissertation with that of a trip. Although the image is certainly suggesting, it is not too accurate. One can, most of the time, travel alone and make it safely with relatively little help. In reality, however, a dissertation is the actual product of the complex interaction of the author with hundreds of books and articles, advisors, professors, colleagues, solitude, despair and enthusiasm, joy and frustration, computer viruses, gallons of coffee, and friends and family whose love and support are vital. So, to redefine the metaphor, I would say that this is a trip where you are traveling without a clear idea of where you are, or where you are going, in a foreign country, surrounded by a language you can barely speak and with one dollar in your pocket. Luckily, there are many people who care about you and help you and guide you along the way. Those are the people I here thank. I make no apologies for the extension of this section. Being lengthy may be undesirable, but being ungrateful is unforgivable.

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION: THE STUDY OF LANGUAGE IN POLITICS

This chapter highlights the essential role played by language in political activity, by providing an overview of the most relevant literature on the study of political discourse (PD henceforth). This chapter is divided in two sections. The first one provides a brief historical report on the interest in political language from a linguistics perspective, acknowledging the different approaches to its study; its different foci and methodological procedures. The second offers an overview of the rules of the Spanish parliament, demonstrating how its protocol affects directly the verbal interaction between its members.

1.1 The language of politics

Politics and language are inextricably intertwined. Just as political activity needs language—oral, written—as its vehicle, language maintains structures of domination and resistance, of power imbalance and of empowerment (Giddens 1984). Interest in political language is as old as politics itself. From the classic rhetorical studies of Aristotle to the influential insights of Orwell or the more current Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA henceforth) paradigm, many scholars from a wide array of fields have focused on the role of language as used in political activity. This topic has been studied from a variety of angles: from political scientists to sociologists, from philosophers to
linguists, historians or anthropologists, the role and nature of language in politics has attracted the interest of the scholarly community for centuries.

In spite of the multidisciplinary nature of the study of political language, the multiplicity of philosophical approaches, methodological frameworks, and perspectives and analyses of the matter, there is nonetheless wide agreement on the importance of language in politics. In accordance with this fundamental assumption, many authors have pointed out the inextricable relationship between language and politics (Beard 2000; Bell 1988; Brockway 1965; Fairclough 1989, 2000; Gastil 1992; Lakoff 1990, 2000; Wilson 1990). Language is not ornamentation to political behavior. It lies at its very core and is inseparable from politics. Hall (1972) argues that ‘the basic element of politics is, quite simply, talk’ (p. 51), while Lakoff, in turn, claims that: ‘Language drives politics and determines the success of political machinations. Language is the initiator and interpreter of power relations. Politics is language’ (1990: 13).

Geis (1987) has noticed as well that language is a main preoccupation for politicians, who take great care in their linguistic choices during electoral campaigns. Even once elected, language will become one of their main preoccupations: public opinion and the media scrutinize and criticize any lack of fulfillment of electoral promises, which are formulated verbally. Politicians are ridiculed for their lack of linguistic command or praised for their skill; decades later after their death, Winston Churchill in Great Britain or John F. Kennedy in the United States are still remembered for their brilliant oratory skills.
The importance of this intertwined relationship had already been noticed in ancient Greece. Dallmayr reminds us that for Aristotle, the two really necessary activities of the ‘political being’ (zoon politikon) were to be found in the bios politikos (political way of life), which are praxis (activity) and lexis (word) (1984: 6). For Aristotle, political language and thought were indivisible.

Politics is, then, an activity essentially conceived, performed and perceived (consumed) in the form of text. Diverging from the general assumption that politics is simply talk (in the sense of ‘empty language’), the latest approaches to PD analysis claim that doing politics is actually ‘talking politics’ (Paine 1981: 10). Not only is it true that in particular political contexts such as electoral campaigns the ‘challenger for a political office can do very little but talk’(Geis 1987: 13), but recent approaches to specific linguistic phenomena relevant to political language, such as metaphors, suggest that speech and action may in fact have a stronger relationship than previously thought.

Current views on metaphor, highly influenced by the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980), suggest that figurative language derives in tangible effects. Working within this paradigm, Elwood (1995) recognizes a tendency of establishing war metaphors for social problems in the United States. In his paper, Elwood claims that the aggressiveness of declaring war towards drug users often results in a further demonization of already marginal sectors of the population. Elwood suggests that war metaphors provoke the implementation of measures which tend in most cases to aggravate the issue in question. Mey (2001: 306) contends that metaphors are not only
ways to solve problems but also to establish them. Schön makes the following remark:

“When we examine the problem-setting stories told by the analysts and practitioners of social policy, it becomes apparent that the framing of problems often depends upon metaphors underlying the stories which generate problem setting and set the directions of problem solving’ (1979: 255 in Mey 2001: 307). This cognitive turn in the study of PD will be studied in greater detail in section

1.2 What is ‘political’ in language?

In order to understand what constitutes political language, we must first elucidate the meaning of the adjective ‘political’ in PD. Although one might initially believe that this question evokes a fairly straightforward answer, recent trends in research have challenged the traditional range of the term. Critical Linguistics (CL in short) in general and CDA, in particular, have expanded its scope. Undoubtedly influenced by neo-Marxist theories, language is considered within these theoretical frameworks as the primary means by way of which processes and situations of power imbalance (e.g. class struggles, immigration, racism, sexist attitudes, etc.) are formulated or maintained. Thus, the ‘political’ aspect of language is devised as an entity virtually indivisible from any social interaction.
Some researchers (Fairclough 1989, Wodak and Ludwig 1999) claim that virtually all text—considered in its widest sense—contains political elements. Authors such as Lakoff (1990) talk about the political character of language as used in large corporations and the judicial system, while van Dijk (1993) reflects on the percolation of ideological stances (particularly related to racism) in a variety of discourses (media, education, academia, and corporate business).

Not all researchers seem equally inclined to consider all talk political. Against this view, and perhaps taking the argument to the extreme, Nimmo and Swanson (1990) point out that it would be problematic to maintain that a cookbook, a tip on fishing, or lectures are all political. As they warn: 'The least trustworthy of guides, common sense, suggests a compromise: granting that politics is all talk, “not all talk is politics.” Even scholars working within the CDA paradigm have been cautious in taking a broad view on the range and scope of the political nature of language (see van Dijk 1999).

Although the existence of a political component to many social interactions is undeniable, the present project is interested solely in language in professional politics. Even within this narrower range, it covers a remarkably wide scope, which contains, as Ensink (1997) notes, different types of registers: press briefings, press interviews, and meetings, etc. The present study is concerned, with one such type of discourse—the debates in Spanish parliament (SP henceforth). In this sense, the interest lies in PD that is

---

1 Chilton (2002) has emphasized how ‘political’ in CDA relates to the Greek ideal of ‘polis’: in this sense, it is not narrowly circumscribed to professional politics but it comprises life in society, which necessarily entails power struggles.
reflexive (i.e., deals with professional political topics) and unequivocally situated (all of
the speeches took place in the site of the SP). As such, I do not address other types of
political discourse in other settings.

1.3 Language as social semiosis

Scholars in the field of linguistics have studied language from many different theoretical
standpoints, depending on the main focus of their research. Some researchers have paid
attention to its internal structure (Chomsky 1965, 1968), adherence to logical form
(Russell 1962, Wittgenstein 1962) or its correlation with social variables (Labov 1972a,
1972b). This project originates from the premise that any account of political language
must necessarily refer to its social nature. The very focus of this study, the analysis of
deictic expressions, implies a particular kind of relationship between interlocutors.
Language is viewed in this respect as a social semiotic system (Halliday 1978, 1994, 2002,
Holtgraves 2001), implying that its nature is intimately related to our demands and
needs as well as the functions it needs to serve (Halliday in Webster 2002). In other
words, with language we not only communicate but actually do things; we set and
accomplish goals and objectives. In particular, the emergence of postulates such as
Speech Act Theory (which will be discussed in section 3.2.3 in Chapter 3), reinforce the
idea that language entails more than simply communicating.

The concept of social semiotic system implies, moreover, that meaning is not
some sort of abstract substance contained in words that awaits to be unraveled in the act
of communication, but rather that entities (whether individuals or communities) construct meaning through negotiation (interaction).

This differs substantially from the conventional view that regards communication as a process of codification-interpretation (represented in the traditional *conduit metaphor*). For Lemke, ‘all meanings are made within communities and […] the analysis of meaning should not be separated from the social, historical, cultural and political dimensions of these communities’ (1995:9). In this view, context is not simply a construct external to language but it is an active actor in its interpretation (Meadow 1980, Nimmo 1978). Political language is characterized not only by its social nature but by other factors: its context, topics and actors. The following sections describe the most relevant features of political language.

1.4 Characteristics of political language

Once it is established that political language understood as ‘professional PD’ is the object of study, an explanation of its characteristics is in order. Broadly speaking, PD can be defined by its topics, the channels through which it is perceived and expressed, and its grammatical features.

Van Dijk suggests that, although it can initially concern any topic, professional PD deals essentially with its own actors, events, and ideologies—it is metadiscursive (1999:39). This is particularly true in parliamentary speeches where references to previous speeches, policies, and other Members of the Parliament (MPs henceforth) are
constant. Van Dijk notes, however, that politicians often introduce off-topics with formulaic expressions which mark the following texts as not essentially political. This seems to suggest that politicians introduce cues to their audience to establish the boundaries of what professional talk is and what constitutes private talk\(^2\) (and of another kind). This strategy has already been noted by Muntigl (2002) and Partington (2003).

Political language can also be studied directly from its sources; analyzing speech produced in the professional location of a parliamentary or electoral meeting, or indirectly, through its representation in the media. In this sense, there is a remarkable amount of research that has studied how political language is portrayed by the press—written and audiovisual (Fairclough 1998; Porter 1976; Shook and Lattimore 1982). The types of media through which audiences consume political text are of great importance to the study of political language and affect directly the ways in which politicians put forth their messages.

Finally, as van Dijk has suggested (1999), the factors mentioned above influence not only the lexicon but the grammatical quality of political texts. Hence, a media interview with a politician will contain a higher frequency of first person pronouns as well as backchannelling expressions (\textit{you know, of course, that's right}) than pre-scripted parliamentary speeches. Large electoral meetings, in turn, will typically present more

\(^2\) I refer by this to ‘off-topic’ talk. Politicians often resort to this strategy to alleviate tension in the parliamentary interaction by telling a joke, or to simply acknowledge other news or current events that may be deemed relevant to political discussion.
first person pronouns and more dynamic verbs than the usual structured opening speeches in a parliamentary setting.

In terms of the communicative interaction in which PD takes part, there are several traits that set political language apart from other types of discourse. García and Zoppi (1992) indicate its multidestination. In general terms, this entails that a political message addresses the direct interlocutors as well as the audience that receives it indirectly through the media. Pitkin highlights, in this respect, the public quality of PD, arguing that it is in fact always public, both with respect to its actors and to its subject matter, and concludes that there cannot be ‘private politics’ (in Corcoran, 1990: 71). This has a clear resonance in parliamentary debate, considering that the producer of a message must have in mind how his/her speech will be received by partisans and at the same time attempt to predict how it will be interpreted by opposing political factions (p.34). In other words, politicians are aware of the fact that anything they say will be scrutinized by their opponents, who will try to downplay and counterattack their message.

1.4.1 Types of PD

As noted above, one aspect of PD is the type of activity in which it is contextualized: there are press briefings, press conferences, meetings and speeches (Sauer 1997). Schäffner makes the distinction between ‘internal’ and ‘external’ PD. The first type refers to communication within political institutions, such as in the parliament, within political
parties, etc. The second type is concerned with communication that relates to a wider audience (the typical statements of politicians in electoral campaigns, channelled through the media).

Technology and media now also allow politicians to speak on behalf of their countries to a world-wide audience. This would have been unthinkable prior to the widespread dissemination and accessibility provided by modern media, more so if we compare to the classical world, where the reach of a speaker was inevitably related to the power of their voice. Although the current situation may seem overall advantageous, it may in fact also bring undesirable effects. Ensink (1997) illustrates this with a diplomatic crisis in 1986 between the German Federal Republic and the former Soviet Union when Helmut Kohl, the German Chancellor at the time, compared Mikhail Gorbachov to the former Nazi propaganda minister, Josef Goebbels. While such comparison was produced during an interview with an American magazine, it nevertheless created a misunderstanding that, if not resolved in a timely fashion, could have escalated into unwanted hostility between those two governments.

Register also defines the nature of the text. This concept is concerned with the functional varieties of language, determined by the activities in which it is used. Register has been a major focus of interest for and scholars in functional linguistics. Halliday (1977, 1978) in particular, has devoted a great deal of attention to the topic. Lemke, citing Halliday’s postulates, argues that:

The language of a sports report, a sales transaction, and a newspaper editorial differ not simply in their vocabulary, and not simply because these uses of language are more
likely for people in some social positions than others, but because the frequencies of occurrence of many grammatical and semantic features in these texts were skewed by the nature of the different activities in which language was being used (1995: 26)

It is important now to mention the different perspectives from which political language can be studied. From a functional perspective, it can be argued that political language is a genre, conceived as ‘the staged, structured way in which people go about achieving goals using language’ (Eggins 1994: 10). Political language differs then from medical staff meetings, for instance, in that the goals are essentially different. However, we can also talk about the register of political language (concerning the immediate situational context in which texts are produced: press briefings, parliamentary debates), its mode (the role that language plays in the particular interaction) its tenor, which relates to the relationship between interactants, and finally its field, which is typically its topic (a discussion about taxes, immigration, etc.) (Eggins 1994). This dissertation is mainly concerned with the ways in which deictic expressions demonstrate how political language is a different genre than everyday careful speech not only at a lexical but at a grammatical level as well.

1.4.2 Parliamentary debates as object of study

As mentioned in 1.3, the aim of this study is to provide a depiction of a concrete aspect of political language—the study of deictic expressions, both regarding the pronominal system as well as spatio-temporal deixis. To obtain a clear idea of the characteristics of political language I have chosen to study only the language used by politicians in a very
particular setting: parliamentary debates. As will be discussed in Chapter 3, while the transcriptions do not account for interesting aspects such as intonation or pauses, they are verbatim accounts of what is said in the SP, which provides a reliable corpus of data for the type of analysis that concerns the present project.

1.4.2.1 Characteristics of parliamentary speech

Parliamentary speech is a special type of PD. Due to its systematic transcription and transformation into public documents (available now worldwide through the Internet) and the immediacy and dissemination of mass media, the most relevant fragments of what is said are consistently broadcast to the general population. In this sense, van Dijk argues that parliamentary speech is doubly public: its purpose is the representation of the citizenry while its accessibility is widely public (1999: 29). On the one hand, its primary goal is to serve the interests of the people—because they have chosen the MPs as their legitimate representatives, but also because in most countries the outcome of such oral activity is encoded in written form and therefore made accessible to the general society. This, in fact, adds a new layer of preoccupation with the form of the PD. As Muntigl notes, politicians are aware that parts of their speeches ‘will be disembedded and reembedded in the medium of radio, television, newspaper, and the Internet’ (Muntigl 2002: 52).

Parliamentary speech is in this respect no different than large electoral meetings, but whereas the latter consist of lengthy readings of prepared discourse, parliamentary
speech calls for interaction and a significant deal of improvisation. Ilie notes two remarkable characteristics of parliamentary discursive practices: on the one hand, the defense of one’s already acquired position of power, and on the other hand the manifestation of subversion by those seeking power (2003). In other words, political activity in the parliamentary settings can be summarized in two major positions: those who attempt to obtain power and those who defend their position of power. To complicate things further, these two basic activities are framed in a collaborative effort of maintaining the essence of the system (parliamentary democracy), which entails that the contestants do not question the general rules of the game (ibid. p. 73).

The particular interest of this project, the study of deixis in parliamentary discourse, is especially useful in bringing out two major research trends: by looking at the range and pronominal expressions within a pragmatic standpoint, we can gain insight into the scope of alliances and opposing political forces as perceived by the speaker. On the other hand, a quantitative analysis of the appearance and functions of these pronouns shows the degree to which everyday careful speech differs from this type of PD. Finally, to corroborate that political language differs from everyday careful language not only lexically but grammatically, I establish a comparison between the uses of deictic expressions of place and time.

Parliamentary speeches, as will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter, also offer another ‘cognitive window’ (using Wilson’s (1990) terminology) into understanding this duality of adversarial/collaborative relationship with other MPs.
parliamentary debates there is a high frequency of spatial deictic terms (*here, there, in the second row*), which identify the physical location of opponents or partisans. For instance the members of the government sit in the area located to the right of the president of the SP whereas the opposition sits in the exact opposite seats, across the aisle. More concretely, seats are marked with different colors, a fact to which politicians also refer frequently as a strategy to avoid referring to MPs by name, thus using epithets such as ‘those sitting in the blue row’, etc. This entails a clear strategy by which the speaker cannot be accused of referring directly to another MP (which at times requires a following intervention by the opponent alluded to) while making ambiguous references to him/her.

Formally, and in agreement with Halliday’s concept of register previously mentioned, not only the vocabulary but grammatical features convey the character of parliamentary discourse. To be sure, a notable feature that will be discussed at length in Chapter 6 is the increased appearance of spatio-temporal deictics that constantly mention the physical circumstances of its production. Politicians remind their audience (the consumers of PD, typically by way of the media) as well as their direct interlocutors of the immediacy (*here* and *now*) of their speech. This study will demonstrate the purpose of such use, which is remarkably less frequent in everyday conversations.
1.5 The study of PD

It is not surprising that such a wide object of study as PD has been analyzed from multiple perspectives. Research has focused on its topics, relationship to political thought and its effect on electoral decisions, and on the communicative structure of political interactions. Recently, and influenced by the ‘linguistic turn’ in philosophy and the social sciences, researchers have taken an increased interest in the purely linguistic (lexis, deixis, semantics) aspects of PD.

Next, I provide a historic account of the major trends in the study of PD, which will be detailed in subsequent sections. Beginning with an acknowledgment of the initial interests of classical rhetoric, I highlight the importance of the ‘linguistic turn’, and I provide an account of other important approaches to the study of political language considering different intellectual traditions and topics of interest.

The following discussion suggests that it is virtually impossible for any researcher to review in depth the different theoretical approaches and foci in political research. Indeed, PD analysis is a converging point of many disciplines that aim at evaluating what is characteristic of PD, on the one hand, and how political messages (as formulated through language) influence political thought and behavior, on the other. In addition, a recent approach to text analysis, CDA, adds an attempt at raising the readers’ awareness to topics such as inequality, domination or racism, as well as identifying the political aspect of texts and discourses not explicitly or overtly political (such as in the media, educational discourse, etc.).
Any account of political language must originate from recognition of its social character. Voloshinov pointed out (1973) how the individual manipulation of the linguistic sign is regulated and determined by social relations. This is especially relevant to PD, where the speakers represent not only their voices but in most of their activity express other people’s voices and concerns. Several authors have acknowledged the fact that most research on PD in the sixties and seventies has taken more interest in aspects peripheral to language. Geis (1987), for instance, has criticized the fact that many of the studies on political language in those decades (e.g. Edelman 1974) focused mostly on political issues and few of them actually paid attention to purely linguistic aspects of political texts. Even in those works interested in linguistic issues, a great deal of research studied only the lexicon, the aspect that has received, by far, the greatest amount of interest.

1.5.1 The Rhetorical Approach

Rhetoric is mostly interested in the relationship between language and persuasion. Traditionally, its concerns have emphasized stylistics and the influence of language on political thinking and political decisions. A basic rhetorical claim is that an orator’s skill may turn a speech into a success or a failure, according to its impact on the audience. García and Zoppi, for instance, state that classical rhetoric was conceptualized as an external art or skill that could be applied to language irrespective of its internal structure (1992: 53). Although nowadays this might seem to be a fairly strange view, Corcoran
reminds us that ‘language as a purely abstract conception was not a special concern of
grammar and rhetoric, nor even philology or comparative languages (…), until Wilhem
von Humboldt (1767-1835) endeavored to establish a science of language in the
nineteenth century’ (1990: 55). Hence, rather than attempting to devise the internal
structure of linguistic form, language was considered as raw material with which it was
possible to work, much like a potter shapes clay to turn it into a vase.

The term rhetoric cannot be separated from its relationship with political activity.
López Eire and de Santiago (2000) provide a detailed account of the origin and nature of
the term. The authors, quoting Palz (1934), note the meaning in ancient Greek of rhétor as
‘politician’. Rhetoric and politics have always nurtured each other: the former provides
the strategies and organization of the text to make it persuasive while the second is
already rhetorical (social) in nature.

Chilton (2002: 2) also points out that language and politics have accompanied
human existence since the beginning of time, and were already intimately intertwined in
ancient Greece. Indeed, it was there where Rhetoric Art, deemed as one of the pillars of
knowledge, included the art of polemicizing (arguing), judicial skills (needed to defend
oneself in court) as well as political rhetoric, largely important in a society in which
political activity was potentially permissible for a large sector of the citizenry. Leith and
Myerson (1983) comment that disputes over property and other litigations were solved
in ancient Greece not by professional politicians, but by the directly affected persons
themselves, while Kennedy (1983) argues that the only difference between judicial
rhetoric and political rhetoric resided in the actors who performed them. Sauer, in turn, comments on the two basic functions of rhetoric in classical antiquity, depending on the context in which they appeared: persuasion in the Greek Polis and the Roman Republic and the elaboration of a brilliant style in poetry and educational/instructional settings (1997:34).

The development of interest in rhetoric continued during the Middle Age and endured, reaching the eighteenth century with the works of Campbell, who, influenced by Hume’s theories of the contiguity of ideas, suggested that vivacity of ideas would lead to enhanced interest and attention by the audience (Bitzer 1988). Several authors have pointed out the decay of interest in rhetoric in the nineteenth century (de Landtsheer 1997), to the point that López Eire and de Santiago label it as the ‘saeculus horribilis’ (2000: 69). Things would change dramatically, nevertheless, with the work of Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1952), heavily influenced by what has received the name of the ‘linguistic turn’, discussed in the following section.

1.5.2 The linguistic turn

The term ‘linguistic turn’ refers to the privileged position that language enjoys in the current scholarship in philosophy and the social sciences. Corcoran (1990) suggests that there are two competing (and to a certain extent contradictory) views of language in the ‘linguistic turn’ in philosophy. The first relates to the capacity of language as a labeling tool (it can be learned, refined, etc.). The second refers to its ability to act upon the
world, entailing that it is an ‘inextricable part of whatever can be described, known, felt and desired’ (p. 61). As the author concludes, ‘these paradoxical and contradictory notions of language have reinforced one another in placing language at the very center of an intellectual revolution’ (ibid.).

Fierke (2003) notes how philosophers such as Wittgenstein strived to bring everyday language back into scholarly study. Natural language had been neglected for a long time, considered as being ‘too messy’. Wittgenstein certainly stirred the waters of language and philosophy by claiming that the study of linguistic logic had to have a necessary relationship with ‘reality’ (p. 74). The Austrian author argued that the main task of philosophy was actually to attempt to gain a deeper understanding of the internal logic of natural language, rather than stay away from it due to its apparent complexity. Philosophy was made into a ‘critique of language’ (ibid. 74). In this view, language is not a mere ‘reflection of the mind’ as Cartesian philosophy had suggested. Language was in and of itself a form of action. In a well-known metaphor, Wittgenstein talks about ‘language games’, not meaning ‘word games’ but rather implying the complexity of the functioning of language in different domains of human activity and different discursive spheres. Thus, language can be initially seen as a simple game (such as chess), governed by rules, although this does not explicate the multiplicity of layers (=creativity) that language allows. Wittgenstein was already hinting at the influence and importance that the pragmatic approach would gain in the second half of the twentieth
century. With language, postulates Wittgenstein, we “do ‘things, not only ‘say’ things” (McGuinness 2002).

The consequences of this interest in language were fundamental for the development of discourse analysis, pragmatics and sociolinguistics. While the prominent view of linguistics as an empiricist enterprise was still very strong, another current of research, influenced by French scholars such as Bourdieu, Foucault and Derrida, shifted toward more integrative theories of language, in which sociological and political aspects would play a pivotal role. This change will be discussed further in section 1.6.4.

1.5.3 Language and political thought

A crucial claim in rhetoric is that a skillful speech can influence in a desired way the audience; convince it of particular ideas, stir the emotions, etc. While this conceptualization of the relationship between political language and thought has exerted a tremendous amount of influence over the centuries, it has been challenged by recent scholarly work. Geis (1987), for instance, criticizes Edelman’s claim that ‘language shapes the meaning of events’. In his view, references to ‘meaning’ should more appropriately be replaced by ‘significance’. Geis is skeptical of the idea that only certain readers, utilizing certain discerning and linguistic tools, are capable of deciphering the ‘hidden meanings’ of political speech.
Geis rejects Edelman’s ideas on the grounds of a reformulated, weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, by way of which language is intimately related to thought at a semantic level. While no claims against the relationship of these two entities has been made, the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis suggests that speakers, in a way, see the world through the repertoire of forms (lexical, grammatical) provided by their native language. Scholars have debated the merits of a ‘strong’ and ‘weak’ version of this hypothesis. The strong version entails that, for instance, a language which has no tense would prevent its speakers from having the cognitive concept of ‘linear time’. In contrast, the weak version would suggest that perceptions are not fundamentally altered by the mother tongue, but that our experiences are intimately related to the way we encode them in our psyche, which is in turn determined by language.\(^3\)

Geis has argued strongly against the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, however recognizing that language in politics acts at two levels: the purely linguistic level (which describes events) as well as a psychological level that sets off related political ideas (i.e. labeling a subversive group as ‘Marxist-Leninist’ evokes a series of related images). His views on the matter have not remained unchallenged, however. Wilson (1990) has pointed out how, despite Geis’ own claims of his work being one of the first studies interested solely in the language of politics, that in fact his work is more concerned with the depiction of politics conveyed by the media, not providing sufficient evidence on political language in other settings. Wilson also points out Geis’ dependence on

\(^3\) An idea that connects with Slobin’s thinking-for-speaking (1991).
dictionary meanings as a reliable source of meaning, arguing that dictionaries in fact perpetuate certain ideologies

1.5.4 Critical Linguistics

Directly influenced by post-structuralism and Marxist critical theorists, Critical Linguistics (CL) represents an attempt to develop a new theoretical framework specifically designed for the study of language in society. This line of work emerged in the 1970s from a group of linguists based in the United Kingdom that aimed at merging linguistic text analysis with a social theory that could account for ‘the functioning of language in political and ideological processes’ (Fairclough 1992:26). Starting from this renewed interest in the relationship between language and society, linguists began to embrace research postulates from other disciplines: sociology, anthropology and philosophy, motivated by a feeling that transformational grammar was not the appropriate tool to appraise all the nuances of language in social life. Critical linguists, in fact, adopted another competing model for their linguistic inquiry, Halliday’s functional systemic approach, which they considered as being more appropriate for this type of research. This interest in other social sciences had a reciprocal effect, and soon social researchers—mostly educators and sociologists—began to pursue the study of the relationship of language and ideology as relevant to their areas of interest.

As Hodge and Kress (1979) contend, CL aimed at merging the interest of many social scientists (sociologists, psychologists) with the need that many linguists felt for
integrating social context into language research. As Simpson puts it, a central idea in CL was that ‘language is never produced in a vacuum’ (1993: 6). Critical linguists, moreover, were dissatisfied with Chomskian linguistics in that it had relegated most linguistic research not concerned with syntax or phonology to the periphery. As the authors state it:

[…] the very power and influence of Chomsky’s ideas and the preciseness of the theory had some unfortunate effects. Linguists came to assume that theoretical linguistics meant syntactic theory, and, for many, syntactic theory meant purely transformational theory. Inevitably this led to a drastic narrowing of the scope of linguistics. Recently there has been a widespread and diverse reaction against such narrowness […] Sociolinguistics look closely at the relations between language and social class. There is an increased concern to study actual language used in actual contexts: speech, conversations and various kinds of written discourse (Hodge and Kress, 1979: 2)

One of the main issues critical linguists intended to emphasize – one which still exerts a tremendous influence – is that disciplines ‘exist for the sake of their subjects, not the other way around. If the boundary that has been drawn around a discipline proves a hindrance to the proper study of that subject, then it is the boundary that must change’ (ibid. p.3). Indeed, what was a rather decontextualized way of looking at the study of language was being challenged, which suggested that the subject of study had to determine the approaches that best suited it. The influence of CL spread to other fields of study, increasing the awareness of educators, sociologists and other social researchers towards the role language plays in society.
1.5.5 Critical Discourse Analysis

While critical linguists were mainly concerned with the role ideologies played in language in general (particularly, as has been noted, as a reaction to the ostracism of its social component by Chomskian linguistics), a group of scholars working in different fields started to perceive this issue in various contexts. Analyzing a heterodoxical range of texts, from educational textbooks, to political speeches or media discourse, the new generation of critical linguists also intended to denounce what they considered manipulative texts in order to raise awareness of particularly difficult topics. Hence, racism (van Dijk 1993), gender discrimination (Talbot 1998), neo-capitalism (Fairclough and Graham 2002) or anti-semitism (Reisigl and Wodak 2000) have been major topics in the research of this new group that became known as ‘Critical Discourse Analysis’ (CDA).

CDA, far from being a homogeneous theory, has defined itself as a research program with many facets (Fairclough and Wodak 1997; Wodak 1996). Wodak and Ludwig (1999) claim that the ‘critical aspect’ of CDA resides in its self awareness of the social and political context that surrounds any type of research. Indeed, CDA not only acknowledges the complex social and ideological issues that surround any research but also strives to raise awareness of social issues and to propitiate their change. Language is seen by CDA as ‘a social phenomenon, embedded in a social and historical context.’ CDA claims that any interaction is fundamentally based on relationships of power and inequality.
Fowler (in Jaworski and Coupland, 1999), in turn, argues that the ‘critical’ aspect of CDA should entail a ‘careful analytic interrogation of the ideological categories, and the roles and institutions and so on, through which a society constitutes and maintains itself and the consciousness of its members’ (Jaworski & Coupland: 25). CDA, hence, is seen also as a tool for social action (Fairclough 1992). CDA has experienced a remarkable amount of interest in recent years, yielding numerous publications concerned with many different aspects of language and ideology.

CDA, however, has received also intense criticism. Widdowson (1998), has dismissed CDA as lacking in rigorous linguistic analysis, while acknowledging some of its insights and its relevance in denouncing certain types of linguistic manipulation. Indeed, Widdowson rightfully points out some weaknesses of CDA, mainly the arbitrary selection of examples analyzed. Moreover, CDA has been criticized as well on the grounds of the topics it concerns. Sauer (1997: 53) points out that ‘we find, however, less attention paid to the former Eastern bloc, to communism, socialism, pacifism and to liberation ideologies. Even less attention is paid to discrimination in decolonised countries, to black, red or yellow racism’. Indeed, CDA seems all too concerned in identifying and criticizing racial and political problems in the Western world.

1.5.5.1 Methods in CDA

Methodologically, some (Wodak 1999) have suggested two main directions to be pursued in CDA research: the micro-level which focuses on the linguistic material,
whether lexicon, intonation, pronouns, etc. and works bottom-up to define the communicative frameworks in which it operates (speech act, general communicative context, etc.) and the macro-level approach. The latter links ideologies to their linguistic expression in bottom-down fashion (analyzing anti-semitic, gender-discriminatory texts, for instance).

The linguistic substance to be analyzed can be varied, from semantic interest in lexicon, phonological focus on intonation, stress patterns or pauses, or pragmatic interest, as in the present project. Fairclough, for instance, has studied the increased use of nominalization (absence of dynamic verbs) in the depiction of news in written media. Thus, he argues (1989) how depicting a shooting as ‘the shooting of the rioting crowd by the police’ is generally perceived as more static (and consequently less emotional) than ‘the police shot the rioting crowd’. The use of the passive voice, which allows the deletion of the subject/agent also has been regarded as a typical strategy for attenuating responsibility. Other researchers, such as van Dijk (1993) have taken into account the cognitive aspect of metaphors, which will be discussed next.

1.5.5.2 The cognitive approach to CDA

Recent scholarly work has attempted to establish a link between language and political cognition. This approach aims at understanding the reciprocal relationship between political psychology (understood primarily as the construction of political imagery and conceptualization of political activity and its actors) and its linguistic manifestation.
Merelmann (in Van Dijk 2002: 203) states that ‘our knowledge and opinion about politicians, parties or presidents are largely acquired, changed or confirmed by various forms of text and talk during our socialization’. Van Dijk (1993, 2002) highlights the absolute role of language (largely through the media, in this contemporary age) in the construction of our knowledge. Within the cognitive approach, the study of metaphor, not as a purely linguistic-stylistic figure but rather as a central concept, has received a substantial amount of attention. The ubiquity of metaphor in all areas of political language has been extensively studied (Bosman 1987; Elwood 1995; Kennedy 2000; Kuusisto 1999; Mio 1996, 1997; Mio and Lovrich 1998; Pancake 1993; Rohrer 1995). Mac Cormac illustrates the cognitive power of metaphor:

> Explanations without metaphor would be difficult if not impossible, for in order to describe the unknown, we must resort to concepts that we know and understand, and that is the essence of metaphor—an unusual juxtaposition of the familiar and the unfamiliar (1985: 9)

The ‘cognitive turn’ principally initiated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Gibbs (1994) suggests that metaphors provide a general cognitive framework from which subsequent linguistic metaphors derive. In their seminal work, Lakoff and Johnson distinguished between ‘dead’ (or lexicalized) metaphors—such as *the leg of the table* or *the hands of the clock*—and conceptual metaphors, which contain highly integrated cultural notions. Hence, they define orientational metaphors (of the type GOOD IS UP, from which it derives to be down or depressed or in high spirits), ontological (TIME IS A SUBSTANCE, which produces concepts as wasting time, saving time) and structural metaphors (IDEAS ARE FOOD; they are assimilated, digested, etc.). This revolutionary
conceptualization is highly relevant for the study of political language. Rather than arguing for *a priori* manipulation of the speeches aiming for an impact on the audiences, researchers working in the cognitive framework, such as Hellsten and Renvall, argue that ‘certain journalistic conventions, such as the metaphorization of politics, may produce, confirm, or perhaps reveal social or cultural pathologies’ (1997: 256). Lakoff seems to suggest, in addition to this view, that some politicians actually make conscientious efforts in choosing specific metaphors: ‘In Gulf War I, Bush I tried out a self-defense story: Saddam was ‘threatening our oil line.’ The American people didn’t buy it. Then he found a winning story, a rescue story—The Rape of Kuwait. It sold well, and is still the most popular account of that war’ (2003). But, powerful as it may be, it was not the only image of war. At the time, Lakoff identified other competing metaphors: WAR IS BUSINESS, WAR IS A CRIME, WAR IS A THREAT and WAR IS ENTERTAINMENT (Lakoff 1991). It is important to note that this cognitive approach has been appraised by scholars working in different disciplines. Hence, researchers studying language within the CDA paradigm have pointed out prevailing metaphors related to immigration (as a natural disaster) in the European Union (van Dijk 1996) or the massive migration of refugees in the Kosovo War (Kennedy 2000).

### 1.5.6 Political research in Europe

The analysis of PD in Europe presents historically different traditions. French scholars have focused their research on *lexicologie politique*, e.g., the taxonomic
classification of political terms and quantitative studies of the nature of texts using the frequency of lexical items as the most significant indicator of the ideological load of a text. This type of analysis, which combines a corpus-based approach with a discourse analytical interest, looks at the significance of symbolic terms—such as community, solidarity, etc—in order to capture the ‘internal quality of texts’ (Kerbrat and Mouillaud 1984, see also Marcellesi 1976 for a description of socialist and communist texts). Other approaches, such as historical semantics, have studied the development, over long periods of time, of the nature and meaning of political concepts as well as their relationship with political behavior (de Landtsheer 1997: 9). Only recently, have researchers such as Bonnafous (1997) have examined particular aspects of interaction, turn-taking and the general dynamics of meaning construction in negotiation.

The study of PD in Germany, a field that flourished after World War II, has devoted much of its work to connecting quantitative approaches to the philosophy of political thought (de Landtsheer 1997: 9). Studies by Klaus (1971) and Ludz (1980) preceded more content-oriented approaches in which scholars analyzed the rhetoric of the role of Germany in Europe or the language of Nazism (Seidel and Seidel-Slotty 1961). Lang-Pfaff (1997) illustrates this point, acknowledging the fact that a majority of studies on political language in Germany have dealt either with the language of the Third Reich and the rhetoric of the (problematic) role of this nation in the origins of the European Economic Community (the current European Union).
Research conducted in the United Kingdom is particularly relevant for this project. British researchers have recognized the importance of studying authentic language for many purposes, which has enhanced the field of corpus linguistics to the point that several universities in Britain offer degrees in this specialty. Corpus linguistics have provided linguists with several corpora that provide researchers with excellent sources of actual linguistic data. An example is the monumental British National Corpus, a compilation of 100 million words of both spoken and written British English (Clear 1993). This corpus stands as a pioneer in its field, aimed primarily at lexicographers but widely used by researchers of all kinds, particularly in pedagogy and textbook elaboration.

Other corpora, have a narrower scope; such are the COLT (Bergen Corpus of London Teenage Language), the CLC (Cambridge Learner Corpus, a compilation of linguistic output produced by learners of English), or the L-LC (Longman-Lancaster Corpus, concerned primarily with informal, spoken British English) to name a few. These corpora have in fact inspired other compilations in the English speaking world, such as the ACE (Australian Corpus of English), the CPSA (Corpus of Professional Spoken American English), the ICE (International Corpus of English), or the CANCODE (Cambridge and Nottingham Corpus of Discourse in English).

The primary aims of corpus linguistics in Britain have revolved around pure description of grammatical features and its application to the teaching of English as a Second or Foreign language (cf. McCarthy 1998, Whichman et al. 1997). Some
researchers, however, have sought to incorporate this methodology into PD analysis. Blackledge, for instance (2002), explores the rhetoric used by authorities in Northern England to depict multiracial riots. Other scholars have focused their attention on particular features of PD as employed by prominent figures of the political arena. Carter and McCarthy (2002) provide an analysis of a radio interview with Tony Blair in 1996 (before he was elected as Prime Minister). Finally, one of CDA’s most prominent researchers, Norman Fairclough, analyzed the change in PM Blair’s rhetorical style using a large number of speeches (2000). The methodology of corpus linguistics will be explained in further detail in Chapter 3.

1.5.7 Political research in the United States

Beginning with the seminal works of Edelman (1964, 1971), research on PD in the United States has remained primarily in the domain of rhetoric (Bitzer 1988 Chaffee 1975, Clinton 1988, Harris 1991, Gamson 1993). In particular, the most prolific subfield has been, by far, the close study of presidential rhetoric (Campbell and Jamieson, 1990, Green 1987; Hart 1984, Silvestri 2000, Dillon et al., Snyder and Higgins 1990, Stuckey 1990, Rostow 1988, Windt and Ingold 1987). In this respect, American researchers have been mainly interested in studying the effect of stylistic devices in presidential speeches, particularly the rhetorical styles of statesmen regarded as skilled orators, including John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Ronald Reagan (Halmari 1993). This type of study has
emphasized a careful analysis of slogans as well as metaphors (the famous *trickle-down economics* or *the shining city on the hill* images of Reagan).

### 1.5.8. Previous research in the language of politics in Spain

Research in PD in Spain has focused on the traditional interest in the lexicon and rhetorical and stylistic aspects of political speech. In several of her studies, Fernández Lagunilla has studied the lexicon of the Spanish Republic in two different periods in Spain’s history (1985, 1987), the language of the right wing parties (1984) and also has published work on the language of political communication (1999). This type of research—the relationship between ideology and lexicon—has received a remarkable amount of attention in Latin America (see Amable 1993, Miura 1999, Viscardo 1989). Other authors have been interested in the relationship between politics and the audiovisual media, yet still keeping a focus on the lexicon (see Baltar 2000, Contreras 1997,).

A small group of researchers, however, has recently studied the pragmatic interface between politeness and discourse management strategies. Blas-Arroyo (2000) suggested a possible explanation for the perceived success in 1993 of Prime Minister (PM) Felipe González versus J.M.Aznar, who was at the time the challenger for the Presidency of the Spanish Government. According to his study, the face-to-face debates that took place on several TV channels represented a remarkable difficulty to the challenger: while González was already perceived as a charismatic leader with an innate
ability for political rhetoric, Aznar was still struggling against his image as a political leader devoid of charisma. Aznar’s struggle was reflected, according to Blas Arroyo, in an admitted difficulty in balancing a ‘professional’ with a ‘personal’ voice. While the latter is concerned with the sphere of dialogue regulation (keeping the dialogic ground and signaling and interpreting cues for turn-taking appropriately), the former represents statements by virtue of which a politician takes into account his professional role: representative of his party’s constituents, secretary of a particular area, etc. Blas-Arroyo concludes that while González appeared overconfident in his first TV appearance and seemed unprepared, he showed a gift for shifting seamlessly between the two voices.

Interested mostly in debate interaction, another paper by Blas-Arroyo examines aspects of politeness (positive and negative face, mitigations of responsibility) and self-assuredness (2003). Blas-Arroyo investigates here other aspects of the interaction employed in the same series of debates referred above.

Two researchers working within the paradigm of CDA, van Dijk and Martín Rojo (1997) analyze the political rhetoric of the Spanish Government in a particularly difficult situation. After declaring the immediate deportation of several illegal immigrants, the cabinet of PM Aznar expelled them employing an unusual technique: they were administered a powerful sedative. After this questionable operation, the press officer of the Government declared that ‘we had a problem which has been solved.’ Van Dijk and Martín Rojo pay particular attention to the way ‘othering’ strategies were utilized by the government to justify such action (e.g. the abundance of pejorative adjectives to refer to
immigrants, the nominalization of the actions of the government and avoidance of action verbs such as expel, etc.).

Other scholars working in the CDA framework have studied the proliferation of scientific jargon in the media as means to obfuscate information (Martínez Vizcarrondo 2000), while Ribas, applying a corpus-based analysis, presents a lexical account of the depiction of immigration in the Parliament of Catalonia (2000). Using the same technique, Otaola (2000) offers a quantitative analysis of the use of first person pronouns as used by the King of Spain, Juan Carlos I. Although not devoid from its shortcomings, CDA represents a step further in the study of the political and social implications.

1.6 Proceedings of parliamentary debates

This section discusses the norms of parliamentary debate, and their effect on the dynamics between political parties. Parliamentary debates constitute a well defined speech act in and of themselves. They combine written and oral aspects of speech; inaugural speeches or important occasions such as ‘Debate del Estado de la Nación’ are largely written, while responses in the ‘turnos de réplica’ are partly improvised. Parliamentary proceedings are officially opened and closed, as well as closely refereed by the President of the Parliament. The functions of the President of the Parliament (PoP henceforth) include keeping track of the time for each speaker as well as maintaining order and disciplining unruly MPs. The PoP also announces the agenda for each session, and reminds the MPs of the rules of the proceedings, which are often employed when
MPs formulate questions that differ from what appears in the ‘Orden del Día’ (the agenda of the sessions). A sample will serve to illustrate the range of the central role of the PoP:

The following example⁴ provides a clear depiction of a typical function of the PoP:

(1) La señora PRESIDENTA: Señor Sevilla, si esta Presidencia no recuerda mal, ha formulado la pregunta y ha hecho uso de la réplica.
El señor SEVILLA SEGURA: Me queda tiempo.
La señora PRESIDENTA: Sí, pero son dos turnos, señor Sevilla. Lo siento, ha renunciado a él.
El señor SEVILLA SEGURA: Es así, si usted lo decide. Usted reparte el tiempo.
La señora PRESIDENTA: No, señor Sevilla, lo dice el Reglamento.
El señor SEVILLA SEGURA: En ningún sitio del Reglamento lo dice.
La señora PRESIDENTA: Señor Sevilla, lo dice el Reglamento, y todos los debates los finaliza el Gobierno. Muchas gracias, señor Sevilla.
El señor SEVILLA SEGURA: No sé en qué artículo del Reglamento figura.
La señora PRESIDENTA: Muchas gracias, señor Sevilla. Se suspende la sesión, que se reanudará mañana a las nueve de la mañana.
(Diario de Sesiones, 20 Dec 2000, p. 2534)

[The PRESIDENT: Mr. Sevilla, if this Presidency is not wrong, you have formulated your question and (you) have used your turn of reply.
Mr. SEVILLA SEGURA: I still have time left.
The PRESIDENT: Yes, but it is two turns, Mr. Sevilla. I am sorry, (you) have renounced (to it).
Mr. SEVILLA SEGURA: So it is, if you say so. You manage the time.
The PRESIDENT: No, Mr. Sevilla, it’s what the Regulations say.
Mr. SEVILLA SEGURA: It is nowhere in the Regulations.
The PRESIDENT: Mr. Sevilla, it’s in the Regulations, and the Government ends all debates. Thank you very much, Mr. Sevilla.
Mr. SEVILLA SEGURA: I don’t know in which article this is estipulated.
La señora PRESIDENTA: Thank you very much, Mr. Sevilla. The session is over, and it will be resumed tomorrow at nine in the morning.]

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⁴ Due to the topic of this project, and in order to provide the most faithful translation, I distinguish between the two types of vocative pronoun you in Spanish, since it is a T/V language. Taking into consideration the formality of parliamentary speech, you is understood as V, or formal, and the informal option (T) will be explicitly indicated, being the marked form. The omission of pronominal forms is also signaled with the use of parentheses.
In the next example, the PoP reminds an MP that the question formulated orally does not match what had been previously submitted, granting him the right to refuse to answer. This is also acknowledged by the addressee:

(2) La señora PRESIDENTA: Muchas gracias, señor López Aguilar. Señor ministro, le recuerdo que su respuesta debe atenerse a la pregunta textual. El señor MINISTRO DE JUSTICIA (Acebes Paniagua): Sí, señora presidenta, porque esta costumbre del Grupo Socialista de hacerme una pregunta por escrito y luego cambiarla cuando viene al Pleno se está convirtiendo en habitual, y en ésta además de manera reiterada. Le voy a contestar a la pregunta: ¿Por qué no se ha tramitado el suplicatorio del señor Berlusconi? Pues mire, por el Gobierno, porque nadie se lo ha solicitado. Ya es la segunda vez. Creo que se ha enterado todo el mundo en España menos ustedes. (Aplausos.)

(Diario de Sesiones, 16 May 2001, p. 4163)

[The PoP: Thank you very much, Mr. López Aguilar. Mr. Secretary, (I) remind (you) that your answer must match the textual question previously submitted. The SECRETARY OF JUSTICE (Acebes Paniagua): Yes, Madam president, because this habit of the Socialist Party of submitting a question in writing and then change it when (they) come to the plenary session is becoming habitual, and in this case, in addition, it happened already once. (I) am going to answer you the question: Why hasn’t the supplicatory letter to Berlusconi been processed? Well, look, because of the Government, because nobody has requested it. It is the second time already. (I) think that the everybody has realized this except for you [pl.] (Applause)]

1.6.1 Rules of the Spanish Parliament

This section provides a brief account of the most relevant aspects of the rules of interaction in the SP, as relevant to the verbal interaction between MPs. The Presidency of the SP states that all MPs must be given a copy of the document, legislation or topic to be debated in the Parliament at least 48 hours prior to its discussion in ordinary

5 All its rules and regulations are available at www.congreso.es
sessions (sesiones ordinarias). This ensures that MPs are aware of what is going to be discussed and can bring to the Parliament their concerns.

At the same time, the Government, the permanent control commission (Diputación Permanente), or a majority of the MPs may petition the convocation of extraordinary sessions to discuss particularly pertinent topics (this happened during the weeks previous to the military intervention in Iraq in March 2003, where the opposition pressured the government to make their position public). The rules of the SP clearly determine turn taking among the MPs:

- No MPs are allowed to speak without having requested the PoP for their turn. Upon being granted the right to speak, they may not exceed the allotted time (which is generally unspecified until the session in question). The PoP will warn them twice about having exceeded the time and then their microphone will be turned off.

- Interruptions during a speech are not allowed.

- MPs may delegate their turn to a member of their own party only if it is relevant to the topic (the leader of a party may have their secretary of economic affairs speak on behalf of him/her about economic issues). In order to be allowed to do this, they must request permission from the PoP. (Art. 70).

MPs are very aware of time limitations. Several articles specify the allotted time for interventions. Article 74, for instance, specifies a maximum time of 10 minutes for ordinary sessions and 15 for extraordinary sessions. If an MP is challenged, she or he
may reply once and for a maximum of five minutes only (Art. 73). If an MP comments on another MP’s person or behavior, the latter is allowed a maximum of 3 minutes to reply. Finally, the PoP has the right to modify in situ all time regulations.

Considering all the above, the SP is clearly a place where verbal communication takes place under very specific time and protocol constraints. In addition to the specific rules that call for brevity, Sauer (1997) points out how, especially in important debates (i.e. the State of the Union address in the United States, Estado de la Nación in Spain), politicians are aware of the fact that the media will broadcast very short samples of their interventions. Thus, MPs may look to insert repetitions of key points or punch lines and slogans.

When an MP addresses another MP, two basic processes may take place. First, the addressee may reply once and this ends the interaction or they may engage in a structured interaction with further questions and answers (what is called the ‘turno de réplica’). This interaction is characterized by the fact that, unlike in natural conversation, turn-taking is established and controlled by the PoP. This leaves no room for interruption or online- self-editing, which only occurs when the flow of speech is interrupted by noise or extemporaneous interventions by unruly MPs (a very frequent phenomena across the data). When a turno de réplica takes place, the MP who is awaiting a turn to reply typically elaborates an in situ reply to be read right after the addressee has finished the initial intervention. The most obvious consequence of this is the abundance of textual deictic references and many expressions of irony (thanking the
opposing MP for his remarks, pointing out the opponent’s ignorance on a particular topic, etc.).

Interaction between Spanish MPs is significantly more informal than in other parliaments. In the UK, for instance, the most typical ways to address one another are ‘my right honourable friend’ or a mention to the MPs position, such as ‘the right honourable secretary of Defence’. The most typical ways of interaction in the SP are the formal third person usted as well as surname references:

(3) El señor LLAMAZARES TRIGO: Permítame, señor Aznar, que disienta, ustedes se merecen una moción de censura. (Rumores.) En primer lugar, porque han negado la realidad de la catástrofe hasta que la marea negra ha llegado a la Moncloa y ha lastrado las alas de la gaviota del Partido Popular. (Continúan los rumores.)
(Diario de Sesiones, 27 Nov. 2002, p. 10617)

[Mr. LLAMAZARES TRIGO: Allow me, Mr. Aznar, to disagree, you deserve a motion of censure. (Rumors.) In the first place, because you [pl.] have denied the reality of a catastrophe until the oil spill has arrived to the Moncloa (the site of the Spanish Government) and has stained the wings of the Partido Popular’s seagull [the party’s mascot].
(Rumors continue.)]

1.6.2 Functions of the parliament and verbal interaction

The above section has illustrated the most important rules of the SP. As has been seen, these regulations have an undeniable impact on the verbal interactions of the MPs. On the one hand, the formality of the parliament and its iconic power as a high symbol of democracy as well as the site where decisions are taken that affect the entire population preclude the use of a more informal tone (although there are some exceptions, as will be
argued later). MPs avoid, generally speaking, direct attacks, not only due to parliamentary etiquette but also to the fact that discrediting bluntly an opponent grants the alluded MP a ‘réplica por alusión’ [reply due to allusion]. As will be illustrated, this provokes an abundance of ‘defocalizing’ expressions that fulfill the dialogic necessities of referring to other MPs while technically maintaining their ambiguity.

With regard to the pronominal uses as found in PD, the genesis of the different voices that politicians put to use is to be found in the two main functions that MPs fulfill in the parliament. I here argue that MPs basically situate themselves in the wider spectrum of political ideology through the use of a ‘professional voice’ as well as they situate themselves in the more local realm of the ongoing dialogues in which they are engaged. In this sense, the data analyzed in this project confirms the findings of Blas-Arroyo (2000) in his analysis of the 1993 televised political debates of the two major political figures in Spain, as was already mentioned. In his study, he argues that the first type of voice, which he labels ‘ideologically neutral yo’ (p.47) agglutinates the tasks of managing the immediate circumstances and incidences of the speech in which a politician is immersed, such as replying, revoking accusations, referring to mentioned parts of the speech, etc. It also covers all the rhetorical and dialogic management of the course of the speech. The second one refers to what he christens as ‘institutional yo’, significantly more explicit in terms of ideological content. Although Blas-Arroyo’s analysis addresses accurately and precisely these two voices in the setting of broadcast interviews, his view of ‘institutional yo’ must be redefined in the setting of
parliamentary debate. Indeed, in political interviews the two participants are striving to capture the audience’s attention and trust, which will hopefully turn into a major voter support. In this context it is not unusual that one of the participants is, in addition to attracting attention, constructing a public identity in front of the general public. This was particularly the case in Blas-Arroyo’s study. The debates between Felipe González, who at the time had been Spain’s PM for eleven years and J.M. Aznar, who was running for the Presidency for the first time, were also a confrontation of personalities.

González’s image was starting to be affected by a series of political scandals of the socialist party, of which he was the Secretary General. González was generally seen by the public, as well, as an extraordinarily skilled orator and a major factor in the normalization of democracy in Spain. Conscious of this fact, González appeared relaxed and over-confident on screen (Blas Arroyo 2000). Aznar, in turn, was struggling to construct a trustworthy image. The public opinion had largely stressed his inexperience and had accused him, in addition, of not having charisma. Aznar found himself, at least in the first of the two debates, fighting unprepared against the rhetorical powerhouse that González represented. It is not surprising then, that, in order to find his voice and create a positive image, Aznar had to emphasize his electoral program while heavily criticizing that of his opponent.

Several factors must be taken into consideration when analyzing parliamentary debates. In that particular setting, politicians do not seek in that setting to appeal to wider audiences. A parliament is, instead, where most of the professional activities of
politicians take place. Hence, if charisma and ideological appeal is at stake in electoral campaigns (whether at electoral meetings or televised debates), professional ‘face’ (using Brown and Levinson’s 1978 concept) and rhetorical skill are the most important concern of politicians in the parliamentary setting. Furthermore, while politicians are expected to answer any questions about their views on different issues in electoral campaigns, they can technically—although obvious facing possible electoral consequences—avoid responding in the parliament. Political parties and particularly the government through the Sesiones de Control are fully accountable of their policies and must inexcusably answer all questions. The next paragraph illustrates the awareness of this fact. When addressing a question about a crisis over a fishing quota with Morocco, a member of the government wonders:

(4) El señor MINISTRO DE AGRICULTURA, PESCA Y ALIMENTACIÓN (Arias Cañete): Señor presidente, señorías, he oído con enorme atención la brillante intervención del portavoz socialista, salpicada de inexactitudes y llena de olvidos. Señoria, la historia de este acuerdo tiene un origen muy claro y ustedes quieren olvidarlo, pero se lo voy a recordar, obviamente. Porque ¿dónde estamos y por qué estamos aquí? (Diario de Sesiones, 4 April 2001, p. 3719)

[The SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE, FISHING AND FOOD (Arias Cañete): Mr. President, members of the Parliament, I have listened, with great attention, the brilliant speech of the Socialist spokesman, dotted with inexact data and filled with oversights. Honorable Gentleman, the history of this agreement has a very clear origin and you [pl.] want to forget it, but (I) am going to remind it (to you), obviously. Because, where and why are we here?]

Taking all these factors into account, I suggest including references to the area of professional political activities into the ‘institutional voice’ suggested by Blas-Arroyo.

This aspect of yo will be studied in depth in Chapter 4.
1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an overview of the most relevant research on PD as well as an account of the rules of the SP as influencing verbal interaction between MPs. As has been seen, the interest of language in politics is as old as politics itself. Much has been written about the influence of language onto political thought, from old studies in rhetoric to new and fascinating perspectives such as the renewed interest in metaphor as a cognitive tool. While rhetoric is essentially concerned with the study of the use of particular linguistic strategies (word order, repetition, paragraph structure) as a means to influence an audience, this project is interested in analyzing how the linguistic repertoire of pronoun constrains—and allows at the same time—the verbal expression of solidarity, responsibility, commitment to political symbols⁶, etc., as well as the differences in use of spatio-temporal deixics.

Although the linguistic (and non-linguistic: philosophical, anthropological, etc.) approaches to the study of language in PD are numerous and varied, they share an emphasis in highlighting the prominent role of language in political activity. Differences in these approaches are attributable to many factors; contrasting philosophical traditions as well focus on different objects of study. Some of them have accentuated the role of the lexicon in PD, its metaphors (Lakoff 1996, 2003) and recently, the interaction between political language and the media (Geis 1987) or the rhetoric of American presidents (Chaffee 1975 Rostow 1988, Stuckey 1990, Windt and Ingold 1987). More recently, there

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⁶ This will be especially clear in the analysis of space and time deixis in Chapter 6.
has been an increased interest in the analysis of very discrete features such as pauses and interruption, studied in the oral debates at the British Parliament (Bull 2003).

Relevant to this project, the study of PD in Spanish has slowly widened its scope from a primarily lexical range (Fernández Lagunilla 1987, 1994) to an interest in the aspects of the management of face-to-face televised debates (Blas-Arroyo 2000) and accounts on Spain’s view on illegal immigrants (Martín Rojo and van Dijk 1997) among others. The study of PD is undoubtedly attracting a greater deal of attention from scholars, and its topics and approaches are widening its horizons.

As relevant to this project, two of the most important frameworks, corpus linguistics and pragmatics will be explained in further detail in Chapter 3. The evaluation of the most significant literature entails that a complex phenomenon such political language benefits from a multidisciplinary approach, both philosophical and methodological. Thus, while the interest in the relationship between political language and thought still prevails—and has even been redefined—research has expanded its views significantly and productively. The next chapter of this project illustrates the nature of deixis and its relevance to the study of PD.
CHAPTER 2. DEIXIS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

2.1 Scope of the dissertation

This dissertation is concerned with the study of the characteristics of deictic expressions used in PD. Most scholarship on deixis in PD (Wilson 1990, Maitland and Wilson 1987, De Fina 1995) has focused on particular aspects of the use of the pronominal system. This project offers a broader scope by also taking into account spatio-temporal deixis. The analysis of both the use of pronouns and expressions of time and place will improve our understanding of the ways in which political language differs from everyday speech.

This study suggests that political activity (in terms of both its goals and purpose) affects language not only at obvious levels such as lexical choices, but also in the way pronouns and spatio-temporal deixis are used. The present chapter provides an overview of the most relevant literature dealing with traditional approaches to the study of deixis and, in particular, of the research concerned with its presence in PD.

2.2 Indexicality in language

Indexicality refers to the capacity of language to identify people, places, objects, situations, or entities present in—or absent from—the circumstances surrounding an
utterance and to integrate these into the discourse. By virtue of this linguistic property, we reference any of these entities through speech without having to actually physically point out their location. This faculty is of particular interest in the study of pragmatics, since indexicality constitutes a bridge between context and discourse. Several authors (Fillmore 1975, Peirce 1932, Russell 1948) have noted the importance of this function of language, claiming that no successful communication is possible without deictics. The avoidance of such expressions results not only in redundancy but also in indecipherable confusion.

In most studies on deixis, the terms ‘indexical’ and ‘deictic’ are used to refer to the same linguistic phenomena. Green (1995), however, establishes a distinction between these terms based upon their application. In his view, deictic expressions present two basic functions: *symbolic* (concerning their position in a general linguistic system) and *indexical* (which relates to the actual referent of the term). In other words, the first person singular pronoun, *I*, stands symbolically for ‘encoder’, while it is indexical when used in reference to an actual speaker (1995: 15). Mey defines indexical expressions as ‘a particular kind of referential expression which, in addition to the semantics of their ‘naming’, their sense, includes a reference to the particular context in which that sense is put to work’ (2001: 54). While some researchers (Bar-Hillel 1970, Grundy 1999, Mey 2001) differentiate between indexicality conceived as a function of language and deixis as its vehicle, other scholars (Kryck 1987 or Levinson 1983) use the terms interchangeably. The etymologies of ‘indexical’ and ‘deictic’ do not suggest any
significant differences between the two terms. *Deixis* (Greek) and *index* (Latin) share the same concept of ‘pointing’, and, as such, represent very similar ideas. In this project I use the term *deictics* to refer to the subset of linguistic devices (pronouns and adverbs) that function as vehicles of the *indexical* or *deictic* function of language.

2.3 Defining deixis

For the purpose of this study, I will define deixis (from Greek *deiknunai*, to point out, to show) as the linguistic phenomenon that serves to establish a connection between language and the physical or imagined world of both the speaker and the hearer. Deictic expressions do not have a semantically determined referent (Green 1989). In other words, unlike the proper names *Michael Halliday* or *England*, that have a unique physical reference, pronouns used deictically cannot be interpreted correctly unless the hearer is involved in their production. Green (1995), therefore, defines deixis as ‘the phenomenon whereby the tripartite relationship between the linguistic system, the encoder’s subjectivity, and the contextual factors is foregrounded grammatically or lexically’ (p.11). Lyons, one of the most influential scholars in the study of deixis, has suggested that ‘(b)y deixis is meant the location and identification of persons, objects, events, processes, and activities being talked about, or referred to, in relation to the spatiotemporal context created and sustained by the act of utterance and the participation in it, typically of a single speaker and at last one addressee’ (1977:73).
As these comments suggest, most definitions of deixis recognize the fundamental role of context.

2.3.1 Approaches to the study of deixis

Deixis has been studied from two key perspectives. On the one hand, a philosophical approach, carried out by scholars working in semantics and logic, has focused upon understanding how the relationship between sign and referent is characterized. A second approach is concerned with the taxonomical study of deictic expressions as well as with the study of the implications of their use.

Levinson (1983) argues that much of the philosophical approach to the study of deixis stems from an attempt to answer two questions. The first one refers to ‘whether (a) all indexical expressions can be reduced to a single primary one, and (b) whether this final pragmatic residue can be translated out into some eternal context-free artificial language’ (p. 57). Bertrand Russell is the scholar that best exemplifies this line of research. One of Russell’s interests centered upon the possibility of achieving a linguistic system that could avoid ambiguity. In relation to deixis in particular, Russell (1940, 1948) was inspired by Bühler’s emphasis on an ego-centered converging nucleus from which all other deixis is derived. This influence is evident in Russell’s labeling of deictic expressions as ‘egocentric particulars’ (1940) in an attempt to reduce them to a single indexical concept of ‘this-ness’ (Green 1995). In this view, the pronoun I would then
represent the entity which experiences ‘this’. *Here*, consequently, would be the place where ‘this’ is contextually situated. It should additionally be noted that this interpretation has received a considerable amount of criticism (see Gale 1968 for a detailed analysis of Russell’s conceptualization of deixis).

Since deixis represents a crucial phenomenon situated at the core of the communicative strategies of language, a great number of scholars have been concerned with providing a description of the elements that Figure 2.1 comprise. Among the most eminent works within the ‘descriptive approach’ to deixis are the studies of Austrian psychologist Karl Bühler (1934, 1982). Bühler’s account, based on concepts of psychological perception and orientation, emphasized the notion of an imagined center in the *origo deixis;* a virtual set of coordinates from which other deictic expressions originate:

![Figure 2.1: The deixis center of *here, now* and *I*](source: Jones 1995: 30)

The center of the deictic field is the zero-point in which *here, now* and *I* lie and to which other deictic expressions relate. Bühler (1932) differentiates between several types of
reference, depending on the physical presence or absence of the referent: *demonstratio ad oculos*, or ‘by ostension’ (e.g. related to the physical surrounding of the act of speech), *anaphora* (textual references), and *deixis am phantasma*, which refers to pointing to entities ‘remembered or created from imagination’ (Kryk 1987:12). Bühler’s insights on deixis have been questioned and refined by several scholars in recent years. Jones (1995) argues that this conceptualization is overly focused on a central figure and insufficiently appraises the complexity of deictic reference. As he puts it:

> It is important to note that despite Bühler’s acknowledgement of the social nature of the communicative event, and his insistence that signs be regarded ‘as intersubjective intermediaries’, the first casualty of his psychologically based theory of the deictic field is the addressee or receiver who is simply missing from the coordinate system (p. 31)

Green (1995) goes further in rejecting the conceptualization of an immobile center (*origo*). He suggests that the idea is essentially defective in its own epistemic stance. The definition of ‘now’, in empirical terms, understood as ‘right at this moment’ is fundamentally immeasurable. Green also identifies problems with the ‘purely relational character of the deictic field’, the ‘indeterminacy in absolute terms of the ‘point here-now-I’, as well as the ‘subordination of perception to the process of socially-situated cognition as a whole’ (p.36).

Levinson (1988), although not breaking free completely from the standard account, recognizes some critical shortcomings in a dyadic conceptualization of deictics. In Levinson’s view, Bühler’s theories lack a more nuanced conceptualization of ‘speaker’ and ‘hearer’. For Levinson, who is mostly interested in a pragmatic analysis of language, the speaker-hearer dyad does not sufficiently represent the complexity of the participant
roles in communication (p. 222). In his view, a consideration of the shared knowledge, both relating the shared world knowledge and the specific circumstances of the interaction is essential. Along the same lines, Goffman suggests, as an alternative, the notion of ‘participant frameworks’ (1981) which entails the idea that speech events must be analyzed considering the conditions of the production of discourse. In other words, the categories of ‘hearer’ and ‘speaker’ must be reevaluated in the context of the particular case of speech being analyzed. Considering the nature of parliamentary debates studied here, it is clear that the scheme of speaker-hearer looking only at the physical actors of communication represents an imperfect match – after all, in such a context, speakers address issues that are indirectly addressed to a wider audience (the potential consumers of the text, e.g. the entire nation). Other researchers have highlighted the importance of negotiation in conversation. Mühlhäuser and Harré (1990), providing an extensive account of the different roles that may be represented by the pronominal system, dismiss the ‘conduit metaphor of communication’, arguing that ‘a shared code is not a necessary part of the communication process and may often be best construed as an upshot of a linguistically mediated social action’ (p.15).

This project argues that while Bühler’s theories have greatly broadened the interest in deixis, an analysis of the use of deictic expressions in PD must be carried out from a pragmatic perspective. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, the interpretation of spatio-temporal deictics, for instance, relies more on the relevance of
the utterance for the speaker as well as the general context than on a fixed, reliable set of coordinates.

As can be seen, the two major directions in the study of deixis are epistemologically incongruent. While some researchers have attempted to study deixis by eliminating its context and by striving to find its essence by reducing it to a simplified form, other scholars, working within the pragmatic paradigm, aim at gaining an understanding of deictic expressions as elements immersed in the complexity of their circumstances. In an effort to resolve this dilemma, authors such as Levinson (1983) and Green (1995) have claimed that deixis straddles the line between semantics and pragmatics. Citing the relevance of Lyons’ insights on deixis, Levinson makes an explicit statement on the importance of this phenomenon not only for the field of pragmatics but for the more general area of the linguistic sciences:

The facts of deixis should act as a constant reminder to theoretical linguists of the simple but immensely important fact that natural languages are primarily designed, so to speak, for use in face-to-face interaction, and thus there are limits to the extent to which they can be analysed without taking this into account (1983: 54).

2.4 Categories of deixis

While most definitions of deixis agree on the intrinsic relationship between utterance and context, the desire to establish a clear account of what expressions qualify as deictic has provoked heterogeneous views. Fuchs (1992) points out, for example, that although most traditional views assume that deixis constitutes signs such as here, now, this or that,
other linguistic devices such as conjunctions, word order, sentence accent, and verbal aspect, mood, or voice, have also been considered deictic (p.1). Lenz (2003:8) additionally includes demonstratives, personal pronouns; certain adverbials of time and place, and verbs such as *come* and *go* within this list.

Some authors (Green 1995, Grundy 1999) distinguish two main types of deixis: linguistic and extralinguistic. The first type concerns textual references in both oral and written discourse, which bring cohesion to the text (as in ‘*this* is exactly what I mean, I will explain *that* later’). The second type is that on which this project focuses its attention. Grundy, also interested in non-verbal communication, includes the aid of gesture in his conceptualization, adding the parameter of [+gestural]. Consequently, expressions such as *YOU have to do it now* and *YOU have to do it too* (pointing out physically at different people) would comply with [+gestural, +deictic]. Utterances such as *You will like Miami* would be [-gestural, +deictic] while sentences such as *you don’t want to work there, believe me*, where ‘you’ stands for ‘you or anyone’ belong to the [-gestural, -deictic] category.

Green proposes, drawing from Rauh’s model (1983), six categories for deixis (1995; 20):

i) Referential deixis  
ii) Origo-deixis  
iii) Spatio-temporal deixis  
iv) Subjective deixis  
v) Discourse deixis  
vi) Syntactic deixis
Since the first three are to be explained in detail throughout this project, I will, for now, provide a brief definition of what constitutes subjective, discourse, and syntactic deixis. For Green, subjective deixis includes ‘those elements and terms which encode the subjective experience of the encoder primarily through epistemic and deontic modal verbs’ (p.23). Lakoff proposed in a 1974 paper that when demonstratives such as this and that are used as textual references, they also bear an ‘emotional deictic’ function, reflecting different degrees of attachment to narratives in story-telling activities. Discourse and syntactic deixis, in turn, refer to the cohesive function of deictics, both at the sentential and paragraph level (none of what has been said is crucial, etc.).

2.5 Deixis in PD

Assessments of deixis in PD have been primarily focused upon the study of pronouns, as will be shown in the next section. Given, therefore, that I will offer an account of spatio-temporal deixis (an aspect that has received very little attention in the context of PD) this study forges a new line of research. In this sense, the present project is inspired by the framework proposed by Chilton, who postulates that in order to fully understand deictic expressions, the researcher has to appraise how deixis is present in regard to a number of different parameters (2002:30):

a) Personal deixis (you, I, we)

b) The social or attitudinal relationships (T and V forms as well as professional terms of address)
c) Place of uttering: spatial deixis

d) Time of uttering (now, then, plus verbal tenses and aspect)

The remaining sections of this chapter provide an account of the most important features of pronominal and spatio-temporal deixis, acknowledging both general studies as well as works specifically related to PD. Chapter 4 will demonstrate how these types of deixis differ in use and meaning between PD and non-political speech.

2.6 Pronominal deixis

The analysis of pronouns will reveal insights into the role of function in language in the setting of PD. This role is forged in part by the existence of many voices in political speech. Souchard et al. (1997: 33) suggest that looking at pronouns may shed light on the process of discerning the different organizational patterns of politicians:

L’observation des pronoms personnels permet de comprendre comment les collectifs s’organisent, le collectif de ceux qui ont la parole, le collectif de ceux qui sont interpelés, le collectif de ceux qui sont directement affectés (1997: 33)

[The analysis of personal pronouns allows us to understand how collectives are organized, the collectives of those who speak, the collective of those who are addressed, and the collectives of those who are directly affected]

Wilson, recognizing also the importance of the study of pronouns, contends that the pragmatic study of pronouns provides a window to investigate the ways in which politicians manipulate language (1990: 59). It is important to note, at this point, that the term ‘manipulation’ carries a different connotation within the pragmatic framework than it does in its more general understanding. While it is true that for many people this
term conveys pejorative connotations of surreptitious behaviors, researchers working in pragmatics consider it, contrastingly, to be a common strategy in which agents select the best available option out of a series of linguistic choices in a particular situation. In other words, no community of speakers is exempt from the manipulation of language to accomplish certain goals.

Politicians, notwithstanding, convey more than their own voice. In the era of the Internet and 24-hour television, PD is becoming increasingly more complex in both nature and form. Because of the immediacy of modern media, politicians are compelled to acknowledge their opponents’ discourses and respond to criticism as quickly as possible, as well as to refer to comments made by the media’s political commentators, speak on behalf of members of their political party, etc. This multiplicity of addressees and voices is not only reduced to what Taylor (1992) refers to as heteroglossia, (using Bakthin’s concept (1981)) but also to the inclusion of other genres (economic, technical) within political texts. Sauer, for instance, has noted that

‘(A)pparently to produce political judgement a whole range of text types is being used. The range goes from leaflets via advertisements (in papers, on radio and television, in posters on the street, etc.) and the organisation of public (campaign) events to different speeches (opening and closing of an election campaign, debating with other candidates, addresses to groups, etc.)(1997: 39)

Ensink also suggests that these voices coincide frequently within the discourse of a single speaker, dramatically complicating the interpretation of pronouns. He has claimed (1997) that as a result of this heteroglossic nature of PD, researchers cannot often
provide a clear account of the relationship between politicians and their roles. Rather,

Ensink conceives of such relationships according to a scalar gradation. As he states:

‘A member of parliament represents voters, or, perhaps rather, a political party. Parliament itself is considered representative of the people. A member of the government (a minister)—although in general chosen for that function because of a high ranking position in a political party—represents the government. A government is, in general, based on a political majority, consisting of one or more political parties in parliament. Nevertheless there is only one government, which represents the nation’ (p.8)

Politicians are conscious of this fact, and discriminate carefully, when making linguistic choices. Depending on the setting (electoral meeting, press briefing, talk show interview) an MP may be prompted to speak on particular issues (tax reduction, education) but will take great care to separate his voice as representative of a constituency from his voice as a legislator and also from his personal opinions in regard with controversial matters (e.g. abortion, same-sex marriage).

Other researchers have linked historical and economic contexts to language change. The seminal work by Brown and Gilman (1960 in Giglioli 1972) approaches the notion that the shift in Europe from a more rigid, asymmetrical model of political and economic power to a more democratic one is reflected in gradual changes in the pronominal system in European languages. It is important to highlight, as Wilson has pointed out, that although traditional views on pronouns have focused on their basic defining parameters (sex, number and person), this distinction requires revision when one is conducting research on PD. That is, the boundaries between the semantic scope of pronouns become fuzzy in the context of political interaction, due to the multiplicity of voices that arise in the political profession as well as the often intentional use that some
politic"ians make of the ambiguity that certain pronouns allow. This displacement, however frequent in everyday language, acquires a greater significance in PD.

Next I provide an illustration of the pronominal system as it relates to PD. Table 2.1 illustrates the pronominal distribution of English that Wilson (1990), based on Rees’ analysis (1983), has proposed in the context of PD:

Table 2.1. Pronominal distribution in English

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1st person</th>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>3rd person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td>I</td>
<td>You₁</td>
<td>He, she, it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>One₂</td>
<td></td>
<td>One (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>You₂</td>
<td></td>
<td>You₃ (indefinite)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td>We</td>
<td>You</td>
<td>They</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Those</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although some authors (i.e. De Fina 1995) have pointed out certain shortcomings of this representation, such as the inclusion of *those* at the expense of *this* or *that*, this table provides a strong framework for the study of pronouns. If we consider the different uses of *you* that arise in the context of PD, we note that Wilson distinguishes two main uses of *you* aside from the canonical ‘addressed entity’. The first one, the *you₂* has been classified as a ‘situational insertion’ pronoun (in the words of Wilson and Laberge and Sankoff 1980). Wilson (1990) illustrates this use with the following example, taken from a speech by former British PM Margaret Thatcher:

> But isn’t it amazing how when *you* bring down inflation to a level far below what they said was possible they take it for granted that *anyone* could have done it (italics in Wilson 1990: 57)
For Wilson, this pronominal use illustrates a strategy of avoiding assuming the whole credit for lowering the inflation. In regards to *you*, Wilson claims that its use is related to a reflection upon ‘conventional wisdom as opposed to actual experience’ (p. 57). He exemplifies this with an excerpt taken from a speech by Neil Kinnock, Labour party Leader for much of Thatcher’s tenure as PM (ibid. p. 58):

> Of course money can’t buy *you* a loving family, but it can buy *you* a separate bedroom for the children. [Italics in Wilson]

It seems plausible to argue, therefore, that politicians use the sense of proximity that *you* conveys in order to either create a (false) image of humility while in other cases it channels commonsensical, unquestioned concepts (as was illustrated with the *you* example).

### 2.6.1 First person pronouns

This section elicits an account of the most important studies on first person pronouns (*I* and *we*) as employed in PD. The use of such pronominal forms in PD presents a wide array of communicative possibilities, which are used by politicians to achieve diverse goals.

#### 2.6.1.1 First person singular pronoun

Politicians are sensitive to the over- or under-use of first person pronouns (Wilson 1990). In the case of *I*, it is important to avoid overtly ‘egocentric’ speech; the potential for
which is mitigated by the adoption of first person plural forms (we, our policies, etc.) which help to portray the image that the speaker is talking on behalf of the citizenry, his/her party, the interests of the nation, or the international community as a united group. The use of the first person singular is an important issue for politicians, while campaigning or when engaged in parliamentary discussion. Wilson has noted the repercussions of this in the context of PD:

one of the major aims of a politician is to gain the peoples’ allegiance, to have them believe that the decisions that are being made are the right ones. At the same time (…) it is also useful to have the audience believe, in some circumstances, that any actions are perhaps not only or not fully the responsibility of one individual. First person pronoun forms can assist the politician in achieving these almost contradictory goals. (1990: 76)

In a 1987 paper, Maitland and Wilson studied the pronominal choices of three prominent figures in British politics, Conservative PM Margaret Thatcher and Labour MPs Neil Kinnock and Michael Foot. Providing a detailed analysis of the different rhetorical strategies in the use of pronouns by these three politicians, Maitland and Wilson examine how, for instance, Mrs. Thatcher established rapport with her audience.

The extensive use of formulaic introductory gambits such as I think, I believe, and I want, and the repeated use of her popular tag ‘wouldn’t we all’, facilitated, according to the authors’ analysis, an approachable yet assertive stance. The paper concludes that the perceived image of the Labour candidates as distant and detached from the audience

7 It is important to note here, however, that Mrs. Thatcher avoided frequent use of the first person singular I in non-professional environments, which often portrayed her as too distant and ceremonial. An illustrative example is her famous utterance of ‘We are a grandmother’ on the occasion of the birth of her grandson (Beard 2000: 44).
was partly attributable to their avoidance of such formulaic expressions (the previously mentioned *I think* and *I believe* plus the backchanneling, *you know*) in their pre-scripted speeches.

Urmson (1952) has noticed the value of such gambits in ordinary conversation. In his analysis, expressions such as *I suppose* represent an implied claim to the truth of the proposition. Persson, in turn, has divided the use of *I think* into two major categories: the expression of opinion on the one hand, and the statement of belief, as in ‘I think he’s home’ (1993).

Examining the American political arena, Partington (2003) identifies two main uses of the first person singular pronoun in the interaction between the press and White House officials. The first of these relates to mitigating responsibility, while the second appears when officials are not willing to claim knowledge of certain information in full detail. Ilie (2003), in a paper that studies the role of metadiscourse in British parliamentary debates, notices inclusions of personal voice by way of the pronoun *I* in order to self-attribute an image of professionalism. Ilie suggests that, via this strategy, politicians attempt to ‘gain positive face’ (using Brown and Levinson’s 1978 notions). This form of *I* displays professional competence, political stamina, as well as consistency between their statements and their actions [...] (M)etadiscursive statements are often used deliberately to highlight the speakers’ professional and public image, rather than their positions and arguments on political issues, so as to instill confidence and trust in the addressees and the audience (p. 81)

Ilie illustrates it with the following example:
Mr. Garnier (Con.): [...] Light engineers, shoe manufacturers and the firms that make parts that go into shoes and the products that form parts of other products, such as clothing, are—I have conducted a survey to establish this—suffering from an excess of regulation and interfering fussiness from the Government [...] (Hansard Debates, 24 November 1999, pt 27, col 699) (italics in Ilie 2003: 81).

This aspect is of particular interest for the present dissertation and will be discussed with greater detail in Chapter 4.

2.6.1.2 First person pronoun plural

The study of the scope of the first person plural pronoun has attracted a great deal of attention from many different research traditions and agendas. Haverkate (1984) provides an account of the different uses of the pronoun nos (we) that were observed in ancient Rome: pluralis majestatis, auctoris, modestiae, sociativus, etc. As Haverkate notes, ‘the first three uses indicate the sociopsychological effects aimed at by speakers making use of defocalizing first-person plural reference (ibid: 85)

The traditional view of we as ‘plural of I’ has been widely contested. Pointing out the evident fact that we is concerned with only one speaker, Fuchs indicates the nature of we as ‘I + relevant others’, in any case, as she notices, we are dealing with a singular speaker. In her view (1992), we can be seen as showing the same ‘extensibility’ (flexible scope) as here or now, which can be understood differently depending upon the nature of the interaction and the particular situation of speaker/hearer. Indeed, we can also be interpreted varyingly according to the range of the entities that it is used to represent. In similar words, Hanks posits that ‘the variation in the scope of we is an unavoidable
consequence of any individual’s belonging to many distinct aggregates at a single time.

From the viewpoint of deixis, it has the same variability in scope that we see in different uses of ‘here’ and ‘there’ (1990: 172). Wilson also illustrates this ‘extensibility metaphor’ representing the ability of we to expand limitlessly.

![Figure 2.2: Variation in the distribution of ‘we’ (source: Wilson 1990: 49)](image)

Bishop and Jaworski (2003), working from a CDA perspective, analyze the extensive use of we in the British press as a means of creating a bond of patriotism and unity in regard to their national team’s participation in an important international football tournament. The use of this pronoun evoked a sense of shared fate and emotion with the national team. Not surprisingly, while most newspapers emphasized that we initially, a series of violent confrontations between hooligans (radical soccer supporters) and the police motivated the media to regress to the use of third person pronouns to mitigate the sense of a shared relationship with the unruly fans. In a different context (professional
meetings along the US-Mexico border), Johnson (1994) has noted how *we* is used in intentionally ambiguous ways to include and exclude not only collectives of people (illegal immigrants, unskilled workers, authorities) but also to attempt to establish boundaries (*we* meaning North Americans or Mexicans).

Several scholars have noticed the abundance of the first person plural pronoun in PD. This may be motivated by the ability that this pronoun allows for ambiguity and hedging, while simultaneously providing a sense of solidarity between speaker and audience. Some researchers suggest that this may be a characteristic of totalitarian or extremist speech. For instance, Souchard et al. argue that the frequency of use of *nous* in the discourse of right wing politician Jean-Marie Le Pen in France is far more frequent (32% of all pronouns) than the next most frequent pronoun, *je* [I], (21.5%), and is twice as frequent as the impersonal *on* (16%). By making use of such pronouns with great frequency, Le Pen attempts to establish solidarity with his audience while speaking on their behalf (1997: 35). Souchard et al. suggest that Le Pen thereby calls for ‘obligations’ from his audience, while establishing in-group trust and attempting to create allegiances with other groups of dissatisfied citizens.

Munizaga (1988) presents similar data in the analysis of the speeches of Pinochet, where the most frequent subject is the adjectival phrase ‘*todos nosotros los chilenos*’ (p.25). Along the same lines, Partington (2003) found that in the American declaration of independence, agency on the side of the American people was voiced by an overwhelming use of first person plural references, while the oppression exercised by
the King of England was, in turn, expressed with an absolute supremacy of the third person singular pronoun. Wilson noticed how Churchill used *we* to invoke a strong sense of solidarity with the British people in a case in which his commitment was, in fact, unrealistically feasible:

> When he declared that ‘we shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds’, the ‘we’ here does not include Churchill himself, in that he was by this time and old man and would hardly be enlisted to fight; and further, in the event of an invasion Churchill and other key members of the Government were to be air lifted out of the country (1990: 46)

One could even argue that, considering the higher frequency of *we* as *I* in the speech of high ranking officers (see Fairclough 1989), the use of the pronoun can be seen as a means by which to redistribute failure or to ask for humble forgiveness while avoiding a more specific expression of who is to blame (see Partington 2003 for an account of *we* as a hedging strategy). Wilson and Fairclough seem, hence, to contradict the instinctive notion that a higher frequency of *I* and *we* would in fact entail an increased assumption of responsibility.

Analyzing the use of *we* by Margaret Thatcher, Maitland and Wilson, in a paper mentioned previously (1987), note how the scope of this pronoun could represent a variety of entities including ‘we the Conservative Party’, ‘we the British people’, ‘we the Government’, ‘we The EEC’, etc. In many cases, the authors argue, ‘(I)t seems as if , for Mrs. Thatcher, the Government and Britain are one and the same […] further supported by the phrase which preceded this passage: ‘we speak for the great majority’ (1987: 501). Also concerned primarily with British politics, Beard (2000) has suggested the following
scaled categorization of pronoun forms: I + one another, I + a group (a minister +
government and/or political party), I + the whole country and finally I + the whole
humanity. As this study advances, we will see that, although Beard’s is certainly a valid
taxonomy, a detailed account of PD requires a more fine-grained analysis of the
functions pronouns perform in the context of PD. Using an alternative framework, Ilie
(2003: 75) illustrates the basic functions of the uses of the first person plural pronoun in
the setting of the British Parliament: variously referring to themselves, their party, fellow
party members, members of their electoral constituencies, etc.

Urban (1986), analyzing the pronominal choices made by Casper Weinberger (ex
United States Secretary of Defense), delimits six different interpretations of the pronoun
we (in Wilson 1990: 53)

1) The President and I ‘we’

2) The Department of Defense ‘we’ (acting as a spokesperson)

3) The Reagan Administration ‘we’

4) The US Government ‘we’

5) The United States ‘we’

6) The US and the Soviet Union ‘we’

Partington has also shown how White House representatives use a first person plural
pronoun to actually mean ‘you, not me/us’. Thus, officials sometimes accuse the press of
being particularly oversensitive. Chapter 4 will illustrate this function in detail.
2.7 Other Deixis

2.7.1 Third person pronouns

As suggested earlier, most research on PD has focused on first person pronouns. Recently, however, researchers—especially those working within the CDA paradigm—have started to pay attention to the linguistic process of ‘othering’. This term implies the depiction of certain groups according to shared characteristics: ethnicity, race, socio-economic status, etc. Although most works analyzing the use of ‘othering’ strategies appear to provide too broad an analysis, they nonetheless offer useful insights.

‘Othering’ is achieved in a number of different ways, not only through use of third person pronouns. It is important to recognize that this process may not always be intentional on the part of the speaker. More interesting than ascertaining whether or not the author is conscious of his/her depiction is calibrating the effects of these strategies on the othered groups. Doty (1993), analyzing this phenomenon in the context of international relations, explains:

(…) I am not providing an interpretation of the consciously motivated, self-serving images constructed by the participants. Rather, I am providing an interpretation of what the discursive practices do, which does not necessarily coincide with individual motivations, perceptions, and intentions (p. 305)

‘Othering’ consists of two components. On the one hand, there is the ideological element by which the speaker tries to homogenize a group of people, beliefs, etc. On the other
hand, there is a number of strategies employed to portray negatively collectives of people. Coupland (1999) indicates pejoration, homogenization, suppression, and silencing and subverting tolerance as the most obvious among these strategies, while Bishop and Jaworski (2003) add minorization, universalization, and de-authentication. Linguistically, these processes are expressed in different ways: the use of ‘scare quotes’ in order to signal their special character, the use of third person pronouns (us vs. them), and the establishment of differences between authentic and non-authentic groups by way of contrasting adjectives (true fans vs. hooligans).

The type of analysis with which this project is concerned focuses upon only one aspect of ‘othering’. As mentioned, I will only study pronominal forms and other deictic strategies such as NPs and undetermined adjectives. Within this list are third person pronouns, singular and plural (él, ella, ellos, ellas, éstos, aquéllos, etc.), [he, she, masc. they, fem. they, masc. these, masc. those] and adjective and noun phrases utilized to refer to third person entities (algunos, los que se opusieron al decreto, etc.) [some, those who opposed the decree]. As will be discussed below, ‘other-deixis’ expressions will be shown to reveal strategies used by politicians to express criticism towards their opponents while at the same time maintaining ‘face’ (using Brown and Levinson’s 1978 politeness theory’s concepts) and respecting the appropriate degree of formality of the Parliament. It is worth noting that blatant attacks on opponents are not only avoided, because of elemental parliamentary etiquette, but also because everything that is stated is systematically transcribed. This helps us recognize why politicians are customarily
careful not to find themselves participating in heated arguments. In the following example, the PoP brings to the attention of the Vice-president his own words, reminding him of the systematic transcription of the verbal interactions of the SP. Note the shift from a vocative (señor vicepresidente) [Mr. vicepresident] to a third person reference (intención del señor vicepresidente) [intention of the vicepresident]:

(5) La señora PRESIDENTA: Muchas gracias, señor Rato. Perdón, señor vicepresidente, en la intervención entre el diputado interpelante y usted se ha deslizado la palabra mentir, supongo que no es intención del señor vicepresidente que esa palabra figure en el «Diario de Sesiones».

El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): La sustituyo por: «no decir lo que piensa de verdad».

(Diario de Sesiones, 13 September 2000, p. 1002)

[The PoP: Thank you very much, Mr. Rato. Excuse me, Mr. vicepresident, in the interaction between the intervening MP and you the word ‘to lie’ has slipped. I am assuming that it is not the intention of the vicepresident to have that word included in the ‘Diario de Sesiones’. The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): (I) substitute it for ‘not saying what (he) thinks is true’. ]

2.7.2 Defocalizing expressions

2.7.2.1 Impersonal pronouns

Most languages include, in their pronominal systems, a subsystem of specific pronouns that allow for the omission of the agent. English speakers, for instance, use the impersonal one to make commonsensical statements (as in ‘one does not laugh in church’). Of course, this is not to say that such ideas cannot be expressed with personal
pronouns. Indeed, a ‘displaced’ *you* is often used to convey arguments that are applicable to anyone, not only the speaker, such as in sentences like ‘trust me, you don’t want to go to that part of town’, where the direction of the pronoun could refer to anyone.

Especially significant is the case of *those*, added by Wilson (Table 2.1) to Rees’ taxonomy. In this project, I treat such cases as a generic defocalizing strategy, one through which politicians dismiss or criticize other political forces. Referring to such uses, Maitland and Watson argue that:

‘The effect of namelessness is to make the referent somewhat more sinister than may otherwise be the case. It implies an unseen force against which one must be defended, and further, the use of *those* allows for a wider interpretive framework, within which it is difficult to pin down or to refute particular allegations. (1987: 503)

The use of pronominal phrases headed by *those* achieves two pragmatic valuable goals in political activity. On the one hand, it enables the speaker to make relatively univocal references to particular parties and individuals (all MPs arguably know to whom those references are addressed) while sheltering the speaker from direct counterattacks by the alluded addressees (one can always highlight the fact that no explicit attack was made, simply implied). Maitland and Wilson exemplify their statement with an excerpt from a speech by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher:

There are *those* who for sinister political reasons wish to undermine the institutions and values upon which we depend. *Those* who call for extra-Parliamentary action and the sacking of Judges and Chief Constables; *those* who viciously attack the newly appointed Commissioner of Police for the Metropolis before he has even taken his appointment (…) (italics in Maitland and Wilson, 1987: 503)
In Spanish, this type of strategy is normally fulfilled with the use of constituents headed by the non-referential expressions ‘hay quien’, ‘los que’ ‘hay algunos que’ [‘there are people who’, ‘those who’, ‘there are some who’] of these types of defocalizing expressions will be discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

2.8 Spatio-temporal deixis

As has been noted previously, spatio-temporal deixis has been basically regarded as a system by which the speaker and hearer orient themselves and construct their speech in reference to a psychologically anchored, reliable geometric configuration. This idea, built around the suggestion of a center (origo-zero) of coordinates from which all other spatio-temporal deictic references are related, has been challenged recently by researchers, including Fuchs (1992). Her approach stems from the assumption that the understanding of deictic expressions is determined by what the hearer perceives as more relevant considering the contextual situation8. This seems to undermine the idea of a fixed, reliable origo center. As Fuchs explains:

‘the difference between here, now and there, then is not one of remoteness within a single spatial or temporal plane; what is involved is different types of instructions for contextualization, there then referring to places/times just ‘established’ in the situation, verbally or otherwise, e.g. by pointing […] one of the hearer’s fundamental tasks, then, consists in inferring the concern(s) addressed by an utterance, with the assisted shared ‘world segment(s)’(p.36)

______________________________

8 For an account of Relevance Theory, see Blass 1990, Sperber and Wilson 1982
Fuchs illustrates this point with a hypothetical conversation between a German and a Brazilian person who has just arrived in Germany. While walking along a river in Hamburg, during the winter, the German interlocutor says ‘it’s pretty cold here’. Fuchs argues that the hearer can only interpret here as relevant to the particular conditions of the context: her (warm) place of origin, etc. Indeed, the German interlocutor is not interested in identifying Hamburg as an especially cold place but rather Germany in general as a cold place in contrast to Brazil. Klein has noted how deixis is not sufficient in order to accurately interpret the spatial relationship between objects. In his words:

‘…what ‘proximal’ and ‘non-proximal’ mean… depends on the context. It is apparently possible to say ‘here comes my mother’, when she is at a distance of 100 metres, but one can also say ‘there is my mother’, when she is at a distance of 10 meters’. (1982: 166)

Spatial and temporal deixis have not received a great deal of attention in PD. Most references to this type of deixis have, in fact, been quite peripheral. Chilton, for instance, points out the extensibility capacity of here but does not mention actual instances of the use of this deictic (2002: 30):

‘Spatial indexicals relate to political or geopolitical space. Thus here may mean ‘in parliament’, ‘in London’, ‘in the States’, ‘in England’, ‘in the UK’, ‘in Europe’, ‘in the West’, ‘in the northern hemisphere’…That is, here and its reflexes in come/go and the like, can require to be understood not simply in terms of a neutral physical location but in terms of some conventional frame.

As will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 4, spatial deictics are used in significantly different ways in everyday speech in contrast with PD. The difference in use, as I will demonstrate, fulfills several functions related intimately with the self-awareness the politicians display in regards to their political activity. Spatio-temporal
deictics, as used in PD, demonstrate the importance of the relevance of the construction of meaning in interaction.

With regard to time deixis, Chilton also pointed out (2002) how temporal adverbs such as *now* may be interpreted as specifically as ‘right now’ or as widely as ‘since the establishment of the European Union’ ‘since the fall of the Soviet Union’, etc. Fuchs (1992), quoting Bühler, noticed a similar phenomenon. Although her research is not specifically concerned with PD, she points out the fact that the semantic range of ‘now’ may expand from the very moment of its utterance to a whole ‘glacial era’, in geological talk (p.32).

### 2.9 Deixis in PD in Spain

Concerning research on PD in Spain, and as was noted in Chapter 1, the majority of scholarly research on PD has focused on rhetoric and political lexicon, heavily influenced by the French *lexicologie* line of work. Some scholars (most notably Blas-Arroyo) have studied (2000, 2003) the use of deixis as well as politeness in face-to-face political interaction. In his analysis of the 1993 televised debates between Felipe González and José María Aznar, President of the Spanish Government and challenger respectively, Blas-Arroyo (2000) differentiated two uses of *yo*. His analysis focuses on two different pragmatic levels. The first refers to a ‘local level’ that fulfills the dialectic needs of face-to-face interaction. The second concerns an ‘ideologically loaded’ function. In his paper, Blas-Arroyo argues that the ‘local yo’ is an ‘ideologically neutral I, whose
essential aim is to respond to the dialectic necessities of the speaker at particular moments of the interaction’ (p. 6). Blas-Arroyo illustrates this use with examples such as the following:

FG: Pero si ésa es la cuestión, usted lo que dice es que sólo con su llegada al gobierno se va a producir confianza y YO le estoy diciendo cómo se hace eso...

[But if that’s the question, what you say is that only with your taking office (people) will have confidence and I am telling you how that is accomplished.

For Blas-Arroyo, in the use of this local yo, ‘we observe how the I of the utterance arises as a spontaneous necessity in the struggle with the I of the opponent’ (p. 7). The second form of I ‘has less to do with the pure mechanics of the immediate communicative interaction than with the electoralist and political character of the debate’ (p.7). In his analysis, this institutional I denotes a higher political and ideological content, while also adding weight to the speaker as a social and political leader. Blas-Arroyo, in turn, exemplifies his analysis with the following example:

FG: (mirando a la cámara principal) YO quiero sobre todo transmitir un mensaje de carácter personal por consiguiente un mensaje que no dará ningún objeto a la polémica...yo creo y he soñado siempre con un España que viva en libertad.

[FG: (looking toward the camera): I want, overall, to express a personal message, hence a message that will not cause controversy…I believe and I have always dreamt with a Spain living in freedom.]

In this project, while I adopt the main guidelines outlined by Blas-Arroyo, I offer a redefinition of the categories. These concepts will be restated in Chapter 4.
2.10 Conclusion

Deixis constitutes a unique phenomenon of language that allows speakers to bring into their discourse not only the surrounding entities or circumstances of their speech but also imagined elements, refer to their own discourse, or show emotional attachment to certain parts of a narrative. Despite the radically different views on deixis that logicians and pragmaticists have adopted, there is an agreement that deixis brings together context and discourse in a very unique way. For this reason, linguistic research on political language must take into account not only the purely linguistic data but must also attempt to understand the richness and complexity of the contextual framework in which political speeches are pronounced.

As has been demonstrated in this chapter, most research in PD has dealt with the use of pronouns, primarily because of their ability to be employed ambiguously. Politicians use pronouns, thus, to their advantage, whether to claim ignorance on a particular manner, to mitigate responsibility, or to take credit for some political achievement. Although some authors (such as Chilton) have proposed a broader area of analysis when studying deictic expressions, little has been done in the area of PD and spatio-temporal deixis. This dissertation represents an attempt to understand how PD affects not only pronouns but also other aspects of the deictic field.
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a description of the motivations for this dissertation and of the methodology employed herein. The first section concerns a description of the purpose of this dissertation as well as the characteristics of the data analyzed. Next, I provide a description of the most relevant features of the theoretical frameworks applied in this project (a pragmatic-oriented discourse analysis in conjunction with a corpus-based methodology).

3.2 Purpose of the dissertation

The present project is an attempt at gaining a deeper understanding of how political activity percolates at different linguistic levels. Considering that several scholars (van Dijk 1999) have already indicated how PD differs lexically from everyday speech, this dissertation focuses on the differences in use of pronouns as well as space and time deictics. By comparing the data with a control corpus consisting of a variety of non-political newspaper oral interviews, I demonstrate that PD presents unique characteristics in regards to the use of deictic expressions. This dissertation originates from an interest in answering the following questions:
• How do pronominal deictics behave in the setting of PD as opposed to everyday careful speech?
• How do space and time deictic expressions vary in use from PD to everyday language?

3.3 The data

In order to establish comparisons between PD and non-political talk, I collected everyday language data from newspaper interviews. These transcriptions were gathered from on-line newspapers (El País, La Vanguardia Digital, El Mundo, ABC) as well as from a variety of specialized magazines (De flamenco, Trofeocaza, surf digital, ajedrez online). In order to be included in the control group, an interview had to be a verbatim transcription of oral data. As expected, this corpus includes very heterogenous content; the topics of the interviews range sports, music, literature, and show business, to non-governmental agencies, etc. In order to make the two corpora comparable, every effort was made to match both texts in length. Furthermore, to avoid discrepancies in the use of deictics, only speakers of Peninsular Spanish were included. Latin American participants were excluded from the data so as to avoid vos as well as the absence of vosotros. Moreover, such interviews share the feature of precision that characterizes PD; the very situation of being interviewed for a newspaper or magazine implies an enhanced attention to what is going to be said. This prevented the difficulties that would have arisen by comparing PD talk with completely casual speech, which presents
abundant recasts and re-formulations. In this sense, both the PD and the control corpus have been slightly rearranged by the transcribers but not in a way that interferes with the goals and purposes of this research project.

The data collection for the PD corpus involved the selection of speeches that represented a variety of parliamentary interactions. The sample covers the well-structured addresses by the PM or the leader of the opposition (i.e. the European summit reports at the Parliament, the Debate del Estado de la Nación, or the type of special one-time - appearances such as that of the Spanish government after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001) as well as the improvised interactions, such as the ordinary Sesiones de Control or the Turnos de Interpelación Urgente, where more vivid, dynamic dialogs take place.

All of these speeches are a faithful transcription of the actual verbal data and are easily accessed on the Internet, at the Parliament’s official web site (www.congreso.es), which provides transcripts of all parliamentary debates. The goal of these documents is not to provide an exact linguistic account of what was said, but rather to facilitate the reading of these files; therefore features such as recasts, pauses, and expressions of hesitation such as the typical Spanish filler ‘eeeh’ are expunged from the speeches.

Since the main objective of these transcriptions is to produce a record, the data are slightly modified. Moreover, there are no indications of regional accents (no aspiration or word-final’s’ deletion in the case of plural markers for Andalusian
speakers, for instance) and inaudible segments of speech are marked as ‘inaudible’.

Befittingly, laughter and humming are noted as ‘risas’ and ‘murmillos’ respectively.

Unlike the British and American Parliaments, which offer the possibility for the MPs to rearrange the final linguistic material prior to the publication of the records (van Dijk 1999: 30), the Spanish Diario de Sesiones appears verbatim in regard to the linguistic material that is of interest to the reader (the non-linguist). Nonetheless, the president of the House suggests that MPs may decide whether certain expressions are to be recorded, such the following example illustrates:

(4) La señora PRESIDENTA: Muchas gracias. (El señor Bel i Queralt pide la palabra.)
El señor BEL I QUERALT: Señora presidenta, para una cuestión de orden. No sé el artículo, pero como sabe que soy de los nuevos espero que no le importará...
La señora PRESIDENTA: ¿Qué cuestión de orden?
El señor BEL I QUERALT: En primer lugar quería solicitar si existe constancia en el servicio taquigráfico de que yo haya renunciado a mi turno. (Protestas.)
La señora PRESIDENTA: Señor Bel… Señorías, ¡guarden silencio!
(Diario de Sesiones, 22 May 2002, p.8235)

[The PoP: Thank you very much (Mr. Bel i Queralt requests the right to speak)
Mr. BEL I QUERALT: Madam president, it’s a matter of protocol. (I) don’t know the article, but as (you) know that (I) am one of the new (MPs) (I) hope (you) don’t mind…
La señora PRESIDENTA: What matter of protocol?
Mr. BEL I QUERALT: In the first place (I)’d like to ask whether the stenographic service has recorded that I have given up my turn (Protests)
The PoP: Mr. Bel… Members of the Parliament, be quiet!]

Given that the focus of this dissertation is on a wide array of linguistic items, it requires access to a relatively large corpus of PD. To meet this need, data from 40 speeches are analyzed. The speeches were selected at random. Given my interest in phenomena beyond the lexical level, no selection was made according to the topic of the speech. The data are taken from speeches that were delivered between the years 2000 and 2003, with
10 speeches selected per year. Although the chronological period is not important for this type of project, there was an effort to work with relatively recent data. Clearly, the analysis is unable to focus on each instance of deixis or pronominal use in all 40 speeches. Nevertheless, to illustrate the frequency of occurrence of the relevant features in the data set, for purposes of comparison with the non-political corpus, I present a frequency table based on the speeches selected from 2002:

**Table 3.1. Comparison between control and PD corpora**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>control corpus</th>
<th>political corpus (2002)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pages</td>
<td>1,419</td>
<td>1,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>words</td>
<td>379,298</td>
<td>379,199</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1 illustrates the almost identical size of both corpora. This has certain advantages. In the first place, the data size of the PD corpus and the type of linguistic feature allows for a high occurrence of the phenomenon, considering the dialogic nature of both corpora of pronouns. Pronominal forms are present extensively in most types of speech, and PD is not exceptional in this case. Another clear advantage is that working with a roughly identical control corpus guarantees the comparability of both corpora.

Although the comparison will be established contrasting the control corpus with only one of the annual political corpora, an initial analysis of the most relevant pronouns across the entire data set suggests uniformity across time in the make up of political language. Notice, for example, the uniform proportions of specific language usage detailed in the data across the four different corpora (percentages represent occurrence per 10,000 words):
Table 3.2. Pronominal comparison across the data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>indexical control</th>
<th>corpus 000</th>
<th>corpus 2001</th>
<th>corpus 2002</th>
<th>corpus 2003</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yo</td>
<td>1,908 (0.50%)</td>
<td>722 (0.17%)</td>
<td>942 (0.15%)</td>
<td>422 0.15%</td>
<td>600 (0.11%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nosotros</td>
<td>274 (0.7%)</td>
<td>418 (0.10%)</td>
<td>598 (0.9%)</td>
<td>259 (0.07%)</td>
<td>435 (0.09%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tú</td>
<td>201 (0.5%)</td>
<td>3 (&lt;0.1%)</td>
<td>1 (&lt;0.01%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12 (&lt;0.01%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aquí</td>
<td>279 (0.7%)</td>
<td>308 (0.07%)</td>
<td>530 (0.09%)</td>
<td>275 (0.07%)</td>
<td>412 (0.08%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoy</td>
<td>232 (0.06%)</td>
<td>438 (0.10%)</td>
<td>612 (0.10%)</td>
<td>390 (0.10%)</td>
<td>569 (0.12%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>words</td>
<td>379,298</td>
<td>422,517</td>
<td>611,113</td>
<td>379,199</td>
<td>483,198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The most significant feature of this comparison is the virtual absence of the informal second person singular pronoun *tú* in the PD corpus (only 16 times in the total PD corpus from a total body of 1,896,027 words). Unlike the PD corpus, the control corpus includes a much higher frequency of this form. This is undoubtedly due to the formality of parliamentary practices as compared to the often informal interaction between journalists and their interviewees.

As will be discussed in Chapter 5, references to other MPs in the form of the second person pronoun, both singular and plural (*vosotros*) is extremely rare, and when it is employed to directly address an MP (as opposed to in its general form, the non-specific *tú*) it appears as an interruption to an on-going intervention. The percentages of the overt pronouns are very similar across all the PD corpora.
3.4 Theoretical framework

The methodological framework for this project is drawn from the mixed-approach model used by Partington (2003) in his study of the pragmatics of argumentation between the press and White House officials. In his book, Partington presents a pragmatic-oriented analysis of the interactions between journalists and military officials. He combines a discourse-analytical qualitative approach with a corpus-based quantitative analysis.

It should not be surprising that the multi-faceted nature of PD, both at the purely linguistic level (different purposes of different types of speech), as well as at the extra-linguistic level (the complex interaction between politicians and other MPs, the press, audiences at electoral meetings), calls for a flexible research methodology. Chilton (2001), suggests that research on PD should not only be conducted using diverse theoretical frameworks but that it should also extend its research foci and include analyses of phonological aspects of intonation and stress, non-verbal communicative strategies such as body posture and gestures, lexicon, as well as syntactic structures such as passivization.

With respect to methodology, this dissertation provides a qualitative interpretation of the data that falls under the wider field of discourse analysis – with a pragmatic prism that pays direct attention to the implications and context of utterances. The quantitative (corpus-based) approach is additionally used in an attempt to demonstrate the consistency of the phenomena under study. A double-level analysis
helps to develop an understanding of the relationship and function of particular uses of deictic expressions while also illustrating the recurrence of the phenomena across the data. Corpus analysis provides, in this sense, invaluable help to demonstrate the different character of spatial deictics in PD and everyday talk, showing for instance that PD abounds in spatial deictic expressions that refer to the immediate surroundings of the speaker while this phenomenon is virtually absent in everyday talk.

In the next section I provide an overview of the foundations of both types of analyses, their implications, and their applicability to the study of language in PD.

### 3.4.1 Discourse analysis

Researchers working in the broader field of discourse analysis (DA) have pointed out the vagueness of its boundaries. Broadly speaking, DA is concerned with three major aspects of the analysis of language: a) language use beyond the sentence/utterance, b) the relationship between language and society, and c) the dialogic characteristics and properties of everyday communication (Stubbs 1983). Despite such a broad definition it is evident that any subfield of DA entails a common trait: actual language use is the object of analysis. A quick look at any major DA methodology source text illustrates its heterogeneous nature. *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (Tannen, Schiffrin and Hamilton 2001), for instance, includes the following categories: institutional discourse, child discourse, language in politics, the discourse of medical encounters, language of the media as well as the complexity of the interrelations between language and gender,
among others. It can be argued that virtually any use of discourse in society is subject to study under a DA approach.

Discourse analysis is vast not only in its range of interests but also in the extent to which it has been influenced as an approach for studying actual linguistic data. Social theorists such as Bourdieu, Derrida, and Habermas, taking by the ‘linguistic turn’, have greatly extended the importance of discourse – from being viewed simply as the product of communication to recognizing its crucial role in processes of domination, perpetuation of inequality, and resistance. From the perspective of language studies, notions of linguistic/symbolic capital – such as linguistic habitus and linguistic markets, initially formulated by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1986) – and the role they perform in social structures have exerted an enormous influence in DA. These concepts help us to understand specific aspects of the intersection of communication and society. For Bourdieu, communication in society is strongly influenced by certain roles; it is perfectly normal for a police officer or a teacher to address a driver or a pupil with succinct sentences, obviating politeness formulas. This is based on the conceptualizations that both parts recognize: drivers recognize police officers as such and expect such type of communication (Bourdieu 1984). DA has also been influenced by other types of research that are also focused on the role of language in the rites of social interaction. The impact of the seminal works of Hymes (1980) and other linguistic anthropologists, although initially concerned with the description of Native American languages in the United States and Canada, transcended their initial scope, and now ethnomethodology is used
to describe social interactions in other settings. For Duranti (2001), the ethnography of modern day communication revolves around ‘understanding the crucial role played by language (and other semiotic resources) in the constitution of society and its cultural representations’ (p.5)

With regard to the theoretical frameworks relevant to DA, most scholars adopted the conceptualization of language as a social semiotic system as proposed by Halliday (1978). Based upon this central premise, Halliday has developed a theory (Systemic Functional Linguistics – SFL) with distinctive features that deal with the understanding of the internal organization of language according to the functions it serves. SFL focuses, consequently, upon the study of language as the vehicle through which people accomplish goals in everyday social life as well as in the study of how the world is constructed through language.

While DA is primarily concerned with discourse, understood as both written and oral text, approaches within this field range from those that do not transcend the textual boundary as the object of their study to those that – as is the case in the present project – aim at understanding the inter-relationship between text and context. One approach, commonly referred to as ‘textual linguistics’, is concerned with the linguistic devices (conjunctions, textual deictics such as demonstrative pronouns, etc.) used to provide the textual cohesion of discourse. This trend in linguistic analysis received a great amount of attention in the aftermath of the publication of the seminal work of Halliday and Hasan (1976). Textual linguistics is thus best viewed as an approach within DA that identifies
two major goals: (1) the development of a typology of text types (expository, argumentative, etc.), and (2) the study of textual schemata (that is, the textual sequencing that forms the internal structure of texts, for instance claim > thesis > argument > example).

A second type of analysis, directly influenced by pragmatics, crosses these boundaries and aims at questioning different aspects of discourse. As McCarthy, Mathiessen, and Slade (2002: 56) indicate, this trend in research is primarily concerned with providing answers to the following questions:

- Who are the participants in the discourse? What is their relationship? Are there differences in power and knowledge between the participants?
- How do we know what writers and speakers mean? What does a particular piece of text mean in context?

For the discourse analyst, then, context—whether linguistic, in the first approach, or social in the second—is of the utmost importance. The change of focus to a more conscious appraisal of the extra-linguistic circumstances of the discourse is due to the influence of pragmatics; this will be the subject of discussion in the next section.

3.4.2 Pragmatics

Defining pragmatics is, as has been noted by scholars in this field, not an easy task. As Mey contends (2001), some researchers have dismissed pragmatics by labeling it ‘the waste basket of linguistics’ (p. 19). By using such a term, some scholars have highlighted
the fuzzy boundaries between pragmatics and other germane fields of inquiry. Not only
is the definition of pragmatics as a theoretical concept fuzzy, but the very ontological
conceptualization of pragmatics within some areas of linguistics (as an approach, as an
aspect of language, or as a type of analysis) remains strongly debated. While an account
of the different views of this question is beyond the scope of this project, it is important
to point out that, I consider here pragmatics, in line with McCarthy, Matthiessen, and
Slade (2002), to be a subfield of linguistics as well as an approach within the broader
label of DA. While DA can be conducted without consideration of the particular contexts
of utterance (as was mentioned earlier), the present project adopts a pragmatic-oriented
interest to attempt to account for possible motivations for the appearance of certain
linguistic phenomena.

Pragmatics, as a framework of study, thus concerns a wide variety of topics
related to human linguistic interaction in oral data (conversational structure) as well as
written data (textual deixis). It must be noted, however, that even these
conceptualizations of pragmatics are not unproblematic. If pragmatics is conceived as a
theoretical framework, this necessarily implies defining what exactly constitutes its
object of analysis. After evaluating several possibilities, Mey (2001) suggests that ‘the
proper domain of pragmatics would then be what Chomsky has called performance’ (p.5),
which in turn leads to another crucial question: what exactly is meant here by
performance? This question is particularly relevant if one considers that other
disciplines in linguistics (phonetics, certain areas of semantics, dialectology,
sociolinguistics and historical linguistics) also deal with performance. In an attempt to answer the above question, Mey conceives the language user (understood as the producer and interpreter of utterances) as occupying the center of attention for pragmatics. This fundamental focus of interest is what, for most researchers working within this paradigm, truly separates pragmatics from other forms of linguistic inquiry.

In the next sections I provide an account of the origins and most significant developments of pragmatics as an influence within discourse analysis. As will be shown, pragmatics entails not only an increased appraisal of the context of utterances but also exemplifies a major divergence from the model that dominated research in linguistics in the 1960s and 1970s.

3.4.2.1 Origin of pragmatics

Levinson (1983) cites philosopher Charles Morris (1938) as one of the seminal figures in the development of the modern study of pragmatics. In Morris’s view, there are three branches of linguistic-based inquiry: syntax (concerned with the formal relationships between signs), semantics (the study of the relationships between signs and the objects to which they apply), and finally pragmatics (the study of ‘the relation of signs to interpreters’ (Morris in Levinson 1983: 1)). Pragmatics represents, in this respect, a significant re-orientation in research. Under this framework, linguists interested in working with actual data slowly began to depart from the ‘syntax-only’ approach of Chomsky and his followers. In a sense, the ‘pragmatic approach’ shared the same
essential disapproval of this dominant view of linguistics as critical linguists displayed
towards the notion that there is a single means by which to conduct linguistic research.

This shift introduced the contention that meaning, rather than being a passive
concept that resided in language itself, was, instead, the result of negotiating processes.
Mey contends, regarding this shift in views, that ‘pragmatics is interested in the process
of producing language and in its producers, not just in the end-product, language’ (2001: 5).

As was suggested earlier, any attempt to define pragmatics must account for the
evolution that this term has undergone over the recent history of linguistics. While it is
important to recognize that pragmatics has long been considered an ‘aspect’ of
language, most of its definitions relate to its status as a field of inquiry. Wilson, for
instance, contends that pragmatics relates to the ‘way in which meanings are
constructed or calculated within particular contexts of interaction’ (Wilson 1990: 3). An
example of the linguistic matters of interest to scholars working in pragmatics is
illustrated by contrasting the types of questions that different fields of linguistics
attempt to answer. Generative syntax, for instance, is principally concerned with
understanding how first language is acquired and with detailing the universal
characteristics of an innately specified “organ of language” that accounts for core
universal properties of human language. While semantics attempts to understand the
meaning of utterances with the aid of logic and lexical semantics endeavors to define the
meaning of words in isolation as well devising what constitutes ‘meaning’, pragmatics is
concerned with answering the following questions (from Spencer-Oatey and Žegarac 2002: 75):

- How do people communicate more than what the words or phrases of their utterances might mean by themselves, and how do people forge these interpretations?

- Why do people choose to say and/or interpret something in one way rather than another?

- How do people’s perceptions of context (for example, who the interlocutors are, what their relationship is, and what circumstances they are communicating in) influence the process of producing and interpreting language?

Pragmaticians are primarily concerned with actual conversations and data. It is relevant to indicate here that this shift to a richer understanding of the role of users attracted not only linguists; philosophers have also turned toward pragmatics after discerning that many sentences are not easily understood within the truth-based formalisms of logic.

3.4.2.2 Methods in pragmatics

One of the basic assumptions in pragmatics is that we often mean much more than we say. Indeed, a careful observation of virtually any natural conversation will corroborate this premise. Speakers utter sentences, many times aware of the fact that the information they are providing is insufficient and yet they correctly assume a shared knowledge of the world and of the implications of the message that remain unsaid. Pragmatics argues,
in fact, that speakers always mean what they say, considering aspects of shared knowledge of the context both linguistic and extralinguistic of the particular interaction in which they are immersed, as well as knowledge of the world.

Naturally, whenever meaning is the central concern of research, one must turn, initially, to semantics. Wilson (1990) explains how linguists have ‘turned to pragmatics as their theories of semantics have become radically inadequate as accounts not only of how people understand each other but as accounts of the role of meaning within a language system with interacting levels of structure’ (p.4)

Since meaning is not an isolated, passive entity, but rather the product of interaction between participants, pragmatics must provide an account of how meaning is constructed. The theories of philosophers Austin (1968) and Searle (1969), who both contributed greatly to the development of Speech Act Theory, have been of great methodological importance to this goal. This theoretical framework initially represented a highly influential attempt to provide a model for the understanding of the underlying mechanisms of natural conversation. Moreover, this theory accounts for the most basic characteristics of linguistic interaction. It refers to the degree of directness in an utterance, its purpose (illocutionary force), and its outcome (perlocutionary force); and was later reformulated by Grice (1975), who added the notion of Conversation Maxims, the basic schemata for understanding the collaborative principles in human communication. These theories, although they have been reformulated extensively over
recent years, represent a substantial advance towards a more systematic approach to understanding the dynamics of communication.

Pragmatics is a dynamic field that, probably due to its recent appearance as a major trend in research, is constantly being redefined. Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson 1995), represents one important theoretical revision. This theory is fundamentally concerned with depicting the cognitive processes that enable an understanding of utterances while considering the relevance of their contextual conditions. In other words, any new information is processed by an individual in the context of pre-existent and assumed beliefs and assumptions. Sperber and Wilson, while suggesting new ways to look at how communication is achieved, refuse to rely upon a single process. As they put it:

‘(...) communication can be achieved by coding and decoding messages, and it can be achieved by providing evidence for an intended inference. The code model and the inferential model are each adequate to a different mode of communication; hence upgrading either to the status of general theory of communication is a mistake’ (1995:3)

In their view, then, interpretation is also related to what they have labeled the ‘maximization of relevance’. Blakemore illustrates by suggesting a situation involving a bus driver who is about to depart a bus stop and sees an anxious-looking woman holding a bus pass who is, in turn, attempting to cross behind the bus. Blakemore (2002) argues that, if the bus driver is to try to interpret such a situation, he will use ‘contextual assumptions to derive inferences about the woman’s beliefs […] and intentions’ (p.61). This will lead to the conclusion that the woman’s behavior is intimately related to the immediate departure of the bus - the woman wishes to board a bus, his bus. Similarly, in
most interactions, participants select the meaning that provides the most relevant information to the particular circumstances that surround the occasion. Sperber and Wilson’s theory has greatly enhanced our understanding of the mechanisms that facilitate understanding between those engaged in conversation. Their view highlights once again the value that pragmaticians place upon the unsaid, which is an indivisible part of the ‘said’ or tangible linguistic material.

3.4.2.3 Pragmatics and PD analysis

As mentioned in Chapter 1, there are many different lines of research in the linguistic analysis of PD. Most traditional approaches tended to be concerned with rhetorical aspects while newer trends, particularly in the 1960s and 1970s, became more interested in discerning the differences in ideology rather than addressing the actual linguistic aspects of political activity (Geis 1987). Pragmatic analysis of PD is not only concerned with the contextual conditions of a speech, but is also interested in its function and intentionality. Pragmaticians, in this sense, do not venture to guess what is in the speaker’s mind when s/he produces an utterance, but rather, aim at understanding the possible interpretations of particular utterances taking their contexts into consideration. This viewpoint is elegantly captured by Katz, who suggests that ‘grammars are theories about the structure of sentence types… Pragmatic theories, in contrast (...) explicate the reasoning of speakers and hearers’ (1977: 19). For pragmaticians interested in PD analysis, it is then important to understand the richness of the context, both internal and
external, to arrive at plausible interpretations of intentionality. Wilson illustrates this point in the context of the famous Watergate case. When Nixon was asked—once the scandal of the illegal wiring of the Democratic National Convention had surfaced—about who was implicated in the break-in, he replied that ‘no one presently employed in the White House has participated in the break-in’. Wilson analyzes the implications of this response and concludes that Nixon was actually suggesting an interpretation (what Wilson calls ‘manipulation’) that highlighted the fact that no-one who worked at the White House at the moment the question was asked was, in fact, implicated. Of course, Wilson explains, this response was also satisfactory for those who interpreted it as ‘no-one who is presently employed or has ever been employed’, and no further questions were asked. This failed to determine whether such a statement implied that those who perpetrated the break-in had been discharged from their duties at the White House as a consequence of the scandal. Wilson reminds us (see Chapter 2) that this type of linguistic maximization of the options—manipulation—is, in fact, a recurrent linguistic strategy, not only in politics but in everyday language, as was noted in Chapter 1.

3.4.3 Corpus linguistics

Corpus linguistics has expanded greatly in the last few years. Having previously been utilized primarily as a tool in English linguistics, and particularly in the elaboration of grammars and dictionaries, corpus linguistics is now a far more widespread line of research. It is one of the many ways in which interest in authentic linguistic data has
developed. It is also an approach to research that makes use of large bodies of text when
describing linguistic features or establishing probabilistic studies as an aid to
syntacticians or translators (Oostdijk 1991, Jones 2002, McEnery and Wilson 2001). This
type of approach, or methodology, is not exclusive to a particular field within
linguistics, but rather, as McEnery and Wilson have pointed out, is advantageous to an
array of research enterprises.

Corpus linguistics has proved to be a useful tool for many types of linguistic
analysis, including language description, translation studies, forensic linguistics,
lexicography, stylistic linguistics, grammar studies, and discourse analysis, to mention a
few. It is then not surprising that corpus linguistics has not been considered a linguistic
theory but rather a methodology. The rapid improvement of textual analysis software
and the ever-changing aims of corpus linguistics have transfigured, however, this type
of research into something more than a simple tool, and it is now being regarded as a
philosophical approach to language. A large analysis of certain linguistic forms (e.g.
prepositions or phrasal verbs) may help the researcher confirm or reject assumptions
regarding the contexts in which they appear, their frequency, etc. As Tognini-Bonelli
(2001) has pointed out, corpus linguistics sheds light to certain linguistic phenomena by
observing their patterns across a large number of occurrences.

Although, as has been said, modern technology has greatly propelled corpus
linguistics, linguists had shown curiosity for understanding the patterns of language as
found in large bodies of text before the extended use of computers and specialized
programs. For years, researchers have paid attention not only to real texts—oral and written—but have also attempted to account for the recurrence of certain phenomena within the data. Some early works in corpus linguistics, such as the OSTI reports (Sinclair, Jones and Daley 1970) remained unpublished despite their quality, overshadowed as they were by the dominating influence of the Chomskian paradigm and its disinterest in concrete linguistic performance.

In this sense, corpus linguistics represents a considerable technological advance more than a new theoretical approach on language or linguistics. As Hoey illustrates (in Jones 2002), quoting Sinclair’s well-known analogy, corpus linguistics is, to the modern linguist, what the microscope was to the naturalist during the Enlightenment: a tool that opened up new ways to conduct research as well as a means to gain confirmation of hypotheses that could previously only be guessed at. The fact that computer software programs can now conduct analyses of thousands of words in just seconds has opened the door to a type of study that looks for the patterns in their use. A researcher interested in studying the collocation of a certain preposition may now, for example, check at a glance all the uses of at in a corpus of 100 million words in just a few seconds. Of course, corpus linguistics has some disadvantages. When used in a purely quantitative way, it may, for example, fail to accurately appraise nuances in language use—by homogenizing the data and not taking into consideration the extralinguistic context.
This dissertation utilizes corpus linguistics as an aid to a qualitative approach as well as a tool to corroborate the consistency of certain phenomena that occur in PD.

### 3.4.3.1 Corpus linguistics in PD analysis

Researchers examining PD have recently started to use a corpus-based approach in order to account for recurring patterns in linguistic behavior and also in order to handle large amounts of data. Some French researchers, largely influenced by the *lexicologie* school of research (mainly concerned with assessing the lexical density and quality of texts) have studied the quantitative differences in lexicon in the speeches of the French Socialist and Communist parties in the early 1920s (e.g. Marcellesi, 1976). It is important to note that early works in this mould shared modern corpus linguists’ interest in the quantitative aspect of data, as well as in the authenticity of the sources.

Methodologically speaking, however, researchers lacked the sophisticated hardware and software tools to aid them in their work; in fact, many still relied heavily on the manual processing of data. In a more recent example of large-N analysis facilitated by technological advances, Souchard et al. (1997) provide a detailed study of right-wing French politician Jean Marie Le Pen. In their work, they analyze 1200 pages of speeches, from 1983 to 1996, including those at partisan meetings as well as other type of electoral activities.

Most research on PD using a corpus-based analysis has been carried out in the UK. In a 2002 paper, Blackledge analyzes interventions of local politicians in a troubled
area in Northern England. Combining a corpus-based approach with a CDA framework, he examines the ways in which Britain becomes an imagined community in the public discourses of politicians' speeches and newspaper reports. The analysis suggests that the such discourses construct the nation as a linguistically and culturally homogenous community, in an attempt to ignore the racial tensions between Asian ethnicities in Britain.

Partington (2003) has analyzed the communicative dynamics between the press and the officials of the White House using a corpus-based analysis in addition to a pragmatic interpretation of the data. Carter and McCarthy (2002) combined Conversation Analysis (CA) techniques with corpus analysis when studying media interviews of Tony Blair, the UK’s Prime Minister. In a similar vein, Fairclough (2000) utilized corpus linguistic principles in order to analyze the construction of Blair’s speeches as a parallel to the rhetorical effort of the New Labour, arguing that most of the perceived change is in fact a subtle incorporation of what he has labeled the ‘language of the New Capitalism.’

3.4.3.2 Corpus linguistics in this project

McCarthy, et al. (2002) point out two major lines of research within corpus linguistics: quantitative and qualitative. The first type of research works with the largest corpus possible (100-400 million words), including the largest range of genres and types of discourse. Once the information has been coded computationally, the data is analyzed to
provide the researchers with information on the frequency and concordance of words, phrases, collocations, and structures. The main use of this line of work is the production of dictionaries and grammars that identify usage of language through analysis of concrete real-world linguistic data. However, as McCarthy et al. suggest, statistical facts tell little about the why? of such uses. Answers can ‘only be found by looking at the contexts of the texts in the corpus. Discourse analysts, therefore, may also work with corpora in a qualitative way’ (p.71). As McCarthy, et al. put it:

Corpus linguistics is based primarily on quantitative studies of language, where the computer is used to count frequency of occurrence of words, phrases or other quantifiable phenomena, and to observe patterns of use. The results of corpus analyses are probabilistic: linguistic events are rarely 100% matters, and it is normally more or less likely that a particular linguistic event will occur […] It is in the interpretation of such probabilities and their predicted or unpredicted occurrence in actual contexts where the qualitative side of corpus comes to the fore (p.12)

This research project employs a qualitative approach to corpus linguistics, since it pursues the understanding and motivations that underlie specific linguistic choices in the context of PD. In this dissertation I am mainly interested in understanding how the particular characteristics of parliamentary debate—unique location, reflexivity of topics, and the rules of parliament that affect the nature of debate—have an impact on linguistic devices above and beyond lexical choices.

For this project, I have utilized Mike Scott’s *Wordsmith Tools™*, a software program designed specifically to produce concordances and wordlists. This computer program allows the researcher a myriad of possibilities. One of the most useful features is the ability to locate the immediate (sentential) and larger (paragraph, page) contexts of
a token (word or phrase). For example, when attempting to locate the occurrence of the double deictic combination *hoy aquí* in the data, *Wordsmith* displays the output in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Concordance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>La que usted representa hoy aquí, la del laicismo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Señorías, veo que hoy aquí todos los grupos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Además, hemos planteado hoy aquí dar solución a algún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>presentado enmiendas y hoy aquí nos hemos referido</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>González. Y llega usted hoy aquí sin haber cesado al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>como ha hecho S.S. hoy aquí, la ballena de Jonás</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>del Gobierno y su discurso hoy aquí es un discurso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>interés de España. Lo dijo hoy aquí, en el Pleno. El</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>con demagogia barata. Hoy aquí el señor Aznar ha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>con la que uno se mueve. Hoy aquí el señor Aznar,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>ha sido su intervención hoy aquí, en la que de nuev</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 3.1. Concordances for *hoy aquí* in PD corpus**

A qualitative approach to discourse does not, however, simply use the outcome of a corpus-based analysis. While such computer tools helps the researcher in managing large corpora in a way that would be unfeasible if done manually, a careful reading of the data is still required.

Finally, all the items discussed in this project appear in upper case and italics to facilitate their identification. Assuming that the reader is familiar with Spanish, and for brevity’s sake, the excerpts are not translated into English.
3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a brief discussion of the linguistic theories and methodologies that are most relevant to this dissertation. Based primarily upon a discourse analytic approach with a strong pragmatic component, this research project also borrows from the methods of corpus linguistics in order to support its analysis with quantitative evidence.

Pragmatics, an approach to language that originated in the interest of some philosophers of the language in real production of language, has expanded greatly to its current status as an important field (or approach) to the study of language use. The interest in pragmatics has spread to a wide variety of research areas, from second language acquisition to discourse analysis, and within this field to more specific topics such as the present interest in PD.

Corpus linguistics, on the other hand, rather than a field in itself, represents a useful methodology that facilitates—in either quantitative or qualitative research—the analysis of linguistic patterns as they occur across large bodies of data. As McCarthy et al. (2002) have pointed out, this last notion requires careful consideration for the context surrounding the concordances of the data in order to arrive at an understanding of the why? of its occurrence.

As relevant for this project, a pragmatic analysis will help understanding the implications in the use of certain pronouns. In particular, a consideration of the
extralinguistic context will greatly help understand the motivations for certain uses, as well as their consequences in PD.
CHAPTER 4. SELF-REFERENTIAL PRONOUNS

4.1 Introduction

As was mentioned in Chapter 3, the purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate how PD differs from everyday careful talk by analyzing the use of personal pronouns and certain expressions of time and space. A number of factors distinguish PD from everyday speech. While in the latter the use of yo is mainly concerned with the expression of ideas related to the self, in PD yo is frequently contrasted against the identity of the interlocutor. The next section of this chapter provides a detailed analysis of the use and functions of pronouns yo and nosotros.

4.2 Pronominal forms

As noted in Chapter 2, personal pronouns have received the most attention in the analysis of deixis in PD. Scholars working in PD have noticed the ambiguity in reference in pronouns in this particular setting. Wilson, for instance, points out that ‘the so-called categorial system of person, number and sex is far from categorial in interactive contexts, where speakers seem capable of developing and shifting the meaning of specific pronominal forms’ (1990:77).
In this chapter I present an analysis of the roles that self-referential pronouns *yo* and its plural form *nosotros* assume in the context of PD. Figure 4.1 provides a general chart of the Spanish deictic forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>deixis</th>
<th>contexto-marco de la enunciación</th>
<th>mundo exterior</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>de persona</td>
<td>YO (mío)</td>
<td>TÚ/usted/VOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOSOTROS (nuestro)</td>
<td>(tuyo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ÉL/ELLA,OS/AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(suyo)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de lugar</td>
<td>AQUÍ/ACÁ</td>
<td>AHÍ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ESTE/A,O</td>
<td>ESE/A,O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>AQUELL/A,O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>LEJOS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de tiempo</td>
<td>AHORA</td>
<td>ENTonces</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(antes/después)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.1. Spanish deictics** (source Calsamiglia and Tusón, 1999:117)

### 4.3 First person deixis

First person singular pronouns (*yo/I*) are probably the least problematic of all in terms of the interpretation of their scope. Unlike *nosotros*, which may expand from a single speaker (the case of the ‘royal we’) to virtually all of humankind, *yo* remains inseparably attached to the speaker. In the next section, I provide an analysis of the functions that

---

9 Although I use the traditional label of ‘first person plural’, some authors, as was mentioned in Chapter 2, have challenged this conceptualization. *Nosotros* does not entail a multiplicity of *yos* but rather it refers to other entities with which the *yo* is related.
first person singular and plural convey. In order to fully understand the role of these pronouns in PD, I first focus on the most frequent unambiguous verbal forms, and later compare the percentage of occurrences with the overt and covert forms. Unlike English or French, the verbal morphology of Spanish allows for pronoun deletion. The omission of the pronominal form is generally accepted as the unmarked form in Spanish, as has been noted in traditional grammar. Comparing oral and written data, Luján (1999) points out:

Así pues, no deja de ser enfático o distintivo el pronombre que se enuncia cuando el hablante adelanta una opinión, suposición o parecer personal mediante una cláusula incrustada en el complemento de verbos como creer, parecer, decir, admitir, etc.: Yo creo/supongo que…; A mí me parece que…Una opinión o declaración así encuadrada puede darse de un modo tentativo, categórico o enérgico, con varios matices que van desde un énfasis atenuado al de mayor intensidad (p.1311)

[Therefore, it is still emphatic or distinctive that pronoun which is produced when the speaker elicits an opinion, supposition or personal view by way of a subordinate clause in the complement of verbs such as believe, seem, say, admit, etc.: I believe/I suppose that; It seems to me that… An opinion or affirmation expressed as such can be found in a mode that ranges from temptative, categorical or energetic, with several nuances that go from a mild emphasis to the strongest intensity]

As will be discussed, the absence of the overt form is clearly the norm in both corpora.

4.3.1 Yo

The data analyzed shows a much greater presence of yo in the control corpus. This can be attributable to the nature of the data; in the type of interviews collected for this project, interviewers are primarily interested in the interviewee’s opinion on their own
career, life events, etc. Hence, it is not surprising to find an abundance of first person references, as Table 4.1 demonstrates:

Table 4.1. Frequency of yo in PD and control corpus*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>427</td>
<td>1,098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>379,199</td>
<td>379,298</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Percentages per 10,000 words)*

Another factor that could influence this greater frequency, apart from the elicitation of opinions, is the formality of interviews in the control corpus. While most of them were collected from major newspapers, with a nation-wide circulation, an important number were verbatim transcriptions of informal interviews, where the presence of fillers is noteworthy (*pues yo no sé qué decirte, yo diría*) [well, I don’t know what to say to you, I’d say]. In contrast, these fillers show a much lower frequency in the PD corpus.

In order to determine the roles played by pronouns in PD in contrast with the control corpus, a first step is to compare their occurrence in overt and covert forms. First I have compared the unambiguous first person singular forms (*creo, pienso, digo*). Taking into account the size of the data base, I have included those forms which appear in a percentage equal to or higher than 0.01 per 10,000 words (which equals a frequency of 39 occurrences):
A comparison of the unambiguous first person pronominal forms suggests that the omission of the personal pronoun is, by far, the most consistent phenomenon in both corpora. An analysis of the data indicates that *yo* appears in all verb forms (with two exceptions; *insisto* and *ruego*) [(I) insist, (I) beg]. Unlike the first person plural pronoun which presents functions that can only be fulfilled in the covert form (see the explanation of *we*/*you* in section 4.3.2.1), *yo* adds emphasis to the utterance and illustrates the role positioning of the speaker. Taking these factors into consideration, I shall focus only on the overt forms.

Table 4.2: Comparison of most frequent first person verb forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rank</th>
<th>verb</th>
<th>tokens PD corpus</th>
<th>% tot. PD corpus</th>
<th>tokens PD corpus</th>
<th>% tot. PD corpus</th>
<th>total PD corpus</th>
<th>rank</th>
<th>verb control corpus</th>
<th>tokens control corpus</th>
<th>% tot. control corpus</th>
<th>tokens control corpus</th>
<th>% tot. control corpus</th>
<th>total control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>87.3</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>939</td>
<td>87.1</td>
<td>1,078</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>creo</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>81.1</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>creo</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>570</td>
<td>72.3</td>
<td>788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>quiero</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>93.8</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>tengo</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>85.1</td>
<td>496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>voy</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>90.6</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>estoy</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>soy</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>65.1</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>digo</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>sé</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>86.9</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>tengo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>88.2</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>quiero</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>estoy</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>voy</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>14.2</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>85.8</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>puedo</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>puedo</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>90.2</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>insisto</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>hago</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>15.3</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>espera</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>91.1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>digo</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>76.6</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>pregunto</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>veo</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>77.7</td>
<td>103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>empecé</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>empecé</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>1,448</td>
<td>87.6</td>
<td>1,653</td>
<td></td>
<td>total</td>
<td>798</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>3,584</td>
<td>81.8</td>
<td>4,382</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(Percentages per 10,000 words)*
Table 4.2 shows other similarities: the most frequent form in both corpora relates to the expression of beliefs and opinions (creo) [(I) believe], as well as the expression of present perfect forms (he + past participle) [(I) have + past participle]. Differences, on the other hand, include the presence of the verb ‘ruego’, for instance, which appears as one of the most frequently used verbs in PD while it does not have a single occurrence in the control corpus. A close reading of this particular verb reveals, however, that all of those occurrences belong to the tasks carried out by the PoP, who seems to avoid any use of the overt personal pronoun yo. This absence is in agreement with the constant self-references in the third person (esta Presidencia opina que…) [this Presidency believes that …] elicited by the PoP which abound across the data, suggesting a conscious effort in conveying an institutional, non-personal voice.

A next step to understand the presence of yo is to analyze the past participles that accompany the auxiliary he, the most frequent verb form in both corpora. While in the control corpus action-verb participles such as ‘leído’ or ‘trabajado’ [read, worked] appear, respectively, as the eighth and ninth most frequent verbs, the PD corpus shows a greater frequency of communication and sensory (see, hear) verbs. The latter, it should be noted, are used to refer to references to dialogue (he oído en su intervención que..., he visto cómo su posición no cambia) [I have heard in your speech that..., I have seen how your position does not change]. An account of the most frequent past participles is contained in Table 4.3:

Table 4.3. Most frequent participles in past perfect forms
Table 4.3 shows that the most frequent verbs in PD all relate to verbal action (dialogic management, reference to previous statements, agreement with other participants in the interaction, etc.). Finally, a comparison of the potentially ambiguous forms was also taken into account. This entails that in certain situations, the inflected form of a verb may have different referents. For instance, a sentence such as the following may be interpreted in different ways:

_Siempre que iba a cenar con Juan estaba cansado_

[Everytime that (x) went to have dinner with John (x) was tired]
With regard to the possible referents of the inflected verbs, this sentence admits the following readings:

\[
\text{Siempre que (yo) iba a cenar con Juan; estaba cansado}
\]

[Everytime that (I) went to have dinner with Juan (I) was tired]

\[
\text{Siempre que (yo) iba a cenar con Juan; estaba cansado}
\]

[Everytime that (I) went to have dinner with Juan (he) was tired]

Clearly, the referent may shift from the speaker’s perspective to a third person perspective. This sentence allows, nevertheless, for other interpretations; it could refer to a third person singular (\textit{siempre que (Pedro) iba a cenar con Juan (Pedro) estaba cansado}) [everytime that (Pedro) went to have dinner with Juan (Pedro) was tired] or to a second person formal pronoun (\textit{siempre que (usted) iba a cenar con Juan estaba (usted) cansado}) [everytime that (formal, sg.you) went to have dinner with Juan (formal, sg. you) were tired]. In natural conversation, nevertheless, the interpretation of most of these potentially ambiguous sentences is resolved by contextual cues. In the analysis of these forms, the data suggests once again a prominence of dialogic verbs:

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{} & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{\textbf{yo}} & & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{\textbf{(yo)}} & & \multicolumn{2}{|c|}{\textbf{total}} \\
\cline{2-3}\cline{5-6}\cline{8-9}
\textbf{rank} & \textbf{verb} & \textbf{PD} & \% \textbf{total} & \textbf{PD} & \% \textbf{total} & \textbf{PD} & \% \textbf{total} & \textbf{PD} & \textbf{CC} \\
\hline
1 & decir & 3 & 6.5 & 5 & 25 & 43 & 93.5 & 15 & 75 & 46 & 20 \\
2 & diga & 1 & 5.6 & 2 & 40 & 17 & 94.4 & 3 & 60 & 18 & 5 \\
3 & estaba & 3 & 21.4 & 33 & 32.4 & 11 & 78.6 & 69 & 6.7 & 14 & 102 \\
4 & había & 4 & 57.1 & 25 & 30.1 & 3 & 42.9 & 58 & 69.9 & 7 & 83 \\
5 & iba & 0 & 0 & 12 & 15.2 & 5 & 100 & 67 & 84.8 & 5 & 79 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Potentially ambiguous verbal forms (first person singular)}
\end{table}
4.3.1.1 Functions of *yo* in PD

One of the difficulties the researcher working in PD must face is the analysis of the multiplicity of functions carried out by a limited number of pronouns and verbs. As will be discussed, a verb like ‘creo’ may convey different functions depending on the linguistic and extralinguistic context in which is found.

The analysis of the functions of *yo* in PD takes into account the distinction noted by Blas-Arroyo (2002), as has been noted in Chapters 1 and 2. In his paper, the author discriminates between two major roles of *yo* in Spanish political discourse, what he calls the ‘ideologically neutral *yo*’ and the ‘presidential *yo*’. While the first has as primordial aim ‘to respond to the dialogic necessities of the speaker at particular moments of the interaction’ (p.6), the second is different in that ‘a high political content is added to the speaker’s own deixis’ (p.7). The term ‘dialogic necessities’ refers to the verbal positioning of the speaker; his/her attempts to re-direct the message, regain floor, refer to what the opponent has said, etc.
The data analyzed for this project, while different in nature (Blas-Arroyo studied broadcast electoral debates) seem to corroborate his analysis. The functions of yo in PD are largely dependant upon two major factors; immediacy and face (in Brown and Levinson’s sense).

The data suggests that first person singular pronoun yo, both present and omitted, fulfills three basic functions; a) dialogic management, b) professional speech (which includes ideological identity and professional face) and c) role positioning, a metafunction that operates at both levels.

As Table 4.5 demonstrates, the use of yo in PD is fundamentally concerned with the positioning of the self, both at a micro (the very dialogue in which MPs are engaged) as well at a macro level (related to the professional and ideological image of the speaker). Immediacy divides speaker’s utterances into two categories: context-linked and context-removed. Face, as relevant for this project, is not concerned with politeness.

### Table 4.5. Functions of yo in PD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dialogic management</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>28.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional speech opinion</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prof. metadiscourse</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>past reference</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rapport</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>advice</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disc.marker/filler</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>427</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
but rather with the public and professional image that politicians attempt to convey. It is important to note that the criteria for dissecting the functions of *yo* depend largely on the linguistic context in which the pronominal use is embedded. Functions of *yo*—and of other pronouns—are not always clearly divided according to the use of certain verbs. In order to describe and classify such functions, a pragmatic analysis that takes into account the textual and extra-textual context is indispensable. The next sections explicate in detail the functions of *yo*.

### 4.3.1.2 Dialogic management

Table 4.7 shows how an important part of the functions of *yo* is represented by the management of the dialogue. *Yo* appears in 28.8% of the occurrences, fulfilling the communicative needs of the speakers, who refer to what their interlocutors have said, evaluate it, put forth what they will say next, etc. MPs are constantly redefining their position in the dialogue. This function is characterized by the type of verbs that accompany the pronoun (i.e. *decir, señalar, reiterar, mencionar*) [to say, indicate, reiterate, mention] and most importantly their tense (present perfect, present, and conditional).

While the type of verb and its tense are key to identify this function, *yo* may also appear in gappings as in example (6). Notice the repetition of the structure in the last two sentences:

(6) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO, MINISTRO DE LA PRESIDENCIA Y PORTAVOZ DEL GOBIERNO (Rajoy Brey): (...)YO HE HECHO hoy una exposición pormenorizada de todas las decisiones adoptadas y de qué es lo que
Example (6) is an appropriate illustration of the type of subfunctions present in dialogic management. Speakers in this function refer to what they have said and how they have said it (yo he hecho una exposición pormenorizada) [I have offered a detailed explanation], evaluate their opponent’s message (no he visto una alternativa) [I haven’t seen an alternative], and acknowledge a certain portion of the opponent’s utterance (usted me citó…) [you quoted…] to counter attack it (yo, otra…) [I, another (one)] . The final sentence of example (6) illustrates the metafunction of role positioning that was mentioned earlier. Speakers, both in dialogue management and professional speech, establish clear differences of the roles and stances of the speaker and others: yo versus usted, as well as other combinations (yo vs. ustedes, nosotros vs. ustedes, etc.) [I vs. (pl.) you, us vs. (pl.) you].
Dialogic management frequently entails some sort of confrontation. In the next example, the speaker recalls the exact words with which his interlocutor had previously addressed him. Notice again the role-positioning metafunction:

(7) El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (Aparicio Pérez): (...) HA UTILIZADO también nuevamente términos realmente insultantes, y SE lo DIGO con sinceridad. Si USTED está en ese objetivo, que también ha considerado prioritario, de anteponer el calentamiento, la participación, la activación de la huelga, lo ENTIENDO. Imagínese que YO ahora le llamase a USTED soberbio, codicioso y todas esas cosas que USTED ha dicho.

(Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p.8594)

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Aparicio Pérez): (...) (you) HAVE USED really insulting words, and (I) am telling YOU honestly. If YOU are in that trend, which has also considered a priority to highlight the ruckus, the activation of the strike, (I) UNDERSTAND IT. Imagine that I call YOU now arrogant, greedy and all of those things that YOU have said.]

Not all dialogic management, however, conveys arguments. Recall that the data used in this project consists of parliamentary debates, in which all political factions ask questions to the government. This includes opposing as well as allied political parties. Questions asked by the constituency of the government (Partido Popular) or its allies display an obvious benevolent tone. Formally, they are overwhelmingly characterized by being WH-type questions which allow the addressee to explain in detail the achievements and plans of the government. This will have a clear effect on the forms of address used, as will be seen in detail in Chapter 5. In relation to dialogic management, in the interaction between government and related political parties, there are numerous expressions of gratitude and appreciation. Also noteworthy is the almost complete absence of the contrast between yo and usted. Only in 2 of 81 answers of the government to the Partido Popular is there the overt yo, as found in (8):
El señor MINISTRO DE ASUNTOS EXTERIORES (Piqué i Camps): Muchas gracias, señor presidente. MUCHAS GRACIAS, SEÑORÍA, POR SU INTERPELACIÓN, que plantea un tema de extraordinaria importancia porque se inscribe en lo que tiene que ser un planteamiento global y complejo de la cooperación al desarrollo, que es una cuestión de la máxima importancia y que tiene que ir a más. Todos debemos ser cada día más sensibles respecto a la necesidad de configurar la cooperación al desarrollo como uno de los elementos clave de la proyección internacional de nuestro país. (…) Por tanto, LE AGRADEZCO que suscite esta cuestión. YO VOY A INTENTAR DAR RESPUESTA a algunas de las cosas que me ha dicho, pero en el bien entendido que este tema está en un marco que no compete exclusivamente al Gobierno, precisamente por imperativo legal, y que todos estamos interesados en que salga lo mejor posible. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002, p.7006)

[The SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Piqué i Camps): Thank you very much, Mr. President. THANK YOU VERY MUCH, HONORABLE GENTLEMAN, FOR YOUR INTERVENTION, which raises a topic of extraordinary relevance because it belongs to what must be a global and complex planning of cooperation for development, which is a question of great importance that must be increasingly treated. We all have to be, everyday, more sensitive towards the need of designing cooperation as one of the key elements of the international image of our country (…) Consequently, (I) THANK YOU for bringing up this question. I AM GOING TO ANSWER to some of the things that you have said to me, but in the understanding that this topic is at a level that does not concern the government only, precisely due to legal imperatives, and that we are all interested that it has the best possible outcome.]

4.3.1.3 Professional speech

A parliament is the most important professional site for politicians, both physically and symbolically. In their careers, professional politicians aim at earning a seat in parliaments, whether local or national, to represent the voters that elected them. Unlike electoral campaigns, parliamentary speech is not signaled by an intention to capture the audience’s attention to attract voters, but rather an MP’s task is related to the seeking of approval of the policies of his or her group, or to rejecting those who are against his/her party’s interests.
I suggest the label of ‘professional speech’ to acknowledge the fact that the second major function of yo in PD is characterized by references to the professional tasks and image related to parliamentary activity. As was mentioned in Chapter 1, what constitutes PD may be interpreted in different ways. While scholars influenced by postmodernism have pointed out the political dimension of language in virtually any social interaction (it plays an important role in the process of hegemony and power continuity), this project is concerned with language as used by professional politicians. Even considered in this narrower scope, its characteristics may differ greatly depending on the setting. While electoral meetings attempt to capture wide audiences and potentially indecisive voters, and party meetings are more pragmatically oriented—the audience is solidly convinced of the ideological stance of the speaker—parliamentary talk is addressed to both other MPs (present in the physical site) as well as the larger audience (which will access the product of this interaction through the mass media). Electoral meetings contain a greater degree of ideological and pragmatic message—e.g. moral issues as well as economic policies—and politicians are concerned with portraying an attractive image. This may include aspects of word choice, accent, physical image, non-verbal language, eye contact with the audience, etc.

Interaction in the parliament is more related, on the other hand, with professional ‘face’. Members of the government are questioned regularly by both their constituency and by opposing parties. Under extraordinary circumstances—such as the September 11 terrorist attacks in the United States, the environmental tragedy of the
Prestige oil tanker in November 2002 or the Anglo-American military intervention in Iraq in March 2003—the government is called to report to the parliament in full. Although parts of those sessions will be broadcast by the media and everything is transcribed into the Diario de Sesiones, MPs seem to be more concerned, while in the parliament, with defending their ability before their colleagues and opponents than to appeal to the general public. In the next sections, I explain the main functions that can be found under the label of ‘professional speech’.

4.3.1.4 Opinion

As was mentioned in the introduction, two major factors determine the functions of yo: immediacy and ‘face’. Politicians convey their opinions on the achievements, failures, plans, and image of their opponents and allies, as well as expressing their views in what is largely understood as ‘political ideology’. Hence, MPs evaluate certain proposals and topics according to the ideological stance of their constituency. This notwithstanding, not all opinions have the same pragmatic value. The next example illustrates the expression of an opinion from an MP of Izquierda Unida, one of the major political factions in the left wing spectrum:

(9) El señor REJÓN GIEB: Señorías, cuando están hablando de una segunda descentralización, incluso en las intervenciones de los distintos portavoces en temas autonómicos -así lo han explicado y últimamente, después de su proceso congresual, le han puesto más altavoz- dicen que este es el país más descentralizado. Sin duda es el país más descentralizado, pero no estamos hablando de autonomía, incluso entraríamos en una discusión terminológica sobre la mala utilización que se ha hecho del concepto autogobierno. YO SOY DE LOS QUE OPINAN que autogobierno,
aunque a muchos se les llene la boca de esa soflama, es un escalón más chiquitito de lo que es autonomía.
(Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p.7108)

[Mr. REJÓN GIEB: Members of the Parliament, when (pl. you) are talking of a second de-
centralization, even in the speeches of several spokespeople when dealing with
autonomy issues- it has been explained (by them) and lately, after its process in the
congress, have highlighted it even more- (they) say that this country is even more de-
centralized. The country is, undoubtedly, more de-centralized, but (we) are not talking
about autonomy, (we) would even enter a terminology discussion on the misuse of the
term self-government. I AM ONE OF THOSE WHO THINK that self-government,
although many have a mouthful with that term, is just a step down of what an autonomy is.]

Expressions of opinion such as this seem to be only related to the personal stance of an
individual. When opinions are expressed by the government, however, there are subtle
voice shifts from what constitutes the voice of the speaker to the institutional voice of the
government and vice versa. In the next example, PM Aznar combines both levels,
illustrating two of the main functions of *yo*, the expression of opinion and the evaluation
of other MPs (of opposing political parties, in this particular case). Note the voice shift
between the vague ‘el Gobierno cree’ [the Government believes] to his personal voice ‘yo
creo’ [I believe]:

(10) El señor PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO (Aznar López): Lo primero que le diré, señora,
es que EL GOBIERNO CREE en el modelo autonómico establecido en la Constitución y
por los estatutos y que desde luego no pensamos que ese modelo o sistema sea algo que
puede cumplirse o no puede cumplirse según venga bien. (...).
YO Sé que para algunos esto es un síntoma de regresividad y de centralismo
absolutamente inaceptable. YO CREO que es un complemento muy razonable de la
Constitución, de los estatutos y también del pacto autonómico firmado en 1992.
(Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p. 7077)

[The PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT (Aznar López): The first thing (I) am going to
tell you, Honorable Gentleman, is that THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES in the autonomy
model as established in the Constitution and by its statutes and of course (we) do not
think that that model or system is something that has or has not to be observed
depending on whether it is convenient or not (...). I KNOW that for some this is a
symptom of regressivity and of absolutely unacceptable centralism. I BELIEVE that this is a very reasonable complement to the Constitution, to the statutes and also of the autonomy pact signed in 1992.]

Finally, opinions may be used to discredit another MP’s professional or public image.

The next example is taken from one of the most heated moments in Spanish politics in recent years. In the aftermath of the shipwreck of the oil tanker Prestigie, which resulted in a major oil spill around the Northwest coast of Spain, the media published the news that high officials of the government did not interrupt a private hunting trip even after hearing the news. The government was also accused of providing inaccurate information on the ships and other means dedicated to control the oil spill. After facing two hostile questions from the opposition concerning these matters (the hunting trip and the lack of reliable information) the Secretary for Public Works dismisses bluntly the political abilities of his opponents, answering the following:

(11) El señor MINISTRO DE FOMENTO (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): YO LES PIDO a mis compañeros del Partido Popular que estén tranquilos porque oyendo estos disparates debemos estar muy tranquislos; oyendo este ejercicio irresponsable de la oposición tenemos que estar muy tranquislos.
(Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p.10776)

[The SECRETARY OF PUBLIC WORKS (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): I ASK MY colleagues of Partido Popular to be calm because, listening to this nonsense (we) ought to be very calm, listening to this irresponsible exercise of opposition, (we) have to be very calm.]

4.3.1.5 Past and external references

Although this function could be initially devised as part of dialogic management, it is characterized by its lack of immediacy. MPs often bring to their utterances examples of
situations and political statements related to the past, both of their opponents and of their own. This function is a reminder of the interconnectedness of the smaller group of functions within the major purposes accomplished in the use of yo. While example (14) is an external topic not intrinsically related to what was being discussed at that particular moment, excerpt (15) introduces past references while it enhances the professional face of the speaker. Observe the introduction of the topic that portrays it as indispensable and inevitable (yo no tengo más remedio):

(12) El señor NÚÑEZ CASTAIN: Señora presidenta, señorías, señor ministro, dice usted que los objetivos son evitar disfunciones y facilitar la inserción. YO NO TENGO MÁS REMEDIÓ que referirme al caso del campo en Andalucía. Empezaré por estar de acuerdo en los objetivos: si hay que evitar disfunciones que se eviten, porque disfunciones hay; y si hay que facilitar inserción que se facilite, porque hay dificultades. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p.8587)

[Mr. NÚÑEZ CASTAIN: Madam president, Honorable Members, Mr. Secretary, YOU say that the objectives are to avoid malfunctions and to facilitate insertion. I DO NOT HAVE ANY OTHER ALTERNATIVE but to refer to what is happening in the agricultural sector in Andalusia. (I) will start by agreeing with the objectives: if malfunctions are to be avoided, so be it, and if insertion must be facilitated, so be it, because there are difficulties.]

(13) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO Y MINISTRO DEL INTERIOR (Rajoy Brey): Además, estamos tomando medidas importantes, en primer lugar, reformas legales, como ha anunciado el presidente del Gobierno, con los juicios rápidos y una nueva regulación de la reincidencia, porque es verdad, como ha dicho el señor Zapatero y YO HACE SEIS MESES en esta Cámara, que no es de recibo que personas cien veces detenidas no ingresen nunca en prisión. En segundo lugar, en el ámbito de la

Not only are past references intertwined with professional face, but role-positioning is a constant function in the next example. While the speaker refers to past utterances and achievements, he highlights his position with that of his opponent (note that he is not addressing him but another MP of the socialist party):

(13) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO Y MINISTRO DEL INTERIOR (Rajoy Brey): Además, estamos tomando medidas importantes, en primer lugar, reformas legales, como ha anunciado el presidente del Gobierno, con los juicios rápidos y una nueva regulación de la reincidencia, porque es verdad, como ha dicho el señor Zapatero y YO HACE SEIS MESES en esta Cámara, que no es de recibo que personas cien veces detenidas no ingresen nunca en prisión. En segundo lugar, en el ámbito de la
inmigración, nos hemos dirigido al fiscal general del Estado para que aquellas personas extranjeras que cometan delitos en España sean expulsadas, como muy bien dice ahora el señor Zapatero y YO HABÍA DICHO HACE MESES en esta Cámara, tema muy importante porque entre el año 2000 y el año 2001 la delincuencia y las detenciones de extranjeros crecieron en un 40 por ciento. En tercer lugar, hemos aumentado el número de efectivos policiales, 6,555 este año (Varios señores diputados: ¡Oooh!), como muy bien pide ahora el señor Zapatero y YO HICE EN EL AÑO 2001 y en el año actual (Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p.7077)

[The FIRST VICEPRESIDENTE OF THE GOVERNMENT AND SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR (Rajoy Brey): In addition, (we) are taking important measures, in the first place, legal reforms, as the president of the Government has announced, with faster trials and a new regulation on repeat offenders, because it is true, as Mr. Zapatero has said and I DID SIX MONTHS AGO in this Chamber, that it is not acceptable that persons that have been arrested a hundred times are never sent to prison. Secondly, in the area of immigration, we have addressed the attorney general of the State so that those foreign persons that commit crime in Spain are expelled, as Mr. Zapatero has very conveniently said now and I HAD SAID MONTHS AGO in this Chamber, a very important topic because between years 2000 and 2001 crime and arrests increased in a 40 per cent. In the third place, (we) have increased the number of police forces, 6,555 this year (several MPs: Oooh!), as Mr. Zapatero very conveniently asks for now and I DID IN 2001 and in the current year as well]

4.3.1.6 Professional face

Politicians are concerned with presenting a professional image or ‘face’. This concept, originally formulated by Brown and Levinson (1978) refers to the public image of a person. Briefly explained, ‘face’ represents the image and self-esteem that everyone wants to preserve in the presence of others. In their theory, Brown and Levinson suggest that ‘face’ plays an important role in the verbal interaction between people. Politeness formulas find their origin in the need to achieve what we want without threatening other people’s ‘face’. I here suggest with the label ‘professional face’ that one of the functions of yo in PD refers to the attempts to strengthen one’s credibility and
competence as a professional politician. Ilie (2003) noted these references—what she calls ‘professional metadiscourse’—in her analysis of political debates in Great Britain (2003). In her study, she suggests that such expressions (R)enforce their own credibility (=rhetorical ethos) by displaying professional competence, political stamina, as well as consistency between their statements and their actions, irrespective of whether they were undertaken as manifestations of their institutional or their private roles (…). Metadiscursive statements are often used deliberately to highlight the speakers’ professional and/or public image, rather than their positions and arguments on political issues, so as to instill confidence in the addressees and the audience (2003: 81)

This phenomenon is also present in Spanish parliamentary speech. The data shows how MPs refer, in this type of metadiscursive statements, to the previous positions they have occupied in the political arena or to the fulfillment of their duties as MPs:

(14) El señor ALCARAZ MASATS: (…) Ello significa un golpe muy fuerte a la dignidad y a la economía de Andalucía. Señor Aparicio, ustedes lo intentaron durante los trabajos de la subcomisión, cuando tenían minoría mayoritaria. YO FUI PONENTE de esa subcomisión en la que comparecieron todos ustedes, y iban en esa dirección. 

[Mr. ALCARAZ MASATS: (…) This translates into a very severe blow to the dignity and economy of Andalusia. Mr. Aparicio, you [formal, pl.] attempted that with the projects of the subcommission, when [formal pl. you] were in majoritarian minority. I WAS A MEMBER of that sub-commission in which all of you [formal, pl.] were present and were heading in that direction.]

In the next example the speaker uses a vague ‘yo he tenido responsabilidades’ [I’ve had responsibilities] to dismiss how his opponent (the vice president of the government) and the cabinet to which he belongs have handled a diplomatic crisis. Notice as well the contrast of positions between the speaker and his interlocutor through the use of usted versus yo (both overt and covert). This phenomenon will be discussed in greater detail in the next section.
El señor MARÍN GONZÁLEZ: Gracias, señora presidenta, señorías.
Lo que no HAGO es dar órdenes a ningún consejero de información para que intoxique a
todos los medios de comunicación. (Aplausos.) ¡Eso no lo HARÍA en la vida! Puede usted
dechear y verá que esto se produjo. (Un señor diputado: Lo sabe.)
Usted sabe que se produjo y comprendo su molestia, pero no me haga ese examen.
YO HE TENIDO RESPONSABILIDADES y lo último que se me OCURRIRÍA si hago un
despacho cifrado -y los HE HECHO, algunos cuando YO ESTABA ALLÍ y ustedes ya
estaban en el Gobierno- es producir la información y tratarla como ustedes lo han hecho.
Así pues, si en algo en lo personal le molesté, me disculpo.
(Diario de Sesiones, 6 March 2002, p. 7200)

Mr. MARÍN GONZÁLEZ: Thank you, Madam president, Members of the
Parliament. What (I) do not DO is to give orders to any press adviser to intoxicate all the
mass media (Applause) (I) WOULD NOT THAT in my life! (you) can check and see that
this is what happened (An MP: (he) knows) [formal, sg,] You know that this happened
and (I) understand your annoyance, but do not test me like this. I HAVE HAD
RESPONSIBILITIES and the last thing that WOULD CROSS MY MIND if I produce a
coded document—and (I) HAVE DONE THEM—some (of them) when I WAS THERE
and you [pl.] were already in the Government- is to produce information and treat it like
you have done [pl.]. Consequently, if (I) have offended you personally, (I) apologize.

Finally, the following example illustrates a confrontation by way of referring to
professional competence. The speaker, an MP of the socialist party, denies the
accusations of the government referring to certain policies that were approved when the
socialist party was in power:

El señor SEVILLA SEGURA: (…) YO ME HE TOMADO LA MOLESTIA de ver qué hizo el
Partido Popular ante esas propuestas de reforma. Ustedes se abstuvieron porque les
parecieron poco y han gobernado seis años con ellas, sin cambiarlas. (Aplausos.) YO SÍ
QUE ME HE LEÍDO en detalle el decreto-ley y, ¿no le parece raro que absolutamente
nadie, salvo ustedes, y la soledad en la que hoy se van a quedar aquí es la mejor prueba
de ello, se haya enterado de todas esas bondades que predicen en sus anuncios?
(Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p. 8596)

Mr. SEVILLA SEGURA: (…) I HAVE TAKEN THE TROUBLE to check to see what the
Partido Popular did in reference to those reform projects. You [pl.] refrained from them
because (you, pl.) thought that they were not enough and (you, pl.) have governed six
years with them, without modifying them. (Applause) I DID READ the decree in detail
and, don’t (you) think it is strange that absolutely no-one but you [pl.-] and the solitude
in which you will remain today is the best proof of it-have understood all the benefits
that (you, pl.) have preached about in your advertising campaign?]
The speaker in (18) counters the accusation by demonstrating that he has consulted the *Diario de Sesiones*, only to discover a contradictory stance of the Partido Popular. Notice the difference between the two first person claims. While the first informs the interlocutor, the second contains an implication directly addressed to the interlocutor (*yo sí que me he leído*, which contrasts, logically, with *ustedes no han leído*) [[formal, pl.] you have not read…].

While most of the uses of *yo*, entail some sort of confrontation, this pronoun may also serve to establish rapport with the interlocutor. In turn, this highlights consensus between interlocutors (as in the interactions between the government and its constituency) or, most frequently, it imposes and assumes agreements that leave the opponent less room to maneuver rhetorically. Example (19) concerns the evaluation of an MP on the European Union’s proposed policies on fishing quotas. MP Vázquez Vázquez, a member of an ally political faction, highlights his agreement with the government’s analysis of the European policies:

(17) El señor VÁZQUEZ VÁZQUEZ: Señor ministro, después de su intervención podemos coincidir en el diagnóstico sobre la gravedad de la situación y en los planteamientos que está haciendo el comisario europeo. USTED Y YO coincidiremos en que la propuesta es inaceptable. A partir de ahí, el problema es cómo conseguir su modificación y la pregunta que haría es hasta dónde está dispuesto a llegar el Gobierno, hasta dónde está dispuesto a implicarse políticamente no sólo para que lo que está previsto no vaya adelante, sino, cuando menos, a conseguir que en la reforma de la política común de pesca se introduzcan algunos elementos básicos que viene demandando, desde hace tantos años, el sector pesquero.

*(Diario de Sesiones, 24 April 2002 p.8009)*

*[Mr. VÁZQUEZ VÁZQUEZ: Mr. Secretary, after your intervention (we) can agree on the diagnosis on the seriousness of the situation and the approaches the the European Commissioner is taking. [formal, sg.] YOU AND I can coincide in that the proposal is unacceptable. From that premise on, the problem is to achieve its redesign and the]*
question that (I) would pose is how far is the Government willing to go, how far (it) is willing to get involved politically, not only to stop the development of what is already designed, but, at least, to make sure that in the redesign of the common fishing policy, several basic elements that the fishing sector are requesting for years now, are included.]

More frequently, however, references to the shared view or knowledge on a topic between speaker and interlocutor act as a strategy to reduce the opponent’s response.

(18) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): (...) Por lo tanto, a partir del año 1999, cuando el Gobierno del Partido Popular consiguió que España entrara en el euro, superando una herencia que ustedes nos dejaron que nos hacía imposible la entrada en el euro, ningún Gobierno español va a tener objetivos de inflación porque no tiene política monetaria, y S.S. LO SABE exactamente IGUAL QUE YO.

(Diario de Sesiones, 27 November 2002, p.10643)

[The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFARIS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): (...) Consequently, after year 1999, when the government of Partido Popular made possible that Spain adopt the euro, overcoming the legacy that prevented (us) from entering the euro (zone), no Spanish Government will ever have inflation goals because it does not have monetary politics, and the Honorable Member knows it AS MUCH AS I DO]

In another example, the speaker (remarkably, the same interlocutors as in the above example, Mr. De Rato and Mr. Sevilla Segura) highlights a previous conversation in order to add weight to his claim.

(19) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): (...) Sobre la subcomisión, es sorprendente que S.S. -que lo SABE, porque S.S. Y YO HEMOS HABLADO de ello- me diga que es para estudiar la Ley del sector eléctrico. No, señoría; la subcomisión es, primero, una propuesta de los grupos parlamentarios sobre la que ellos decidirán, y mi grupo parlamentario tiene tanta capacidad para proponer como el suyo, por lo menos.

(Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002, p. 7003)

[The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFARIS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): (...) Concerning the sub-commission, it is surprising that the Honorable Member- (you) know it, because THE HONORABLE MEMBER AND I (WE) HAVE TALKED about it- tell me know that is to study the Law on the electric sector. No, Honorable Gentleman, the sub -commission is,
in the first place, a proposal from the parliamentary groups about which they will decide, and my parliamentary group is as able to propose as yours, at least.]

The purpose of this type of rapport is essentially to challenge the motives behind the question. The speaker implies that the addressee is fully aware of the inappropriateness of his/her behavior. Compare:

a) *Your behavior here is unacceptable*

b) *Your behavior here is unacceptable and you know it*

Sentence a) does not necessarily assume that the person acting in a disruptive manner knows that he/she is doing so (a person unfamiliar with certain cultural customs, for instance). In sentence b) the addressee may still not know whether his/her behavior is unacceptable, but there is a clear intention of the speaker to suggest intentionality in part of the addressee (i.e. *if you know it is unacceptable, you should not act in such a manner*). In the examples shown above, the speaker is forcing a consensus in order to diminish the maneuverability of the opponent. In (17), the speaker is eliciting an agreement on a evaluation (*usted y yo coincidiremos…*) [you [formal, sg.] and I will agree…] which leaves the interlocutor with either the acceptance of such evaluation or, in his *turno de réplica*, with a re-evaluation of the topic in question. Note how this agreement is used as a background to initiate the question (*a partir de ahí, el problema es…*) [from that point on, the problem is…].

In the example (18), a reference to what both the speaker and interlocutor know implies certain intentionality on the question, as has been explained. The speaker refers to the interlocutor’s knowledge of the lack of monetary policies suggesting that, since he
is aware of it, the question is malicious. On several occasions during the same session, the Secretary for Economic Affairs had explained how the Spanish government did not have monetary policies (which regulate the production of money and the interest rates relating the European common currency--euro).

Finally, excerpt (19) acknowledges not only the common knowledge on an issue but provides proof of a previous conversation, making this public to the rest of the audience. This seems to limitate the opponent’s response even further: it would imply denying knowledge of the topic—the purpose of a parliamentary committee—as well as the conversation with the speaker.

4.3.1.7 Advice

In addition to evaluating other MP’s opinions, expressing their own views and claiming professionalism, MPs also provide advice to their opponents. This function is characterized by the use of the conditional of politeness (propondría, sugeriría) [(I) would propose, (I) would suggest] which appears 7 times out of the 9 cases in which advice is offered:

(20) El señor NÚÑEZ CASTAIN: (...) Estoy hablando naturalmente del caso de Andalucía, es decir que mientras ustedes ponen piedrecitas en el camino de por qué no se pueden ceder las políticas activas de empleo, filtran con micrófonos, luz y taquígrafos -no es que induzcan-, que se deben pasar a los ayuntamientos, y eso naturalmente no es enfrentar a los ayuntamientos con las comunidades autónomas. Su preocupación por lo que deben hacer las comunidades autónomas le honra, pero YO LE RECOMENDARÍA que se dedicara a su tajo, es decir que viera usted qué tiene que hacer, no qué tienen que hacer los demás sino qué tiene que hacer usted. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002, p. 7011)
[Mr. NÚÑEZ CASTAIN: (...) (I) am talking, naturally, of the case of Andalusia, that is, that while you [pl.] are putting little stones on the path about why the active employment policies cannot be transferred, and filter with microphones, openly- (you, pl.) are not inducing- that this must be passed onto town halls with the autonomous regions. Your preoccupation about what autonomous regions must do speaks highly (of you), but I WOULD RECOMMEND you to pay attention to your area, that is, so that you see what (you) have to do, not what (the rest of people) have to do, but what you yourself have to do.]

4.3.1.8 Other uses

Finally, yo appears as well as introducing direct speech and in certain discourse markers:

(21) El señor MINISTRO DE LA PRESIDENCIA (Lucas Giménez): Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. Señora diputada, permítame que mis primeras palabras sean de reconocimiento al buen tono, diría YO, de su intervención, aunque naturalmente exista alguna divergencia en la interpretación de los textos a los que usted ha aludido. (Diario de Sesiones, 22 May 2002, p. 8259)

[The SECRETARY OF THE PRESIDENCY (Lucas Giménez): Thank you very much, Madam president. Madam deputy, let my first words recognize the agreeable tone, I WOULD SAY, of your intervention, although there might obviously be some discrepancy on the interpretation of the texts to which you have referred.]

On other occasions, MPs quote other politicians verbatim. Of the 16 occurrences of direct speech remarks, only 2 are not used in dialogic confrontations. MPs add liveliness to their attacks by reproducing their utterances literally. This happens to imprint vividness to their verbal attacks:

(22) El señor REJÓN GIEB: Ha reventado, y lo reconocía el otro día con desparpajo el señor ministro de Economía, señor Rato cuando decía: YO de esto no sé nada, YO leo lo que me han puesto delante, y decía que se iba a producir una inmediata puesta en carga, la inmediata construcción de una serie de naves auxiliares, de edificaciones auxiliares- decía él- para almacenar residuos de baja intensidad; residuos de muy baja intensidad, matizaba a continuación. Y DECÍA ¿por qué? (Diario de Sesiones, 29 October 2002, p.9947)
[Mr. REJÓN GIEB: (It) has exploded, and it was admitted openly the other day by the Secretary of Economy, Mr. Rato, when (he) said: *I know nothing about this, I read what (they) have given me to read, and (he) was saying that the beginning was immediate, the imminent construction of some auxiliary industrial premises, of auxiliary buildings—he said—to store low intensity residues, residues of very low intensity, (he) explained right afterwards, and *(HE) SAID* : why?]

4.3.1.9 Role positioning

One of the most relevant uses of personal deixis in PD refers to the general area of delimiting spaces and roles, as was mentioned. While the quantitative analyses reveal a general pattern of omission of the personal pronouns in spoken language as the unmarked case, PD discourse in the setting of parliamentary debates presents a high frequency of dialogic contrast between interlocutors. There are numerous examples of this pronominal situated use, by virtue of which the speaker avoids the ambiguity of verb forms and brings to the dialogue a redundant use of the pronominal roles. *Yo* is contrasted with vocatives in the same sentence on 80 occasions (18.8 % of the total). *Yo* is opposed to ‘*usted*’ (38 times), ‘*señor ministro*’ or ‘*señor + surname*’ (32 times ) and ‘*su señoría*’ [ right Honorable Member/Gentleman/Madam] (10 times). This phenomenon occurs especially in the course of the *turnos de réplica* between government and other parties. Recall that this type of interaction requires an important deal of improvisation; although MPs know in advance the content of the initial question, subsequent replies to the pre-written answer are not known. The next example illustrates this type of contrast between two positions, that of a speaker and his interlocutor:
(23) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO Y MINISTRO DE INTERIOR (Rajoy Brey): Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. (...) En cualquier caso, si me hubiera molestado, la sola circunstancia de disculparse, le acepto unas disculpas que no tenía USTED por qué presentarme, pues no me he considerado agredido personalmente porque USTED no lo ha hecho. Pero YO tampoco le he agredido a USTED personalmente, señor Marín. USTED dice que YO he sacado aquí un tema en el cual USTED se vio afectado; pero YO he sacado ese tema precisamente para ponerlo como ejemplo de lo que no debemos hacer nadie (Rumores.-Risas), y el tiempo demostró que USTED, a quien se le había atacado injustamente, no era responsable de las imputaciones que se hacían. Por eso le dije a USTED: saque conclusiones, porque USTED señor Marín ha dicho que el señor Cabanillas ha contado a los medios de comunicación eso, y que el señor Piqué y el señor Cabanillas han urdido toda esta historia. YO le he dicho: demuéstrelo. No ha podido demostrarlo y eso me parece ciertamente muy grave (...) La señora PRESIDENTA: Señorías, guarden silencio. (Continúan los rumores.) Un momento, señor vicepresidente, por favor. (Pausa.) Adelante. El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO Y MINISTRO DE INTERIOR (Rajoy Brey): Las cosas son como son. (Rumores.) USTED ha dicho, señor Marín, que cometió errores en su actuación de Gobierno. YO tengo muy buen concepto de USTED como gobernante, y se lo digo de verdad (Rumores.); si no lo tuviera no diría nada. Tampoco iba a decir lo contrario porque no se trata de molestar a nadie porque sí, pues no me gusta en aplicación del refrán que le he dicho antes; pero, señor Marín, ¿USTED se ha parado a pensar una cosa? USTED se ha subido a esta tribuna y ha dicho: YO he cometido errores. (...)

(Diario de Sesiones, 6 March 2002, p.7202)

[The FIRST VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR (Rajoy Brey): Thank you very much, Madam president. (...) In any case, had (I) been offended (by you), the very act of apologizing, (I) accept the apologies that YOU should have not offered, since (I) have not felt personally attacked because YOU have not done so. But I have not offended you either, Mr. Marín. YOU say that I have brought up here a topic in which YOU were affected; but I have brought up that topic precisely to offer an example of what none of us should do (Rumors- Laughter), and time showed that YOU, that had been attacked unfairly, were not responsible of the accusations that were made. That’s why (I) told YOU: draw conclusions, because YOU Mr. Marín, have said that Mr. Cabanillas has told that to the mass media, and that Mr. Piqué and Mr. Cabanillas have invented all this story. I have told you: prove it. (you) have not been able and that seems to me a very serious matter (...)

The PoP: Members of the Parliament, be quiet. (Rumors continue) One moment, Mr. Vicepresident, please (Pause.) Go ahead. The FIRST VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT AND SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR (Rajoy Brey): Things are the way they are. (Rumors.) YOU have said, Mr. Marín, that you made mistakes in your tenure in the Government. I have a great concept of you as a statesman, and (I) am telling you sincerely (Rumors), if (I) didn’t have it, (I) wouldn’t say anything. (I) wouldn’t say the opposite either because it is not necessary to offend anyone for no reason, since (I) don’t like the application of the saying (I)
mentioned to you before; but, HAVE YOU stopped to think about one thing? YOU have come to this podium and have said: I have made mistakes (...]

Example (23) is particularly illustrative of the levels at which this positioning of the self operates. Yo fulfills here different functions. It is, at the beginning of the intervention, signaling the roles of speaker and hearer in identical sentences; the positioning of the self versus the interlocutor (usted no me ha ofendido…pero yo tampoco) [you have not offended me, but I haven’t either]. Note that both this use and the immediate recast of what the interlocutor has said (usted ha dicho) [you have said] are reinforced by a surname reference. This use seems less formal that other terms of address (señoría, señor diputado) [honorable member, mr. deputy] that the government uses towards members of their constituency. Yo is also used to express an opinion (in this case a broad evaluation of the interlocutor) and finally it is used to introduce a direct quote (the final sentence). Delimiting the scope of direction of an utterance in the setting of parliamentary interaction is not always an easy task. As Chapter 5 argues, MPs shift the ways they address MPs from vocatives to third person references, directing their utterance at both the interlocutor and the full parliament. In this case, however, the constant dialogic struggle between the yo, the usted and surname references suggest that the speaker is more concerned in getting the attention, primarily, of his interlocutor.

The first half of the excerpt (before the intervention of the PoP refers to the dialogic managing between the two interlocutors: the verbs used by the speaker (agredir, sacar, decir) [attack, retrieve, say] plus the spatial deictic aquí all refer to the immediately preceding speech by Mr. Marín, the speaker’s addressee.
In another example, confrontation between the Secretary of Public Works and Mr. Labordeta, of Grupo Mixto, reaffirms this dialogic positioning:

(24) El señor LABORDETA SUBÍAS: Gracias, señora presidenta.
Señor ministro, USTED está siempre conmigo con el pacto del agua. A USTED le habían preparado un discurso porque YO iba a citar el pacto del agua. YO no he citado para nada el pacto del agua. Le voy a decir claramente una cosa, y es que YO estoy en contra del pacto del agua. Ya sabe USTED que mi partido y YO personalmente estoy con la gente del delta en contra del pacto del agua. A partir de ahí, no me vuelva USTED a sacar cada vez el pacto del agua porque YO no lo he mencionado para nada.
(Diario de Sesiones 26, Sept. 2001 p. 5210)

[Mr. LABORDETA SUBÍAS: Thank you, Madam president. Mr. Secretary, YOU are always with me (=picking on me) about the water pact. YOU had been given a prepared speech because I was going to quote the water pact. I haven’t talked about the water pact at all. (I) am going to tell you something clearly, and this is that I am against the water pact. YOU know already that my constituency and I am, personally, with the people of the delta against the water pact. From that premise on, do not YOU bring again the water pact because I haven’t talked about it at all.]

The dialogic activity of politics is also reflected in this constant need for clarification. Out of the 6 times in which yo appears in example (23), it is found in 5 times in the same clause as usted. Also noteworthy is the additional clarification of the vocative by adding the last name of the addressee—a phenomenon that is virtually nonexistent in the control corpus. While in everyday language this could be interpreted as a way to back-channel and as a sign that the hearer is paying attention, in political discourse it appears as a mild way of attacking an opponent. Politicians themselves are aware of this phenomenon, as the following example illustrates.

(25) El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (Aparicio Pérez): Gracias señora presidenta. Señoría, si para usted está todo tan claro, ¿para qué hace una interpelación? Si usted ya presume, presupone y actúa por puro prejuicio -que esa es la palabra-, aparte de adjetivar con una profusión inaudita. También le agradezco que a lo largo de su intervención -y en el “Diario de Sesiones” constará- HAYA REPETIDO HASTA UNAS SESENTA VECES MI NOMBRE, aunque no me siento en condiciones de corresponder a su -entre comillas- amabilidad.
(Diario de Sesiones, 24 April 2002, p.8014)

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Aparicio Pérez): Thank you Madam president. Honorable Gentleman, if this is so clear for you, why are you using a reply turn? If you already presume, assume and act guided by sheer prejudice- because that is the word- aside from using adjectives with an unprecedented profusion. (I) also thank you because during your intervention- and it will appear in the "Diario de Sesiones" – (YOU) HAVE REPEATED MY NAME UP TO SIXTY TIMES, although (I) do not feel (I) am in a position to correspond to your quote–unquote- kindness.]

Secretary of Labor Mr. Aparicio not only is he aware of the many times his name has been mentioned by his political opponent but he also labels such a strategy as ‘courtesy’, while acknowledging that his statement is meant to be taken ironically (a su- entre comillas-amabilidad) [your-quote unquote- kindness].

4.3.2 First person plural

For the researcher working in PD, nosotros is perhaps one of the most interesting pronouns, since it provides the speaker with the possibility of marking non-specific reference, which may be used to mitigate responsibility, create links of solidarity with other politicians, with citizens, etc.

Formally, there are some important differences between the first person singular pronoun yo and nosotros. First, yo is univocal in its reference, since it denotes the speaker. First person plural pronouns on the other hand, as has been noticed (Beard 2000, Wilson 1990) are perhaps the most malleable pronominal form. Figure 2.2. in Chapter 2 showed how its scope may expand from designating two people to encompass the entirety of humankind. Second, while yo appears, in its overt form, in every single function, the
analysis of the data suggests that there are functions of *nosotros* only performed by the covert form, visible in the verbal morphology. In order to understand the characteristics of *nosotros*, I first compared the frequency of appearance in both the PD and the control corpus, which is presented in Table 4.6:

Table 4.6. Frequency of overt and covert nosotros in first person verbal forms in both corpora

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD Corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nosotros</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ø</td>
<td>2,949</td>
<td>93.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>3,169</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 4.6 shows, the presence of the overt form in both corpora is very similar. An initial reading of the data revealed that certain values of *nosotros* are only realized in their overt form. Consequently, I have analyzed all the occurrences of this pronoun in both the PD and the control corpus. The data suggests different values and percentages in these two corpora, as Table 4.7 shows:

Table 4.7. Scope of reference of *nosotros* in PD and control corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>type of we</th>
<th>scope</th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we ind</td>
<td>+ speaker only</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we inc</td>
<td>+ speaker + addressee</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we rep</td>
<td>+ speaker + group</td>
<td>2,062</td>
<td>65.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ speaker + all present</td>
<td>296</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ speaker + (absent group)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>+ speaker + (all Spaniards)</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we exp</td>
<td>+ speaker + (humankind)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we as you</td>
<td>- speaker + addressee(s)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.7 demonstrates several differences between PD and everyday careful talk. The formality of PD entails a lower frequency of discourse markers, which appear three times more often in the control corpus. Also notable is the importance of immediacy. A comparison between references to humankind and general human experiential phenomena (we exp) demonstrates again a tendency for topic immediacy and reflexivity; MPs do not tend to speak about universal phenomena and focus their message on the political activity that takes place in the parliament.

### 4.3.2.1 Taxonomy of reference

This section provides an explanation of the different scopes of nosotros in the PD corpus. It is important to recognize that, due to the ability of nosotros to expand its referential scope, establishing clear categories is not always feasible. The taxonomic explanation I suggest, while clear in most cases, should be considered as an approximation rather than a completely reliable categorization.
4.3.2.2 Scope of nosotros

Weind: Individual we [+ speaker, - addressee]. This type of we refers to the clear occurrences where the speaker uses nosotros for self-reference. It appears only in the control corpus. Notice the shift in references from first person singular forms (the accusative me) to the plural forms, which still refer to the speaker:

(26) Hombre, el que en general ME han salido las cosas bien no quiere decir que no HAYA tenido momentos más bajos, y en concreto “Un jinete solitario” está escrito en un momento muy concreto y especial de MI vida, LLAMÉMOSLO un momento de crisis, no VAMOS a entrar en más detalles. Y, sí, se refleja en la obra.
(Rodolfo Martínez, writer. Cyberdark.net. April 2004)

[Man, the fact that in general things have turned up MY WAY does not mean that (I) haven’t had low moments, and precisely ‘Un jinete solitario’ [a solitary rider] was written during a particular and special moment of MY LIFE, LET US CALL IT a moment of crisis, (WE) WON’T specify the details. And as such, it is reflected in the book.]

In another example, golfer J.M. Olazábal refers to himself with a plural reference. While most references to his experience are conveyed in a displaced use of the second person singular, the example concludes with a person plural reference that can only be linked to the speaker:

(27) Int: ¿Y qué pasaba por tu cabeza en esos momentos?
José María: Bueno una angustia muy grande, impotencia también, el ver que bueno que todo lo que estás haciendo pues no sirve de nada, que no mejora la situación; tristeza pues porque no solamente por ti y por tu situación, sino por todo lo que rodea a tu persona, mis padres, mi hermana, en fin toda la familia pues ves que lo pasa mal y eso pues, bueno pues también te hunde un poquito más y bueno llega un momento en que ya, pues cuando ya lo das todo por perdido, pues dices bueno no VAMOS a poder jugar más al golf y habrá que intentar hacer otras cosas, estuve pensando, siempre he diseñado campos de golf y bueno que esa podría ser una posibilidad.
(J.M.Olazábal, solo-golf.com, March 2004)

[Int: And what was going on in your head in those moments?
José María: Well a great anguish, helplessness also, to see that well everything that (you) are doing then it is no good, that (it) doesn’t improve the situation; sadness because well,
not only for you and your situation, but for all that surrounds you (your person), my parents, my sister, my whole family in sum, so (you) see that (they) are not having an easy time and that and, well, then it also brings (you) down a little more and well there is a moment in which you already, when (you) think everything is lost, then (you) well say *(WE) ARE* not going to be able to play golf again and there will have to be other things to do, (I) was thinking, (I) have always designed golf courses and well that would be an option.]

The constant use of other pronominal forms to refer to oneself seems here related to what Maitland and Wilson (1987) saw as a way to convey personal experiences. Often speakers shift from *yo* to a second person reference *tú* in order to expand the scope of what is narrated. In this case, the use of other ways to express his internal dialogue seem to be related to the ‘experiential you’ seen in Chapter 2. In the narration of punctual biographical events, however, this same interviewee uses the first person singular pronoun.

We**: Inclusive *we* [+ speaker, + addressee(s)]. In traditional grammar, this is considered the prototypical use of *nosotros*. Its scope contains the speaker and the addressee. In the following example, an MP had accused the vice president of the government of illegally funding a family business. The speaker then addresses his interlocutor with this type of *nosotros*:

(28) **El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): Gracias, señoría. Señora diputada, conforme a otras cuestiones, le recordaré que los datos de las cuentas de los ciudadanos españoles son confidenciales y que aquel que los obtiene tiene que contribuir con alguien que incumpla la ley. Si S.S. quiere que **VAYAMOS** al Juzgado, **VAMOS** ahora mismo. (Varios señores diputados: ¡Muy bien!–Rumores.) En cualquier caso, señoría, los ciudadanos se tendrán que defender de determinado tipo de actividades.** *(Diario de Sesiones, 24 April 2002, p.7963)*

*[The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): Thank you, Honorable*
Member, Honorable Madam, with regard to other questions, (I) will remind (you) that the data of the bank accounts of the Spanish citizens is confidential and that whoever obtains it must have contributed with someone else that is violating the law. If the Honorable Madam wants that (WE) GO to Court, (WE) GO right now (Some MPS: Very well!-Rumors). In any case, Honorable Madam, the citizens will have to defend (themselves) from a certain type of activities.]

Most of the occurrences of this type of nosotros, however, appear in expressions such as estar de acuerdo, compartir ideas, etc. [to agree, share ideas, etc.] in which the addressee is a parliamentary group. In the control corpus, this use appears a few times when the interviewee includes his/her interlocutor in the conversation.

Weesp: Representative we [+ speaker, + group, ± hearer]: As table 4.7 shows, this is the most frequent of all types of nosotros. This use of nosotros allows the speaker to represent his/her parliamentary group (or the government).

(29) El señor MINISTRO DE HACIENDA (Montoro Romero): Gracias, señora presidenta. Gracias, señor diputado.Ya en la primera reforma del IRPF se introdujeron importantes mejoras a través del mínimo personal y familiar, tanto para los contribuyentes mayores de 65 años como para aquellas familias que conviven con ascendientes mayores de 65 años. Ahora, con la nueva reforma del IRPF, la que ESTAMOS planeando y que LLEVAREMOS al Consejo de Ministros a finales de mayo, en primer lugar se aumenta la reducción por declarante mayor de 65 años hasta 800 euros, 200 euros más que en la actualidad, lo que supone un incremento del 33 por ciento.

(29) [The SECRETARY OF TREASURY (Montoro Romero): Thank you, Madam president. Thank you, Mister Deputy. Already in the first reform of the IRPF [general income tax], important improvements were introduced through the family and personal minimum [=minimum income], for taxpayers over 65 as well as for those families that live with relatives over 65. Now, with the new reform, of the IRPF, the one (WE) ARE designing and that (WE) WILL TAKE to the cabinet meeting at the end of May, in the first place, the tax cut per taxpayer over 65 is increased up to 800 euros, 200 euros more than nowadays, which equals a 33 percent increase.]

MPs also allude to the rest of members of all political factions present in the parliament, often in combination with the predicative todos [all]. Example (32) is taken from a debate
on the government’s environmental policies. The speaker is attempting to gain consensus by appealing to the full parliament:

(30) El señor MARTÍ I GALBIS: (…) Ciertamente, las últimas cifras oficiales relativas a emisiones de CO2 y de gases de efecto invernadero por parte del Estado español son más que preocupantes. Aquí TENEMOS que coincidir TODOS porque son datos objetivos. (Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p.8648)

[Mr. MARTÍ I GALBIS: (…) Certainly, the last official data referring to the CO2 emissions and greenhouse effect gas regarding Spain are more than worrisome. Here (WE) HAVE to agree ALL because this is objective data.]

Similarly, speakers in the control corpus talk about the collectives to which they belong; soccer teams, music groups, etc. MPs in the parliament, on the other hand, use this function in order to speak on behalf of the inhabitants of the regions they represent—this is labeled as (absent group) in Table 4.13.

(31) El señor PLA I DURÁ: Señor Rajoy, los valencianos y valencianas ESTAMOS un poco hartos de este tipo de argumentaciones y de estas excusas. ESTAMOS hartos de que nuestros pueblos y ciudades hayan visto incrementada de manera ostensible y clara la inseguridad y la impunidad. Ustedes utilizaron la seguridad ciudadana como bandera. Le recuerdo un lema: hechos. (Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p.7079)

[Mr. PLA I DURÁ: Mr. Rajoy, the men and women of Valencia (WE) ARE a little tired of this type of debates and of these excuses. (WE) ARE tired that our villages and cities have seen, in clear ways, the crime and impunity arise. (formal, pl.] You used crime as a symbol. (I) remind you your slogan: facts.]

References to Spain and the Spaniards with nosotros are also frequent. Speakers, however, situate themselves and their addressees in these allusions (although it is clear

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10 It should be here noted that some political parties in the SP are regionalist; that is, they are mainly interested in bringing to the SP issues that affect primarily one area of the nation: Coalición Canaria, Partido Nacionalista Vasco, Bloque Nacionalista Galego, etc.
that all MPs are Spaniards) or exclude themselves and their interlocutors, for purposes that will be discussed later:

(32) El señor RUIZ LÓPEZ (don Antero): (...) Este es el déficit básico de la situación española en el contexto europeo y según qué variables ya ni tan siquiera PODemos decir que ESTAMOS mejor que Grecia y Portugal. La política del Partido Popular tiene su mejor expresión en la baja calidad del mercado de trabajo y se traduce en un mercado dualizado: un modelo de rentas bajas insostenibles y una baja protección social. (Diario de Sesiones, 27 November 2002, p.10653)

[Mr. RUIZ LÓPEZ (don Antero): (...) This is the basic deficit of the Spanish situation in the European context and, depending on the variables, (WE) CANNOT even say that (WE) ARE better off than Greece and Portugal. The policies of Partido Popular are better portrayed in the low quality of the employment market and it translates in a dual-sided market: a model of unsustainable low revenues and low social protection.]

\[\text{We}_{\text{exp}}: \text{Experiential } \text{we} [+\text{speaker}, +\text{humankind}]. \text{This type of nosotros is similar to what Maitland and Wilson (1987) have christened as ‘experiential you’}. \text{I suggest this label, thus, to refer to a use of we that is removed from the immediate context and includes a larger group than the Spaniards or appeals to general human experience:}

(33) El señor JÁUREGUI ATONDO: (...) ¿Por qué es tan importante este debate, señorías? En primer lugar, porque la revolución tecnológica lo exige. Se dice que ESTAMOS en la revolución tecnológica más importante de la historia de la humanidad, y seguramente así es porque la combinación de la microelectrónica, de la informática, de las telecomunicaciones y de la biogenética constituyen una revolución tecnológica absolutamente imparable, en progresión geométrica, mucho más potente que la primera revolución industrial de finales del XVIII (…). (Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p.8638)

[Mr. JÁUREGUI ATONDO: (...) Why is this debate so important, members of the Parliament? First of all, because the technological revolution demands it. It is said that (WE) ARE in the most important technological revolution in the history of mankind, and it probably is like this because the combination of micro electronics, computer science, telecommunications and biogenetics constitute an unstoppable technological revolution, in geometric progression, much more potent than the industrial revolution of late XVIII century (…).]

The following example combines a reference to humankind as well as a general gender
Ms. CASTRO FONSECA: Thank you very very much, Madam president. (We) understand, from the perspective of the Federal Parliamentary Group of Izquierda Unida [Left United] that this debate is unfortunately still necessary because 25 years after having initiated the road of democracy (we) still do not understand that (we) human beings ARE sexual beings from the moment (WE) ARE BORN until (WE) DIE. There are several social collectives that are systematically denied their right to sexuality, but (I) am going to highlight two due to their relevance: one is the collective of the young people and the other one that of the elderly. It’s a sheer fallacy. (I) repeat one more time: human beings (WE) ARE BORN as sexual beings and (WE) DIE being sexual human beings. Therefore, sexuality is a right of all (female) and (male), also for women, who (WE) HAVE BEEN demanding historically the right to pleasure without the divine punishment of unwanted pregnancy.]

We,you: [-speaker, +hearer] Finally, this we is a rare case in which the speaker is not included. Although not very frequent, this use appears in the data when the speaker attributes to the hearer a disputable action. This type of we has been labeled as ‘pseudo-inclusive’ by Haverkate (1984). In his account, he explains that ‘strategies are applied by certain categories of speaker, who exercise power of authority over their hearers’ (p.87).

This is best illustrated with the typical interaction between parents and children or teachers and students; as in Recuerden que tenemos un examen el viernes [remember that (we) are having an exam on Friday] where the first person plural reference does
obviously not apply to the speaker. Example (35) illustrates the repeated accusations to
an MP who has used erroneous biblical quotes and has addressed the PoP as a ‘ministra’
(as will be discussed in the next chapter, the PoP is addressed only by her position).

Note that the speaker is not included in the scope of these first person references.

(35) El señor MINISTRO DE JUSTICIA (Michavila Núñez): (...) PODEMOS confundir, como
ha hecho S.S. hoy aquí, la ballena de Jonás con la de Job, como decía usted. Incluso ha
hablado usted del carro de fuego de Jonás, y yo creo que era de Elías. PODEMOS
confundir esas citas y también PODEMOS confundir a la presidenta de la Cámara con la
ministra. Considero que en un parlamento esas confusiones son lógicas. Pero lo que no
PODEMOS confundir es la realidad social de la que está hablando, porque cuando se
tergiversa esa realidad social, señoría, se sacan consecuencias distintas.

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tergiversa esa realidad social, señoría, se sacan consecuencias distintas.

(Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p.10800)

[The SECRETARY OF JUSTICE (Michavila Núñez): (...) WE CAN mistake, as the
Honorable Member has done here today, Jonah’s whale with that of Job’s, as you said.
(you) even have talked about Jonah’s chariot of fire, and I think that it was Elijah’s. WE)
CAN mistake those quotes and (WE) CAN also mistake the Madam president of the
Chamber for the Madam Deputy. (I) Consider that in a parliament such confusion is
logical. But what (WE) CANNOT mistake is that social reality that you are talking about,
Honorable Gentleman, because when social reality is manipulated, Honorable Member,
different conclusions are drawn.]

As was mentioned earlier, it is important to look at both the overt and covert realizations
of first person plural forms since in some cases the overt pronoun never appears. This is
the case with we. Formally, this type of we is signaled only through the verbal
morphology. The appearance of the pronoun nosotros would, in fact, provoke the
opposite effect. Compare:

-Si seguimos gritando mientras uno trata de hablar, creo que es mejor parar la discusión

[If (we) continue yelling while one is trying to talk, (I) think it’s better to stop the
discussion]
-Si nosotros seguimos gritando mientras uno trata de hablar, creo que es mejor parar la discusión

[If we continue yelling while one is trying to talk, (I) think it’s better to stop the discussion]

While the first case may be interpreted in two ways (both as inclusive and as we you) the second one rules out the latter possibility, leaving the speaker necessarily included in the group comprised by nosotros.

4.3.2.3 Ambiguous reference

Both the PD and the control corpus include ambiguous forms. In these cases, it is difficult to identify the referent. In the following example, an MP, after explaining the general situation of non-governmental agencies, addresses the parliament:

(36) El señor CAMPUZANO I CANADÈS: (…) Sería oportuno e inteligente, y ahí encontraría el apoyo de Convergencia i Unió, que la elaboración de este estatuto del cooperante marcase un antes y un después en esa relación, que se aprovechase desde el Gobierno la elaboración del estatuto, buscando el máximo diálogo social con todas las organizaciones implicadas; con los miembros del Consejo de Cooperación, faltaría más, pero también con la propia coordinadora de organizaciones para el desarrollo, o con organizaciones como Médicos sin Fronteras, que por su propia constitución protagonizan hoy buena parte de esa realidad personal. DEBEMOS recuperar el consenso, DEBEMOS recuperar la capacidad de diálogo con el sector de las ONG para el desarrollo.

(Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002, p.7005)

[Mr. CAMPUZANO I CANADÈS: (…) It would be appropriate and intelligent, and there you would find the support from Convergencia i Unió, that the collaboration of this statute of cooperation would landmark a before and after stage in that relationship, that the Government would take full advantage of the elaboration of such statute, seeking the maximum amount of social dialogue with all the organizations involved; with the members of the Council for Cooperation, naturally, but also with the very coordinating center of organizations for development, or with organizations like Doctors Without Borders, since because of their own rules they have a significant role already today in this
personal reality. (WE) MUST regain consensus, (WE) MUST regain the ability to dialogue with the sector of NGOs for development.]

The scope of *debemos*, [(we) must] however, remains unclear. While the speaker could be referring to the government with a *we*you, the reference can include also his group, the rest of political factions as well as society in general.

The last two cases of *we* include discourse markers and direct speech. Not surprisingly, the frequency of discourse markers is higher in the control corpus. The most frequent one in PD is the general *estamos hablando* [(we) are talking]:

(37) El señor SILVA SÁNCHEZ: Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. Señorías, no se trata en estos momentos de reiterar lo que fue el contenido de la interpelación que pude defender desde esta tribuna el pasado día 16 de octubre. Sin embargo, sí querría en el inicio de la presentación de la moción del Grupo Parlamentario Catalán (Convergència i Unió) reiterar lo que supone el sector textil en nuestro país. *ESTAMOS HABLANDO* - datos del año 2001- de 7.590 empresas, que dan trabajo aproximadamente a 280.000 trabajadores, que exportan por unos 14.800 millones de euros y cuya cifra de exportaciones en el año 2001 se aproxima al billón de pesetas, concretamente 5.991 millones de euros. *(Diario de Sesiones, 29 October 2002, p. 9937)*

[Mr. SILVA SÁNCHEZ: Thank you very much, Madam president. Honorable Members, it is not a matter in these moments to reiterate the content of the intervention that (I) had the chance to defend from this podium on October 16th. However, (I) would like, in the beginning of the presentation of the censure motion of the Catalan Parliamentary Group (Convergència i Unió), to reiterate the importance of the textile sector in our country. *(WE) ARE TALKING*–these are data of year 2001- of 7.590 companies, which provide jobs to 280,000 workers approximately, which export 14.8 billion euros and which exports are in year2001 nearly a trillion euros; 5,991 billion euros to be precise.]

This formula is used by the speaker to introduce and highlight topics into the conversation. It appears in this form 74 times in the PD corpus. In the control corpus data, however, the most frequent discourse marker is the informal *vamos*, often marked by pauses:

(38) Fue después de tener unos Ataris, que esos sí que se colgaban, salían unas bombas en la pantalla... y con eso íbamos en directo, somos unos, *VAMOS*, somos unos kamikazes.
Entonces, después de varias malas pasadas del Atari en directo, que por lo demás era un ordenador encantador y todo eso y el sistema, para trabajar y para empezar a componer y a hacer música como lo hacíamos nosotros, estaba muy bien desarrollado, pero VAMOS, era solamente lo que era el programa.


[That was after having some Ataris, because those ones would really freeze up, bombs would appear on the screen… using those (we) would go on stage, we are, LET’S SAY, some sort of kamikazes. Then, after a couple of dirty tricks with the Atari live on stage, which was otherwise a charming computer and all that and the operative system, to work and to start composing and making music the way (we) would do it ourselves, it was quite well developed, but LET’S SAY, that was only the program (that was faulty)]

A comparison of the frequencies of vamos in both corpora also indicates the degree of formality of register in the PD. This discourse marker appears 8 times in the PD corpus and 65 in the control corpus.

One last type of “we” is introduced in the dialogues as reproducing direct speech:

(39) Bueno, hubo, hubo, prácticamente todos los españoles me llamaron, la verdad, Severiano, Santiluna, todos los españoles, Piñeros, Rivero, todos estaban preocupados por la situación en que me encontraba y sobre todo por las cosas que se oían, porque se dijo absolutamente de todo y no eran cosas agradables desde luego, pero bueno, hubo sobre todo los jugadores españoles que de alguna manera pues siempre pues estamos muy unidos y fueron los que más se acordaron, si hubo incluso algunos que me llamaron, pues oye, que VAMOS y te HACEMOS una visita y ESTAMOS charlando y les dije no, no hace falta que vengáis, porque la situación que me vais a encontrar no es nada agradable y no creo que vaya a ser bueno ni para mi, ni para vosotros, osea que, se quedaron algunos sorprendidos cuando les dije eso, pero era lo que sentía en ese momento y así se los dije.

(José María Olazábal, Golf player.solo-golf.com. March 2004)

[Well, there were, there were, there were, almost all the Spanish (players) called me, to tell the truth, Severiano, Santiluna, all the Spanish, Piñeros, Rivero, all were worried because of the situation I was in, and especially for the things that they were hearing, because (people) would say just about anything, and naturally those weren’t nice things, but well, there were especially Spanish players that in some way well, (we) always are very close and (they) were the ones that they would think about me the most. Yes, (they) were some that called, hey listen, (WE) GO VISIT you and (WE) CHAT and (I) told them no, it’s not necessary for you to come, because the situation in which you’ll see me is not pleasant at all and (I) don’t think this is going to be good for me nor for you, so, some of them were a little surprised, but that’s what (I) was feeling at the moment so that’s how I told them.]
4.3.3 Functions of nosotros

The data suggests a relationship between scope and function. MPs choose to include or exclude themselves from the scope of certain expressions in order to enhance solidarity links, force consensus, attack their opponents or praise the achievements of their constituency. Consequently, certain functions are linked to a greater use of a particular type of we. The ability of nosotros to expand its scope makes it, in this respect, a tool that is utilized conscientiously by speakers. Nosotros is used as another form of implicitly attacking an opponent, self-praising, forcing consensus as well as—similar to yo—position the speaker and his, her constituency ideologically and dialogically. Table 4.8 contains a detailed account of the different functions of nosotros, followed by an explanation of their main features:

Table 4.8: Functions of nosotros

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>professional speech</td>
<td>2,003</td>
<td>63.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>confrontation</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agreement</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dialogic management</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self praise</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>highlight</td>
<td>375</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3,169</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.3.1 Professional speech

In contrast with what was discussed with regard to yo, the appearance of first person plural form is more connected with the fulfilment of professional activities in the parliament, understood in the same sense as the ‘professional speech’ that was explained earlier. In this case, professional speech encompasses a wide variety of verbs and subfunctions always expressed by way of the nosotros, which represents the political faction to which the speaker belongs:

(40) La señora MONTSENY MASIP: Mi grupo no puede razonar un apoyo de esta moción, porque sería como decir de alguna forma que NOSOTROS NO HEMOS SIDO lo coherentes que PREDICÁBAMOS en nuestro programa electoral y en la exposición del presidente del Gobierno cuando dio a conocer su programa de Gobierno. APOSTAMOS por el futuro, APOSTAMOS por reformas estructurales y creo que ese ha sido el buen camino que han marcado el equipo socioeconómico y el presidente del Gobierno.

(Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p. 8665)

[Ms. MONTSENY MASIP: My party cannot provide support to this motion, because it would mean that WE HAVEN’T BEEN as coherent as (WE) CLAIMED in our electoral program and in the speech of the president of the Government when he first explained his Government agenda. (WE) BELIEVED in the future, (WE) BELIEVED in structural reforms and (I) think that that has been a good path that has been set by the socio-economic team and by the president of the Government.]

This function agglutinates all those expressions of intention, opinion, and ideological evaluation similar to what was discussed in section 4.3.1.2. The most frequent verbal forms in this function are hemos [(we) have] (in combination with participles such as propuesto, argumentado [proposed, argued]), creemos, queremos, hablamos, podemos, consideramos, estamos and entendemos [(we) believe, want, talk, can, consider, are and understand].
While in the case of \textit{yo}, the overt form seemed to add emphasis as well as position the role of the speaker in contrast with that of the interlocutor, the overt form of \textit{nosotros} appears almost exclusively in this function:

Table 4.9: Overt presence of \textit{nosotros} in professional speech function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{nosotros}</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Ø}</td>
<td>1,785</td>
<td>89.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>2,003</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The scope of \textit{nosotros}, both in its overt and covert form, is that of [speaker + group]. Not surprisingly, this large presence of \textit{nosotros} contrasts with 167 references to political opponents. The data shows that there are 167 occurrences of other-referential expressions (80 occurrences of \textit{ustedes}, 76 of \textit{usted} and 11 of el gobierno in accusative form—\textit{le contestamos al gobierno que no votaremos la propuesta} [(we) are telling the Government that (we) won’t pass the bill]). The professional speech function, therefore, also combines the role-positioning metafunction that was present in the two main functions of \textit{yo} (see section 4.3.1.9.), as (41) illustrates

(41) El señor LLAMAZARES TRIGO: \textit{NOSOTROS} apoyamos la convocatoria de huelga. \textit{SABEMOS} que ustedes no tienen voluntad de modificar este decretazo que han puesto en vigor en contra del Parlamento y en contra del derecho de huelga. \textit{VAMOS} a participar en la huelga general defendiendo el derecho de los trabajadores a la huelga, y \textit{NOS} gustaría que \textit{USTEDES} defendieran igualmente el derecho al trabajo los 364 días del año y no \textit{DEFENDIERAN} el derecho al trabajo un día, que es el día en que se convoca la huelga.

\textit{(Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p.8581)}

[Mr. LLAMAZARES TRIGO: \textit{WE} support the strike call. \textit{(WE) KNOW} that [formal, pl.] you do not have the will to modify this decree [in superlative in the original] that (you) have passed against the Parliament and against the right to strike. \textit{(WE)ARE}
going to participate in the general strike defending the right of the workers to go on strike, and WE would like that [formal, pl.] YOU defended equally the right to work the remaining 364 days of the year and (formal, pl. you) WOULD NOT DEFEND the right to work one day, which is the day when the strike is called.]

4.3.3.2 Confrontation

As was suggested before, there is one specific value of nosotros that works as a milder attack, the we you. This function appears on 15 occasions in the data. It is not, however, the only strategy used by MPs to attack one another. The most remarkable characteristic of nosotros—its ability to remain vague and expand its scope ad libitum—is used by MPs to confront their opponents.

(42) El señor CALDERA SÁNCHEZ-CAPITÁN: Señor Rajoy, ¿sabe qué es lo más preocupante? Que usted sigue pensando que lo han hecho bien. ¡Qué horror! (Protestas.) ¿Es que no oyen a los CIUDADANOS, es que no miran a la calle, es que no escuchan a los afectados? Señor Rajoy, la realidad le ha desmentido cada vez que usted ha venido hablando. Y si le queda un gramo de credibilidad, que no le queda, hasta que no envíe usted a esta Cámara, como ocurre en cualquier democracia consolidada, esos informes en los que usted se refugia para justificar su incompetencia no tendrá credibilidad ante LOS ESPAÑOLES. No tendrá ninguna credibilidad. Señor Rajoy, habla usted de medios. Veinte días después del accidente, cuando la marea negra llegaba a la boca de las Rías Bajas, ¿dónde estaban ustedes? Lo HEMOS VISTO TODOS. HEMOS visto a los marineros con sus manos parando el fuel. ¿Dónde estaban los medios de los que usted presume, señor Rajoy? (Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p.10791)

[Mr. CALDERA SÁNCHEZ-CAPITÁN: Mr.Rajoy, do you know what is more worrisome? That you still think that (you, pl.) have done a good job. How dreadful! (Protests) Don’t you (pl.) hear the citizens, don’t you (pl.) look in the streets, don’t you listen to the affected? Mr. Rajoy, reality has refuted you every time that you (pl.) have been speaking. And if you have one ounce of credibility left, it won’t be until you send—as it happens in every solid democracy—those documents in which you find shelter to justify your incompetence, that you will regain credibility before THE SPANISH PEOPLE. Mr. Rajoy, you talk about means. Twenty days after the accident, when the oil spill reached the entrance of the Rías Bajas [Low Estuaries], where were you (pl.)? (WE) HAVE ALL SEEN IT. (WE) HAVE seen the sailors stopping the fuel with their bare hands. Where are the means the you brag about, Mr. Rajoy?]
In (42), the speaker refers to two groups, the citizenry and the country as a whole while he situates himself on the margins (compare *no oiten a los ciudadanos?* [can’t you [pl.] hear the citizens?] to *no nos oiten a los ciudadanos?* [can’t you [pl.] hear us citizens?]). However, when the speaker addresses his addressee, there is a shift to an ambiguous *todos* [all], which could refer to all MPs present or to the citizenry. It seems plausible to argue that the reference includes all Spaniards, who have watched the images of sailors and other people fighting against the oil spill caused by the shipwreck of the *Prestige*.

Example (43) illustrates another voice shift in which the speaker includes himself in a univocal reference to the nation in general:

(43) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): Si la solución que S.S. propone es que *TODOS LOS ESPAÑOLES* tienen que tener la misma mejora de renta disponible en términos absolutos, una de dos: o la máxima posible para el mayor contribuyente se la trasladamos a toda la escala de la renta, con lo cual S.S. llevará a *ESTE PAÍS* a una crisis que será todavía superior a la que nos llevaron ustedes en el año 1993, con la cual *PERDIMOS* un millón de empleos, o nos llevará a que el aumento de la renta disponible sea nulo porque haremos una igualación de que el menor contribuyente marcará al conjunto de los contribuyentes.

(*Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p.7105*)

[The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): If the solution that the Honorable Member is suggesting is that *ALL SPANIARDS* have to have the same income improvement in absolute terms, it must be one of two options: the maximum possible for the highest taxpayer is transferred across the board, with which the Honorable Member will take THIS COUNTRY to a crisis which will be even more severe than the one you [pl.] drove us to in 1993, which in turn *WE LOST* a million jobs, or (it) will take us to a zero increase since (we)’ll apply an increase based on the lowest taxpayer which will be the measurement for the rest of taxpayers.]

In terms of the scope of the first person references, there is a preference for including the entirety of the Spaniards, followed by appealing to the rest of MPs present in the
parliament. Table 4.10 presents an account of the different types of we that are involved in the confrontation function. Keep in mind that there is not a single occurrence of the overt pronoun *nosotros*:

### Table 4.10. Scope of *nosotros* as used in confrontation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scope of <em>nosotros</em></th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all Spaniards</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>33.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all MPs</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>23.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambiguous</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>we as you</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inclusive we</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse marker</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(absent group)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>experiential we</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>267</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Self inclusion and exclusion in larger groups (citizens, Spaniards, Europeans) is not found exclusively in confrontation. As will be seen, self praise also takes advantage of the extendibility of *nosotros*.

### 4.3.3.3 Agreement

This function combines expressions of agreement as well as the recognition by MPs of the SP or the opposition of the relevance of some issues. A great deal of parliamentary activity consists in the attempt to reach agreements with the government as well as between other political factions. On other occasions, it is the constituency of the
government that expresses its appreciation and conformity with what government representatives have said. Table 4.11 shows the scope of we used in agreement:

Table 4.11. Scope of nosotros in agreement function

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all MPs</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>38.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambiguous</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker + addressee</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>20.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all Spaniards</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>14.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>243</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To illustrate this function, in example (46) two political opponents (a member of the government and a member of Izquierda Unida) have engaged in a non-confrontational dialogue. The Secretary of Public Administrations replies offering a way to reach an agreement:

(44) El señor MINISTRO DE ADMINISTRACIONES PÚBLICAS (Posada Moreno): Gracias, señor presidente: (…) Señor Rejón, empiezo por sus últimas palabras y le agradezco su disposición a colaborar. Es lo mismo que hice con su compañero de Coalición, el senador Cámara, cuando también desde una postura de crítica constructiva, que yo respeto, dijo que estaba dispuesto a colaborar. Ese es el camino, porque lo que se plantea es una búsqueda de acuerdos; buscarlos entre todos y ver en qué PODEMOS coincidir me parece una postura buena para todos.

*(Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002. p.7112)*

[The SECRETARY FOR PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIONS (Posada Moreno): Thank you, Mr. president. (...) Mr.Rejón, let me start with your last words, and I thank you for your willingness to collaborate. This is the same that (I) did with your colleague, senator Cámara, when, also from a position of constructive criticism, which (I) respect, said that (he) was willing to collaborate. That is the way, because what is here at stake is a search for agreements; (we) all have to look for them and see in what WE CAN agree seems to me a good position for all.]
On 44 occasions, speakers express (or force, as in the following example) a consensus.

While the reference in example (44) implicates the speaker and the addressee and his group, in this next example the reference includes all MPs:

(45) El señor AZPIROZ VILLAR: (...) Tengo el convencimiento de que en el tracto del debate abierto a los grupos sobre las iniciativas sociales, en el debate que en las Cámaras, Congreso de los Diputados y Senado, se producirá al tramitarse este real decreto como proyecto de ley, VAMOS a tener la oportunidad de intercambiar puntos de vista, de ver posiciones, de estudiar propuestas y de intentar contribuir a que SIGAMOS mejorando con ese objetivo marcado en el Gobierno desde el primer momento, ese objetivo posible de la cumbre de Lisboa y de la cumbre de Barcelona del pleno empleo para toda España. Me parece que este es un camino importante que DEBEMOS y PODEMOS proseguir y que dará frutos a toda nuestra sociedad. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p.8591)

[Mr. AZPIROZ VILLAR: (...) (I) am convinced that in the open treatment of the debate with the parliamentary groups on social initiatives, in the debate of the Chambers; House of the Parliament and Senate, the royal decree will be passed as a bill, (WE) ARE GOING to have the opportunity of exchanging points of view, of contrasting positions, of studying proposals and of attempting to contribute so that (WE) CONTINUE improving with this set objective as specified by the Government from the very beginning, that objective (which is) possible in the Lisbon summit and the Barcelona summit of full employment for Spain as a whole. I think this is an important way that (WE) MUST and (WE) HAVE to follow and that will be fruitful in our society.]

4.3.3.4 Dialogic management

Similar to one of the major functions of yo, as was discussed earlier, nosotros also has a function of dialogic management. A comparison of the data, however, suggests that MPs engage less frequently in this function when using nosotros. Only 3.6% of the first person plural forms appear related to this function, while in the case of yo, 28.8% of the occurrences referred to the ongoing verbal interaction in which the speaker is engaged. Example (46) illustrates this function. Notice the shift from the first person plural to yo:
(46) El señor NÚÑEZ CASTAIN: Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. Señor ministro, tiempos de catástrofes ecológicas, de vertidos de hidrocarburos, de infinita tristeza, de rabia y de impotencia ante las medidas correctoras de esta catástrofe y también de reflexión sobre futuras medidas preventivas. ACABAMOS de escuchar al presidente decir que desde ya impedirá la entrada en puertos españoles de buques que no cumplan la normativa de tener doble casco y los alejará de esas millas. YO quería hablarle hoy, señor ministro, del primer puerto que abastece a todo el Mediterráneo, que es el puerto de Gibraltar (…)
(Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p. 10776)

[Mr. NÚÑEZ CASTAIN: Thank you very much, Madam president. Mr. Secretary, (these are) times of environmental catastrophes, fuel spills, of infinite sadness, rage and helplessness before the measures taken towards this catastrophe and also (times) to reflect on precautionary measures. (WE) HAVE just heard the president say that from this very moment on (he) will impede ships that do not meet the double hull guidelines the entry in Spanish ports, and that (he) will keep them away from those miles. I would like to talk to you, Mr. Secretary, of the main port that provides supplies for the whole Mediterranean Sea, which is the port of Gibraltar (…)]

Table 4.12 illustrates the different scopes in the forms used to refer to dialogue:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scope of nosotros in dialogic management</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all MPs</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambiguous</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speaker + addressee</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse marker</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all Spaniards</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>114</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3.5 Self praise

First person plural references are often used to report on the achievements accomplished in the domestic and international political arena. In this particular function, there is a
constant blending of voice, between the group representation and the voice of the Spaniards in general. Not surprisingly, all 106 occurrences are originated by either the government or its constituency. In this function, MPs compare the current situation with that of former cabinets, explain the success of international meetings and evaluate favorably the implementation of social and economic policies:

(47)  El señor IZQUIERDO JUÁREZ: (...) En muy pocos años, en apenas 6 ó 7 años, desde 1996, España tiene una Ley de cooperación internacional para el desarrollo, mantiene una posición de liderazgo mundial en los programas de microcéditos, ha duplicado su cooperación internacional para el desarrollo y hoy SOMOS un país de referencia en el entorno comunitario.  

(Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002. p. 6994) 

[Mr. IZQUIERDO JUÁREZ: (...) In very few years, in hardly 6 or 7 years, since 1996, Spain has an international Law for development, it maintains a position of world leadership in the program of microloans, has doubled its international cooperation in development and (WE) ARE today a country that serves as a reference in the (European) community sphere.]

MPs choose to include themselves in or exclude themselves from larger groups (the citizens, the Spaniards) in order to enhance their message. In the example above, the speaker refers to Spain in the third person and relates it to the exact date when the Partido Popular—at the time the transcripts were produced still in office—was first elected after 12 years of socialist government. In the last sentence, however, the speaker includes all Spaniards (which undoubtedly entails all present MPs as well) in the first person plural reference, enhancing the correlation of the current situation of Spain with the electoral victory of the consituency of the speaker. Table 4.13 shows the different types of nosotros in these self-praising occurrences:

Table 4.13. Scope of nosotros in self-praising
This function also includes the other two instances of overt nosotros—referred in this case to all Spaniards:

(48) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO, MINISTRO DE LA PRESIDENCIA Y PORTAVOZ DEL GOBIERNO (Rajoy Brey): Señor Alcaraz, dice usted que no hay barcos succionadores. No los hay aquí ni en ningún país del mundo. NOSOTROS TENEMOS UNO. El país del mundo que tiene mejores barcos -esto lo he conocido, como es evidente, estos días- es Holanda. ([The FIRST VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, SECRETARY OF PRESIDENCY AND SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT: (Rajoy Brey): Mr. Alcaraz, [formal, sg.] you say that there are not any anti-spill ships. There are not any here or in any other country in the world. WE HAVE ONE. The country which has the best ships—this (I) have learned it these last days—is Holland.]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>all Spaniards</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambiguous</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>29.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>group</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(absent group)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>106</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3.6 Highlight

This function should be rather considered as a metafunction. The PD corpus shows a great frequency of referentially ambiguous verbs that either provide a background to what the speaker says or evokes the need for all MPs to recognize the importance of certain issues (debemos, estamos ante una situación, tenemos que reconocer) [(we) must, (we) are before a situation, (we) must recognize]. In all these cases, the reference may include the speaker and his/her interlocutor, all MPs, or Spain. Example (49) illustrates this metafunction: while discussing the government’s involvement in funding organizations
of cooperation and the role of Spain in the European Commission, Mr. Piqué highlights
the importance of the question. Notice the ambiguity of the verbal form ‘estamos’:

(49) El señor MINISTRO DE ASUNTOS EXTERIORES (Piqué i Camps): Muchas gracias,
señor presidente. Señoría, muchas gracias por el contenido y el tono de su intervención
que le agradezco especialmente. ESTAMOS ante una cuestión -como ya he dicho-
extremadamente importante y sensible a la que debemos prestar la máxima atención,
porque en un país como el nuestro es especialmente importante.
(Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002, p.7008)

[The SECRETARY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (Piqué i Camps): Thank you very much, Mr.
President. Honorable Members, thank you very much for the content and the tone of
your speech, for which (I) am particularly grateful. (WE) ARE before an issue—as (I) have
already said—which is extremely important and sensitive and to which (we) have to pay
the maximum attention, because in a country like ours this is especially important.]

4.4 Conclusion

First person pronouns accomplish a series of functions in PD. The foregoing analysis
suggests important differences in the use of yo and nosotros. While the first pronoun is
clearly attached to the identity of the speaker, the second one is extended in its
referential scope in order to fulfill certain functions. As has been discussed, two major
functions are conveyed by yo: professional speech and dialogic management. In
addition, a third metafunction is present in both these functions. Yo seems to be the
preferred form to fulfill the dialogic needs. It is also used in order to establish the roles
of both speaker and addressee not only in reference to what has been said but in the
wider ideological spectrum. Thus, MPs express with yo their views on certain issues,
evaluate those of their interlocutors and claim professional ability.
Nosotros, on the other hand, seems less used as a form to refer to the immediate dialogue and much more as the vehicle to convey a series of professional aspects of parliamentary interaction; evaluation, expression of opinion, etc. Nosotros may expand from one person (the speaker or hearer) to include all of humankind, and this particularity is used extensively in PD. Thus, self praising is often conveyed by claiming success as a Spaniard and not as a member of the political party/government that made it possible. As for narrowing the field of nosotros, this chapter showed how the first person plural pronoun may—never in its overt form, however—refer to addressee and not to the speaker. This appeared in the data as a strategy to mitigate verbal attacks.

Finally, the appearance of overt forms seems to be more constrained in the case of nosotros than in yo. While the latter is used for role positioning across both dialogic management and professional speech, in the former it seems restricted to professional speech only.
CHAPTER 5. OTHER-REFERENTIAL DEIXIS

5.1 Introduction

Under the label of other-referential deixis, this chapter concerns the analysis of pronominal forms and vocative expressions that do not relate to the speaker by way of first person references. I first present a comparison of the type of vocative forms used in the PD and the control corpus. Vocatives in the Spanish parliamentary PD are characterized by the use of very formal terms, such as su señoría, señor diputado as well as the usual usted. Although they are potentially applicable to all MPs, the analysis demonstrates that the institutional roles of the speakers as well as their position in the political arena play major roles in the use of other-referential expressions. The data suggests that certain expressions (su señoría and señor diputado) are not used in the same frequency or with the same purpose by all parliamentary groups.

This chapter analyzes as well the use of defocalizing strategies, which includes those linguistic expressions used by MPs to establish a distinction between their personal and professional identities, shift the attention or avoid making specific references to other MPs. The use of certain pronouns (uno, quien) –which allow unspecific reference—offers the speaker the possibility of indexing political opponents while maintaining the required degree of professional etiquette expected in a parliament.
5.2 Vocatives

This section presents an analysis of the vocative forms in parliamentary speech.

Vocatives are linguistic devices used by the speaker in order to identify the addressee of an utterance. The Spanish pronominal system, like other Romance languages, presents a different set of terms (tú/usted) [T/N you sg.] depending on the formality and social relationship between speakers. In this sense, parliamentary speech differs greatly from everyday talk. This is not surprising considering the high degree of formality and structured turn-taking with which verbal interaction is conducted in the parliament.

Informal vocatives (tú/ vosotros) are found in PD on very rare occasions. As will be discussed, vocatives in the PD corpus alternate between the formal usted, references to the interlocutor by using his/her last name, institutional position, or the highly formal señoría. A careful analysis of these forms reveals that, far from appearing in free variation, factors as self-image, in-group solidarity or protocol constrain their appearance.

5.2.1 Informal second person singular pronoun

While the use of tú in interactions between strangers has spread in the last decades and informality is widely accepted in Castilian Spanish, the presence of second person singular forms in PD is extremely rare. Table 5.1 shows the occurrences of tú in the PD and control corpus:
Indeed, there is a great difference between the PD and the control corpus in regard to the presence of the nominative, overt form tú. Out of the six occurrences, two relate to aphorisms, two are true deictic forms and two introduce direct speech:

(50) El señor BEL I QUERALT: (…) Hay una tía mía -todo el mundo tiene una tía- a quien la reforma de IRPF le supuso una reducción del impuesto de 2.485 pesetas -ella con lo de los euros va piano-, es decir, casi 15 euros. Está en el 10 por ciento más bajo. Yo le explicaba: Tía, usted está mejor que yo, porque a usted le han reducido el cien por cien la cuota del impuesto y a mí sólo me lo han reducido el 13 por ciento. Ella me decía: Si a mí me han reducido 15 euros y a ti te han reducido miles de euros, ¿cómo voy a estar mejor que TÚ?

(51) El señor MINISTRO DE FOMENTO (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): Señora diputada, creo que S.S. ha confundido el Congreso de los Diputados con un parlamento autonómico o con un pleno municipal, (Rumores.-El señor Caldera y Sánchez Capitán: Lo dijiste TÚ.), pero no le voy a pagar con la misma moneda, no le voy a traer aquí citas del Parlamento de Andalucía, del Parlamento de Extremadura, del de Castilla-La Mancha

It is worth noting that in the two uses of tú as a true vocative, both instances occur in *impromptu* reactions to what the speaker at the podium is saying. The following example illustrates this use:

(53) [The SECRETARY OF PUBLIC WORKS (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): Madam Deputy, (I) think that the Honorable Member has mistaken the House of the Parliament with a
regional parliament or with a municipal plenary session (Rumors. - Mr. Caldera y Sánchez Capitán: [informal, sg.] YOU said it!), but (I) am not going to pay you back in the same coin, (I) am not going to bring here quotes from the Andalusian Parliament, the Parliament of Extremadura, or of Castille-La Mancha.]

To corroborate the scarcity of second person singular references in PD, I have additionally analyzed the occurrences in the total PD corpus (years 2000-2003). The results yielded 21 occurrences in 1,896,027 words. Of those, only on 3 occasions does tú refer directly to an interlocutor as in the example above; the remaining instances are present in the formulaic expression ‘de tú a tú’ [face to face, and also ‘informally’], which is contextually removed, or it introduces direct speech. In order to corroborate the nature of the use of tú in PD, I additionally analyzed the occurrences in the accusative form, which yielded consistent results:

Table 5.2. Functions of te in PD and control corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th></th>
<th>control corpus</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>640</td>
<td>62.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>impersonal</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>77.8</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.2 illustrates how even in accusative second person, the majority of instances relates to the reproduction of direct speech. The data in the PD corpus also shows that second person singular forms are never uttered from the podium. This would violate the codes of etiquette that are followed in the parliament:

(52) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO, MINISTRO DE LA PRESIDENCIA Y PORTAVOZ DEL GOBIERNO (Rajoy Brey): El señor Zapatero, el domingo 17, hablaba para El País y era el gran titular. Decía: Mientras la inflación sube, se inflan los amigos de Aznar. Aún no se habían enterado de los acontecimientos que se produjeron en Galicia y luego dicen que el Gobierno no se había enterado de lo que había sucedido. (Aplausos.-Protestas.-El señor Caldera Sánchez-Capitán: Lo había dicho antes del accidente. ¡A ver si TE enteras, Mariano!)

(Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p. 10794)

[The FIRST VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, SECRETARY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT (Rajoy Brey): Mr. Zapatero was talking to El País [a Spanish newspaper] on Sunday the 17th, and that made it as a big headline. (He) was saying: while inflation rises, Aznar’s friends get richer and richer. (They) still didn’t know about the events in Galicia and then (they) say that the Government didn’t know about what had happened. (Applause.-Protests.-Mr. Caldera y Sánchez-Capitán: (He) had said that before the accident, let’s see if [informal, sg.] YOU get it, MARIANO!!)]

5.2.2 Informal second person plural pronoun

The analysis of the data shows similar findings with regard to the informal second person plural form vosotros. This pronoun, used almost exclusively in Peninsular Spanish, appears only twice (once as a deictic and once introducing direct speech) in the PD corpus, and 23 times in the control corpus. The only occurrence of vosotros in the nominative form in the PD corpus is a similar off-the-record comment from one MP:

(53) El señor MINISTRO PORTAVOZ DEL GOBIERNO (Cabanillas Alonso): (…) Hablan de mentiras de Estado sin parangón en la historia de nuestra democracia. Su acusación de intencionalidad, para empezar, es una mentira de Estado. ¡Cuánto saben
ustedes de informaciones falsas y cuánto saben ustedes de falsas imputaciones delictivas a los miembros de este banco azul! (La señora Cunillera i Mestres: De eso los que sabéis sois VOSOTROS.)
(Diario de Sesiones, 6 March 2002, p.7190)

[The SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT (Cabanillas Alonso): (...) (you, pl.) talk of state lies without match in the history of our democracy. Your accusation of intentionality is, to start with, a state lie. You [pl.] know so much about false informations and [formal, pl.] you know so much of false criminal accusations about the members of this very blue row of seats!!! (Ms. Cunillera i Mestres: It’s YOU [informal, pl. that know about that!])

The accusative form os presents a similarly frequency as the accusative singular, mentioned earlier. There are only two occurrences of os in the PD corpus, in contrast with the 77 occurrences in the control corpus. Both instances in the PD corpus introduce direct speech:

(54) El señor MARÍN GONZÁLEZ: Gracias, señora presidenta, señorías. No le voy a revelar mi entrevista personal con el presidente del Gobierno cuando le expliqué que yo tengo amigos en el PC, en la Minoría Catalana y en el PP y que se estaban equivocando, porque el ponente del primer informe fue un miembro del Partido Popular y ustedes querían descabezarse al PSOE para que yo no fuera en las listas al Parlamento Europeo, ese era el objetivo. Yo fui a ver a Aznar y le expliqué: OS estáis equivocando, porque OS estáis pegando un tiro en los pies, y mi obligación también es proteger a mis amigos, aunque tengan el carné del Partido Popular -para mí la amistad cuenta mucho-, incluso entre las filas del Partido Popular. Ustedes me están comprendiendo.
(Diario de Sesiones, 6 March 2002, p.7201)

Mr. MARÍN GONZÁLEZ: Thank you, Madam president, Members of the Parliament. (I) am not going to tell you about my personal interview with the president of the Government when I explained to you that I have friends in the PC [Communist Party], in the Catalan Minority and in the PP and that they were making mistakes, since the consultant of the first document was a member of the Partido Popular and you [pl.] wanted to destabilize the PSOE so that I couldn’t be included in the lists to the European Parliament, which was the goal. I went to see Aznar and I explained (to him): YOU [informal, pl.] are shooting your own feet, and my obligation was also to protect my friends, despite the fact they may have the membership card of the Partido Popular—to me, friendship is very important—, even among the people of Partido Popular. You [pl.] understand
Finally, there is one case in which this informality is acknowledged by the speaker. The next excerpt, between an MP from the conservative Partido Popular (in office during the years that concern the data analyzed here), addressing PM Aznar, suddenly changes the addressees and refers directly to the socialist party in remarkably informal terms. While not precisely a deictic form (it is present only in the verbal morphology), I include this example to illustrate the markedness of its use; the speaker shifts the degree of formality but not without first emphasizing his respect for the addressees:

(55) El señor GÁMIR CASARES: (…) Yo respeto al máximo al Partido Socialista y sé que me PERMITIRÉIS una pequeña broma al respecto. Comprendo que la actual dirección quiere cambiar muchas cosas del pasado del Gobierno socialista, pero RESPETAD aquellas que HICISTEIS bien. En aquel momento lo HICISTEIS bien, no BAJASTEIS los impuestos, no QUERÁIS cambiar tanto la política ahora y pedir que en este momento se bajen los impuestos. Cuidado, no solamente no BAJASTEIS los impuestos, sino que hay declaraciones de entonces de VUESTROS máximos dirigentes criticando duramente lo que se hizo en 1973-1974 al bajar los impuestos.  
(Diario de Sesiones, 13 September 2000, p. 1036)

[Mr. GÁMIR CASARES: (…) (I) have the highest respect for the Socialist Party and (I) know that (informal, pl. you) WILL ALLOW me a little joke about this. (I) understand that the current management wants to change many things from the past of the Socialist Government, but (imperative, informal) RESPECT those that (informal, pl. you) DID well. In that moment (informal, pl. you) DID A GOOD JOB, (informal, pl. you) DID NOT lower taxes, (informal, pl. you) DON’T WANT to change policy so much now and demand taxes to be lowered. Watch out, not only (informal, pl. you) DIDN’T LOWER taxes, but there are statements from that period of YOUR LEADERS criticizing harshly what happened in 1973-1974, when taxes were lowered.]

5.2.3 Formal vocatives

Forms of address in the SP are less formal than in other European or North American parliaments. Interaction between MPs in the British House of Commons, for instance, is
typically initiated with the highly formulaic ‘my right honourable friend’ or references to the interlocutor’s position as ‘the right honourable secretary of defense’. Spanish MPs, on the contrary, address each other either with the formal, habitual *usted*, the more formal and distant ‘señor’ followed by the interlocutor’s last name or post (*señor presidente del gobierno, señor diputado*) [Mr. president, Mr. deputy] or ‘*su señoría*’, [Honorable Member, Honorable Gentleman] which is used exclusively in courts of law or the parliament. Although most of relevant expressions (*señor diputado, señoría*) are potentially applicable to any MP, the use of such forms is subject to certain rules. In order to understand what motivates their appearance, it is important to analyze the directionality of interaction in the parliament (PoP to members of the government, government to other political forces and vice versa, etc.). A careful analysis will demonstrate how the use of these forms, far from being only constrained by protocol, shows the inevitable power relations in the SP.

5.2.3.1 *Usted*

This next section concerns the differences in use of *usted* in the PD corpus and the everyday corpus. Although, as was noted earlier, the informal deictics *tú* and *vosotros* are significantly more frequent in the everyday corpus (largely due to the fact that some interviewers as well as interviewees are young and the tone of the interviews is generally a relaxed one), the most common term of address in newspaper interviews is still the formal *usted*. Interestingly, the majority of uses of this pronoun in the control
corpus appear in the questions asked by the interviewers. Only on a few occasions do the interviewees use the vocative *usted* to interact with their interviewers, as Table 5.3 shows:

Table 5.3. Uses of *usted* in control corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>direction</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>interviewer-interviewee</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>90.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interviewee-interviewer</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>308</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 308 occurrences of *usted* represent a percentage of 0.08% of the total words of the control corpus, which contrasts with the 953 occurrences of *usted* (0.25%) in the PD corpus. The data suggests a similarity in function to the uses of *yo*. As was mentioned in Chapter 4, one of the main purposes of *yo* is to establish a dialogic position with the interlocutor. Hence, *usted* acts as the counterpart of the dialectic or professional position adopted by the speaker. To understand better the contexts in which *usted* appears, I have first analyzed the most frequent verbs\(^2\) that appear with these forms (see Table 5.4):

Table 5.4. Formal vocatives and corresponding verb forms in PD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>usted</em></th>
<th>Ø</th>
<th>su señoría</th>
<th>last name</th>
<th>position</th>
<th>él, ella</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha + participle</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>18.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabe</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>25.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dice</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>28.4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiene</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puede</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>40.4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quiere</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.4 shows that the most used vocative in parliamentary interaction is *usted*. It is worth noting that the most frequent participles with *ha* all represent communication verbs (*ha manifestado, ha dicho, he reiterado*) [has manifested, has said, (I) have repeated]. This suggests that one of the principal uses of *usted* concerns dialectic management.

In order to fully understand the functions of *usted* in PD, a frequency table was generated (see Table 5.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dialectic management</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>32.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>professional speech</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>45.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in-group solidarity</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other uses</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>939</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.5 shows similarities in the functions of *usted* with those of *yo*, as was seen in Chapter 4. This seems to suggest that *usted*, indeed acts as the dialogic counterpart of *yo*, in both dialectic management and professional speech. The next section explains in detail the different functions of *usted* in PD.
5.2.4 Functions of usted

5.2.4.1 Dialogic management

The first function, dialectic management, is similar to what was seen in Chapter 4 in reference to the functions of yo; it agglutinates all references and evaluations made by the speaker about his/her interlocutor’s immediately preceding utterances. This is conveyed by a number of communication verbs (usted ha dicho, ha recordado, manifestado, sugerido) that relate to the immediate dialogue in which speakers are immersed, as the next example shows:

(56) El señor SAURA LAPORTA: (…) ¿Los millones de trabajadores y trabajadoras que van a hacer huelga general van a ir contra sus intereses? Decir que esta es una reforma buena para los trabajadores es cinismo político. USTED ha mencionado una segunda cuestión, que no hay alternativas. ¿Cómo puede decir esto, señor ministro? (Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p.8587)

[Mr. SAURA LAPORTA: (…) The millions of workers that are going to participate in the general strike are going against their own interests? To say that this is a good reform for the workers is political cynicism. YOU have mentioned a second issue, that there is no alternative. How can (you) say that, Mr. Secretary?]

Also important is that, as the example above showed, on 59 occasions references to the immediate dialogue are also combined with rhetorical questions that contain usted. The function of these rhetorical questions is to challenge the validity of the interlocutor’s speech and add disbelief.
5.2.4.2 Professional speech

Under this label I include several functions that are characterized by a general evaluation of the interlocutor. MPs use usted on more occasions (45% of the occurrences) to question the competence of their interlocutors. The largest function within this general purpose refers to interpreting the interlocutor’s attitude or ideology (179 occurrences). A typical case occurs when MPs impugn the psychological-ethical character of their interlocutors (a usted no le importan los parados, a usted lo que le gusta es ver fracasar a los demás) [you don’t care about the unemployed, what you like is to see how others fail]. Also frequent (91 occurrences) are references to other speeches or events which the speaker connects with current events (frequently to downplay the interlocutor’s current behavior):

(57)  El señor SEVILLA SEGURA: (…) Respecto a cuándo conoció el Gobierno la existencia de las llamadas cuentas secretas del BBVA, USTED dijo en esta Cámara el pasado día 10 de abril -cito “Diario de Sesiones”-: El Banco de España informa al ministro de Economía en octubre del año 2001 de que está realizando una inspección de la que no le da detalles. (Diario de Sesiones, 22 May 2002, p.8232)

[Mr. SEVILLA SEGURA: (…) With regard to when the Government knew about the existence of the so-called ‘secret accounts’ of BBVA [a Spanish bank] [formal, sg.] YOU said in this Chamber, the past 10th of April—and (I am quoting the "Diario de Sesiones"-): the Bank of Spain informs the Secretary of Economy in October 2001 that it is undertaking an inspection of which it does not provide any details.]

Usted is also used to attack, either indirectly or bluntly, an interlocutor. In the first case, MPs may choose to highlight their opponent’s incompetence directly (le hablaré de los precios, cosa de la que dudo que usted sepa algo) [(I) will talk to you about prices, something about which (I) doubt you know anything] as well as provide the opponents with advice.
on their personal performance or constituency’s (usted *necesita que le asesoren mejor*) [you need to get better advice]. This type of professional reference/advice appears on 93 occasions. Direct attacks (62 in total) are also included in this section. This includes a heterogeneous class of comparisons, to which the following example is a clear illustration:

(58) El señor DÍAZ-CANO DEL REY: (...) Y por último, como un buen inquisidor, sigue actuando frente al que calumnia. Es realmente una desgracia para un sistema democrático tener a un ministro como USTED. Por eso los españoles, cuando le vean en el telediario el próximo viernes, tendrán una duda y una certidumbre. La duda es: ¿nos estará engañando el ministro Portavoz porque habrá procesado mal la información? USTED es un practicante de la ética de la mentira, del que el mejor exponente y el más cínico representante fue Goebbels.  

*(Diario de Sesiones, 6 March 2002, p.7187)*

[Mr. DÍAZ-CANO DEL REY: (...) And finally, acting as a good inquisitor, (you) keep on acting before those who you slander. It is really a disgrace for a democratic system to have a secretary like YOU. That’s why the Spanish people, when they see (you) on the news next Friday, (they) will have one doubt and one certainty. The doubt is: is the Spokesman lying (to us) because (he) has processed the information in a faulty way? YOU practice the ethics of lying, of which the best and most cynical exponent was Goebbels.]

5.2.4.3 In-group solidarity

This function concerns the expression of appreciation and support between the constituency of the government and its members. Very consistently, as will be mentioned later in the parliamentary forms of address, MPs from the *Partido Popular* ask questions that provide the government the opportunity to explain their accomplishments or plans. In these responses, government officials evaluate the quality
of the question, often praising its content. The following excerpt exemplifies this function:

(59) El señor MINISTRO DE FOMENTO (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. Señoría, coincido con USTED en la valoración que hace de la trascendencia de los programas de rehabilitación y, de hecho, en el programa anterior, a medida que, por razones de precio, se reducía la iniciativa de viviendas de nueva construcción, ha aumentado la iniciativa de rehabilitación de viviendas protegidas.  
(Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p.10779)

[The SECRETARY OF PUBLIC WORKS (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): Thank you very much, Madam president. Honorable Member, I agree with YOU in the evaluation that you suggest of the relevance of the rehabilitation programs, and in fact, in the former program, and because of price issues, even though the initiative for brand new housing was decreasing, the trend to rehabilitate subsidized housing has increased.]

Finally, there are 20 occurrences of direct speech in the data. This includes verbatim reproductions of what the speaker’s interlocutor has said on a different occasion as well as other voices (that of a relative, newspaper article, etc.).

5.2.4.4 Other functions

Under the unspecific ‘other functions’ I have included expressions which are unclear in their purpose as relevant to the major functions discussed earlier. Hence, there are references to hypothetical situations (usted no estará en el gobierno en dos años, si usted fuera ministro en Alemania), [you will not be in the government in two years, if you were minister in Germany] discourse markers (mire usted, fíjese usted) [look, notice this] or hesitation (no sé si fue el señor López o usted), [(I) don’t know whether it was you or Mr. López] etc.
5.2.5 *Ustedes*

The plural form of *usted* also presents remarkable differences in its frequency and use in the control corpus and the PD corpus. In the everyday talk, this pronoun appears 15 times. In three instances it introduces direct speech, and the remaining occurrences are divided in their direction of address; 7 times it addresses the interviewee(s) and 5 times it addresses the interviewer. The reference of these 12 times varies; once it is used to address two interviewees and in the remaining occurrences their referents are vague.

While the interpretation of *ustedes* is not always clear, it is most likely indicating a connection between the interlocutor and the collective to which he/she belongs (the journalists in general in (60):

(60) P. El Atlético ganó al Rayo y fue debidamente criticado.  
R. No, pero yo no individualizo. Digo en general. Para **USTEDES**, si el resultado es malo, aunque hayas hecho el mejor partido del mundo, te has equivocado. Y si es bueno, aunque hayas hecho el peor partido del mundo, lo has hecho bien. No veo ninguna justicia al escribir.  
(Luis Aragonés, soccer coach, El País 6 December 2002)

[Q. The Atlético beat Rayo and (you) were harshly critized.  
A. No, but I don’t single out. (I)’m talking in general. For **YOU** [formal, pl.], if the final score is bad, even though (you) have played the best match in the world, (you) have made a mistake. And if the final score is good, even if (you) have played the worst match in the world, then (you) did a good job. I don’t see any justice in the writing [by sports journalists]

*Ustedes* is used in the everyday corpus to refer vaguely to groups of addressees that the interlocutor somehow represents (musicians, soccer players, journalists, etc.). All interviews except for one implied only one single interviewer and interviewee. This seems to suggest that the plural reference *ustedes* contains an element of virtual deixis.
(ustedes then includes usted + other people of the addressee’s group), or, as Bühler would label, deixis am phantasma.

PD differs from everyday talk in that the interlocutor and the group (political force) to which the interlocutor belongs are physically present. An analysis of the 623 uses of ustedes in the PD indicates that this pronoun also incorporates an ideological component. Table 5.6 shows the scope of ustedes as it appears in the PD corpus:

Table 5.6. Scope of ustedes in PD

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>political opponent</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific reference</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all MPs</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>623</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following example illustrates this shift between addressing a single interlocutor to the group he/she represents:

(61) El señor LLAMAZARES TRIGO: (...) SEÑOR MINISTRO, además nos ha hecho el beneficio de un lapsus, el lapsus que ha tenido en los últimos días en torno a la ley de huelga. Nosotros no pensamos que haya sido ni una extralimitación verbal, ni que se haya calentado la boca, ni tampoco un globo sonda; estamos convencidos de que USTEDES tienen ya borradores sobre esa denominada ley de huelga que llevan acariciando desde hace mucho tiempo y que están preparando a la sociedad española para esa ley de huelga. Pero le advertimos, SEÑOR MINISTRO, este programa oculto que es la ley de huelga, que es la reforma de las pensiones, que son otras medidas que tienen ustedes en cartera, no lo van a poder aprobar con el apoyo de los partidos políticos de esta Cámara. USTEDES se van a quedar solos en esta Cámara, como en el día de hoy, pero sobre todo no van a poder aprobar estas medidas en silencio. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p.8581)

[Mr. LLAMAZARES TRIGO: (...) Mr. SECRETARY, in addition (you) have given (us) the benefit of a lapse, the lapse (you) have had about the strike law. We do not think that this has been a verbal misstep, or that (we) heated up in the debate, nor that (we) have tested the waters; (we) are convinced that YOU [pl.] have already drafts on that so-called strike
law that (pl. you) have been cherishing for a long time and that (pl. you) have been preparing the Spanish society for that law. But (we) warn (you), Mr. SECRETARY, this hidden program that (pl. you) have, (pl. you) will not be able to pass it (as a bill) with the support of the political parties of this House. YOU [pl.] will be by yourselves in this House, just like today, but especially you [pl.] will not be able to pass such laws in the dark.]

The speaker here points out the actions of the single interlocutor as affecting his constituency (nos ha hecho…) [(you) have done to us]. Note that, after speaking on behalf of the political force he represents, the speaker shifts the focus to the government and the party that supports it (Partido Popular). Although most of the instances of ustedes are clear in their references, on 7 occasions the speaker clarifies who he is addressing (ustedes, en el Partido Popular) [you (pl.) in the Partido Popular]. This clarification seems to be more emphatic than informative, considering that contextual (linguistic and extralinguistic) cues make the interpretation unproblematic. Finally, ustedes may also include all MPs present in the parliament. All of these occurrences (9 in total) were pronounced in extraordinary speeches when members of the government were convened by request of the full parliament to address important issues (in sesiones de control or interpelaciones urgentes) [control sessions or urgent interventions].

(62) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO, MINISTRO DE LA PRESIDENCIA Y PORTAVOZ DEL GOBIERNO (Rajoy Brey): (…) Señorías, el Gobierno ha desarrollado, como USTEDES saben, desde el primer día también una intensa actividad internacional para evitar que catástrofes de este tipo se reproduzcan en aguas europeas. Permíteme referirme en esta parcela a sus aspectos preventivos. Ya conocen USTEDES que el presidente del Gobierno envió cartas al presidente de la Comisión Europea, señor Prodi, al presidente del Consejo y al primer ministro danés, señor Rasmussen.
(Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p. 10789)

[The FIRST VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, SECRETARY OF THE PRESIDENCY AND SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT (Rajoy Brey): (…) Honorable Members, the Government has developed, as YOU [pl.] know, from the very
beginning, an intense international program to avoid that such catastrophes happen in European waters. Allow me to refer in this moment to its preventive aspect. YOU [pl.] already know that the president of the Government sent letters to the president of the European Commission, Mr. Prodi, to the president of the Council and to the Danish Prime Minister, Mr. Rasmussen.]

5.2.6 Parliamentary forms of address

This section concerns an analysis of the use and functions of terms of address typical in the SP. While initially some of these forms (diputado, señoría) are applicable to all MPs, their use largely depends on several factors that will be discussed in detail.

I first provide an analysis based on the direction of the interactions and the functions of these forms of address typically found in the parliamentary setting.

5.2.6.1 The President of the Parliament

Utterances originated by, or addressed to, the PoP show the highest consistency in the use of these parliamentary forms of address. Although it is not explicitly stated in the rules of the SP (see Chapter 1), the data seem to indicate that protocol regulates the terms of address that the PoP is entitled to use. The PoP interacts with the MPs individually or collectively on 734 occasions. Table 5.7 contains the forms of address used in these interactions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>direction</th>
<th>surname</th>
<th>position</th>
<th>diputado</th>
<th>señoría</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to MPs (not in govt)</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>439</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All members of the government are addressed by their position (*señor portavoz, señor presidente*) [Mr. spokesman, Mr. president] except on two occasions, when the last name is used instead. This contrasts with interactions with the rest of the MPs, who are consistently addressed by their surnames. Whereas both members of the government and other political forces are *diputados* [deputies], this term is used only once by the PoP.

When the PoP addresses the full parliament, the highly formal *señorías* is always used, without exception. It is also worth noting that on all occasions where MPs (members of the government or of other political forces) address the PoP, the only term used is ‘*señora presidenta*’ [Madam president] which appears 667 times in this use, and never her surname.

**5.2.6.2 References to surname and institutional position**

Interactions between government and members of other political parties, also characterized by formality, present nevertheless more variation than with the PoP. MPs frequently use references to the interlocutor’s surname (*señor Aznar*) [Mr. Aznar] or to his/her institutional position (*señor vicepresidente, señor portavoz*) [Mr. vicepresident, Mr. spokesman]. This use of the NP *señor* constrasts with the control corpus, in which this form appears only 35 times. The majority of those occurrences relate to entities external to the conversation. Table 5.7 illustrates the values of *señor* in the control corpus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>to members of the govt</th>
<th>to all MPs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>señor</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>237</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>diputado</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>señor portavoz</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>señor presidente</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.7 illustrates the values of *señor* in the control corpus.
Señor is used only once in the control corpus as a vocative. In that single instance, an interviewer asks his interviewee with the formal señor Barceló. The other 3 occurrences where the speaker addresses the interlocutor is by way of the formulaic ‘sí, señor’ [yes, sir] which is used in very specific settings (army, court of law) as well as in informal conversation to add emphasis or humor, as in these cases. The majority of uses of señor in the corpus of everyday speech—here under the category of ‘other’—refers to titles of literary works or films (señor de los Anillos) [Lord of the Rings] or in expressions which are removed from the immediate context (se comportaba como un señor) [(he) acted as a gentleman].

With regard to PD, the use of these forms is constrained by several factors. As was already pointed out, the PoP refers very rarely to members of the government by their last name (only on 2 occasions, less than 1% of the total). However, it is the habitual formula to regulate participation of the members of the opposition (granting the floor as well as regulating the participation time). Between members of the government and opposition, however, the data shows that the latter group prefers this form:

### Table 5.8. Uses of señor in control corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>external entity</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direct speech</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>discourse marker</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vocative</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.9 shows that the most relevant fact about this form of address is there are no occurrences of reference to surname in the interaction between the members of Partido Popular and the government regardless of the direction of addressivity (whether in questions from the MPs or answers from the government). Opposing political forces, not surprisingly, use surname references significantly more often. Note also that references to last name appear (although less frequently) in final position (23 occurrences in total).

This collocation has already been noted as emphatic by Blas-Arroyo (2000) in his analysis of the televised debates between J. M. Aznar and at the time PM F. González. References to surname in final sentential position mark the end of a dialogue segment as well as emphasize the personal—and not institutional—level at which this deictic expression aims. The following example illustrates this point:

(63) El señor LLAMAZARES TRIGO: (...) Le censuro también, SEÑOR AZNAR, por manipular la información, por desinformar a la opinión pública. Primero la culpa era de Gibraltar y de la pérfida Albión, luego la culpa ha sido de la Unión Europea y ahora de la oposición. Le digo, SEÑOR AZNAR, que no diga que la oposición somos carroñeros, porque, SEÑOR AZNAR, el animal en materia ecológica que revuelve entre la basura es la gaviota, quizá su gaviota, SEÑOR AZNAR.

(Diario de Sesiones, 27 November 2002, p.10617)

[Mr. LLAMAZARES TRIGO: (...) I censure (you) also, MR. ANAR, for manipulating the information, for having the public opinion misinformed. Initially, the blame was on Gibraltar and of perfidious Albion, then the blame was on the European Union and now]
it’s on the opposition. (I) am telling you, **MR. AZNAR**, to not say that (we) in the opposition feed on carrion, because, **MR. AZNAR**, when it comes to ecology, the animal that feeds on garbage is the seagull, maybe your seagull, **MR. AZNAR**.}

The appearance of surname references in parliamentary questions is of particular interest to demonstrate this ‘personalizing’ strategy. As was already mentioned, parliamentary questions—from both the **Partido Popular** and the other political parties—to the government are submitted at least 48 hours in advance. They are announced by their number by the PoP, and all MPs may refer to it on the **Orden del Día** document that is provided at the beginning of each parliamentary session. The PoP then gives the floor to the MP who provides a brief overview of the problem and then asks the question. The following excerpt exemplifies this process:

(64) - **DEL DIPUTADO DON JOSÉ LUIS RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO, DEL GRUPO PARLAMENTARIO SOCIALISTA, QUE FORMULA AL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO: ¿QUÉ EVALUACIÓN HACE EL PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO DE LA CATÁSTROFE ORIGINADA POR EL BUQUE PRESTIGE? (Número de expediente 180,001625.)**

La señora PRESIDENTA: Pregunta número 25, que formula el diputado don José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.

El señor RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. Señor Aznar, el grave accidente del buque Prestige se ha convertido en una catástrofe económica y ecológica para Galicia y para toda España. ¿Qué evaluación hace de lo sucedido?


[**OF DEPUTY MR. JOSÉ LUIS RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO, OF THE SOCIALIST PARLIAMENTARY GROUP, THAT ASKS THE PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT: WHAT IS YOUR EVALUATION OF THE CATSTROPHE ORIGINATED BY THE OIL TANKER Prestige? (File no. 180,001625.)**

The PoP: Question number 25, formulated by deputy Mr. José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero.

Mr. RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: Thank you very much, Madam president. Mr. Aznar, the serious accident of the oil tanker Prestige has become an economic and environmental catastrophe for Galicia and for Spain as a whole. What is your evaluation of what has happened?]
While MPs from Partido Popular consistently begin their questions (81 in total) referring to the position of their interlocutor; most of them with the formulaic señor/a ministro/a but not infrequently with the full title:

(65) El señor MANCHA CADENAS: Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. Señora ministra de Ciencia y Tecnología, señora Birulés, la tecnología de la información y las comunicaciones constituyen un poderoso instrumento para facilitar la vida de las personas con necesidades especiales o discapacitadas.

(Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002, p. 6690)

[Mr. MANCHA CADENAS: Thank you very much, Madam president. Madam Secretary of Science and Technology, Ms. Birulés, information technology and communications constitute a powerful tool to make life easier for persons with special needs or disabled.]

This phenomenon suggests that MPs of the Partido Popular maintain in-group solidarity with their colleagues in addition to manifesting an image of professionalism. Solidarity is further corroborated by the type of questions asked. The interaction between the Partido Popular and the government shows a majority of WH-questions, which are used by the members of the government to explain at length their achievements and future plans. Also noteworthy is the fact that MPs of political parties allied to the government also use exclusively the title of the interlocutor (19 occurrences).

In contrast, of the 57 questions asked by the largest rival political force to the government (the socialist party, now in power after the general elections of March 11, 2004), 27 of them are headed by references to the addressee’s last name and 26 refer to their position. Unlike these constituencies, members of opposing political factions (namely the socialist party and Izquierda Unida) often change the statement of their questions, as was seen in the example above by J.R. Zapatero
This MP, in fact, the most prominent leader of the oposición—and PM of the government since March 2004—always addresses PM J. M. Aznar by his last name in all 9 formal questions, and never uses señor presidente. This can be interpreted as both a personalizing strategy (identifying the problem with the individual responsible for the government) and also as an attempt to signify his prominent position in the power struggle as likely next PM. In a phenomenon similar to what was shown regarding the forces allied with the government, the representatives of Izquierda Unida split their references to the government members between reference to positions (3 occurrences) and surname (6 occurrences).

5.2.6.3 Reference to institutional position

Another important form of address in the SP is reference to the institutional position of the interlocutor. As was pointed out earlier, this form is highly consistent in its use in certain settings (the interaction between the PoP and the members of the government as well as between the MPs of Partido Popular and the government in the formal questions). Interaction between members of the opposition and the government however, show several differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>initial</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>41.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>54.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>192</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As Table 5.10 shows, references to the interlocutor’s institutional position are slightly less frequent than surname reference. While most of the occurrences appear in initial or medial position, their appearance in final position must be noted. This, as was pointed out in the case of last name references, occurs typically in dialogic arguments:

(66) La señora NAVARRO GARZÓN: (…) A las demás, SEÑOR MINISTRO, ¿quién las atiende? No es sólo falta de conocimiento, SEÑOR MINISTRO, es también falta de voluntad. Si no, ¿cómo se explica que el PP vote en contra de nuestra enmienda a los Presupuestos Generales del Estado para dotar económicamente de las medidas de protección y ayuda a las mujeres maltratadas? Si quisiera resolver el problema, nos apoyaría. No se preocupe, ya lo haremos nosotros, SEÑOR MINISTRO, y será pronto. (Rumores.) Pero no olvide la dura realidad cotidiana de estas mujeres y sus hijos, y que por malos tratos mueren más de 70 mujeres cada año, SEÑOR MINISTRO. (Aplausos.)

(Diario de Sesiones, 27 November 2002, p.10637)

[Ms. NAVARRO GARZÓN: (…) The remaining ones, Mr. SECRETARY, who is attending to them? It is not only a lack of knowledge, Mr. SECRETARY, it is also a lack of will. Otherwise, how can it be explained that the PP votes against our reform of the State’s General budget to provide funds and protection measures for battered women. If you wanted to solve the problem, (formal, sg. you) would help us. Don’t worry, we’ll do it ourselves, Mr. SECRETARY, and it’ll be soon. (Rumors.) But do not forget the hard reality of those women and their children, and the fact that more than 70 women die each year due to domestic violence, Mr. SECRETARY. (Applause.)]

Interestingly, there are no instances of this sentential collocation in the government to Partido Popular interaction, as Table 5.11 illustrates:

Table 5.11. References to position in government-Partido Popular interaction

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>govt to PP</th>
<th></th>
<th>PP to govt</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>initial</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>76.9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>50.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>middle</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>49.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>final</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>53</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not only are these references not found in final position, but on 19 occasions, questions of MPs of Partido Popular present expressions of appreciation to the government’s officials:

(67) La señora ESPINOSA LÓPEZ: Gracias, señora presidenta. Señor ministro, el medio ambiente es una fuente de riqueza a proteger y una oportunidad de desarrollo para nuestro país. Hoy LO FELICITAMOS por haber dado cumplimiento a otro compromiso del presidente del Gobierno, quien durante el discurso de investidura anunció la aprobación del Plan Nacional Forestal. Ya está en marcha y YA LO HA PRESENTADO USTED ante el Consejo Nacional de Bosques. (...) Por ello, señor ministro, y VOLVIÉNDOLE A FELICITAR, le formulo la siguiente pregunta: ¿cuáles son los objetivos de actuación del Plan Nacional Forestal presentado ante el Consejo Nacional de Bosques? (Diario de Sesiones, 6 March 2002, p. 7184)

[Ms. ESPINOSA LÓPEZ: Thank you, Madam president. Mr.Secretary, the environment is a source of wealth that must be protected and an opportunity of development for our country. Today (WE) CONGRATULATE (YOU) for having accomplished yet another commitment of the president of the Government, who during his investiture speech, announced the passing of the National Forest Plan. It is already under way and [formal, sg.] YOU HAVE ALREADY PRESENTED IT before the National ForestCouncil (...) It is for that reason, Mr. Secretary, and (I) CONGRATULATE YOU AGAIN, that (I) am asking you the following question: what are the goals of the National Forest Plan presented before the National Forest Council?]

5.2.6.4 Other forms of address

The other two most important forms of address, señor diputado and señoría/s also present constraints on their use. While all MPs are, by definition, diputados (not senadores) [deputies (not senators)], the data shows that only the government uses this form of address consistently. Indeed, the 55 occurrences as a vocative found in the data are exclusively used by members of the government, referring to political parties (in 34 occasions) and to their constituency on 21 occasions. The plural form diputados appears,
in its vocative function, with similar frequency (53 in total), always as an opening or closing gambit (gracias, señoras y señores diputados), by all parliamentary groups.

Finally, the term señoría, probably the one most widely identified with political or judicial discourse, manifests an analogous pattern of use. Similar to diputado, it may be used among all participants of parliamentary interaction:

Table 5.12. Uses of señoría in different political forces

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>govt to opposition</th>
<th>opposition to gov</th>
<th>govt to pp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>señoría</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>86.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su señoría</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>97.9</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 5.8 demonstrates, señoría and su señoría (which is abbreviated as S.S. in the Diario de Sesiones when it appears in the middle of a sentence) are also expressions almost exclusively used by the government. Interestingly, in the only occurrence from a political force other than Partido Popular, it refers to Convergència I Unió, one of the political allies of the ruling party.

5.2.6.5 Señorías

As was discussed earlier in section 5.2.6.1, señorías is very consistent in use in the interactions with the PoP. The main function in that setting is that of signaling the beginning and end of the PoP’s own speech turns as well as granting permission to other
MPs to speak from the podium. Between political forces, however, it also takes on other functions:

**Table 5.13. Uses of señorías in the PD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Uses of señorías</th>
<th>Tokens</th>
<th>% of Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>backchanneling</td>
<td>258</td>
<td>68.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>opening/closing gambit</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>29.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific references</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intended vagueness</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>378</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.2.7 Backchanneling

The backchanneling function of señorías maintains the flow of the verbal interaction, portrays attention toward the addressee and acknowledges to whom the message is directed (como ya he dicho, señorías, el pacto no ha avanzado lo suficiente) [as I have already said, Honorable Members, the pact hasn’t progressed enough].

5.2.8 Opening gambits

Similar to the general opening formula used by the PoP, MPs of the government and other political factions use señorías often to signal the beginning of their speech. Adam (1984), in his analysis of political discourse in France, noted how opening gambits addressing the entirety of MPs also function as a way to attract the attention of the MPs as well as to highlight the importance of what is about to be said:
La señora PRESIDENTA: Muchas gracias, señor Llamazares. En nombre del Grupo Parlamentario Vasco (EAJ-PNV), señor Txueka.

El señor TXUEKA ISASTI: Señora presidenta, señor ministro, SEÑORÍAS, egun on, buenos días. Comienzo a exponer la posición del Grupo Parlamentario Vasco preguntándole, señor ministro, a la vez que le manifiesto mi extrañeza, por qué el PP, el Partido Popular, ha abordado un deterioro gratuito de un activo tan publicitado (…) (Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p. 8581)

[The PoP: Thank you very much, Mr. Llamazares. On behalf of the Basque Parliamentary Group (EAJ-PNV), Mr.Txueka. Mr. TXUEKA ISASTI: Madam president, Mr. Secretary, HONORABLE MEMBERS, egun on, good morning. I begin by explaining the position of the Basque Parliamentary Group asking you, Mr. Secretary, at the same time that I manifest my stupor, why the PP, the Partido Popular, has started a gratuitous damage of such a advertised collective (…)]

The complete acknowledgment of the PoP, the interlocutor as well as the rest of the parliament seems to contrast with the backchanneling function of señorías, largely the most frequent form. It is worth noting that the referent of señorías is not always clear.

While in most cases it seems to address the entirety of the parliament, it often appears to include the interlocutor and his/her constituency:

La señora CHACÓN PIQUERAS: (…) Podrán volver a imponer sus leyes con su mayoría absoluta, pero en educación, SEÑORÍAS, si no se convence, no se vence. Y su soledad, aquí y fuera de aquí, es la prueba del nueve, de lo poco convincente de sus formas autoritarias y de sus reformas antisociales. (Diario de Sesiones, 29 October 2002 p. 9932)

[Ms. CHACÓN PIQUERAS: (…) (formal, pl.) you will be able to go impose again your laws with absolute majority, but in education, HONORABLE GENTLEMEN, if (one) doesn’t convince, (one) doesn’t win. And your lonesomeness, here and outside (of here), is the definitive proof of how little convincing your authoritarian forms and your antisocial reforms are.]

5.2.9 Specific reference

Apart from the instances where speakers address directly their interlocutors with señorías, on several occasions this term is used as a way to emphasize a claim:
El señor REJÓN GIEB: (...) Y ustedes se durmieron y se siguen durmiendo en los laureles y ahora vienen y dicen: quiero un año más. No, señores del Gobierno, SEÑORÍAS DEL PARTIDO QUE SOPORTA AL GOBIERNO, no es de recibo que encima vistan de adecuación al momento lo que ha sido una auténtica indolencia -eso sí que era una indolencia- en cuanto a políticas medioambientales.

(Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p.8651)

[Mr. REJÓN GIEB: (...) And [formal, pl.] YOU fell asleep and rested on your laurels and now (formal, pl. you) come and (formal, pl. you) say: (I) want one more year. No, gentlemen of the Government, HONORABLE MEMBERS OF THE PARTY THAT SUSTAINS THE GOVERNMENT, it is not acceptable that (formal, pl.) you pretend that to pass as appropriate what has been genuinely laziness—because that really was laziness—with regard to environmental policies.]

5.2.10 Intended vagueness

On two occasions members of the government refer to their opponents with intended vagueness. In the next example, an initial interaction with the PoP is used as a mitigating strategy to attack the political opponents of the speaker. This strategy is explained in the next section:

El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (Aparicio Pérez): Señora presidenta, ciertamente HAY SEÑORÍAS a las que parece que el tema del empleo no les resulta especialmente interesante.Estaba diciendo que buscar la elevación del tono, buscar la crispación es alimentar el conflicto y esa es una de las dos posiciones que hoy podemos tener ante nosotros (...)

(Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p.8593)

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Aparicio Pérez): Madam president, certainly there are HONORABLE MEMBERS for whom the topic of employment does not seem particularly interesting. (I) was saying that looking for a more heated tone, looking for irritation is to feed the conflict, and this is one of the two positions that (we) can have before us today. (...)]
5.3 Third person references

The very circumstances and characteristics of the parliament have a clear influence on the nature of communication between MPs. Everything said in the parliament is systematically transcribed and significant parts of it are broadcast by television and radio. The physical design itself of the Spanish parliament—in a semicircle—is intended to provide the speakers a place where they can see and be seen by their interlocutors. Keeping this in mind, it is not surprising to ascertain that while MPs engage most of the time in dyadic communication, dialogues are dotted with references to other entities, present and absent. Interestingly, a recurrent phenomenon is the distancing of the interlocutor from the proximity that vocatives provide to the relative disengagement achieved by using a third person reference. By referring to their interlocutors in the third person, MPs attack their opponent or attempt to attract the interest of other MPs present:

Table 5.14: Third person reference by position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>opposition to govt</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>54.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govt to pp</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govt to opposition</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp to govt</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>33</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The functions performed by third person references depend largely on the direction of the speech. Interaction between the Partido Popular and the government is characterized
by a benevolent tone, as has been already noted. On other occasions, the speaker addresses the rest of the MPs in order to highlight his/her response. In the next example, which illustrates this function, notice the shift in the first sentence from a vocative to a third person form, and back to a vocative:

(72) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): Gracias, señora presidenta. SEÑOR DIPUTADO, no comparto su opinión sobre la estabilidad del sistema público de pensiones. Quiero recordar AL SEÑOR DIPUTADO que a partir de 1999 existe un fondo de reserva de las pensiones públicas que en esta legislatura va a llegar a una cifra en el entorno de los 800.000 millones de pesetas, que, COMO S.S. sabe muy bien, se situará en la mitad de esa cifra, es decir, en los 2.400 millones de euros ya en el año 2001. (Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p.7100)

[The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): Thank you, Madam president. Mr. Deputy, (I) do not share your opinion about the stability of the public system of subsidies. (I) want to remind the HONORABLE DEPUTY that from 1999 there exists a reserve of the public subsidies that in this legislature is going to reach an amount close to 800 billion pesetas, which, as the HONORABLE MEMBER knows, will be around half that figure, which was 2.4 billion euros already in year 2001.]

Communication between government and its opposing political forces is remarkably less polite. Third person references may be used as an indirect attack, both coming from members of the opposition or the government:

(73) El señor MINISTRO DE FOMENTO (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): Yo no sé, señora presidenta, si EL SEÑOR DIPUTADO, por su juventud, no sabe que cuando el PSOE dejó el Gobierno el paro juvenil era el 42 por ciento en este país. Y hoy hay 20 puntos menos de paro juvenil en España. No, no le interesa a S.S. ¿Qué le va a interesar la creación de empleo? No les ha interesado nunca a los socialistas la creación de empleo. (Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p. 7992)

[The SECRETARY OF PUBLIC WORKS (Álvarez-Cascos Fernández): I do not know, Madam president, whether the HONORABLE DEPUTY, because of his youth, does not know that when the PSOE left the Government, unemployment among young people was 42 per cent in this country. And today it’s 20 points lower. No, the HONORABLE
MEMBER is not interested. How can (he) be interested in creating jobs? Socialists have never been interested in creating jobs.]

5.3.1 Third person surname references

Third person references which include the interlocutor’s surname are more frequent than those by position, as happens with the use of vocatives. Table 5.15 shows the presence of this phenomenon taking into account the direction of the interaction:

Table 5.15. Third person references by surname across political parties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>opposition to govt</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govt to pp</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>govt to opposition</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pp to govt</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ext.reference</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>162</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to what has been noted, in-group solidarity is maintained between members of the government and its constituency: there are no occurrences of references by last name. Note also the low frequency of references to people not present in the parliament (only 20 occurrences in a total of 162). Although third person references by surname are frequent, MPs are aware of the formality of the parliament by always heading the reference with the formulaic ‘señor’.

Example (74) illustrates an instance where a member of an opposing party reformulates his reference to PM Aznar:
(74) El señor REJÓN GIEB: (...) Y más adelante añade: Así, de conseguirse este objetivo, AZNAR -EL SEÑOR PRESIDENTE- estaría en condiciones de recuperar lo que por aquel entonces Suárez se viera obligado a ceder sin modificar la Constitución, rechazando incluso su reforma y hacer un Estado de autonomías leído en una sola interpretación (Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p.7108)

[Mr. REJÓN GIEB: (...) And later (he) adds: This way, if this objective is met, AZNAR-THE PRESIDENT—would be in a position to recover what Suárez was obliged to give up without modifying the Constitution, rejecting its reform and run a State based on autonomous regions, as read in one single interpretation.]

This excerpt exemplifies the formality of the SP. While most Spaniards refer to politicians and personalities by surname reference (Olazábal, Aznar, Zapatero), this is not acceptable within parliamentary protocol. Especially relevant is the presence of PM Aznar in that particular session. Referring to absent (or inactive) politicians with only surname reference seems accepted however, as can be seen by the mention, in the last sentence, to Adolfo Suárez, the first PM of democratic Spain from 1976 to 1981.

5.3.1.1 Third person pronouns

Third person pronouns (él, ella, ellos, ellas) also presents important differences in their use in the PD corpus and the control corpus. Not only there are differences in frequency but also with regard to referent, as Table 5.16 shows

**Table 5.16 Third person pronouns in PD and control corpus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>personal</td>
<td>non-personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens % of total tokens % of total</td>
<td>tokens % of total tokens % of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>él</td>
<td>17 37.8</td>
<td>28 62.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ella</td>
<td>4 10.3</td>
<td>35 89.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Third person pronouns may function anaphorically; to avoid repetition of an entity mentioned already in the speech (“Fui a la playa con Carlos, él fue quien me lo contó”) [(I) went to the beach with Carlos, he was the one who told me], or—not as frequently—as a deictic, which is usually accompanied by some contextual cues (“ha sido él”) [it was him] (Fernández Soriano 1999). They refer to entities not involved in the dyadic interaction between speaker and hearer and they are used to substitute personal referents (Juan) as well as objects or ideas (casa, cursos) [house, courses]. Table 5.16 shows important differences in the antecedents of third person pronouns. The most relevant is the fact that on 13 occasions, él and ella are used in the PD as true deictics. In the following case, the vice-president of the government acknowledges that he does not know the name of his interlocutor. Interestingly, the presence of the accusative me seems to suggest an acknowledgement of his—at least protocolary—obligation to know it (saberse vs. saber) [to know by heart vs. to know]. There is an initial vocative which shifts to a deictic ella by way of which he points out to the rest of MPs this incident:

(75) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): Interpreto que S.S. ha abandonado por completo su pregunta y ha hablado de otras cosas. (Rumores.) No, señoras, créanme. Perdone, no me sé su nombre, pero ELLA sabe perfectamente de lo que estoy hablando. Hay dos tipos de cuentas: las cifradas del HSBC y las de fondos de inversión, señor Cuevas. (Diario de Sesiones, 22 May 2002, p.8236)

[The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): I) understand that the Honorable Member has relinquished his question and has talked about other issues.(Rumors.) No, Members of
the Parliament, believe me. Excuse me, I don’t know [formal, sg.] your name, but SHE knows exactly what (I) am talking about. There are two types of accounts: the coded ones of HSBC [a Spanish bank] and the investment funds ones, Mr. Cuevas.]

This function does not appear in the control corpus. This confirms that while MPs are engaged in conversation with another MP, they engage in constant voice shifts in order to address the rest of their audience. The significantly lower number of personal pronouns in the PD corpus is the result of the formality of the parliament. While in the control corpus the anaphoric él/ella and its plural forms are the habitual form, MPs as was discussed refer to other entities as señor + surname or señor + position, regardless or whether the person is present or not. As a curiosity, it is worth noting the absence of any form of ellas [fem. they] as relating to female MPs. This is not surprising considering that neither nosotras [fem. we] or vosotras [fem. informal, pl. you] also do not appear in the PD. This may be explained by the fact that the SP is constituted by a majority of men. Hence, and considering that feminine gender is grammatically marked, this would imply a collective of women (and only women). It is nevertheless remarkable that no female MPs seem to make general claims on behalf of other women.

5.4 Defocalizing strategies

This section concerns those expressions (pronouns and voice shifts) through which speakers detach themselves from self-deictic pronominal forms such as yo or nosotros. I suggest the label of ‘defocalizing strategies’ since it includes a wider scope of expressions than the original term (‘defocalizing forms’) first suggested by Haverkate
Defocalizing strategies include impersonal deictic pronouns such as the impersonal *uno, algunos* [one, some] or the relative *quien* [who], as well as voice shifts in which the speaker refers to himself in the third person. These strategies convey two basic functions: avoidance of direct references and maintenance of professional face. The first function takes advantage of the potential vagueness of the referent (*quien, uno*), which allows the speaker to dismiss or attack dialectally his/her opponent while keeping a certain professional etiquette. MPs, voters, and the public in general, expect a level of courtesy of their representatives—which is of course not always attained. On the other hand, as can be inferred from article 71.3 of the rules an regulations of the SP, an MP may request a *turno de réplica* if he/she considers that inappropriate references have been made in a way that harms his/her image. Although they are most of the times rejected by the PoP, they are occasionally granted. This is a phenomenon that seems to be avoided by both the MPs and the PoP, because it prolongs the duration of the parliamentary session and because it is recorded for posterity in the *Diario de Sesiones*. It seems plausible to argue, consequently, that the avoidance of making negative, explicit references to a political opponent has both symbolic and pragmatic values. The second function concerns the distinction between the professional (institutional) and the personal identities of the speaker. By detaching themselves from a first person reference, MPs may clarify when they speak from a professional point of view; typically to save their ‘face’ or public image.
5.4.1 Defocalizing pronouns

5.4.1.1 Uno

In this next section, I analyze the use of the impersonal *uno* as a defocalizing expression. This analysis is, then, not concerned with other uses of *uno* as a numeral or as a partitive pronoun (as in *uno de sus amigos* [one of his/her friends]). Although much has been written in the traditional grammars on this particular form, I here adopt the conceptualization of Martínez, who, while recognizing that its reference is theoretically infinite (it can apply to anyone), it is usually interpreted as having a close connection to the speaker. As he puts it ‘*uno/a ‘impersonal’ es, semánticamente, un ‘omnipersonal’, si bien es el hablante el que queda en el primer plano de la alusión [(masc/fem.) one is semantically ‘omnipersonal’, although it’s the speaker who remains in a first level of the reference] (p.1989:60). While this observation addresses appropriately the connection between *uno* and the speaker, it fails to account for the degree to which it appears in certain uses.

There are numerous instances in the control corpus where *uno* is a truly impersonal pronoun (its scope is applicable to anyone) while in some other cases it can be narrowed to the experience of the speaker. The following table summarizes the different uses of *uno* in PD and everyday talk:

**Table 5.17. Functions of *uno* in PD and everyday talk**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% of</td>
<td>% of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>total</td>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

197
The data suggests that the true impersonal *uno* (the form of that can be substituted by *cualquiera*) is in fact less frequent than what traditional grammars suggest. It is essential to note here that the boundaries between these three labels are not always well defined. Rather, a careful reading of the context is necessary to understand the distinctions. Next, I provide an explanation of the most relevant features of each category.

### 5.4.1.2 Impersonal *uno*

This value of *uno* (which does not refer to any entity in particular) appears in the data as being removed from first person references. It is used to express ideas that are theoretically applicable to anyone:

(76)  
P- Qué consejos le das a la persona que emprende su primer viaje?  
R- Lo más importante es saber elegir el tipo de viaje que UNO quiere realizar. Hoy en día hay muchos tipos de ofertas en el mercado. Primero hay que decidirse si UNO va a viajar por su cuenta o bien prefiere un viaje organizado.  

[Q- What advice would you give to a person who is about to start their first trip?  
A- The most important thing is to know how to choose the type of trip ONE wants to travel. First, ONE has to decide whether ONE is going to travel alone or whether it is going to be an organized trip.]

In this case, the speaker is not particularly concerned with any specific groups. *Uno* can, therefore, be easily rephrased with the general *la persona* or *la persona en cuestión*: lo
más importante es saber elegir el tipo de viaje que la persona quiere realizar [the person or ‘the person in question’; the important thing is to know how to choose the type of trip the person wants to have]. Considering the fact that the speaker is a frequent traveler to Egypt, his opinion does not seem to be heavily rooted in his personal experience. This function also appears in the PD corpus, where uno may concern the entire citizenry:

(77) El señor LÓPEZ GARRIDO: (...) Esto es algo natural no sólo para el censo promocional, que es a lo que se limitan ustedes, sino para los demás casos; porque aparte del censo promocional, que por cierto todavía no existe, circulan datos personales en todo tipo de archivos informáticos y hay que controlarlo y decir que sólo podrán ser cedidos, tratados o utilizados si UNO lo consiente expresamente.

(Diario de Sesiones, 29 October 2002, p.9927)

[Mr/LÓPEZ GARRIDO: (...) This is something expected not only in the promotional census, which is to what you [formal, pl.] are only concerned, but also fro the rest of the cases; because aside from the promotional census, which by theway (it) still does not exist, there is a circulation of personal data in all types of computer files and this must be controlled and say that this data can only be shared, used, or treated if ONE expresses his/her consent explicitly.]

Most of cases of the non-other referential uno, however, seem to originate in the speaker’s standpoint. While the same type of rephrasing as in the first example is feasible, a careful analysis seems to confirm an intuitive differentiation between the degrees of closeness to the direct experiences of the speaker:

(78) P. Dice que se repite, pero muestra valentía al pedir que callen las balas. ¿Qué le ha empujado a escribir canciones como Ez naiz oroitzen o Gaueko hamabiak?
R. El hecho de que me afecta lo que ocurre a mí alrededor. Cada UNO escribe de lo que cree que tiene que escribir, y yo en esos temas hablo de cómo afecta el conflicto en esta sociedad, y de cómo me afecta a mí.

(Ruper Ortorika. Songwriter. elrinconlatino.com March 2004)

[Q. (formal, sg. you) say that (you) repeat yourself, but (you) are showing bravery by asking the bullets to stop. What has pushed you to write songs like Ez naiz oroitzen or Gaueko hamabiak?]
A. The fact that what goes around me affects me. Every ONE writes about what (they) believe (they) have to write about, and I write in those songs about how the conflict affects this society, and how it affects me.

While this speaker’s opinion may arise directly from his experience, the extent of his reaches, potentially, anyone who performs the same activity of composing songs. This contrasts with a different degree of uno in which the substitution for ‘cualquiera’ or ‘la persona en cuestión’ ['anyone’ or ‘the person in question’] is impossible. Uno clearly reflects the experience of the speaker:

(79) P- Por último, una curiosidad, tú participaste en la película 'Polígono Sur' de Dominique Abel sobre el barrio de las Tres Mil Viviendas de Sevilla, ¿te gusta como ha quedado el resultado de la película, es una imagen fiel del barrio?
R- Está graciosa, tiene su punto gracioso, UNO conoce a toda la gente del barrio y te gusta verlos, es un documental sobre todo aquello, se ve muy natural todo.
(Diego Amador. flamenco singer. deflamenco.com March 2004)

[Q- Finally, a curiosity, you [informal, sg.] participated in the film ‘Polígono Sur’, by Dominique Abel about the neighborhood of the Three Thousand Houses in Seville. Do you like the final result of the film, is it a faithful depiction of the neighborhood?
A- It’s come out funny, it has something funny, ONE knows everyone in the neighborhood and (you) like to see them, it’s a documentary on all that, it looks very natural.]

This next example provides another case of ‘experiential’ uno also followed by an interesting first person plural reference:

(80) Ahora, con la vejez, los achaques, la hipertensión, la gota, pues ya está UNO cada vez más discapacitado o más dificultado para ejercer la actividad nocturna que tanto nos gustaba. Pero cuando estoy trabajando descubro que la literatura es una maravillosa, fascinante habitación donde tú entras y te puedes quedar ahí ya toda la vida.
(Caballero Bonald. Writer El País 22 August 2000)

[Now, with old age, with ailments, high blood pressure, gout, then ONE is increasingly unable or more restricted to live the nightlife that (we) liked so much. But when (I) am working (I) discover that literature is a wonderful, fascinating room where you [informal, sg.] enter and you [informal, sg.] can stay there for the rest of your life.]
In both cases, *uno* is intimately related to the speaker’s experience. In the first case, this seems corroborated by a displaced use of a second person pronoun, also referencing the speaker—*te gusta verlos* [you like to see them], while in the second example it is reinforced by a first person reference (*nos gustaba* [(we) liked it]. In the PD corpus, the use of the ‘experiential’ *uno* seems connected to the professional *yo* that was discussed in chapter 4. In particular, it provides the speaker with the possibility of claiming his/her achievements or of referring to his/her prestige while avoiding a too direct use of *yo*. In the next example, the Secretary of Labor uses *uno* in order to highlight his professional ‘face’, referring to his credit as responsible for the reduction of unemployment:

(81) **El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES** (Aparicio Pérez): (…)  
Hombre, hay una partida que ha bajado de manera muy significativa que son las prestaciones de desempleados. ¿Por qué?, porque hay muchísimos menos parados, no porque ni una sola de las prestaciones individuales se haya tocado en el pasado o se vaya a tocar en el futuro. Ya sé que usted esto no lo va a admitir, pero es que es fácilmente demostrable. Ninguna de las reglas de cálculo va a cambiar; ni ha cambiado -y en eso *UNO* goza de cierto crédito, el pasado está ahí- ni va a cambiar, y eso no es cuestión de voluntad, como no ha bajado, como no se puede hacer la afirmación de que estemos peor en el gasto en pensiones, como no se puede decir que estemos gastando menos en sanidad ni en ninguna de las partidas sociales básicas.  
*(Diario de Sesiones, 24 April 2002, p.8017)*

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Aparicio Pérez): (…) Well, there is an item that has decreased in a very significant way which is the unemployment benefit. Why? Because there are fewer unemployed people, not because these unemployment benefits have been used in the past or will be used in the future. (I) already know that you are not going to recognize this, but it is easy to prove. None of the way to calculate it will change, nor they have changed—and in this respect *ONE* has some credit—the past is there, nor it will change, and this is not a question of will, as it has not decreased, just like (one) cannot affirm that (we) are worse off in the expenses for retirement benefits, as (one) cannot say that (we) are spending less in health care nor in any of the basic social benefits.]

Here *uno* can accept only a rephrasing with a reference to the speaker (*y en eso yo gozo/*Ø

*gozo de cierto crédito*) [and in that respect I/(I) have some credit] and not with another
impersonal expression such *la persona/cualquiera* [the person/anyone]. This is further corroborated, as will be noted in other examples, with the presence of the indicative mood.

In another instance, the successor of Mr. Aparicio, Mr. Zaplana makes a double implication with the use of *yo*. After being accused by the socialist party of not fulfilling his promises of aid to the disabled, the Secretary of Labor makes a general statement by way of which he claims his credibility while downplaying that of his opponent.

(82) *El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES* (Zaplana Hernández-Soro): Gracias, señora presidenta. Señoría, UNO adquiere la credibilidad en función de los resultados de su gestión y no de las manifestaciones políticas. (Rumores.) Sus señorías se han pasado mucho tiempo diciendo que no hacíamos nada. Cuando hacemos alguna propuesta coherente y presupuestada, inmediatamente dicen que no hay cobertura presupuestaria porque su grupo no quiere que se haga

*(Diario de Sesiones, 27 November 2002, p.10636)*

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Zaplana Hernández-Soro): Thank you, Madam President. Honorable Gentleman, ONE earns credibility by way of the results of his action, and not because of political statements (Rumors) The Honorable Members have spent a long time saying that (we) didn’t do anything. When (we) make some coherent and balanced proposal, (you, pl.) say that there is not enough budget because your party does not want it to be accomplished.]

On this occasion, Mr. Zaplana had presented the MPs with a summary of the improvements in the employment situation in Spain, and during the *turnos de réplica* he had been criticized for his lack of credibility—he had been appointed to the position a few months earlier. In the above paragraph, it seems plausible to conclude that Mr. Zaplana is highlighting once again the success of the government to which he belongs while dismissing the attacks from the opposition.
The most noticeable difference between the PD and everyday corpora, however, resides in the ‘other-referential’ *uno*. I suggest this label to refer to the implicit references to the interlocutor that are conveyed by the pronoun *uno*. Although as Martínez (1989) has pointed out, the ‘impersonal’ *uno* lacks the anaphoric character of its partitive counterpart (such as is *tengo cuatro amigos chilenos, uno de ellos juega al polo* [(I’ve got four Chilean friends, one of them plays polo)], this does not preclude this form from referring univocally to the other main entity in a dialogue. The data seems to confirm that although *uno* is not linked to an antecedent, it may be used to refer to a univocal referent. In the control corpus, it refers directly to the interlocutor:

(85)  
P: Recuerdo uno se daba clases con el otro y era peor que la otra. ¿Cómo es que el domingo de no poder ponerla con un hierro en el hoyo 14, **UNO** termina ganando…?  
R: Pues, pues mira, el año ‘99 cuando gané, la semana anterior en Atlanta que jugamos, no pasé el corte, estaba pegando al drive, pero bueno osea, a todos los lados, a la derecha, izquierda(…)  

[Q: (I) Remember one was taking classes with the other one and was worse than the (female) other. Who is it possible that on Sunday from being unable to finish hole 14 with an iron, **ONE** ends up winning?  
A: Well, look, in year ’99, when (I) won, the week before in Atlanta that (we) played, (I) didn’t make the cut, (I) was hitting the drive, but, well, that is, everywhere, left, right (…)]

The reference of *uno* clearly cannot be substituted in this case by *cualquiera*, given that the interlocutor is the only possible subject of the verb. Rephrasings with other impersonal expressions are not viable. Only vocatives (*tú/usted*) seem to be plausible alternatives (¿cómo es que….terminas ganando/usted termina ganando?) [how is it that you (T)/(V) end up winning?). This type of ‘other-referential’ *uno* is the most frequent in the
PD corpus (52.3% of the instances). It is used fundamentally to dismiss an opponent’s speech or point of view.

After being accused of abusive behavior in his negotiation with the unions, the Secretary of Labor refers univocally (yet taking advantage of the superficial ambivalence of *uno*) to his interlocutor:

(86) El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (Aparicio Pérez): (...) He oído aquí alguna intervención que me ha dejado perplejo, porque dentro de lo que puede entenderse como ejercicio normal de la democracia todos tenemos obligaciones, pero hay funciones felizmente reservadas, en este caso a los jueces. Cuando *UNO* afirma con la rotundidad con que se dice que algo es inconstitucional, que algo es abusivo o ilegal, yo veo que lo que está intentando es atribuirse esas competencias, y eso sí es cambiar las reglas, porque a continuación el señor Llamazares en este caso nos ha dicho que íbamos a cambiar todas las reglas.

(Diario de Sesiones 18 June, p.8594)

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Aparicio Pérez): (...) (I) have heard here some speeches that have perplexed me, because within what can be understood as the normal activity in democracy we all have obligations, but there are some functions that are restricted, such as the judges’ activity. When *ONE* affirms emphatically that something is unconstitutional, that is abusive or illegal, I see that what is being attempted is to attribute those competences to oneself, and that is indeed an attempt to change the rules, because after that Mr. Llamazares has told (us) in that (we) were going to change all the rules.]

Although here paraphrasing with *una persona* or *cualquiera* seems possible, conjugation in the indicative dissipates the potential ambiguity. Compare:

-Cuando uno afirme que algo es inconstitucional, está intentando atribuirse esas competencias

[When one affirms (subj.) that something is unconstitutional, (he/ she) is trying to attribute those powers for themselves]

-Cuando uno afirma que algo es inconstitucional, está intentando atribuirse esas competencias

[When one affirms that something is unconstitutional, (he/she) is trying to attribute those powers for themselves]
While the first one can only be hypothetical (not realized yet) and the second one may or may not be hypothetical, in the example above it refers to the actual wording of his opponent.

The next example is particularly illustrative. The speaker is here denouncing the socialist party for having investigated his families finances. Mr. Rato, the vicepresident of the Spanish government, had been under close scrutiny for having allegedly facilitated very advantageous loans to family members’s businesses. Mr. Rato portrays this investigation as a general procedure by referring to it in the plural form (familiares de adversarios políticos) [relatives of political adversaries], followed by an impersonal se in combination with the ‘other-referential’ uno:

(87) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE SEGUNDO DEL GOBIERNO PARA ASUNTOS ECONÓMICOS Y MINISTRO DE ECONOMÍA (De Rato y Figaredo): Tengo que decir dos cuestiones más, si me da tiempo. La primera, señor Caldera, es que cuando se confeccionan dossiers sobre familiares de adversarios políticos con datos protegidos por la ley, UNO debe ser consciente de las consecuencias de sus actos. En segundo lugar, señor Caldera, y sobre la actividad económica, les voy a dar un consejo al señor Rodríguez Zapatero, aquí presente, y a usted: no esperen una desaceleración económica. (Diario de Sesiones, 22 May 2002, p. 8231)

[The SECOND VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT FOR ECONOMIC AFFAIRS AND SECRETARY OF ECONOMY (De Rato y Figaredo): (I) have to mention two more questions, if I have the time. The first one, Mr. Caldera, is that when documents about the relatives of political adversaries are made, using data that are protected by the law, ONE must be conscious of the consequences of his acts. Second, Mr. Caldera, and this is about economic activity, (I) am going to give [formal, pl.] Mr. Rodríguez Zapatero, who is currently here, and [formal, sg.] you some advice: do not expect an economic deceleration. (Rumors)]

MPs are well aware of the intentionality in the use of of the potentially vague uno. The following dialogue highlights this acknowledgement. During a turno de réplica, the Secretary of Labor has referred implicitly to the socialist party using uno. After three
exchanges with other members of the opposition, one MP uses the rhetorical strategy to counterattack, actually recalling the same wording:

(88) El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (Zaplana Hernández-Soro): Señoría, cada UNO es prisionero de sus compromisos, de sus promesas y de las realidades que es capaz de llevar adelante. Mis compromisos ya están formulados expresamente
(Diario de Sesiones 27 November 2002, p. 10636)
(...)
La señora GARCÍA PÉREZ: Gracias, señora presidenta. Señor Zaplana, por supuesto que no pensamos que somos todos iguales. Usted ha dicho que cada UNO es prisionero de sus compromisos y siento decirle que a este ritmo USTED va a estar atrapado entre los barrotes de sus promesas. Por ello le pregunto: ¿cómo va a cumplir su compromiso de crear 400,000 plazas de guarderías y centros de preescolar en cuatro años, cuando únicamente están presupuestadas 2,700 para el próximo?
(ibid. p.10638)

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Zaplana Hernández-Soro): Honorable Gentleman, ONE is prisoner of his commitments, of his promises and of the realities that is capable to carry out. My commitments are already explicitly laid out.
(...)
Ms. GARCÍA PÉREZ: Thank you, Madam president. Mr. Zaplana, of course (we) do not think that (we) are all the same. [formal, sg.] you have said that every ONE is prisoner of their own commitments and (I) am sorry to tell you that, at this rate, [formal, sg.] YOU will be trapped between the bars of your promises. This is why (I) am asking you: how are (you) going to fulfill your promise of creating 400,000 kindergarten and elementary school vacancies in four years, when there is only budget for 2,700 for next year?]

Sometimes attacks with uno are carried out in the form of commonsensical claims. In the next example, the Secretary of Labor and Social Affairs is accusing the unions indirectly of not being willing to negotiate. This particular excerpt occurred only a week before the general strike of June 20, 2002. After a long debate with the representatives of the largest worker unions, Mr. Aparicio explains what, in his opinion, these representatives should do if they met the conditions attributed to this impersonal uno:

(89) El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (Aparicio Pérez): (...) Siempre he dicho y mantengo que no son vías alternativas ni antagónicas el diálogo social y el diálogo político, pero me parece bastante obvio que cuando el diálogo social se
hace inviable -insisto- pese a cuatro invitaciones, pese a la existencia de una estructura de método y alcance de la propia reforma, si UNO tiene convicciones, si UNO tiene también compromisos ante la propia ciudadanía y si UNO tiene compromisos ante esta misma Cámara de lograr mejoras para la sociedad, hay que buscar necesariamente la vía democrática natural, que no es otra que la vía parlamentaria. Entendiend que eso lo piensa también una mayoría de la Cámara, sin culpabilizar porque no es el momento de culpabilizar a nadie, pero reconociendo que el Gobierno sigue sentado a la mesa y no solamente sigue sentado a la mesa, sino que mantiene una estructura que para una mayoría del Parlamento permite el diálogo, me gustaría hacer algunos comentarios. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p.8593)

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Aparicio Pérez): (...)I always say and maintain that social and political dialogue are not alternative or antagonic ways, but it seems quite obvious (to me) that when social dialogue becomes unviable—(I) insist—despite four invitations, despite the existence of a structure for the method and reach of the very reform, if ONE has convictions, if ONE is committed to the citizenry and if ONE is committed to this very Chamber to attempt to improve this society, there is a need to look for natural, democratic way, which is no other than the parliamentary way. I understand that this is also the way a majority of this Chamber thinks, without blaming anyone because it is the moment to put the blame on anyone, but the moment to recognize that the Government is still sitting at the table. Not only sitting at the table, but it maintains a structure so that the majority of the Parliament allows dialogue, I’d like to make some comments.]

5.4.2 Indefinite forms

5.4.2.1 Indefinite pronouns

The use of NP phrases headed by those achieves two pragmatically valuable goals in political activity. On the one hand, it allows the speaker to make relatively univocal references to particular parties and individuals (all MPs arguably know to whom those references are addressed) while at the same time it insulates the speaker from direct counterattacks from the alluded addressees (one can always highlight the fact that no explicit attack was made, simply implied). Maitland and Wilson, as was mentioned on
page 85, explain how namelessness and vague references (*those who claim*) help politicians point at their opponents without being too specific while the avoidance of name seems to urge the speakers to defend themselves from these unseen, unrecognizable forces.

In Spanish, this intentional vagueness is normally fulfilled with the use of NPs headed by the non-referential expressions ‘hay quien’, ‘los que’, ‘hay algunos que’ [‘there are (people) who’, ‘those who’, ‘there are some that’]. The data shows once again the influence of the etiquette and protocol of the parliament in the different functions of these expressions.

The case of *algunos/as* [(masc./fem.) some] is particularly interesting. Traditional grammars point out that *algunos/as* are essentially existential adjectives (they signal the presence or absence of certain entities; *había algunas chicas* [there were some girls] and that they may be nominalized, functioning as pronouns (*algunos [hombres] aún celebraban la victoria*) [some (men) were still celebrating the victory](Martínez 1989). For researchers interested in their pragmatic function, however, an important aspect is that this nominalization allows the speaker to signal the existence of a particular group of people or entities while omitting a direct reference. Table 5.12 illustrates the differences in the uses of *algunos/as* in PD and everyday speech:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frequency</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
By ‘existential indefinite’ function I refer to the largely neutral designation of a group of elements. The following example, from the control corpus, illustrates this use:

(90) Obviamente, las elecciones irán por esos derroteros. Y gozo de amplísima libertad para elegir títulos. No obstante, también aparecerán ALGUNOS títulos más recientes, y, por supuesto, no se ha descartado publicar autores españoles.


[Obviously, the election will go through that path. And (I) enjoy the utmost freedom to choose titles. However, SOME more recent titles will appear, and, obviously, publishing Spanish authors has not been discarded.]

The speaker’s concern relates to the actual (future) existence of a determined group of elements. A significant part of this group is constituted by the partitive construction (he cumplido con creces algunos de mis sueños) [(I)’ve exceeded in fulfilling my dreams].

Syntactically identical but with a different purpose, the intentional indefinite algunos/as may be used to signal intentionally a group of individuals without making explicit references:

(91) Pregunta.-Ana María, ¿qué va a hacer una niña en la Academia?
Respuesta.-Más que nada escuchar a los doctos, yo estoy ahí por creadora. Pero intentaré hacer algo para que entren más mujeres. No soy partidaria de eso de la cuota, pero sí estoy convencida de que hay muchas mujeres fuera de la Academia que son más importantes que ALGUNOS SEÑORES que están dentro: no señalo a nadie, es del dominio público.

(A.M. Matute. Writer. Elmundo.es 11 abr 04)

[Question.-Ana María, what is a child going to do in the Academy?
Answer.-More than anything, just listen to the erudites, I am there for being a creative writer. But (I) will attempt to do something so that more women can enter. (I) do not support that thing of the quota, but (I) am convinced that there are many women outside the Academy that are more important than SOME MEN that are inside; (I) am pointing out at anyone, but this is common knowledge.]
The intentional indefinite is used extensively in PD in combination with different nouns 
(*algunos grupos políticos, algunos diputados, algunas intervenciones*, etc.) [some political 
parties, some deputies, some speeches]. Whether it refers to speeches or MPs, its purpose is to attack a political opponent in an indirect way:

(92) El señor MINISTRO DE TRABAJO Y ASUNTOS SOCIALES (Aparicio Pérez): Entendiendo que eso lo piensa también una mayoría de la Cámara, sin culpabilizar porque no es el momento de culpabilizar a nadie, pero reconociendo que el Gobierno sigue sentado a la mesa y no solamente sigue sentado a la mesa, sino que mantiene una estructura que para una mayoría del Parlamento permite el diálogo, me gustaría hacer ALGUNOS COMENTARIOS. ALGUNOS REPRESENTANTES del Grupo Mixto, con una dificultad que todos conocemos como es la limitación de tiempo, han hecho grandes síntesis.  
(Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002, p.8593)

[The SECRETARY OF LABOR AND SOCIAL AFFAIRS (Aparicio Pérez): If it is understood that this is also what a majority of the Chamber also believes, without putting the blame on anyone because it is not the time to blame anyone, but admitting that the Government is still sitting at the table. And not only it is still sitting at the table, but it maintains a structure which allows dialogue for a majority of the Parliament, (I)'d like to make SOME COMMENTS. SOME REPRESENTATIVES of the Mixed Group, with the difficulty that all (of us) know that is time limitation, have presented substantial summaries…]

Finally, the indefinite pronoun achieves the maximum degree of vagueness. In the next example, the former national soccer team coach Javier Clemente acknowledges his detractors:

(93) P. Hace mucho que no sabemos de Javier Clemente. ¿Cómo está en Francia?  
R. ALGUNOS estarán muy contentos de no saber de mí. Estoy bien, pero sabía que esto iba a ser difícil. Vine a un equipo que estaba abajo y a un país desconocido.  
(Javier Clemente. Soccer coach. marca.com 21 February 2001)

[Q. It’s been a while since (we) last knew from Javier Clemente. How are you (you, formal, sg.) doing in France?  
A. SOME will be very happy for not knowing about me. (I) am doing fine, but (I) knew it was going to be difficult. (I) came into a team that was down and to an unknown country.]
While Table 5.18 did not show a great quantitative difference between the two corpora—
algunos appears on more occasions than in the PD—a close reading reveal a substantial pragmatic difference: 21% of the times (5 out of 23 total instances) algunos is used as an intentional strategy to avoid being specific in reference in the control corpus. The majority of the uses is, then, intentionally neutral:

(94) Todo concepto musical tiene un comienzo, y si te apartas de la raíz… ya sé que todo tiene que evolucionar pero con otro sentido, que lo que yo escucho hoy, eso ya no es flamenco… hay ALGUNOS que te llegan al oído, que parece que te suenan un poquito más, pero…. Me alegro mucho de que me hayas brindado esta oportunidad de charlar un ratito contigo sobre lo que tú y yo apreci abamos del flamenco.
(Fernando de la Morena. Musician. Flamencoworld.com March 2003)

[Any musical concept has an origin, and if you steer away from the roots… (I) know already that all has to evolve, but in a different sense, which is what (I) hear today, that is not flamenco anymore….there are SOME that reach your ear, that they seem to sound a little more, but… (I) am very happy (you) have given me this opportunity to chat a little longer with you about what you and I appreciate about flamenco.]

In the PD corpus, on the contrary, in only one instance is algunos not used as an attack (an MP reminds an opponent that he and others helped him during one crisis by using highlighting that ‘algunos le ayudamos aunque usted no lo sepa’) [some helped you although you don’t know about it]. A confrontational tone is then present in a 92% of the cases. The following example illustrates a combination of indefinite pronoun with intentional indefinite adjective:

(95) El señor PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO (Aznar López): (…) Porque ese subsidio sale de las contribuciones de los trabajadores, que no tienen por qué pagar eso. Pueden pagar y deben pagar que se les detraigan recursos de sus salarios para pagar al que realmente lo necesita, y eso es lo que ALGUNOS no han querido sentarse a negociar, señoría, eso es de lo que ALGUNOS no han querido hablar, y no me parece una posición seria decir que no hay en esa propuesta ni un solo elemento, ni uno, sobre el cual no se pueda entablar una negociación con el Gobierno.Permítame que le diga una cosa, señoría. Hace dos años ALGUNAS PERSONAS -y aquí está-, antes de la constitución de este Gobierno y justo
[The PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT (Aznar López): (...) Because this subsidy comes from the taxes of the workers, who don’t have to pay it. (They) can and (they) must pay taxes from their salaries to pay whoever really needs it, and that is what SOME have not been willing to sit to negotiate, Honorable Gentleman, this is what SOME did not want to talk about, and (I) don’t think is a reasonable position to say that there are in this proposal a single element, not even one, which can be discussed with the Government. Allow me to tell you one thing, Honorable Gentleman. Two years ago, SOME PEOPLE—and here it is—before the formation of this Government and just right after the general elections, what a coincidence, (they) started to talk about general strike, two years ago.]

5.4.3 Relative pronouns

This section concerns the specific use of relative pronoun quien/quienes as a defocalizing expression. Traditional grammars have analyzed the formal characteristics of quien in its two main values. As relative pronoun, it is capable of performing the same functions as a noun when it appears without its antecedent (quien quiera tarta, que vaya a la cocina, which equals to ‘cualquier persona’ or ‘la persona’) [whoever wants cake should go to the kitchen] or it may connect the antecedent with a subordinate sentence, combining the function of article and complementizer (La chica a quien [=a la que] compré la bicicleta es italiana) [the girl from whom I bought the bicycle is Italian] (Martínez 1989). As was discussed in the sections concerning uno and algunos, these pronouns are interesting from a pragmatic standpoint due to their capacity to signal a group without making explicit references. This allows the speaker to refer unmistakably to their opponents, while avoiding direct mentions to their surnames. This is important not only in terms of
etiquette, but also to prevent *turnos de réplica* which are granted on occasion by the PoP when an MP feels he/she has been mentioned directly. Table 5.19 compares the functions of relative pronouns in both corpora:

**Table 5.19. Functions of *quien/es* in PD and control corpus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relative function</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vague reference</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>34.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dialogic reference</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>self-reference</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td><strong>174</strong></td>
<td><strong>166</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**5.4.3.1 Relative function**

The relative function of *quien* is unproblematic in interpretation. It connects an NP with a subordinate clause:

(96) La señora URÍA ETXEBARRÍA: (...) Esta circunstancia se ha unido en el Gobierno presente -estaba separada en el Gobierno de la legislatura anterior - en el vicepresidente primero, puesto que precisamente es el ministro señor Rajoy *QUIEN* firma la concesión a Melitón Manzanas, uno de los puntos que será objeto de reflexión y de petición de enmienda en el comportamiento del Gobierno en la presente interpelación. *(Diario de Sesiones, 22 May 2002, p.8257)*

[Ms. URÍA ETXEBARRÍA: (...) This circumstance has been added in the current Government –it was set aside in the former Government—in the first vicepresident, since it is precisely Mr. Rajoy *WHO* signs the concession to Melitón Manzanas, one of the issues that will be a matter of reflection and request for a motion in the behavior of the Government in the current question.]
5.4.3.2 Vague reference

Vague reference is used when the speaker is not interested—or is unable—to identify the referent. This use is similar to the existential *algunos* that was explained earlier. In the following example, taken from the control corpus, the speaker acknowledges the existence of an unidentified group:

(97) Ellos no tuvieron esa base. Me encanta la gente antigua. Yo escucho mucho a Manuel Vallejo, Tomás Pavón... Pero intento hacerlo a mi manera; creo que hacerlo como ellos es un error. Hay QUIEN piensa que haciéndolo así va a encontrar la pureza.

(Rafa de Utrera. Flamenco singer. flamencoworld.com March 2004)

[They didn’t have that base. (I) love the old-timers. I listen to Manuel Vallejo, Tomás Pavón a lot... But (I) try to do it my way; (I) think that to do it like they did is a mistake. There are (those) WHO think that doing it this way (they) will find purity.]

5.4.3.3 Dialogic reference

As was discussed in regards to *algunos*, and in order to avoid constant mentions to political opponents by their name, MPs use frequently the relative pronoun *quien*. In the following case, PM Aznar, while replying to one immediate interlocutor, refuses to accuse him directly—by reference of name—of not having a clear stance on the much discussed policy of quality in education. Due to a complicated system of political pacts between various political factions, the socialist party had vehemently opposed the education policies of *Partido Popular*, in office at the time of this speech. By using the generic relative pronoun *quien*, Aznar dismisses the criticism towards the laws his party had proposed in two ways. First he makes an explicit yet generic statement (anyone who
wishes to withdraw a law that has not been yet formulated in detail does not have sufficient rigor), while pointing out the reason (the pacts that the socialist party has agreed to sign in order to maintain power in several regions in Spain). Second, Aznar uses an implicit vocative

\[(98)\text{ El señor RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: (…) Este no es un país de futuro, ni de calidad, y menos la educación que usted tiene en la cabeza, señor Aznar. (Aplausos.) La señora PRESIDENTA: Muchas gracias, señor Rodríguez Zapatero. Señor presidente. El señor PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO (Aznar López): Señoría, yo comprendo que QUIEN con motivo del pacto local pide la retirada de la ley de calidad de la educación... (Rumores.) La señora PRESIDENTA: Señorías, guarden silencio. El señor PRESIDENTE DEL GOBIERNO (Aznar López): QUIEN pide la retirada de la ley de calidad de la educación, que ni siquiera ha sido presentada, evidentemente, no tiene mucho rigor en sus exposiciones, y sabe muy bien de lo que hablo. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002, p.6978)}\]

\[\text{[Mr. RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: (…) This is not a country of future, nor of quality, and even less the educational system [formal, sg.] you have in mind, Mr. Aznar. (Applause.) The PoP: Thank you very much, Mr. Rodríguez Zapatero. Mr. President. The PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT (Aznar López): Honorable Gentleman, I understand that (he) WHO, motivated by the local pact requests the withdrawal of the quality law in education... (Rumors.) The PoP: Members of the Parliament, be quiet. The PRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT (Aznar López): WHO demands the withdrawal of the quality law in education, which hasn’t even been presented, does not present too much seriousness in his speeches, and (he) knows very well what (I) am talking about.]}\]

5.4.3.4 Self-reference

This use is highly connected to the defocalizing voice shifts that will be discussed in the next section. This function appears on three occasions in the data. In the following example, the vicepresident of the government acknowledges his interlocutor by referring to the voters that elected him. In this dialectic interaction, and perhaps
avoiding a direct self reference that could be interpreted as arrogant, the speaker uses
the relative pronoun quien:

(99) El señor VICEPRESIDENTE PRIMERO DEL GOBIERNO, MINISTRO DE LA
PRESIDENCIA Y PORTAVOZ DEL GOBIERNO (Rajoy Brey): Muchas gracias, señora
presidenta. Señor Jáuregui, yo quiero decirle una cosa y me remito a la hemeroteca. No
he insultado a ningún dirigente político de su partido ni a ningún medio de
comunicación. (Rumores.) Quiero decirle en segundo lugar que usted tiene perfecto
der echo, en nombre de todas aquellas personas y ciudadanos españoles que se sien
t representados por usted, a decir lo que estime oportuno y conveniente, pero ese mismo
der echo tiene QUIEN le habla en este momento, en nombre también de los millones de
españoles que en este momento se puedan sentir representados por mí. En ese sentido,
vuelvo a decirle que ustedes han sido manifiestamente desleales. (Protestas.)
(Diario de Sesiones, 27 November 2002, p.10769)

[The FIRST VICEPRESIDENT OF THE GOVERNMENT, SECRETARY OF THE
PRESIDENCY AND SPOKESMAN OF THE GOVERNMENT (Rajoy Brey): Thank you
very much, Madam President. Mr. Jáuregui, I want to tell you one thing and (I) look at
the newspaper library. (I) haven’t insulted any political leader of your party nor any
media. (Rumors.) (I) want to tell you, in the second place that [formal, sg.] you have
every right, on behalf of those persons and Spanish citizens that feel they are represented
by you, to say what you consider appropriate and convenient, but WHO is speaking to
you right now has that same right, on behalf also of the millions of Spaniards that in this
moment may feel are represented by me. In this sense, (I) am telling [formal, sg.] you that
[formal, pl.] you have been ostensibly disloyal. (Protests.]

5.4.4 Defocalizing voice shifts

Finally, PD presents an idiosyncratic feature that is not found in the control corpus. I
suggest the label ‘defocalizing voice shifts’ to refer to the change of first person
individual or collective reference to third person, introduced by the deictic
demonstrative este/a and its plural form.

Table 5.20. Functions of demonstrative este/a in PD and control corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

216
The most obvious purpose of this change of self-reference to a third person reference concerns the acknowledgement of the speaker’s institutional position. The following example illustrates a particularly relevant case where the speaker defends his belief in democracy and the constitution. The voice shifts are constant, going from the initial reference to the interlocutor—in the third person—to two self references. These last two are conveyed by a use of third person and demonstrative.

(100) El señor MINISTRO DE JUSTICIA (Michavila Núñez): (…) Decía el señor diputado, y permítame que no se lo acepte, que este Gobierno es convertido a la Constitución. Le voy a dar un pequeño dato. La primera vez que ejerció el derecho a votar EL MINISTRO DE JUSTICIA QUE LE HABLA fue precisamente para votar, con 18 años, el referendo a la Constitución, y VOTÓ que sí. No sé S.S. y su formación política, republicana y de Esquerra, qué voto. YO sé que qué es lo que votó ESTE MINISTRO de Justicia y se lo digo. Fue la primera oportunidad que TUVE de votar. La democracia ME dio la oportunidad de votar no a los 21, sino a los 18 años y en esa ocasión VOTÉ que sí a la Constitución, como después voté a los gobiernos de UCD y estuve trabajando para Unión de Centro Democrático (…) (Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002, p.10797)

[The SECRETARY OF JUSTICE (Michavila Núñez): (...) The Honorable Member was saying, and allow me not to accept it, that this Government is converted to the Constitution. (I) am going to give you a little bit of information. The first time that the SECRETARY OF JUSTICE that is speaking to you right now exercised his right to vote, it was, being 18 years old, the Constitutional referendum, and (he) voted affirmatively. (I) don’t know what the Honorable Member and his political party, Republican and of Esquerra [left wing, in Catalan]. I know what it is that this SECRETARY OF JUSTICE voted for and (I) am telling you. It was the first occasion (I) had to vote. Democracy gave ME this opportunity to vote, not at 21, but at 18, and on that occasion (I) voted yes to the Constitution, as I voted at a later stage the Governments of UCD and I worked for Unión de Centro Democrático (…)]

In the following example, an MP highlights that her requests to receive a public document have been repeatedly ignored by the government. By using the

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>self-referential</th>
<th>104</th>
<th>3.6</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>0</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>other-referential</td>
<td>2,874</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td>2,978</td>
<td>96.4</td>
<td>1,486</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


demonstrative, the speaker is interested in emphasizing that her request originated from a professional interest:

(101) La señora CASTRO FONSECA: ESTA DIPUTADA que les habla solicitó a la Mesa del Parlamento que se le proporcionara la tan traída y llevada memoria económica cuya existencia ustedes negaban, aunque, por otra parte, se les escapaba que existía. La Mesa aprobó que A ESTA DIPUTADA se le enviara la información referente a esta cuestión en virtud del artículo 7, pero ustedes se han apañado para rizar el rizo y NI ESTA DIPUTADA ni el Grupo Socialista ni el Grupo de Izquierda Unida ni ningún otro grupo de la Cámara al día de hoy sabe cómo se va a financiar su famosa reforma educativa, particularly la ley de calidad.

(Diario de Sesiones, 29 October 2002, p. 9934)

[Ms. CASTRO FONSECA: ETHIS DEPUTY that is talking to (formal, sg. you), requested from the Parliament Table to be given the so talked about economic memo which [formal, pl] you claimed it didn’t exist. The Table approved that the information concerning this question—by virtue of article 7—should be sent to THIS DEPUTY, buy [formal, pl] you have managed to split hairs and NEITHER THIS DEPUTY nor the Socialist Group nor the Izquierda Unida nor any other group of the Chamber knows how your famous education reform—in particular the law of quality—will be financed.]

Finally, another example of detachment by way of third person reference demonstrates an attempt of the speaker to split her public and professional image. The speaker, who had been under pressure for her lack of expertise in the management of public health issues, responds to her interlocutor by suggesting a political confrontation. By detaching her voice to a third person reference, the speaker seems interested in making a distinction between her identity in order to save her personal image, or ‘face’.

(102) La señora MINISTRA DE SANIDAD Y CONSUMO (Villalobos Talero): (...) ¿Dónde están esos datos del deterioro, señora diputada? Mire, si usted quiere hacer una batalla política contra LA SEÑORA VILLALOBOS, MINISTRA DE SANIDAD, me parece razonable, hágalo como quiera, pero no mienta, por favor, no mienta, no mienta. (Aplausos.) Y desde luego no ponga usted en entredicho algo tan importante para todos los españoles como es el Sistema Nacional de Salud que, por cierto, espero que al final de este año todas las comunidades autónomas hayan asumido sus competencias en cuanto a su gestión. (Rumores.) (Diario de Sesiones, 19 December 2001, p.6579)
5.5 Conclusion

This chapter shows how the specific circumstances of the parliamentary setting affect discourse at various levels. Two major factors seem to constrain the use of second and third person pronouns. Formality, on the one hand, exerts a great influence on the choice of vocatives. Informal second person pronouns (tú and vosotros) are found only rarely, and always as comments which are never uttered from the podium. Usted, in contrast, is used widely as a counterpart of yo. By addressing their interlocutors with usted, MPs manage the dialectic interaction in which they are engaged, as well as expressing their opinions on the ideological and professional entity of their opponents and their political allies. On the other hand, and as has been seen by Ilie (2003), parliaments are, aside from being regarded as icons of democracy, sites for true power struggles. This is also reflected in the use of other formal terms of address typical of parliamentary speech. Across the data it has been shown how interactions between the government and its constituency lack references to the interlocutor’s surname, preferring instead to acknowledge the interlocutor’s institutional position. This seems to suggest a strong
sense of in-group solidarity. Not surprisingly, the leader of the opposition always refers to his most prominent opponent, the PM, by his last name.

Finally, this chapter has also demonstrated how defocalizing expressions (pronouns and other linguistic devices that allow the speaker to conceal the identity of the referent) are used by MPs at two levels. These expressions allow MPs to maintain the level of etiquette expected in a parliamentary setting on the one hand and it avoids direct confrontation on the other. This would imply, in turn, an incessant—and unwanted—exchange of apologies and clarification. In addition, other defocalizing expressions are expressed in voice shifts in which speakers consciously detach themselves to avoid appearing as conceited or arrogant or to better preserve their professional face.
CHAPTER 6. SPATIO-TEMPORAL DEIXIS

6.1 Introduction

As was mentioned earlier, time and spatial deixis are probably the two aspects of deixis that have received the least attention in PD analysis. This is, however, an important factor to research in order to test our hypothesis that the characteristics of parliamentary interaction affect language not only in its lexicon but also in its grammatical functions. Although some researchers interested in deixis (particularly Bühler 1983) have suggested an ego-centric interpretation of deictics (as was discussed in Chapter 2), recent re-formulations of these concepts seem to point out that the interpretation of deixis depends largely on other factors. The Principle of Maximal Relevance, part of a larger Relevance Theory (initially devised by Sperber and Wilson 1995) states that utterances are generally interpreted in virtue of the most relevant value in the particular conditions (physical and textual contexts) of that precise conversation. In this chapter I demonstrate that the use of spatio-temporal deictics differs greatly in PD and everyday speech.

The data analyzed suggests that certain deictics such as hoy or aquí are used more often in everyday speech to indicate binomial oppositions of time (e.g. nowadays as opposed to remote times) rather than indexing the present circumstances of speech. Particular settings and activities, such as PD, however, show the reverse tendency. There are, in that context, constant references to the immediate spatio-temporal conditions.
surrounding the act of speech. The next sections will explain in detail how symbolic and pragmatic aspects must be considered in order to understand this shift in reference.

6.2. Time deixis

Far from signaling only the temporal frame in which an utterance is produced, temporal deixis, in particular the adverb *hoy*, has various functions in everyday talk as well as in PD. Traditional grammars have pointed out that the use of time deictics such as *hoy* frame the speech act. Some scholars, such as Trundy(1999) have highlighted the fact that sentences such as ‘It’s raining in Madrid today’ reveal the importance of knowing the extralinguistic context in order to arrive at their correct interpretation. In other words, one must know to what date *today* refers. While this holds true in the cases where *hoy* marks the time frame of the speech act, an analysis of everyday data shows that *hoy* has, in fact, a more predominant role as a substitute for other temporal references:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.1: Comparison of <em>hoy</em> in PD and control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PD corpus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tokens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific hoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-specific hoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.1 shows important differences in the use of *hoy* between the two corpora. The data shows clearly a predominant use of the ‘non-specific’ *hoy* in the control corpus. This value can be substituted by expressions such as ‘*actualmente*’, ‘*en la actualidad*’, etc [currently, nowadays]. While this type of *hoy* is opposed contextually to ‘*anteriormente*’, ‘*hace años*’, etc. [some time ago, years ago], its counterpart, the ‘specific’ *hoy* is hence opposed to ‘*ayer*’, ‘*mañana*’, ‘*pasado mañana*’ [yesterday, tomorrow, the day after tomorrow] and other punctual temporal references. Finally, there are in the control corpus, three mentions to literary works and one theatre play which contain the word ‘*hoy*’. 

Interviewees in the control corpus speak about their lives, careers, points of view, etc. and consequently make numerous time references. A close analysis of such expressions suggests that these narratives are anchored in two polar references; what is ‘*hoy*’—the current trends and state of affairs—and a vague reference to ‘what used to be’. This fact is further corroborated by the high frequency of the most typical expression of the ‘non-specific’ *hoy*, the adverbial compound ‘*hoy en día*’ or ‘*hoy día*’, which appears a total of 94 times—in contrast with the 7 occurrences in the PD corpus. A few examples of use of the ‘non-specific’ *hoy* illustrate this point. In both cases, *hoy* must be interpreted in their wider sense ‘*en la actualidad*’:

(103) Entonces, es un poco falsa toda esa especie de facilidad que se les da. Lo cierto es que los jóvenes *HOY*, artistas o no artistas, están peor que hace quince o veinte años, cuando no había tantas libertades ni tantas posibilidades de publicar, pero si tenías suerte acababas la carrera y encontrabas un trabajo, porque había menos presión social.

(Luisa Castro, Barcelona Review.com July - August 2002)
Therefore, all of those favorable conditions (they) are given are a little false. The true thing is that young people TODAY, artists or non-artists, are worse off than fifteen or twenty years ago, when there weren’t so many liberties or opportunities to publish, but if (you) were lucky (you) would finish your studies and (you) would find a job, because there wasn’t so much social pressure.]

(104) -¿Aún existe la lepra?
–Sí. ¿Acaso le sorprende?
–¿Acaso no era una enfermedad bíblica, ya extinguida?
–Se diagnostican 750.000 casos nuevos cada día en el mundo, sobre todo en India y en Brasil. Pero, con buen tratamiento, HOY se cura en menos de dos años.
(Montse Pérez, medical doctor, La Vanguardia Digital January 23rd 2004)

[-Does leprosy still exist?
–Yes. Do you find it surprising?
–Wasn’t it a biblical disease, no longer existing?
–There are 750,000 new cases diagnosed everyday, especially in India and Brazil. However, with the adequate treatment, TODAY it can be cured in less than two years.]

Not surprisingly, the 4 occurrences of hoy in its specific, immediate meaning, may appear marked by code-oriented\textsuperscript{13} adverbs (precisamente hoy) [precisely today], and also signalled—in the control corpus—by mentioning a particular activity that took place that very day, or by other means that set this value apart from the generic, more extended use. This is especially clear in the next examples, where the speaker (in 106) adds the time reference ‘ahora’:

(105) Bueno, es lo que yo hago todos los días [risas], y la verdad, me apasiono con mi trabajo, yo soy un enamorado de mi carrera, del cante sobre todo. En la clase HOY estábamos analizando la grandeza que hay en los cantes de Lucena, ¡y la gente se entusiasma!
(Eduardo Rebollar, flamenco guitar teacher, DeFlamenco March 2004)

[Well, this is what I do everyday [laughter] and the truth is, (I) am passionate about my job, I am in love with my career, especially with singing. In the class TODAY (we) were analyzing the greatness of the songs of Lucena, and people were enthused with it!!]

(106) Bueno, incluso HOY, ahora, aunque ya no vaya a tirar, quiero que sepas que me acerco por ejemplo con algún buen amigo que tiene una finca en los Montes de Toledo, aquí cerca, y le ayudo a colocar puestos, a organizar una armada, pero todo lo hago por estar en el campo, por vivirlo.
[Well, even TODAY, now, although I am not going to go shoot, (I) want you to know that (I) stroll around with some good friend that has a estate in the Mounts of Toledo, nearby, and (I) help him to set the (shooting) spots, the gear, but (I) do all that to be in the countryside, to live that.]

With regard to the control corpus, the ‘non-specific’ hoy may be opposed to virtually any other expression of time. The same phenomenon occurs in PD, this use of hoy is opposed to different units of time. The two following examples illustrate this contrast:

(Diario de Sesiones, 25 April 2002 p. 7991)

[Mr. VELASCO SIERRA: (…) A young person, in Madrid, for an apartment of 70 square meters would pay, in 1996, 276 euros per month, for 20 years and at medium (interest) rate. TODAY, (he/she) pays 409 euros per month.]

(108) El señor BUENO FERNÁNDEZ: (…) También he de decir que a pesar del tiempo transcurrido y después de catorce años de gobierno socialista hasta el año 1996 esta obra no se toma en serio, no se impulsa y no se pone en marcha. Asimismo, tengo que decir que después de este tiempo, HOY febrero de 2002, indudablemente los cántabros somos testigos todos de una realidad, de un día a día y de un esfuerzo que acometió el Gobierno del Partido Popular y que nos está llevando a ver claro el horizonte para el futuro en nuestra comunicación con Castilla.
(Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002 p.6987)

[Mr. BUENO FERNÁNDEZ: (…) (I) also have to say that, despite the time that has gone by, and after fourteen years of Socialist Government until 1996, this work is not taken seriously, it is not being supported and it is not getting started. Similarly, (I) must say that after this time, TODAY February of 2002, the people of Cantabria are witnessing a reality, of a continuous work and an effort undertaken by the Government of Partido Popular which is taking us to see a clear horizon for our future, in our communication with Castille]

Although the use of the specific versus the non-specific hoy is differentiated by its alternatives, a deeper analysis reveals two major uses of the ‘specific hoy’ in PD. The first one is comparable to the ‘opening gambits’ which typically initiate a speech turn in the
parliament. In these gambits, the MP who is about to talk typically thanks the PoP and addresses his/her words either to the parliament in general or to the particular MP with whom he/she is engaged in a dialogue. The ‘time gambits’ that appears in the data seems to fulfill the function of reaffirming the topic of discussion. Keep in mind, however, that MPs in the parliament are given the questions and topics to be discussed with 48 hours of lead time and most of the plenary sessions contain more than fifteen questions. Time gambits would hence help the audience regain focus on exactly the policy or question that is being discussed:

(109) El señor MINISTRO DE CIENCIA Y TECNOLOGÍA (Piqué i Camps): Muchas gracias, señora presidenta. Señoría, le agradezco la oportunidad de su interpelación para debatir HOY la situación de un sector que está pasando por un mal momento y sobre el cual todos compartimos preocupación, que es el sector industrial de vehículos de dos ruedas.  
(*Diario de Sesiones*, 27 November 2002, p.10650)

[The SECRETARY OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY (Piqué i Camps): Thank you very much, Madam president. Honorable Gentleman, (I) thank you for the opportunity provided by your speech to debate TODAY the situation of a sector that is going through hard times and about which (we) all are concerned, which is the industrial sector of two wheel vehicles.]

(110) El señor LLAMAZARES TRIGO: La proposición de ley que HOY debatimos en esta Cámara en defensa de la libertad de expresión y de la participación política goza de la simpatía y del afecto de este grupo parlamentario.  
(*Diario de Sesiones*, 29 October 2002, p.9912)

[Mr. LLAMAZARES TRIGO: The bill that (we) are debating TODAY in this Chamber to defend freedom of speech and political participation enjoys the sympathies and the affection of this parliamentary group.]

Time gambits do not provide any new information to the dialectic interaction nor do they mark the time frame as particularly relevant to the discussion. They anchor the topics that will be discussed in a particular parliamentary session.
A second value of time deictic expressions is used by speakers to force acknowledgement or commitment on the part of the interlocutor. This is conveyed by the use of a double deictic construction hoy aquí or aquí hoy [today here or here today].

Double deictic constructions appear 13 times in the PD (12 as hoy aquí and 1 as aquí hoy). This phenomenon contrasts with the findings of the control corpus, in which there is only one occurrence of a double deictic construction. Interestingly, even this double deictic is different in scope; in an interview with Spanish golfer José María Olazábal, he talks about a foot injury that had kept him away from international competition for some time. Unable to play golf, he sought help from a doctor and a sportswear company in order to alleviate his problem and compete again. As he tells it:

(111) José M. Olazábal: (…) si quieres pues vamos a la fábrica y vamos directamente a donde los zapatos y dije bueno pues ya que estamos aquí, pues vamos allí y estuvimos con el médico, me acuerdo que estuvimos esperando como dos horas y media para que nos atendiese y la verdad es que bueno pues gracias a él estoy HOY AQUÍ sin lugar a dudas.


[José M. Olazábal: (…) if (you) want well then (we) can go to the factory and (we) go directly where the shoes are made and (I) said well then since (we) are already here, then let’s go and there (we) were with the doctor, (I) remember that (we) were waiting like two and a half hours to see him but the truth is that, well, thanks to him I am TODAY HERE, undoubtedly.]

In this case the combination of double deictic clearly sets a comparison between an unspecific ‘hoy’ and a remote time. The speaker is not interested in the opposition between hoy versus mañana [tomorrow] but rather relates to a general change of circumstances.

The ten occurrences of double deictics in PD have a different value. On ten occasions, MPs mark clearly the circumstances of the speech (the specific aquí, which
will be discussed later) combining time and space. By signaling this essentially redundant information, MPs indicate their commitment to a previous promise or they highlight a statement from an opponent:

(112) El señor MARTÍNEZ-PUJALTE LÓPEZ: (…) Además, hemos planteado HOY AQUÍ dar solución a algún problema y la señora portavoz del Grupo Socialista ha dicho que no aceptaba que se tramitara in voce alguna enmienda que daba solución a alguno de los problemas planteados, como el de las cajas de ahorro. (Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002 p.8618)

[Mr. MARTÍNEZ-PUJALTE LÓPEZ: (…) In addition, (we) have suggested, TODAY HERE a solution to some problem and the Madam Spokesperson of the Socialist Group has said that (she) didn’t accept some reform that solved some of the problems mentioned, to be debated in voce, like the problem of the savings banks.]

Here the speaker highlights the fact that, although the political party which he represents had avoided discussing a specific topic, when finally a proposition was made, an opposing group has denied the discussion. In the following example, the repetition of time deictic expressions act as a strategy to remind the interlocutor of his/her reluctance to make a statement in the parliament, implying that unfulfilled promises are kept in the records and that they can be brought out at a later stage:

(113) La señora ROMERO LÓPEZ: Señor Rajoy, aunque sea mentira, diga usted HOY AQUÍ que el Gobierno de verdad va a poner los recursos suficientes; dígalo AQUÍ HOY, MAÑANA le pediremos cuentas de sus incumplimientos. Ponga HOY AQUÍ la voluntad, mañana -y perdóname la palabra- le pediremos cuentas de su cinismo político.(Aplausos.) (Diario de Sesiones, 25 April 2001, p.4028)

[Ms.ROMERO LÓPEZ: Mr. Rajoy, even if it’s a lie, say [formal, sg.] you TODAY HERE that the Government is truly going to provide the necessary means, say it HERE TODAY, TOMORROW (we) will call you to account for your failure to keep your promises. Commit TODAY HERE the will, TOMORROW—and excuse the expression—we will call you to account for your political cynicism. (Applause.)]

Note how this double deictic combination shifts its focus in its second occurrence from time-space to space-time. In the next example, the leader of the socialist party, who
staunchly opposed the Anglo-American military intervention in Iraq in March 2003, attempted to coerce the Spanish government to cease its support of the Bush-Blair coalition. While Aznar insisted that he supported the United Nations, on the particular day from which this speech was taken, and after a heated dialectic interchange between Aznar and Rodríguez Zapatero, the latter finally pressed for a commitment:

(114) El señor RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: Señor Aznar, sus palabras de contestación, por tan poco creíbles como las que lleva pronunciando en las últimas semanas, son inútiles y absolutamente ineficaces. Yo le invito HOY AQUÍ a que diga si va a apoyar que Naciones Unidas y sólo Naciones Unidas tome la administración de la situación que tiene que haber en estos momentos...
(Diario de Sesiones, 9 April 2003, p.12499)

[Mr. RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: Mr. Aznar, the words in your response, for being as little credible as the ones you’ve been saying in the last weeks, are useless and absolutely inefficient. I invite you, TODAY HERE, to say whether (you) are going to support that the United Nations and only the United Nations takes charge of the situation that should be in these moments.]

This strategy is especially revealing considering that PM Aznar and his government was fully aware of the unpopularity of the military intervention in Iraq. While Aznar maintained in media appearances during the months previous to the conflict that he supported the United Nations actions to extend the deadline in order to find a peaceful solution to the tension, he systematically avoided speaking in the SP. The few times he did (some of them convoked as an extraordinary measure), the leaders of the opposition reminded Aznar constantly of the contrast between his statements to the press and his unwillingness to maintain the same views in the parliament.

The next example illustrates the other main function of the double deictic construction as used in PD, that of acknowledging what has been said in order to refer
to it in the future (either to remind the parliament of the fulfilment or failure to keep what was announced or promised publicly):

(115) El señor RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: Se ha abordado también en el Consejo el desarrollo sostenible, ese objetivo fundamental que compartimos plenamente; ha sido uno de los valores que han caracterizado muchas iniciativas socialistas y socialdemócratas en el ámbito de la Unión Europea. Usted ha anunciado HOY AQUIÍ que su Gobierno dará a conocer mañana la estrategia de desarrollo sostenible de España y sus aportaciones a los futuros momentos decisivos en esta cuestión. (Diario de Sesiones, 20 June 2001, p.4532)

[Mr. RODRÍGUEZ ZAPATERO: In the Council the issue of sustainable development has also been treated; that fundamental objective that (we) share unreservedly; (it) has been one of the landmark values of many socialist and social democratic initiatives in the European Union. [formal, sg.] you have announced TODAY HERE that your Government will inform tomorrow of the strategies for sustainable development in Spain and its contributions to the future decisive moments of this issue.]

Finally, the only case of aquí hoy deserves special attention. This combination seems more iconic than the compound hoy aquí:

(116) La señora CHACÓN PIQUERAS: (…) Por tanto, señora, creo que por mí misma me defiendo si lo que usted quiere que tengamos AQUIÍ es básicamente un juicio de credibilidad, porque todo lo que HOY le aporto, en la intervención anterior y en ésta, son simplemente datos del Gobierno del señor Aznar, datos de su ministerio. El problema, señora ministra, no es que esté usted AQUIÍ HOY. El problema es que cuando usted ya no esté al frente de este ministerio MAÑANA, desgraciadamente los hábitos de lectura de este país y muchas otras cuestiones en materia de cultura todavía la estarán recordando. (Diario de Sesiones, 24 April 2002, p. 8005)

[Ms. CHACÓN PIQUERAS: (…) Therefore, Honorable Gentleman, (I) think that I am defending myself by my own means if what you want (us) to have HERE is basically a credibility test, because all of what I am bringing TODAY, in the former speech and in this one, is simply data of the Government of Mr. Aznar, data from your own Ministry. The problem, Madam Secretary, is not that you are HERE TODAY. The problem is when [formal, sg.] you are not in front of this Ministry. TOMORROW, the reading habits and many other aspects in the cultural question will remember you.]

This interaction between Ms. Chacón and the Minister of Culture and Education, Ms. Del Castillo shows again the two dimensions of aquí. While the first use is arguably specific (refers to the immediacy of the context, and could also be interpreted as ‘here in
this dialogue’), the appearance of aquí in the double deictic is clearly iconic and removed from its geographic reference. This is clear in the next utterance, where ‘being the minister here’ is opposed to not being the minister in a time frame where hoy stands for ‘in the present legislature’ and mañana points at the future possibility of a change in government. This seems, nonetheless, a peculiar use. The analysis of the entire PD corpus for years 2000-2003 (1,896,027 words in total) only yielded 9 more cases of aquí hoy, in which the focus of the double deictic combination shifts from time to space:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>N</th>
<th>Concordance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>que Página 8005 esté usted aquí hoy. El problema es</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>de recibo que usted salga aquí hoy como responsable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>es menor. Anúncielo ya, aquí hoy si es posible e;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>cuando el Gobierno viene aquí hoy, aunque a usted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>de recibo que usted salga aquí hoy como responsable</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>suficientes; dígalo aquí hoy, mañana le pedí:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>día, no venía a cuento aquí hoy, usted lo ha sac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>que usted ha presentado aquí hoy como de autoría</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 6.1: Aquí hoy in total PD corpus**

Another combination of deictics, that represented by aquí and ahora, seems to confirm the behavior seen for aquí + hoy and hoy + aquí. Thus, all of the 5 occurrences of this double deictic in the PD corpus (2 ahora aquí and 3 aquí ahora), are related to the same immediate value of what has already been discussed (in sentences such as ‘díganoslo aquí ahora’ or ‘le he contestado ahora aquí’) [tell us now or (I’ve answered to you now here]. References to ahora aquí, however, seem to be more closely connected to dialogic management (i.e. evaluation of the interlocutor’s utterances, see Chapter 4), adding a
sense of additional immediacy. However, this combination appears only twice (one occurrence for each use) in the control corpus with metonymic and non-specific values for both *aquí* and *ahora* respectively:

(117) ¿Se siente mejor tratada ahora en Galicia respecto a cómo lo hacían cuando estaba fuera? 
- Nunca me sentí mal tratada. La única diferencia es la de vivir *AHORA AQUÍ* un nuevo proceso, como los que viví fuera. 

[-Do you feel treated better now in Galicia with respect to how you were (treated by them) when you were away?
- (I) never felt mistreated. The only difference of living *NOW HERE* is a new process, as the ones I lived through abroad.]

Double deictics, therefore, constitute a linguistic device with particular characteristics. Not only are they more frequent in the PD than in the control corpus but they also clearly reflect a function that is not present in everyday speech, that of signalizing the circumstances of the speech in three distinct functions. In the first, politicians press their opponents to produce a statement. In the other they mark what has been said for a possible future reference that will remind a political opponent of his/her failure in fulfilling a promise. Finally, it may refer to themselves, as a way to emphasize their accomplishments.
6.3 Spatial deixis

6.3.1 Introduction

At the core of the hypothesis suggested in this dissertation is that the iconicity of the parliament and the type of activities related to that sphere of activity influence highly the uses of deictic expressions. In few aspects is this more obvious than in the analysis of spatial deixis. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, spatial deixis has received a considerable amount of attention from scholars working in different fields (psychology, logic, and semantics). Only recently, have linguists working within the pragmatic paradigm studied the implications of deixis in conversation and its interpretations according to interactional factors (as Relevance Theory proposes). This section deals with quantitative and qualitative aspects of spatial deixis in PD and the control corpus by comparing the values of *aquí*, as well as providing an analysis of other relevant aspects.

**Table 6.2. Comparison of *aquí* in PD and the control corpus**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tokens</td>
<td>% of total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific</td>
<td>225</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metonymic</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decontextualized</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>total</strong></td>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. indicates important differences between everyday language and PD. As can be seen, three basic types of *aquí* are common to both corpora. Starting by the closest
reference to the speaker's surrounding, I suggest the label ‘specific aquí’ to references made to the most immediate location relevant to the speaker. Hence, in the everyday corpus, there are several cases of interviewees relating to the precise place where the interview takes place as relevant for the conversation. An architect, being interviewed in his studio-house, explains:

(118)  P. Usted vive AQUÍ, en la fábrica.
R. Yo vivo AQUÍ, AQUÍ trabajo, en esta mesa, AQUÍ tengo la parte más importante del taller. Luego tengo una casa en el Ampurdán y un piso alquilado en París.

[Q. [formal, sg.] You live HERE, in the factory.
A. I live HERE, HERE I work, at this table, HERE I have the most important part of my studio. Then (I) have a house in the Ampurdán and a rented apartment in Paris.]

In another example, a flamenco guitar teacher explains, chatting at his own guitar school, how well prepared his students are when they leave the school by saying that ‘la gente que salga de aquí estará muy bien formada’ [people who (subj.) come out of here will be very well trained]. Geographical location, however, can be expanded ad libitum by the speaker—as was pointed out in Chapter 2—and a form like aquí may expand its reference from the immediate surroundings to include a city, country, continent and even planet, as the next example illustrates:

(119)  P.- ¿Crees en los Ovnis?
R.- En verdad no lo tengo claro, veo inexplicable nuestra presencia en el planeta, no sabemos ni porqué estamos AQUÍ, ni que pasará después de la muerte... pero si nosotros estamos aquí, ¿por qué no va a haber otros que vivan en otro planeta?.
(Okuda, Graphic artist. Audioya.com March 2004)

[Q.- Do (you) believe in UFOs?
A.- To be honest (I) don’t really know, I see our presence on the planet unexplainable, (we) don’t even know why (we) are HERE, or what is going to happen after death... but if we are HERE, why can’t there be other(s) that live on another planet?]
The differences in range appear frequently in the control corpus. In the next example, a Spanish basketball player discusses the role of European players in the NBA as well as how American players affect European leagues. After discussing the difficulties that others—and he—have experienced, he concludes

(120) R. Como debe ser, en principio. Un jugador de la NBA debe demostrar por qué está ALLÍ y por qué no está AQUI. Pero el mejor ha sido Saras Jasikevicius. (Pau Gasol, baseball player. EL PAÍS 16 Sept. 2003)

[A. That’s the way it should be, initially. An NBA player must show why (s)he is THERE and not HERE. But the best one has been Saras Jasikevicius.]

Gasol is here depicting aquí and allí as relevant to a dichotomy present in the particular discourse in which he is immersed. In a sport where very few Europeans have access to the best competition in the world, the range of aquí necessarily expands to mean ‘here in Europe’ as opposed to allí that means ‘the United States’. For purposes of clarity, I label this use as ‘metonymic aquí’. Hence, the ‘metonymic aquí’ appears in the data as a referent to different cities in Spain, often accompanied by explicit reference (Aquí en Madrid he estado cuatro años) [here in Madrid (I’ve been for four years], and as a synonym with Spain as a geographic and symbolic space, particularly for interviewees who have developed part of their career abroad (i.e. an interviewee, comparing the state funding in museums in comparison with that of France, where he lived, says aquí la cultura no es una preocupación de Estado) [here culture is not a state issue].

There is, however, particularly in the control corpus, another value of aquí that does not have a geographic referent. This concerns two functions: a) signaling the fact
that one is being interviewed and b) marking the importance of what has been asked or
is about to be said. A few examples will illustrate this point:

(121) Me facilitan comunicados de prensa y productos de merchandising de Apple para
regalar en los concursos semanales. Agradezco AQUÍ el apoyo de Paco Lara,
director de comunicación de Apple España, que ha creído en este proyecto desde el
primer día.
(Jaume Angulo, macuarium.com, Feb. 2003)

(I) am given the press communiqués and the merchandising products of Apple to give
away in the weekly contests. (I) want to thank, from HERE, the support of Paco Lara, the
communication manager of Apple Spain, who has believed in this project since the very
first day.

The speaker here is taking advantage of the fact that he is being interviewed by a
journalist to acknowledge or thank people who have helped him. This particular use of
aquí, which appears 5 times in the entire control corpus, does not seem to relate to any
specific geographic surrounding.

The next use is mainly concerned with textual cohesion: it marks different parts
of a discourse or it may signal, as in the case of the opening gambits, some relevance to
what is about to be said

(122) P. ¿Cómo influye Internet, y la lectura y navegación virtual?
R. AQUÍ hay que diferenciar entre la posibilidad de comprar un libro a través de Internet,
y la posibilidad de Internet de publicar, en sí, ese libro.

[Q. What is the influence of the Internet, reading and virtual navigation?A. HERE (one)
must distinguish between the possibility of buying a book on the Internet, and the
possibility that Internet provides to publish that book. ]

(123) P- Cómo ves las posibilidades del mercado español para obtener buenos títulos sobre
egiptología?
R- AQUÍ me has dado en la línea de flotación, y además me proporcionas una plataforma
estupenda para reivindicar lo que vengo diciendo desde hace mucho.
(Rosa Pujol, writer, amigosdelaegiptología.com February 2004)
Finally, there is one final case of ‘non-geographic’ aquí which is noticeably removed from any reference. In the next example, either aquí or allí seem to point out unspecific and sporadic work, rather than any particular references. In particular, the combination of aquí y allí seems to constitute a fixed binomial; it seems its word order cannot be easily altered (there are no occurrences in either corpora of allí y aquí)

(124) El personaje me gustaba y me gusta mucho y aún sin editor hice un par de historias más de dos páginas que fui publicando AQUÍ y ALLÍ, en el CAT, en Barcelona Comic y en algún sitio más.
(Paco Nájera, comic strip artist, tebeoesfera.com, Feb. 2004)

[(I) really liked the character and I still like it and even without a publisher I drew two more two page stories that (I) published HERE and THERE in CAT, in Barcelona Comic and somewhere else.]

With regard to PD, it is clear that the symbolic power of the physical location where political debate and discussion take place affects spatial deixis. While this was suggested in the previous analysis of temporal deixis, it becomes even clearer in spatial deixis.

Table 6.3 contains the different functions of aquí in PD: have additional scope:

Table 6.3. Functions of aquí in the PD corpus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>PD corpus</th>
<th>tokens</th>
<th>% of total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iconic-metonymic</td>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>specific (in parliament)</td>
<td></td>
<td>216</td>
<td>78.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>metonymic</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-geographic</td>
<td></td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ambiguous</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>275</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6.3. shows much higher frequency of the specific use of *aquí*, which relates to the immediate surroundings of the MPs. This can be easily identified as the parliament. As will be discussed later, there are numerous explicit references to refer to the parliament in the PD corpus. The following excerpt exemplifies the use of the ‘specific *aquí*’:

\[125\]

La señora CASTRO FONSECA: Usted ha dicho que el ministro portavoz del Gobierno ha contado esto a los medios de comunicación. ¡Demuéstrelo, señor Marín! (Aplausos.) Usted no puede venir *AQUÍ* a hacer afirmaciones sin demostrarlas. ¡Demuéstrelo! (Aplausos y protestas.) No, no, no, señor Marín, ¡demuéstrelo! (Diario de Sesiones, 27 Nov. 2002 p.10623)

[Ms. CASTRO FONSECA: [formal, sg.] you have said that the Secretary Spokesman of the Government has told that to the mass media. Prove it, Mr. Marín! (Applause) [formal, sg.] you cannot come HERE to make such affirmations without proving them. Prove it! (Applause and protests) No, no, no, Mr. Marín, prove it!]

The data shows that the use of the ‘specific *aquí*’ is intimately related to the symbolic standing of the parliament. Indeed, and as the next section argues, MPs mention frequently, directly or indirectly, the place where political activity takes place. Such is the iconicity of the parliament that *aquí* may even refer to specific places in the parliament (which may also be referred to explicitly). I shall label this use as ‘iconic-metonymic’. An example illustrates this value:

\[126\]

La señora CHACÓN PIQUERAS: Retomo el motivo de mi interpelación y me gustaría que me contestara usted, porque llevo mucho tiempo subiendo *AQUÍ* a hacerle preguntas que usted nunca me contesta y me gustaría que al menos lo hiciera hoy. (Diario de Sesiones, 24 April 2002, p. 8001)

Ms. CHACÓN PIQUERAS: (I) regain the motive of my speech and (I) would like [formal, sg.] you to answer to me, because (I) have been coming *HERE* (the podium) for a long time to formulate questions (to you) that (you) never answer and (I) would like (you) to do it at least today.
In this case, aquí clearly refers to the podium from which MPs interact with each other.

The speaker is here interested not in the geographical location but in the fact that her questions (asked from the podium) are being systematically ignored by the PM.

‘Non-geographic’ aquí includes temporal references (as in de aquí al año 2007) [from here to year 2007] and references to direct speech which maintains the cohesion of the text or announces important points of the on-going discourse. The next example illustrates this use, where aquí could be replaced by ‘en este punto’ [at this point] references to direct speech:

(127) El señor MARTÍ I GALBIS: En primer lugar, el Protocolo de Kioto es a la vez instrumento y objetivo en sí mismo, es un protocolo felizmente ratificado por esta Cámara y por la Unión Europea, por el Estado español, bajo la presidencia española de este primer semestre que está a punto de concluir. Ciertamente, las últimas cifras oficiales relativas a emisiones de CO2 y de gases de efecto invernadero por parte del Estado español son más que preocupantes. Aquí tenemos que coincidir todos porque son datos objetivos.

[Mr. MARTÍ I GALBIS: In the first place, the Kioto Protocol is a tool and an objective in and of itself, it is a protocol fortunately corroborated by this Chamber and the European Union, by the Spanish state, under the Spanish presidency of this first semester which is about to conclude. Certainly, the last official report relative to the CO2 emissions and greenhouse effect gasses are more than worrisome. HERE we all have to agree because this is objective data.]

Finally, the data contains 3 references of highly ambiguous aquí which could be interpreted as cohesive within the discourse, as the ‘specific’ aquí or as the metonymic aquí:

(128) El señor SAURA LAPORTA: Señor ministro, no he dicho que usted sea cínico, digo que el discurso político del Partido Popular y, en este caso, su discurso, es políticamente cínico. Porque Aquí, o todo el mundo se ha vuelto loco y los sindicatos no saben lo que defienden y la CEOE no sabe lo que defiende o, si esta reforma laboral es tan buena para los trabajadores, ¿cómo es posible que los sindicatos estén en contra?

[Mr. SAURA LAPORTA: Mr. minister, I didn’t say that you were cynical, I say that the political discourse of the Popular Party and, in this case, your discourse, is politically cynical. Because AQUÍ, or everyone has gone mad and the syndicates don’t know what they’re defending and the CEOE doesn’t know what they’re defending or, if this labor reform is so good for workers, how is it possible that the syndicates are against it?]
[Mr. SAURA LAPORTA: Mr. Secretary, (I) haven’t said that [formal, sg.] cynical, (I) said that the political speech of the Partido Popular and, in this case, your discourse, is politically cynical. Because HERE, either everybody has gone crazy and the workers’ unions do not know what they are defending and the CEOE (association of employers) does not know what it is defending, and if this reform is so beneficial for the workers, how is it possible that the unions are against it?]

6.3.2. Explicit spatial references

Aside from the use of the adverb aquí, MPs also make explicit references to the parliament. MPs are constantly reminded by the PoP or other MPs of the location where their dialectic interaction takes place. Explicit references to the parliament also abound in the PD corpus. Of 505 instances, the MPs mention the parliament by way of four different references: ‘esta Cámara’ [this Chamber] appears 232 times, ‘el Congreso de los Diputados’ [the House of Parliament] 173 times, ‘el parlamento’ 88 times and ‘esta casa’ 12 times. In accordance to what has been already suggested, this reinforces the iconic power of the parliament. In addition, its site is compared to a ‘temple’ on three occasions (templo de la verdad, de la palabra and del diálogo) [temple of the truth, or words and of dialogue]. In the next example an MP welcomes, ironically, PM Aznar to the parliament. Note how in this paragraph the parliament is mentioned as the site for ‘democratic control’.

(129) El señor LLAMAZARES TRIGO: Señor presidente, bienvenido a ESTA CÁMARA, se lo digo sinceramente, porque llevamos ya un mes a la espera de que usted volviese de su campaña exterior. Es verdad que ha sufrido una severa derrota en las elecciones vascas, pero nada justifica su ausencia durante este largo período ante el control democrático de ESTA CÁMARA. Repito, bienvenido sea a ESTA CÁMARA. Señor presidente, llega usted a ESTA CÁMARA seguramente de forma distinta a la que pensaba cuando inició su periplo exterior. (…) El Consejo de Göteborg, en nuestra opinión, no ha sido todo lo feliz
que ha presentado usted ante ESTA CÁMARA ni sus logros han sido los éxitos que pregona; antes al contrario, viene usted a ESTA CÁMARA, después de un largo periplo, como he dicho, sin haber conseguido más que reducidas conquistas de lo que eran sus previsiones iniciales. Viene usted a ESTA CÁMARA, después de su acción y su campaña exterior, con su canciller en una situación difícil.

(Diario de Sesiones, 20 June 2001, p. 4538)

[Mr. LLAMAZARES TRIGO: Mr. president, welcome to THIS HOUSE, (I) telling you sincerely, because (we) have been waiting for a month so that [formal, sg.] you come back from your foreign campaign. It is true that (you) have suffered a blatant defeat in the Basque elections, but nothing should justify your absence during such long time before the democratic control of THIS HOUSE. (I) repeat: welcome to THIS HOUSE. Mr. president, you come to THIS HOUSE surely in a different state that you would have thought when (you) started your foreign campaign (...) The Göteborg Council, in our opinion, has not as pleasant as [formal, sg.] you have portrayed before HIS HOUSE, neither have been the accomplishments you proclaim; on the contrary, you come to THIS HOUSE, after a long trip, as (I) have said, without having achieved much more than petty feats in what were your initial goals. You come to THIS HOUSE, after your actions and your foreign campaign, with your chancellor in a complicated situation.]

In (129), references to ‘esta Cámara’ highlight its iconicity (the first three uses) or are used as a metonymic reference to the rest of political forces in the SP (no ha sido todo lo feliz que ha presentado usted ante esta Cámara) (it hasn’t been as happy pretty as you have portrayed it before this Chamber]. In both functions, it is clear that mentioning the parliament while being present in its very premises is linked to the symbolic weight it has in the shared discourse of professional politicians.

As was suggested before in the case of in the ‘iconic-metonymic’ use of aquí, the PD corpus also shows explicit references to particular locations in the parliament. These references (the seats, the podium), present, in turn, two basic functions. The first one is not different from what has been already discussed, which is an emphasis on the iconicity of the location. The other one, however, uses a metonymic expression to address, without making a clear reference, an MP or a political force. This may be used
on some occasions to avoid relating directly to a specific person, which may entitle the addressee to request a turno de réplica. In the following example, the speaker is referring univocally and tacitly to the government, which occupies the right side of the parliament.

(130) La señora RUMÍ IBÁÑEZ: (...) Esta Cámara tiene la responsabilidad de pronunciarse mayoritariamente para proporcionar un impulso a las políticas públicas de apoyo a las familias españolas, que durante los últimos años han sido relegadas de manera tan grave como sistemática en la acción del Gobierno. Es más que probable que desde los bancos de la derecha se responda con una lista de medidas, ya anunciadas, a partir de las iniciativas que el Partido Socialista ha tomado en relación con el bienestar de las familias españolas, pero la reacción gubernamental ha sido... (Rumores.)
(Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002, p. 8652)

[Ms. RUMÍ IBÁÑEZ: (...) This Chamber has the responsibility of pronouncing in majority to provide support to the Spanish families, which during the last years have been put aside in a serious and systematic way by the Government. It is more than likely that, FROM THE SEATS ON THE RIGHT there will be responses with a list of measures, already announced, based on the initiatives that the Socialist Party has taken in relation to the well being of the Spanish families, but the reaction from the Government has been... (Rumors)]

References to the podium seem to carry the same symbolic power as the parliament. By referring metonymically to the podium, MPs actually point out at the parliament and its symbolicity as institution. In agreement with the image of the parliament as a temple of truth and democracy, the podium (which appears 30 times in the PD corpus as ‘esta tribuna’ or ‘a la tribuna’) [the podium/this podium] is the most symbolic place; where speeches are made and MPs take the stage, and also where politicians—and particularly the government—must satisfy requests to clarify and explain their policies. The next excerpt concerns this latter function:

(131) La señora LÓPEZ I CHAMOSA: (...) Tenemos una Comisión del Pacto de Toledo, que está estudiando las recomendaciones, y ese es un centro de diálogo de todos. Cuando
suben A LA TRIBUNA porque les pedimos algo, como en el SOVI ayer, nos dicen: No, esto no toca aquí, eso en la Comisión del Pacto de Toledo, y allí ni nos enteramos (Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002, p. 7087)

[Ms. LÓPEZ I CHAMOSA: (...) (We) have a Commission of the Toledo Pact, which is studying the suggestions, and that is a center of dialogue for all. When you come to the podium because (we) are requesting something from you, as in the SOVI yesterday (mandatory insurance for the elderly), (you, pl.) tell us: No, this doesn’t belong here, that in the Commission of the Toledo Pact, and (we) don’t even get informed there.]

6.4. Conclusion

Far from merely signaling the physical circumstances that embed an utterance, time and space expressions serve other purposes in PD. This chapter has highlighted the importance to study other aspects of deixis apart from the pronominal system in order to understand how PD differs from everyday talk. The analysis of the data has revealed important differences between these two types of discourse. While the majority of uses of ‘hoy’ in the everyday corpus are relevant to a dichotomy in which hoy represents the current situation and is opposed to a remote, sometimes unspecific time. Table 6.4 illustrates the main difference in spatio-temporal deixis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.4. Specific values of hoy and aquí in PD and control corpus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>adverb</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aquí</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the PD corpus, on the contrary, the majority of the uses of *hoy* (53.7% versus a 1.7% of the occurrences in the everyday corpus) refer to the present day of the speech. This, in turn fulfills the functions of either signaling the topic of discussion or to remind other MPs (either in own’s advantage or in an attack to a political opponent) of the fact that anything that is expressed in the parliament is being transcribed. This function is reinforced by the appearance of double deictic compounds, hardly present in the everyday corpus.

The importance of signaling the immediate circumstances of political activity is further corroborated in the analysis of spatial deixis. The behavior of *aquí* in PD and the numerous explicit references to the parliament (505 in total) are in agreement with the analysis of temporal deixis. Not only the specific *aquí* appears more frequently in the PD corpus, but it can refer as well to particularly iconic parts of the parliament, such as the podium or the seats, which acquire, metonymically, the power to represent the political forces that occupy them.
CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

In this final chapter, I return to the original questions that prompted the present research project. In order to understand how PD and everyday talk differ with regard to the use of deictic expressions, this dissertation posed the following questions:

- How do pronouns function in the setting of PD as opposed to everyday careful speech?
- How do space and time deictic expressions vary in use from PD to everyday language?

Understanding the factors that constrain such uses requires taking into account not only the actual linguistic data but also the extralinguistic contexts which surround it. In the vein of qualitative research, this project is concerned with a detailed description of the patterns shown by spatio-temporal and pronominal deixis. As was mentioned in Chapter 3, the corpus-based analysis is used in order to show the consistency of the phenomenon. It is the pragmatic analysis, however, that sheds light on the actual implications—both linguistic and extralinguistic—of the use of deictic forms. In this sense, this project highlights the appropriateness of a mixed approach, which has been used. This type of methodology has been used, in the analysis of political language, by scholars such as or Carter and McCarthy (2002).
This dissertation has elucidated important differences in the use of pronominal and spatio-temporal deixis in PD and everyday careful speech. While both corpora analyzed presented similarities (i.e. the overt vs. covert realization of pronouns, particularly the case of yo and nosotros), it has also demonstrated how the conditions in which parliamentary activity affect language. Chapter 4 illustrated how the use of yo, for instance, differs in that its presence in the PD corpus helps the speaker to establish his/her position in both the immediate course of the ongoing dialogue and in the wider ideological/professional spectrum related to political activity.

A parliament is a site where all participants are united by common purposes; working toward the good of their country and its citizens, supporting ideological and economic interests, responding to their voters, etc. yet they are immersed in a constant power struggle. It is also regulated by both a written and a tacit code and protocol. As was seen in the discussion of nosotros, this pronoun’s ability to extend its reference allows politicians to mitigate attacks by using first person plural references (the we you, never conveyed through the presence of the overt pronoun). This type of use was not present in the control corpus. Also Chapter 5 showed how MPs use an array of defocalizing expressions that allow the speaker to point to his/her opponent in unambiguous ways yet without having to identify them by name. This has two basic consequences. On the one hand, it does not violate the general, tacit code of politeness in such a formal environment; on the other, it avoids interrupting the course of the debates.
by avoiding the *turnos de réplica* that may be requested by MPs who deem that they have been maliciously mentioned.

Chapter 5 also demonstrated how formal and professional terms of address are used in different ways, denoting that extralinguistic factors play an important role in their appearance. While expressions such *sr. diputado* or *señoría* are theoretically applicable to any MP, in any direction (government to opposition and viceversa), their use shows irregular patterns. Thus, while members of the government prefer these expressions to address their interlocutors, MPs of opposing political factions almost never use them (there is only one occurrence in the data) to address the government. This suggests that terms of address and vocatives provide us with important information about the confrontational/collaborative character of parliamentary interaction. The constant use of these formal terms in the interaction between government and its constituency suggests an effort to maintain in-group solidarity and etiquette. In addition, as was seen in Chapter 5, members of the political party in power never address members of the government by their surname and posit questions that call for explanations (WH-questions). Surname references abound, not surprisingly, in debates between members of the government and of opposing political parties. They often appear to clarify to whom the speaker is addressing his/her utterances as well as a way to confront the interlocutor (a phenomenon that is even acknowledged by some MPs, as seen Chapter 4). In confrontational dialogue, references to surname are a likely strategy to personalize the opponent’s viewpoints or failures—in the form of unfulfilled
electoral promises or other issues. Members of the government seem to be aware of the institutional roles they perform and use more frequently the more formal terms of address in their interactions with opponents or MPs of their constituency.

Finally, important characteristics of parliamentary debates; namely, the symbolic power of the parliament as an institution, and the systematic transcription of all verbal interaction percolate also into spatio-temporal deictic forms. As Chapter 6 demonstrated, the uses of hoy and aquí diverge in scope and function from PD to everyday talk. Space and time expressions in PD are concerned with highlighting the immediate physical conditions of the utterance. This acts as a reminder that everything is transcribed and recorded, on the one hand, and as a way to force commitment on the part of the interlocutor on the other. The symbolic importance of the parliament can also be attested in the fact that certain elements of the parliamentary site also acquire substantial iconic value. Hence, the podium, or the seats opposite the podium equate ‘the full parliament’ or ‘the opposition’ respectively. Also noteworthy are the constant references to ‘esta Cámara’, ‘este Congreso’, etc.

Data in the control corpus showed how most references to aquí or hoy refer metonimically to either larger areas (aquí en Barcelona, en España, en Europa), or a imprecise reference to ‘current times’. These values challenge the traditional conceptualization of hoy and aquí as the converging vertex of spatio-temporal deixis, as was discussed in Chapter 2. Furthermore, the concern for signaling the physical circumstances of speech in the SP is clearly seen in the double deictic construction hoy
aquí, which presents only one occurrence in the control corpus (and even in that case its use is not concerned with immediacy). With the use of this double deictic form, MPs remind their opponents of the location where they are all located—which is sometimes referred to as the ‘temple of truth’ or ‘house of democracy’. Indicating the here and now of the debate is a way to force an opponent to elicit a promise or a statement, acknowledging that everything that is said in the parliament is transcribed, and that it may be consulted by the MPs and the general public.

7.1 Implications for other areas of linguistic research

The scope and findings of this project transcend the immediate line of research of discourse analysis of PD. Methodologically, it legitimates the combination of a qualitative methodology with a quantitative approach such as corpus linguistics. The findings of this project are useful not only for researchers interested in PD. As was mentioned earlier, the notion of hoy or aquí as indicators of physical circumstances of the utterance should be reevaluated. The comparison of both corpora demonstrated how, in fact, pointing at the here and now of the speech act is pragmatically relevant in very specific settings such as the one concerning this project. In everyday careful talk, on the contrary, references to the immediate surroundings are scarce and generally marked with emphasis (by way of clarifying expressions such as aquí mismo or precisamente hoy).

This project, in addition, provides a detailed analysis of pronouns both in careful everyday speech as well as PD. The pragmatic-oriented analysis of certain forms (such
as the traditionally labeled ‘impersonal’ *uno*) has revealed that this pronoun may in fact present functions not accounted for by traditional grammars. Hence, *uno* can be contextually linked to a second person reference in order to mitigate a confrontation. Equally noteworthy is that the use of this pronoun ranges from defocalizing the referent completely (in which case it applies to everyone) or it helps the speaker make claims that, for a number of reasons—etiquette, self-consciousness—would be questionable. In the particular context of parliamentary speech, *uno* is used often to highlight the speaker’s achievements without sounding too self-centered. Analyzing large bodies of actual linguistic data proves the inaccuracy of certain grammatical descriptions as it helps unveiling new dimensions of forms in use.

The findings of this research project have relevance for language pedagogy as well. Particularly in the development of classroom materials—textbooks and other educational tools—the incorporation of findings elicited through careful observation of actual data seems almost indispensable. This project has highlighted the differences between certain ideas typically found in traditional grammar and the contextualized use of language. While it is true that, at least quantitatively, the frequency of spatio-temporal expressions is similar in everyday talk and PD, the functions attached to them are radically different. For the language teacher interested in actual language use, these are differences that cannot be overlooked. In this respect, classroom texts have been largely influenced by traditional grammar. Corpus linguistics aided by a pragmatic analysis can provide useful insights that can help produce pedagogical materials that are more
adjusted to actual language use. The general ideas discussed provided in Chapter 5 on impersonal and relative pronouns, for instance, may be incorporated in advance grammars, highlighting genuine uses and functions of *uno* and *quien*, for instance, that are rarely described in traditional grammars.

### 7.2 Implications for further research

The findings of this project suggest important differences between the PD data and the everyday talk corpus. This dissertation has highlighted the importance of utilizing a research methodology that best suits the type and size of data to be analyzed. Considering that I was interested in contrasting large bodies of data, both of PD and everyday talk, working within the corpus linguistics framework was extremely beneficial and efficient. This mixed approach is a valuable framework for any type of DA since it allows the researcher to perceive linguistic patterns under a different light, aided by the versatility of computer programs designed for this purpose.

Finally, there is a wide array of aspects of PD in Spain that need to be researched in greater detail. Metaphor, for instance, remains largely unexplored in scholarly research on PD in Spain. This particular aspect of language has received a great deal of interest in the recent years, undoubtedly influenced by the cognitive approach proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Conceptual metaphors, for instance, may give us important insights on the conceptualization of politicians on important issues such as war, freedom, or democracy. Moreover, a diachronic study of such metaphors, which in
turn derive to other figurative expressions, can attest the different changes in ideology over time. In the context of Spain, a country that suffered a long dictatorship, the conceptualization of politics has shifted from the ‘ideological model’ to the ‘managerial model’. Undoubtedly influenced by transnational economic trends and a major presence of economic concerns, the study of the metaphors used to refer to politics itself is an invaluable tool for the research interested in PD to document such changes. Finally, this project emphasizes the need for a careful examination of linguistic aspects (such as the spatio-temporal deixis here analyzed) not typically found in the scholarly literature on PD.
APPENDIX A

PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES QUOTED (all available at www.congreso.es):

Diario de Sesiones, 13 September 2000.
Diario de Sesiones, 20 December 2000.
Diario de Sesiones, 4 April 2001.
Diario de Sesiones, 26 September 2001.
Diario de Sesiones, 13 February 2002.
Diario de Sesiones, 20 February 2002.
Diario de Sesiones, 6 March 2002.
Diario de Sesiones, 24 April 2002.
Diario de Sesiones, 22 May 2002.
Diario de Sesiones, 13 June 2002.
Diario de Sesiones, 18 June 2002.
Diario de Sesiones, 29 October 2002.
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Diario de Sesiones, 11 December 2002.
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London: Routledge.


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