

# **The Stereotype of Italianness in the Rhetoric of Matteo Renzi**

A multimodal analysis of his talks delivered in English

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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## **Abstract and keywords**

The study investigates the discursive strategies that the Italian ex-Prime Minister Matteo Renzi used to construct a stereotypical representation of the nation in his institutional talks in English. It focuses on the discrepancies between Renzi's claim to radical discontinuity with the past and the commonplace view of Italy he promoted in second-language communication. In particular, the study analyses Renzi's use of national stereotypes and references to Italian culture with the ultimate purpose of unveiling its implied subtexts.

The investigation is grounded on two assumptions. First, language expresses the system of values and beliefs of the speaker, thus constructing a representation of the subject discussed. Second, since the processes of encoding and decoding are determined by belief systems, meaning is the outcome of cultural and ideological negotiation between the producer and the receiver. All communication, therefore, is a process of translation.

The study contributes to filling a gap in existing research in intercultural communication in an institutional context. Whereas most research investigates cultural mediation with reference to migrant communities, the way the identity of a country's representative is constructed in second-language production has so far attracted little or no attention at all. Moreover, since Renzi frequently improvised and relied on very limited linguistic mediation, the study aims to foreground the implied meanings and the ultimate purpose of his discursive choices. As power is enacted in discourse, the investigation of systematic contradictions and inconsistencies is of paramount importance to foreground what type of articulation of political practices is being carried out in discourse.

For the purpose of the study two videos of speeches addressed to 'lay' audiences are analysed focusing on implicit and explicit stereotypes. Drawing

upon Critical Discourse Analysis, the research is conceived as a pilot study. It expands Jeremy Munday's model for evaluation in translation through a rigorous application of James R. Martin and Peter White's methods from Appraisal Theory and Paul Chilton's Deictic Space Theory to foreground the evaluative stance and positioning of the speaker while also testing some integrations. First, the model is applied to second-language production instead of inter-language translations. Second, it is complemented with a multimodal analysis of implicit cognitive resources such as clichés and culture-specific nonverbal language. Third, both methods that are included in the model are fully integrated: they are put in a sequence and the data from the first one (appraisal analysis) are used for the second type of analysis (deictic positioning), so both methods contribute to the outcome of research. The study complies with quality criteria for research, since all data are made available and analyses are presented by means of tables and charts, which ensure that the outcomes are evidence-based, replicable and transferrable.

The interpretations of the data provide clear indications that Munday's model is a flexible tool to foreground and analyse implied stereotypes and references to cultural traditions as they are conveyed by both verbal and nonverbal language. At the same time, the analysis conducted using this model outlines the stance of the speaker with a methodological rigour. While appraisal analysis reveals the complex interplay in Renzi's rhetoric of implicit and explicit commonplaces and references to traditional Italian culture, deictic positioning foregrounds ambiguities and inconsistencies in his stance. Indeed, while apparently leading the country to modernisation, Renzi carefully constructed – and embodied – the prototype of the traditional Italian, and appealed to the emotions and feelings of his audience to naturalise the myth of the nation.



## Impact Statement

The investigation is designed as pilot study to test integrations to Munday's model of evaluation of translations (2013) as a way of assessing bias and ideological emphasis in texts. On the one hand, the study will be beneficial to implement research methodologies and fill some gaps in current research. On the other, it will increase awareness of manipulation in political communication in a second language targeting foreign audiences and, ultimately, foster research on viable methods to promote critical thinking and media literacy in society.

The study tested the flexibility of the model by applying it to second-language production instead of inter-language translations as done in Munday. The study attempted to overcome the limitation of several methods of linguistic analysis, which account for textual resources only with little or no involvement of implicit resources related to the context of communication and the values of the speaker. Among these cognitive resources, culture-specific hand gestures, being a visual component of communication, bring forth an innovative integration to the model by means of extraverbal, physical multimodality that can be applied to scrutinize the relationship between different codes in producing political messages as alternatives to the study of body language.

Besides being tested in this study, Munday's model - complemented by the analysis of multimodal resources and cognitive elements - was recently introduced to participants in a summer school. The method was presented to an international group of 12 linguists and trainee journalists attending a summer school at the University of Bologna; they were then asked to provide a draft analysis of a selection of news reports. Whereas the model proved a user-friendly framework to expose the discursive strategies of political rhetoric, the discussion that followed suggested that even young professionals may risk overlooking the

relevance of implied subtexts and, consequently, underestimating the importance of accurate analysis of narratives that goes beyond textuality.

In a globalised world that is witnessing unprecedented deception and manipulation through the media, critical awareness of language is of paramount importance for current and future generations to ensure responsible, democratic participation in societal changes. For this reason, this contribution could be and will be exploited by the author in training students and young professionals (commentators of politics, journalists, critical discourse analysis students and so on) to refine their analytical toolset. The impact of this research is, therefore, linked to enhancing critical reading and listening practices to support debunking of censored, manipulated, and institutionally controlled information in the current climate in which freedom of reporting and criticizing political elites has been coming increasingly under fire.

## Declaration

I, VALERIA REGGI, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Valeria Reggi

25 September 2019

## Acknowledgements

To my dad.

I would like to express my gratitude to Dr Federico Federici, my supervisor, for his very valuable advice and guidance throughout my research. My sincere thanks also goes to Luigi for his encouragement and patience, to Elena for her personal and professional support, and to Denise and Terry for their wholehearted friendship.



# Introduction

## Rationale of research

When Matteo Renzi was appointed in February 2014, he was the youngest Prime Minister in the history of the Italian Republic. He had not been selected among the members of Parliament but among the Democratic Party ranks and had already served as the mayor of his native Florence for five years. He had also authored several books in which he advocated iconoclastic change in Italian politics and administration. His insistence on innovation frequently took some radical overtones – at least in the first phases of his campaigning and institutional activity, so much so that he used to define himself as the *demolition man* (2011: 45; 182-202; 2012: 98; 2013: 6-7, 19; 2017: 56-59, 111).<sup>1</sup> Although in his book of 2013, evocatively entitled *Oltre la rottamazione* (*Beyond Demolition*, my translation), he declared that this iconoclastic phase should leave room for a less radical evolution (2013: 3-33), the notions of change, dynamism, innovation and reforms would remain the leitmotifs of his campaigning in the years to come.

Yet behind Renzi's enthusiasm for innovation – whether as technology and social media, or a celebration of the younger generations – there lay recurring references to a stereotyped view of the national character and to conservative values, which pervaded his communication. A post-ideological figure, he showed a contradictory public identity (Barile, 2014a: 14-18). The clash between his statement of intention and his communication strategies was even more dramatic in the speeches he gave in a second language – which, to the best

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<sup>1</sup> The Italian term *rottamatore*, which literally means 'car breaker', has been translated both as 'scrapper' and 'demolition man' in the international media (see, for instance, the Financial Times: <https://www.ft.com/content/5fdb9710-940d-11e3-a0e1-00144feab7de>). I opt for 'demolition man' instead of 'scrapper' because the latter may also recall the notion of fight that is absent in the Italian term.

of my knowledge, was mainly English – to a lay audience. Whether Renzi frequently diverged from the written text that had presumably been prepared by his staff, or chose to give his speech without any translation support, his communication relied on verbal and nonverbal, implicit and explicit, strategies that brought forth a traditional, if not stereotypical, view of Italy. For these meaning-making strategies, whether verbal or nonverbal, semantic or grammar-related, I shall adopt the term ‘resources’, after Michael Halliday (1985/2004; 2007/2009).

The study, which originated precisely from acknowledging this contrast in Renzi’s communication, will preliminarily assess the significance in his rhetoric of references to the Italian stereotype and culturally-loaded resources (see also Reggi, 2019a; 2019b). Since the study builds on a qualitative method, as indexical of ‘significance’ I shall choose the frequency of these resources – namely if they systematically occur in every statement. Then, the study will investigate how these resources affected his communication, foreground the type of national character Renzi elicited in his speeches and analyse its function in discourse to shed light on his implicit political message. Finally, I shall formulate hypotheses about the causes and purposes of using these resources. Hereafter, I shall mostly apply the term ‘institutional’ to the Prime Minister and, more in general, the government, except for general discussions on discourse analysis or quotations, in which it will retain its broader meaning.

The rationale for analysing stereotyping in Renzi’s speeches in English is manifold. On a theoretical level, I take on the assumption that meanings have a social effect and text analysis may shed light on the process of meaning-making (Fairclough, 2001: 1; 2003b: 11). Moreover, as power is enacted in discourse, analysts should focus on systematic contradictions and inconsistencies in political discourse in order to foreground what type of identity is being constructed through the process called ‘articulation’, by which the elements of cultural and social practice are reorganised and acquire a new ideological connotation (see Stuart Hall in Grossberg, 1986). This, in turn, means exposing “the implicit relationship between discourse, power and ideology, [and] challenging surface

meanings” (Wodak, 2013: xx-xxiv). For clarity’s sake, I shall adopt the definition of ‘discourse’ as a ‘semiotic element of social practices’ from a particular perspective, which includes verbal language, nonverbal language and visual images (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 38; 2003b: 205). Finally, the study aims to fill a gap in existing research in intercultural communication. Indeed, to the best of my knowledge, most research focuses on cultural mediation in relation to migration in a variety of forms, but little or no attention has been devoted so far to the way the identity of a country’s representative is negotiated in second-language production.

On an analytical level, in the years that immediately preceded Renzi’s cabinets, the narratives of Italy in the British press – and possibly in other international media – largely relied on stereotypes to outline a backward country (Filmer, 2018). Investigating whether Renzi the ‘demolition man’ contributed to reinforce stereotypes and clichés, therefore, is of paramount importance to define what type of ‘articulation of political themes’ was being constructed in discourse (Fairclough, 2000: 89). Far from being limited to political discourse, such articulation also involved the dynamics of group formation and, consequently, national identity: as I shall detail in section 2.2.1, group leaders act as prototypes and the (self)stereotypes they foreground work as guiding principles for group members.

## **Research questions and research hypothesis**

On the grounds of the rationale detailed above, the study addresses the following research questions:

- RQ1. How did Renzi’s implicit and explicit references to Italy-related stereotypes and conservative culture affect his communication?
- RQ2. As a consequence, how did they influence the speaker’s political persona?

More specifically,



RQ3. What type of values and view of the country did Renzi's rhetorical strategies promote and what was their contribution, if any, to contemporary post-ideological political practice?

My hypothesis is that, despite Renzi's declared intention of embodying innovation, his communication largely played with and insisted on a commonplace view of Italy: his apparent intention of othering the past and the stereotypes associated with it did not succeed in concealing the variety of resources reinforcing them and the references to traditional values and conservative politics. The causes may be complex. In the first place, the very nature of stereotypes as categorisation may have played a pivotal role in their permanence, since stereotypes tend to be stable in time and resistant to change. As they shape the behaviour of the person or group of people categorised (Tajfel, 1981), they trigger a loop of self-perpetuation. Moreover, the persistence of the debate over the Italian national character in history (Livolsi, 2011) turned these commonplaces into a *leitmotif* of political discourse, making them even more difficult to resist. Another, more personal, factor that may have elicited frequent references to conservative culture is Renzi's education, as I shall briefly outline below. Finally, Renzi may have deliberately played with stereotypes – which are apparently resisted and discredited, but actually reinforced – in order to bring forth a powerful image of innovation and change while, in fact, conforming to conservative politics.

His political programme and style were declaredly inspired to Tony Blair, while Barack Obama provided him with a successful example of the new-generation politician (Barile, 2014a: 38-39, 58-61; Bordignon, 2014: 8; Galimberti, 2015: 89-94; Renzi, 2006: 43, 86; 2011: 201, 175; 2012: 98, 138; 2017: 119-122;). Neither Renzi's enthusiasm for innovation nor his admiration for Obama escaped the attention of the international media, which even named him 'the Obama of the Italian left' – a definition that Renzi himself turned into 'the white Obama' in his programmatic book *Fuori!* (*Out!*, my translation; 2011: 53, 165). More recently,

the media compared Renzi to yet another contemporary innovator, the Prime Minister of Canada, Justin Trudeau.<sup>2</sup>

From a political perspective, Blair's New Labour and the so-called 'Third Way' were the natural prosecution of Renzi's cultural background as they promoted a reconciliation between right-wing economic theories and left-wing social policies. A member of the Italian Scout Movement, a Catholic used to practising St. Ignatius Loyola's spiritual exercises and an admirer of the Christian Democrat Giorgio la Pira<sup>3</sup> – on whose tomb he prayed after being elected Mayor of Florence (2011: 172) – Renzi was the first leader of left-wing Democratic Party who came from a Catholic background instead of the ranks of the old Communist Party (Savio, 2014). Renzi's attachment to traditional values such as the church and the family (Renzi, 2006: 85-87; 2011: 56-57, 150-151, 154-155; 2012: 92; 2013: 47), his skills at turning politics into post-ideological entertainment (Barile, 2014a and 2014b; Galimberti, 2015) and his enthusiasm for change and dynamism, have repeatedly caused some hostility among the old-style leaders of a political group that inherited the legacy of the Italian Communist Party of the 1920s (Barile, 2014a: 62; Galimberti, 2015: 20-27; Renzi, 2011: 32-40, 44, 147, 194-198; 2012: 98, 135-136, 178-182; 2017: 49-53, 120-122). Blair's Third Way, therefore, provided Renzi with a relevant example of hybridisation between conservative and socialist political practices (Barile, 2014a: 58-62; Barile, 2014b: 2-3).

The legacy of Blair was easily detectable in Renzi's discourse in a number of ways even before he became Prime Minister. First and foremost, his political style, like Blair's, was largely built on language and relied on an extensive use of mass media (Fairclough, 1995/2013: 381, 385): 'the political philosophy, strategies

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<sup>2</sup> Among many others, the articles by Time magazine in February 2009 (<http://content.time.com/time/world/article/0,8599,1880979,00.html>, last accessed on 6 April 2019) and The Washington Post in October 2016 ([https://www.washingtonpost.com/gdpr-consent/?destination=%2flifestyle%2fstyle%2fmeet-matteo-renzi--the-justin-trudeau-of-italy-and-the-obamas-final-state-dinner-honoree%2f2016%2f10%2f14%2ff69ba2b0-9227-11e6-9c52-0b10449e33c4\\_story.html%3f&utm\\_term=.747239512019](https://www.washingtonpost.com/gdpr-consent/?destination=%2flifestyle%2fstyle%2fmeet-matteo-renzi--the-justin-trudeau-of-italy-and-the-obamas-final-state-dinner-honoree%2f2016%2f10%2f14%2ff69ba2b0-9227-11e6-9c52-0b10449e33c4_story.html%3f&utm_term=.747239512019) - last accessed on 6 April 2019) offer an interesting frame to Renzi's political trajectory so far: the former introduced him as candidate in Florence's mayoral elections, whereas the latter described Renzi's last dinner with Obama as President of the United States and shortly preceded the end of his own cabinet (December 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Giorgio La Pira (1904-1977) was an Italian politician who belonged to the Third Order of Saint Dominic. He served as the Mayor of Florence twice (1950-1956 and 1960-1964) and as deputy of the Christian Democrats. La Pira was recently titled as Venerable.

and values of the New Labour [were] not pre-given; they have been (...) talked and re-talked into being' (ibidem, 381). A talk that Pierre Bourdieu and Loïc Wacquant nicknamed 'NewLiberalSpeak' on the wake of the direly famous Orwellian counterpart (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2001). Like Blair, Renzi acknowledged the close link between communication and politics and chose to start from language to reform his own party (Renzi, 2017: 185). Like Blair, he soon became 'an accomplished showman' (Fairclough, 1995/2013: 388) and, by appealing to feelings and emotions, turned political events into shows (Barile, 2014a: 112, 132; Bordignon, 2014: 13; Galimberti, 2015: 45). Though the role of spin doctors in Renzi's communication is controversial (Barile, 2014a: 37, 123-140; Galimberti, 2015: 42-48), his political persona was carefully constructed according to marketing techniques, so much so that it has been analysed as a brand (Barile, 2014a).

While he enthusiastically promoted the use of the internet and social media (2006: 1-26, 78-83; 2012), he adopted some of Blair's communication strategies, such as categorical assertions, everyday language and the use of verbal and nonverbal resources to build the mood of the speech (Fairclough, 1995/2013: 388-389; Fairclough, 2000; see sections 4 and 5). Finally, it is worth noting that the key concepts Renzi relied on – such as 'renewal', 'values', 'education', 'reforms' – were the same that the British Prime Minister took from the rhetoric of conservatism (Thatcherism) by using a technique known as 'triangulation' (Barile, 2014a: 58-62). Renzi adapted these very concepts to the Italian context and frequently referred to them – though he sometimes misquoted them, as is the case of 'long life learning' (Renzi, 2006: 43).

The increasing dependence of politics on the media – the so-called 'mediatisation' of politics – is not a new phenomenon and Italy is no exception (Barile, 2014a: 3-4; Blumler and Kavanagh, 1999; Cheles and Sponza, 2001: 11; Galimberti, 2015: 18-20; Mazzoleni and Schulz, 1999; Strömbäck, 2008). When Renzi gained his position at centre stage, Italy had already experienced a slow, but dramatic shift in political communication since the dawn of the so-called

Second Republic in the early 1990s,<sup>4</sup> when the convoluted jargon of old-school politicians was replaced by a simpler, more colloquial style (Croci, 2001; Galimberti, 2015: 20; McCarthy, 2001). This process of simplification of political language and, simultaneously, mediatisation of politics reached a turning point with the leader of the centre-right Silvio Berlusconi. A media tycoon who also owned one of the most successful Italian football teams, in his three cabinets between 1994 and 2011, Berlusconi advertised himself as an innovator. He exploited the full potential of marketing techniques and his own media as a means of persuasion, behaved as a ‘celebrity politician’ or ‘political star’ with no specific ideology and officially introduced football jargon into political communication (Croci, 2001; Loporcaro, 2004: 22-23; Pozzato, 2001: 295; Savio, 2014; Street, 2004). In fact, some of these communication strategies had already been mastered by the Fascist leader Benito Mussolini some seventy years before, who imposed a new, popular language that not only aimed to manipulate the public opinion while breaking with the rhetoric of the past but was also intended to be the founding element of a new era (Croci, 2001: 354-355; Golino: 1994/2010).

In 2014, when Renzi was nominated Prime Minister, only two years had passed since the end of Berlusconi’s cabinet, as opposed to the seven years that separated Renzi and Blair, whose political programme and strategies, in any case, may not have been so familiar to the Italian electorate. Renzi’s intention to promote radical change, his mediatic figure, his colloquial language and his frequent references to football, therefore, were immediately associated to the media tycoon (Barile, 2014a: 7; 2014b: 4; Galimberti, 2015: 50; Giunta, 2015; Renzi, 2011: 137; Salvati, 2016; Savio, 2014). So much so that he gained the nickname of ‘Leftist Berlusconi’ (Bordignon, 2014), soon leaving the similarities to the British ex-Prime Minister to political and academic debate. Indeed, Berlusconi expressed a positive opinion about Renzi (Savio, 2014) and Renzi wrote about Berlusconi

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<sup>4</sup> In 1994, after several corruption scandals in finance and politics, Italy entered a new political phase: the Parliament ratified a new electoral law and the previous party system gave way to new political groups. This phase was unofficially called ‘Second Republic’ by the media (Bull and Rhodes, 2007; Duggan, 2007: 368-387; Forlenza and Thomassen, 2016: 248-249; Galimberti, 2015: 20).

with uttermost respect, if not admiration, taking his side against the criticisms by his own Democratic Party (2006: 77; 2011: 136, 140-148; 2013: 4).

Exhaustive analysis of the similarities and differences between the two leaders would largely exceed the scope of this introduction. What is relevant here is that Renzi's message may have not been as radically innovative as it appeared: not only did he appropriate programmes and themes of his political opponents using the Blairian technique of triangulation, but he also promoted traditional religious values, followed the school of the centre-right leader and promoted a commonplace view of Italy in a variety of ways. First, in his books Renzi reinforced some well-known stereotypes of Italians by celebrating food, football and the beauty of Italy, as well as glorifying his hometown as a successful epitome of the entire country. Second, his trust in the future and radical innovation recalled the faith in the natural, positive development of history of the philosophical school of Italian idealism of the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially Benedetto Croce and Giovanni Gentile. Third, the programme of creating the 'new Italian' by reviving past glories was heir to a long history of attempts to forge the new Italian, which spanned between Napoleon's military campaigns in Italy and the years that followed the fall of Fascism (see section 1.2). Fourth, the very celebration of the past as a Golden Age and the 'virtues' of the Italians were common strategies among nationalistic ideologies to reinforce national identity (Renzi, 2006; 2011; 2012; 2013. See also section 2.2.2).

Finally, Renzi sometimes contrasted the concept of innovation to the (supposedly) current state of decay of the country using the same overtones of the invectives that some Italian right-wing intellectuals of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century addressed to the Italians, who were blamed for not reacting to the state of decadence they were in. Similarly, Renzi accused some of his fellow citizens of being nothing more than hotel owners, cooks or boring museum custodians, and directly quoted the definition 'caretakers of a morgue' by Giovanni Papini, an Italian writer who joined the Fascist Movement in the 1930s (Renzi, 2006: 45; 2012: 85; 175; my translations. See also section 1.2). Significantly, a columnist of *l'Unità*, the official organ (now closed down) of the former

Communist Party,<sup>5</sup> highlighted a Fascist legacy in the violence of Renzi's term 'demolition'.

As mentioned above, the ex-Prime Minister does not seem to rely on communication experts on a systematic basis, but he is his own spin doctor and likes to improvise (Galimberti, 2014: 42-48; 61). However, I am fully aware that his rhetoric in a foreign language in his capacity as Prime Minister may have been the result of a complex stratification of contributions by consultants and translators. Whether these references were the subconscious outcome of a complex variety of cultural influences, or corresponded to a deliberate communication strategy, I consider Renzi fully responsible for his communication, both as a speaker and an institutional leader who chose to convey a specific identity (see sections 2.2, 2.3.3 and 3.2.3). Therefore, I shall analyse the resources he used in his speeches as the consequence of a precise, deliberate choice.

### **Aims, objectives and methodological considerations**

By focusing on systematic inconsistencies and the use of verbal and nonverbal resources with particular reference to the Italian stereotype, the study aims to foreground the articulation of political practices that underlies Renzi's rhetoric and outline possible implications in terms of power relations. This investigation also aims to contribute to research on intercultural negotiation of identity in second-language production within institutional contexts.

On a methodological level, since the study focuses on the investigation of explicit and implicit resources alike, its main objective is to test a viable method that allows enough flexibility to account for the cognitive resources that the speaker chooses to construct shared background knowledge.

The research is conceived, therefore, as a pilot study, whose contribution lies in fully integrating and further developing the two methods that Jeremy Munday proposed in his model for evaluation in translation (2012). To shed light on Renzi's discursive strategies, the study applies the model to two official

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<sup>5</sup> M. Prospero, Pd: rottamazione, idea fascistoide, *l'Unità*, 16 October 2012.

videos of Renzi's speeches in English. The methods are particularly relevant as they foreground the positioning of the speaker in terms of values and beliefs and, consequently, shed light on her or his putative enemy, the Other.

The study implements and tests some integrations to Munday's model (see Chapter 3). First and foremost, the model, which is applied to second-language production instead of inter-language translations, is developed to account for cognitive resources that contribute to the creation of background knowledge. Particularly relevant in the texts under analysis are explicit and implicit stereotypes, clichés, jokes, dexis and semiotic hand gestures, which are analysed simultaneously with verbal resources. By integrating nonverbal language, the study intends to overcome the limitations of merely verbal analysis, since gestures contribute to the communication process as a semiotic code that may also be culturally loaded and, accordingly, indexical of a national stereotype. Last, but not least, nonverbal language is a visual resource that carries implicit meanings, and, as such, contributes to yet another innovative feature of the study, multimodality.

Another development to the original model consists in the full integration of the two types of analysis, since the data from appraisal analysis – complete with cognitive resources – are used to populate the deictic positioning chart; together, the results they generate contribute to interpretation. Finally, all analyses are rendered by means of tables and charts; raw data are made available to ensure that the outcomes are evidence-based, replicable and transferrable.

Munday's model, expanded with the analysis of multimodal resources and cognitive elements, will provide a useful framework to expose Renzi's discursive strategies and outline the position he articulated with reference to Italy-related topics and clichés. This integration also aims to fill a gap in linguistic analysis by accounting for the use of context- and belief-related implicit resources (see section 3.2).

As a necessary background to research, four main areas are investigated from a multidisciplinary perspective. First, the distinctive traits of the Italian character are discussed on the grounds of relevant historical studies. For such

traits I shall adopt the term 'Italianness' following some reference works (Donati, 2013; Forlenza and Thomassen, 2016) as well as Roland Barthes' discussion on 'Sininess' (see section 2.3.1). Second, nonverbal language is defined and classified with reference to studies of psychology, sociology and ethnography. Third, sociology and history provide useful operational definitions for stereotypes and their role in nationalism. Finally, power, hegemony, discourse and cultural mediation are discussed on the grounds of linguistics, social psychology, sociology, philosophy and translation studies. Due to the multidisciplinary vocation of this study and the diversity of the fields of investigation involved, a specific literature review is provided for each area.

Overall, the study draws upon Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA, insofar as it takes on the assumption that discourse is a social phenomenon that embodies power relations, originates from a discourse-related problem, is multidisciplinary, has linguistic analysis as its main core and reflects on the analysis itself (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 60-68; 2003b: 209-210; see also sections 2.3.2, 3.1 and 3.3). Last, but not least, CDA provided relevant guiding principles also to the analysis of the discourse of the so-called new left in Norman Fairclough's and Christina Schäffner's studies (Fairclough, 1995/2013: 280-391; 2000; 2001/2003a; Schäffner, 2003).

## **Structure of this study**

The study is divided into 6 Chapters. Chapter 1 discusses the notion of national character with particular reference to the debate over Italianness from a historical perspective. The chapter underpins the data analysis and its following discussion by providing a viable definition of Italianness on which the present study is grounded.

Chapter 2 introduces the theoretical framework for analysis and is divided into sub-sections focusing, respectively, on nonverbal language, stereotyping and the relationship between power, hegemony, discourse and cultural mediation. Nonverbal language is analysed as it is one of the distinctive traits of Italianness. The section provides relevant definitions and classifications and, above all,



investigates the properties of a specific type of gestures, which possess a semiotic value, may substitute language and are culture-dependent. These gestures, called 'emblems', are relevant to research insofar as their Italian version can be considered an embodiment of the national character and possess an emotional value that elicits trust. The second section focuses on stereotyping and its function in nationalistic practices and illustrates the rationale for discussing stereotypes in language and in relation to the tradition of Italian politics. The final section of the chapter discusses the relationship between power, hegemony and discourse, from which the study originates. It provides an overview of the main theories that conceive language as an expression of axiology and ideology, introduces CDA as the theoretical framework of reference and, finally, discusses the strains of cultural mediation and its weight in institutional communication.

Chapter 3 explains the reasons why the present research needs a composite research methodology. The chapter is divided into sections that illustrate Munday's model and the integrations provided by the present study, show how the data collected is of multimodal nature and why it had to be selected as the appropriate data for the study, provide operational details and, finally, discuss the methodology in relation to the guiding principles of CDA.

Chapters 4 and 5 apply the research method and categorisations to the study of Renzi's rhetoric. A brief introduction provides context details for each speech, whereas the subsequent sections correspond to the time intervals in which each speech has been divided for operational reasons. Each section presents the transcript corresponding to the speech interval and the comments to its analysis. Concluding remarks at the end of both chapters sum up the findings for each speech.

Chapter 6 critically discusses findings and conclusions. The outcomes of the research are presented and conclusions are drawn with reference to the research hypothesis. On the one hand, the significance of the presence of Italianness-related stereotypes in Renzi's speeches is assessed against the background of the Prime Minister's intention to foster innovation in Italian society and its economy. On the other, the reasons underlying the persistence of

commonplaces and references to tradition are analysed both in relation to the nature of the stereotype of Italianness itself, and Renzi's political discourse.

The Appendices are devoted to additional explanatory material and analysis data: Appendix 8.1 contains the charts and tables for Munday's model, whereas Appendices 8.2 and 8.3 provide the analysis tables and charts for each speech section.

# 1

## Defining the boundaries: the Italian character

This chapter outlines the background of research by investigating the actual existence of a common character pertaining to Italy and the Italians, and attempts an analysis of its main traits. I shall, therefore, look for a definition of Italianness that is instrumental to the rationale of research. Since the purpose is the analysis of Renzi's rhetoric, I shall circumscribe the definition within the macro-categories that are relevant to the speeches under investigation and are most frequently recalled in the studies on Italianness, with no analysis of their variations in time. Similarly, I shall not detail the (supposed) differences in character between the North and the South of the peninsula because they are not relevant to the aim of the study. I shall give only a brief overview of the nature of the debate as it became central starting from the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century only, namely during the process of political unification (Patriarca, 2010: 34-36).

That Italy is the 'empire of stereotypes' (Casillo, 2006: 83) is debatable, but the ceaseless proliferation of publications reinforcing oversimplistic commonplaces on Italy testifies to their liveliness.<sup>6</sup> I shall investigate whether the set of commonplaces about Italy can indeed be ascribed to the domain of stereotypes in the following chapter (see section 2.2.3). At this stage of discussion, I shall use the provisional, general term 'character', retaining the reiterative and normative nature implied in the term stereotype, which can be applied to the traits that we are going to overview.

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<sup>6</sup> See, among many others, Solly, M. (1995), *Italians, Xenophobe's Guides*, London: Oval Books; D'Agostino Mautner, R. (2003), *Living la Dolce Vita: Bring the Passion, Laughter and Serenity of Italy into Your Daily Life*, Naper, Illinois: Sourcebooks; Coppolaro-Nowell, A. (2008), *How to Live Like an Italian: A User's Guide to La Dolce Vita*, London: Portico Books; Whittaker, A. (2010), *Speak the Culture: Italy*, London: Thorogood.

The quotation above provides pivotal insights that help to shape the discussion on Italianness. First and foremost, it highlights the persistence of the debates on the national character. This continuity in time is acknowledged by several investigations on the subject (see, for example, Barzini, 1964/1996; Dickie, 2001; Galli della Loggia, 1998; Moe, 2002; Patriarca, 2001, 2010; Schiavone, 1998; Tullio-Altan, 2000). Even when the actual existence of a national character is challenged, there seems to be little doubt on the ongoing need of Italians to find a definition for themselves (Bollati, 1985/1996: 37; Patriarca, 2001: 299).

Second, the quotation points out the abundance and the frequent inconsistencies of the clichés about Italy. In order to identify the most common and persistent categories that define Italianness despite the volatility that is generally attributed to national characters (Leersen, 2000: 275-280), I shall adopt a historical perspective. By investigating the historical origins of the Italian character, I shall foreground its permanence and provide an explanation to its contradictions.

## **1.1 The debate on the Italian character**

The idea of Italy as a single nation animated the intellectual debate long before the actual unification of the peninsula in 1861. From Dante Alighieri to Francesco Guicciardini, Ugo Foscolo and Giuseppe Mazzini, to name only a few, the notion of Italy as a cultural entity with its own language was considered a matter of fact, despite a political fragmentation that lasted approximately 14 centuries. When, in 1859, Matthew Arnold wrote the article 'England and the Italian Question', he defended the right of the Italians to see themselves as a nation on the grounds of shared Roman ancestry and Latinate language. As he claimed, 'that the Italians (...) should have a national self-consciousness strong, deep and susceptible, is inevitable' (Arnold, 1859/1960: 73).

Similarly, there has always been some agreement, among scholars and intellectuals of different periods, on the existence of an Italian character, whether as a product of nation-building (Dickie, 1996; 2001), or built over a multi-layered connotation over time (Galli della Loggia, 1998; Livolsi, 2011; Tullio-Altan, 2000),

or simply an identity that pervades the country despite evident differences, a 'national characteristic under the alien surface' (Barzini, 1964/1996: 68). One of the few exceptions is Giulio Bollati, who rejects the idea that the Italian character pre-existed the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and identifies the turning point in the process of unification, when the creation of the Italian citizens became a priority (1985/1996: 43; Graziano, 2010: 49).

Despite the existence of a national character, at least to some extent, recently-unified Italy urgently needed cultural and linguistic harmonization (Bollati, 1985/1996: 34-53; Dickie, 1996; Graziano, 2010: 49-51; Moss, 2000: 99-123; Schiavone, 1998: 11-12), as testified to by most historians and linguists in Italy (Marazzini 1999: 11-17; 164-165; 170-171; 179-180). This priority is perfectly summarised in the famous statement ascribed to Massimo d'Azeglio, one of Italy's father founders: 'now that Italy is made, we must make the Italians' (mentioned, among others, in Duggan 2007: xviii, and Patriarca, 2010: 8). This hiatus between the political and cultural sphere has also animated the debate over the concepts of 'identity', 'character' and 'national'. According to Marino Livolsi, Italianness can be described as character but not as national identity since it is the result of a historical process rather than a real sense of belonging (2011: 11-12). Similarly, Silvana Patriarca chooses the term 'character' instead of 'identity' because the former indicates 'objective' traits, whereas the latter indicates a self-perception that includes some form of projection in the world (2010: 2-3). Ernesto Galli della Loggia, on the other hand, describes the existence of an Italian identity that so far has failed to become 'national' (1998: 163-164).

Whatever the lexical choice, some characterisation clearly pre-existed the nation in several forms, both from within and without the peninsula. It is worth noting that, although at the time of the unification the Italian language had already given birth to centuries of literary masterpieces, it was not shared by the mass of the population and required decades of education policies after the unification to become so (Moss, 2000: 98-123). Similarly, the vision of a unified Italy was mainly nurtured by an intellectual elite (Livolsi, 2011: 13; Schiavone, 1998: 11). As Luigi Barzini summarises, 'the people never seriously felt the need

to become one nation' (1964/1996: 331). Despite these limitations, however, a sense of unity behind divisions underlay political and linguistic fragmentation since Roman times (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 32-35; Schiavone, 1998: 63).

This common heritage is clearly present also in the negative overtones of some self-representation. Starting from Dante's famous invective against Italy<sup>7</sup> (Alighieri, 1819/1910: 171), politicians and intellectuals have often invoked a regeneration of the Italian character, and sometimes expressed their disillusionment at the impossibility to attain any moral reformation.<sup>8</sup> The patriotic interest in the creation of the Italian citizen intensified at the time of Napoleonic campaigns in Italy and possibly reached its climax between the process of unification and post-Fascist Italy.

The aims and ideologies that animated the intellectuals that took part in such an intense activity of reformation were very varied: from Vincenzo Cuoco's return to an agrarian society to Alessandro Manzoni's 'New Humanism', from the fight against the supposed indolence and moral laxity of Italians passionately promoted by d'Azeglio and Mazzini, among many others, to the shaping of the modern Italian citizen prescribed by Fascism – manly, patriotic, heroic (Bollati, 1985/1996: 59-123; Duggan, 2007: 120-121, 156-159, 271-273, 281-282, 458-474; Falasca-Zamponi, 1997/2000: 7, 26, 40, 44; Patriarca: 2010: 21-160). The debate that took place in Italy soon after the fall of Fascism in 1943 is particularly relevant, as it concerned the definition of the national character in relation, and/or opposition, to Fascism and Italy's role in the Second World War. On the one hand, Italy needed to regain credibility among its allies (Duggan 2007: 533; Patriarca: 2010: 188-189); on the other, it was necessary to create a new narrative that could 'cleanse' the reputation of its citizens (Dickie, 1996: 24-27; Patriarca, 2010: 188-215). Thanks to eminent intellectuals such as Croce, Fascism started to

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<sup>7</sup> 'Ah slavish Italy! thou inn of grief, / Vessel without a pilot in loud storm, / Lady no longer of fair provinces, / But brothel-house impure!' *Purgatory, Canto vi*.

<sup>8</sup> For a thorough analysis on the inclination of Italian intellectuals and politicians to represent the national character in negative terms – either as in need of severe moral reformation if not altogether impossible to regenerate – see, in particular, Duggan, 2007, Moe, 2002, Patriarca, 2010 and Sciolla, 1997, 2001. For the moralising attitude of many Italian intellectuals, see Galli della Loggia, 1998.

be depicted as a parenthesis, a disease (Duggan 2007: 541; Patriarca: 2010: 193-195). According to these narrations, it had affected a small minority, and, as such, was not structural to Italianness, despite the overall mild attitude of the Italian Republic towards former Fascist leaders, most of whom still retained their position in the public administration (Duggan, 20017: 544-547). While left-wing political parties struggled to make the so-called 'values of the Resistance'<sup>9</sup> a shared common ground and the Catholic Church reinforced its position in the arena of political and cultural leadership, the myth of Italians as 'good people', humane and honest despite the oppression of the ruling class (often in opposition to the 'bad' German), was born (Focardi, 2013: vii-xiv; 20-32; 107-144).

I shall provide a brief outline of the permanence of the notion of rebirth in the Italian culture further below. What is relevant here is that behind these differences there lay the idea that Italians were a people with its own specific character. Also, foreign visitors significantly contributed to the debate on the Italian character long before the actual existence of Italy as a political entity. Comments and criticisms were expressed, among many, by travellers of the Middle Ages (Patriarca, 2010: 20), Madame de Staël, and the young members of the European upper classes who embarked in the *Grand Tour* (Casillo, 2006; Duggan, 2007; Patriarca, 2010). A significant example of the international interest in analysing the Italian character is Giuseppe Baretti's *Account of the manners and customs of Italy*. Published in English in 1769, the work is a detailed defense of the Italian customs against the criticisms by the English surgeon Samuel Sharp, and provides significant evidence of the vivacity of the debate.

## **1.2 What is Italianness?**

Whereas there seems to be little doubt on the existence – or perception – of an Italian character, its definition is far from univocal. Its representation has changed both diachronically and synchronically, revealing the coexistence of contradictory traits: Italians have been portrayed as religious and amoral, joyful

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<sup>9</sup> The resistance movement against German occupation and the Fascist Republic of Salò, in the later years of the Second World War.

and passionate as well as quarrelsome and corrupt, effeminate – especially with reference to the *cicisbei* of the 18<sup>th</sup> century – and ‘hyper-masculine’ in accordance with the model enforced by the Fascist regime (Bizzocchi, 2014; Casillo, 83-144; Dickie, 2001: 24; Duggan, 2007: 9, 43; Patriarca, 2010: 37-45; 144). Most of these incongruities can indeed be explained on the grounds of Italy’s political fragmentation and domination by foreign powers, which caused a double morality. On the one hand, this political condition fostered the idea that the State was a presence imposed from above and the social environment, other than the local community, was hostile. On the other hand, the subsequent unification required that Italians be ‘reformed’ to evolve into the citizens of a nation-state. As a consequence, dissimulation was a natural self-defence, laws were met with disrespect in favour of local rules and private morality (Casillo, 2006: 106-107; Galli della Loggia, 1998: 102-103), and a new, regenerated character needed to be imposed upon the population, as mentioned above.

The pivotal concept that may help us outline the contours of Italianness is, therefore, localism, or the loyalty to one’s own primary community (Forgacs, 2000: 145). There seems to be some agreement among scholars on the permanence, in the Italian history, of a ‘persisting disunity based on geoeconomic and linguistic fragmentation’ (Agnew, 1997: 34; see also Lyttelton, 2001: 27). So much so that even an advocate of Fascist nationalism such as Gentile – a philosopher and Minister of Education in Mussolini’s government – acknowledged the importance of regional differences and the need to include them in the development of the Italian national unity (Dainotto, 2001: 249-253). Similarly, the pivotal role of the family in Italian society is widely acknowledged. It is unlikely that we may come across studies on the Italian character that do not mention the family: in the triadic form ‘family-oligarchy-corporation’ (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 87-110); analysed as the social foundation of Italian society (Ginsborg, 2001; Sciolla, 1997) or in its historical roots (Schiavone, 1998: 65-76; Tullio-Altan, 2000); investigated as ‘amoral familism’ (Banfield, 1958), or represented as a cliché in post-war cinema (Patriarca, 2010: 214-226). Localism, in short, has moulded the Italian character in its double facet of familism and



municipalism, whose foundations, paradoxical as it may seem, were laid on a socio-political level in Roman times (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 31-84; Schiavone, 1998: 60-64).

Indeed, from its outset, the Roman Republic was grounded on a network of communities of increasing dimensions. At its foundations lay the family, which served economic, religious and political functions (Alföldy, 1987/2012: 20, 43). Families with kinship ties formed larger political entities, the *gentes*, which, in turn, were gathered into *curiae*. Finally, groups of ten *curiae* formed a tribe (Alföldy, 1987/2012: 21; Bougleux, 2007: 39). Interestingly, this social structure also included the *cliens*, or client, a free person seeking protection from an influential member of the aristocracy, who would then become his patron (Alföldy, 1987/2012: 25). Based on the exchange between the political and social support on the client's side and the financial and legal assistance on the patron's, clientelism soon became so deeply rooted in the Italian customs that it still remains as one of the typical traits of the national character.

The social organisation based on communities had its administrative equivalent in the peninsula in the network of towns that worked as the central nervous system of the Empire. Each town was linked to Rome on the basis of individual pacts, which allowed them some independence in the management of law and economic administration (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 36-37). In short, 'Roman Italy was (...) a land of cities' (Schiavone, 1998: 63, my translation). It is not by coincidence, therefore, that the allegoric representation of Italy as a woman with a crown of towers that symbolise a town appeared on a coin of the Roman Republic in the first century B.C.: though the allegory originally derived from the Anatolian goddess Cybele, it accompanied the development of the Italian history until it became the official symbol of the unified country in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This powerful municipal organisation survived many centuries after the fall of the Empire, especially in the area of the Centre-North, until it developed anew between the 11<sup>th</sup> and the 15<sup>th</sup> century to culminate in the splendour of the Italian Renaissance (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 67-69; Lyttelton, 2001; Schiavone,

1998: 70-71). As Francesco Guicciardini claimed while describing the condition of Italy in 1490,

[t]he greatest peace and tranquility reigned everywhere (...) not only did Italy abound in inhabitants, merchandise and riches, but she was also highly renowned for the magnificence of many princes, for the splendor of so many most noble and beautiful cities, as the seat and majesty of religion, and flourishing with men most skillful in the administration of public affairs and most nobly talented in all disciplines and distinguished and industrious in all the arts (Guicciardini, 1969: 4).

This social and economic balance, however, was deeply entwined with an oligarchic system and did not manage to produce, in time, a form of political integration that could both counterbalance the emergence of powerful European nation-states and 'take [the cities] to the next level of modernity' (Agnew, 1997: 34).

The spread of the Christian religion in the Italian peninsula was naturally blended in the social structure of the Roman Empire. The family and the city, therefore, became the pivotal centres for the expansion and consolidation of religious beliefs and practices. In turn, the Church played a crucial role in strengthening familism and localism on several levels. From a spiritual point of view, the Christian Church reinforced the importance of the Roman family by adding a sacred dimension to it (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 99-100; Ginsborg, 2001: 78). Moreover, being born within the Roman Empire, the Church elected Rome as its natural seat and spread along the lines of force of the Roman society - the network of urban centres - thus contributing to reinforce the importance of local communities. Finally, after the Council of Trent in the strictest phase of the Counter-Reformation at a time when the secular power became weak, the Church resisted as a strong, centralised power and hindered any process of political unification (Graziano, 2010: 122; Schiavone, 1998: 84-85). Unlike other European countries, Italy could not rely on the presence of a national Church as a unifying factor. On the contrary, the Universal Church operated in a perspective of self-preservation and, to do so, reinforced localism (Agnew, 1997: 34-35; Bedani, 2000: 215; Galli della Loggia, 1998: 123). Catholicism, in short, served the dual role of

persisting as the backbone of the Italian character, and acting as a 'substitute for the spirit of nationality' (Gramsci, quoted in Graziano, 2010: 122).

The social implications of the historical development mentioned above are significant. On the one hand, the prevalence of an organisation centred on families and local communities required strong alliances and clientelism; on the other hand, the control and repression exercised by the Church with increased efficiency during the Counter-Reformation contributed to develop a diffidence towards the institutions and the central administration and encouraged a marked duplicity between the private and the public sphere.

This need to protect one's own primary community – which had its roots in the Roman society and was perpetuated in Guicciardini's praise for self-interest (Guicciardini, 1512-1530/1845) – is summed up in the so-called 'amoral familism' mentioned above, which explains many of the traits traditionally attributed to Italians. Not only do these characteristics include excessive dependence on families, nepotism and double morality, but also all the traits that could help to obtain powerful protection such as duplicity, hypocrisy, transformism and the cult of appearance (Barzini, 1964/1996: 165, 190-213; Casillo, 2006: 87-92, 106-107; Galli della Loggia, 1998: 87-112; Ginsborg, 2001: 97-102; Loporcaro, 2004: 191; Patriarca, 2001, 2010: 102; Schiavone, 1998: 84-85; Tullio-Altan, 2000: 18-24). In such a context, friendship was, above all, utilitarian, and joyfulness, pleasantness and giving a good impression or keeping face (*bella figura*) were necessary skills: 'one must cultivate one's family, entertain as many useful friends (...) and therefore perfect the art of being obliging and *simpatico* at all times and at all costs' (Barzini, 1964/1996: 226-227).

Alongside familism – and apparently in contrast with it – Italians often had a reputation for being womanisers: passionate lovers and prone to adultery (Barzini, 1964/1996, 199-201; Patriarca, 2010: 91-92; Prezzolini, 1921/2014: 37). This reputation possibly originated in the golden age of ladies' escorts (called *cicisbei*) in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and saw a significant revival in the 20<sup>th</sup> century thanks to the ideal of Latin manliness promoted by Fascism and the opposite myth of *dolce vita* fostered by the Italian cinema in the 1950s and 1960s (Bizzocchi, 2014;

Casillo, 2006: 108-123; Patriarca, 2010: 43, 217-220). The reason why the reputation of hyper-sexuality has permeated the Italian character for centuries lies in that it is transversal to other pivotal features, being both opposed to and embedded in them. On a social level, the figure of the Latin lover was often related to the overall sensuousness and depravity of the Italian character that the founding fathers tried to reform. Nonetheless, it was successfully embodied by Mussolini, who embedded it in his idea of the new, hyper-masculine Italian. On a private level, despite it was contrary to family values, it was indeed nurtured within the traditional Catholic family: the *cicisbei* were considered a natural presence in aristocratic family routines, and, for centuries, adultery was generally accepted by spouses and family members provided it did not damage their public reputation (Barzini, 199-201; Bizzocchi, 2014; Patriarca, 2010: 217-220).

Among the characteristics attributed to the Italians, there is one that encompasses all individuals and concerns Italian society as a whole: backwardness. Some studies have called into question its definition and validity (Mason, 1988: 127; Forlenza, 2016: 1-6; Patriarca, 2001: 308), whereas others have highlighted that, just after the unification, the model of development that prevailed among intellectuals was the North European industrial economy, against which Italy was severely judged (Moe, 2001: 123; 2002: 1-36). Backwardness has also been defined a 'myth' and attributed to historical factors such as political fragmentation as opposed to European nation-states, a series of military defeats in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a late industrialisation and the failure to sacrifice personal advantage for a higher, national interest (Agnew, 1997: 23-40). The identification of backwardness with the predominance of the individual over society, in particular, has permeated the Italian historical and political debate for over a century. Its philosophical foundations date back to Croce's interpretation of Friedrich Hegel's *Weltgeist*, whereby men can gain control over history by abandoning personal interests in favour of the shared ideals of culture and common sense (Agnew, 1997: 37; Jacobitti, 1981: 6-7).

A number of studies have linked the (supposed) backwardness of Italy to the Counter-Reformation and the simultaneous consolidation of foreign

domination in large areas of the peninsula, a coexistence that exerted control and repression, and brought forth an organisational model based on solid hierarchies and a powerful bureaucracy (Barzini, 1964/1996: 300; De Mauro, 2004: 122-125; Graziano, 2010: 121-125; Galli della Loggia, 1998: 53-54; Patriarca, 2010: 38; Schiavone, 1998: 76-96; Tullio-Altan, 2000: 24-26). A reaction against Protestantism, the Counter-Reformation relied on the capillary presence of the local hierarchies of the clergy, and the extraordinary power of the Society of Jesus (Barzini, 1964/1996: 317-320; Galli della Loggia, 1998: 95; Patriarca, 2010: 65, 69; Woolf, 1973: 59). Universities experienced a dreary decline due to pressing censorship (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 95) and the overwhelming presence of the Jesuits, who, among many other activities, had the monopoly of the education system, so much so that '[w]ithin a few years, [the Society of Jesus] practically conquered the people's soul and controlled Italian society' (Barzini, 1964/1996: 320). Later on, this control and repression would also prevent the principles of the Enlightenment to spread in the peninsula, and the written word to prevail over the visual arts, as I shall briefly discuss in Chapter 6.

On a social level, the political and religious hegemony of the Church encouraged the persistence of familism and localism both as a necessary condition for survival, and a means for the central power to exerting control on the population. Moreover, by encouraging resignation and submission to Fate, Catholicism encouraged economic stagnation, as opposed to the Calvinist values of action and engagement that were responsible for the entrepreneurship and the expansion of the middle class in Protestant countries (Tullio-Altan, 2000: 12-26).

Whatever the cause, the prevailing representation of Italy since the 17<sup>th</sup> century has been that of a country with belated social and economic development despite its favourable historical legacy, geographic position and climate. Though 19<sup>th</sup>-century representations of Italy by European travellers often portrayed a picturesque Eden, they were also merciless in their judgment of the economic conditions and the social customs. So much so that Italy was at once considered both exotic and repulsive, and bore 'affinities with Europe's Other' (Moe, 2002: 27) - extensive evidence of this perspective, which goes beyond the scope of the

discussion, dates back to the influential voice of many European *Grand Tour* writers, from Goethe to Stendhal to generations of British upper-class travellers. It is true that since the half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the concept of backwardness has often been attributed specifically to southern Italy. The idea that civilisation ended in Naples – the symbolic border of the Bourbon regime – also spread within the peninsula and became one of the main concerns of the political class of the newly born Kingdom of Italy (Moe, 2001: 119-153; 2002: 187-249). A thorough analysis of the so-called ‘Southern Question’ (Duggan, 2007: 265-273; Moe, 2002; Patriarca, 2010: 67-69), however, would exceed the purpose of this brief overview. What is relevant for this study, is the centuries-long permanence of the debate over Italy’s backwardness and need for regeneration (Gramsci, 1975: 71, 131-132, 1574, 1864; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001: 65-66; Moe, 2002: 1-10).

It has been claimed that ‘[t]he advent of the new is an old tradition for Italy’ (Forlenza, 2016: 7). This is because the discussion on the past and the definition of the future of the country have been as pervasive as – and intertwined with – the debate on backwardness and regeneration: from the Renaissance to the Risorgimento<sup>10</sup> until present times, Italy has always been acquainted with the notion that progress could be attained by reviving its historical legacy (ibidem, 7-10). The significance of the past in the Italian tradition was unequivocally acknowledged by the ex-President of the Italian Republic Carlo Azeglio Ciampi, who in the year 2000 defined Italianness as ‘the consciousness to belong to an unbroken line of history and civilization, marked by the legacy of ancient Rome, of Christianity and of Humanism’ (ibidem, 256).<sup>11</sup> Even criticisms to this legacy testify to its paramount importance in the Italian culture, as is the case of Antonio Gramsci’s definition of a ‘rhetorical prejudice (of literary origin) that the Italian national has always existed from ancient Rome to the present day’ (2012: 201). According to Gramsci, ‘this and other totems and intellectual conceits (...) are critically inept and become, ultimately, a weakness

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<sup>10</sup> *Risorgimento* (‘resurgence’ in English) is the name of the cultural and political movement that culminated in the unification of the Kingdom of Italy in 1861.

<sup>11</sup> The original speech in Italian is available at <http://presidenti.quirinale.it/Ciampi/dinamico/ContinuaCiampi.aspx?tipo=discorso&key=12740> (last accessed on 6 April 2019).

because (...) they lead to a sort of fatalism and passive expectation of a future which would be completely predetermined by the past' (ibidem).

I shall investigate the importance of the past as a myth in the formation of nation-states in the following chapter. In this context it is worth underlining that the heritage from the past often provided an unavoidable reference point to compare the current conditions of Italy and, in many cases, offered a project for reformation concerning customs, politics and even economy. In time the praise for the past acquired a variety of recurring hues: the Romantic praise for the heroic tradition of the Middle Ages, admiration for the splendour of the Renaissance, and, above all, nostalgia for the glories of the Roman Empire (Agnew, 1997: 34-35; Casillo, 2006; Dickie, 1996: 24; Galli della Loggia, 1998: 116-117; Lyttelton, 2001: 27-74; Patriarca, 2010: 79-107).

Besides the all-too-famous Roman revival promoted by Mussolini, ancient Rome, in particular, has frequently been invoked as the foundations of Italy's civilisation and Mediterranean identity, so much so that it has been defined the 'past that does not pass' (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 117). A 'boot-shaped' peninsula that stretches across the Mediterranean spanning significantly between the East and the West, Italy has often been considered both a natural bridge between cultures (Bollati, 1985/1996: 115; Donati, 2013: 263; Galli della Loggia, 1998: 7-17) and the cradle of civilization (Donati, 2013: 269; Forlenza, 2016: 30; Moe, 2002: 22). Thus, the 'inferiority complex' towards northern European countries that animated the Italian political and cultural debate since the 17<sup>th</sup> century, soon found its counterpart in a sense of superiority that was grounded on the country's historical heritage and geographical position. So much so that many intellectuals and politicians from the unification onwards elaborated theories on economic and political development that aimed to find a new, Italy-inspired path to modernity. Among many others, Vincenzo Gioberti, Mazzini, Mussolini and Croce sought an Italian way alternative to North European Liberalism, a path that would account for the peculiarities and (supposed) primacy of the Italian cultural tradition, and its Mediterranean legacy (Bollati, 1985/1996: 108-109;

Donati, 2013: 269; Forlenza, 2016: 30-31, 39-45, 129, 276-279; Gioberti, 1844/1920: 79-136; Moe, 2001: 22; Patriarca: 2010, 158).

As previously discussed, the Church in general, and the Counter-Reformation in particular, undoubtedly were a decisive factor in forging the character of the Italians and their relationship with the State (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 53-55). Indeed the strong presence of the Church in municipal life also played a pivotal role in favouring the extraordinary richness in art that is traditionally associated to Italy (Barzini, 1964/1996: 1-50; Gioberti 1844/1920: 1-10; Gundle, 2000: 124-131; Sciarrino, 2009: 12, 95, 99), together with the beauty of the natural landscape, the mild climate and the love for food (I shall briefly overview the role of food within the rituals of nationalism in section 2.2.2).

Whether the proliferation of the artistic production also relied on the natural inclination of the Italians towards decoration, appearance and rituals, or not (Barzini, 1964/1996: 75-90), there seems to be little doubt that the Church gave a fundamental contribution. Indeed, in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance the political and military consolidation of the Italian wealthy city-states was entwined with the expansion of religious orders, so that this success was invariably celebrated through sacred iconography (Galli della Loggia, 1998: 52, 73). Later on, during the Counter-Reformation, the role of the Church in promoting the artistic production became even more central: since the visual arts appealed to emotions, as opposed to the written word, the artistic dominance of Baroque forms entailed a religious and political message of grandeur, which depicted the Catholic Church as stronger than any mundane power in Italy (Graziano, 2010: 123-125). Moreover, whereas works of art and architecture were funded by rich bankers and merchants seeking for absolution from their sins (Tullio-Altan, 2000: 16-17), art and the cult of appearance offered artists and intellectuals a safe harbour from repression, and a compensation for the economic and political stagnation of their motherland (Barzini, 1964/1996: 299-309).

To conclude this overview on the relation between art and beauty and Italy, it is worth noting that it has not always been favourably acknowledged. On



the contrary, during Fascism it was often associated with tourism, which, in turn, elicited negative overtones of unmanliness. Hence the variety of negative portraits that flourished during the 1930s and 1940s: the image, feared by Mussolini, of Italy becoming 'a country for tourists - a large Switzerland' (Duggan, 2007: 520); Italy being reduced to a 'gondola trip' (Giuseppe Prezzolini, quoted in Patriarca, 2010: 139); the unflattering portrait of Italians as mandolin strummers, hoteliers, ciceroni and tourist entertainers, by both Italian and foreign intellectuals alike (ibidem, 139-140); finally, Enrico Sacchetti's lament about Italians turning into a 'people of hotel owners, museum custodians [and] shoe-shiners' (quoted in Patriarca, 2010: 192; original Italian version in Sacchetti, 2001: 509).

One of the traits currently associated to Italianness is the passion for football (Dickie, 1996: 21). In section 2.1 we shall briefly investigate the contribution of sport to the construction of national identity, with particular reference to the middle-classes. What is relevant at this point of the discussion on Italianness is to underline that, far from being merely a popular sport, in the last decades football has permeated not only the Italian national culture but also politics. The first turning point was Italy's victory in the World Cup of 1982, whose celebration was skilfully orchestrated to create the myth of Sandro Pertini - President of the Republic at the time - and, ultimately, foster national identity (Foot, 2016). This operation was so successful that Renzi himself mentioned the episode while addressing the Senate for the first time in February 2014.<sup>12</sup> A decade later, with the rise of Silvio Berlusconi, Italy was fully 'footballized' (ibidem, 355) and the jargon of football was officially appointed to political discourse. Football, however, has also been investigated on as a representation of Italian society: not very popular among Italian women, football is a male-dominated sport that represents municipal affiliations, and encourages the

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<sup>12</sup> 'On the 24 February 1990... Sandro Pertini died. I remember his attitude, which all of us remember, especially in the face of the problems of those terrible years, as well as in the better moments, as when the world cup came back from Madrid'. Quoted in Foot, 2016: 355. The relevant excerpt of the speech in Italian is available at: <http://video.repubblica.it/dossier/governo-renzi/fiducia-renzi-cita-pertini-il-paese-vuole-esempi-e-non-prediche/157169/155664> (last accessed on 6 April 2019).

display of emotions and the distrust for the authority of the referee (Ginsborg, 2001: 112-119; Renzi, 2013: 13-15). Besides being a cliché, in short, football may be considered a powerful vector of national identity and metaphor of Italy's long-established tradition of municipalism.

An overview of the main traits of Italianness would not be complete without mentioning the use of gestures: Italians are often represented as talkative, loud and extensively using gestures to support, if not substitute, verbal language (Barzini, 1964/1996: 62-65; Casillo, 2006: 107; Poggi, 2007: 147; Sciarrino, 2009: 48-49, 81, 99). I shall investigate different classifications of gestures in section 2.1.1; what is relevant in this context is that, beyond the cliché, Italian nonverbal language has attracted much interdisciplinary interest for its semiotic dimension and specificity. Indeed, Italian gestures have been studied in the seminal works of David Efron (1941/1972) and Ray Birdwhistell (1970), catalogued in dictionaries (among them, Munari, 1958, 2005), acknowledged as an essential component in language learning (Diadori, 2013; Salvato, 2008), and investigated in their capacity to convey extra-verbal meaning (Graham and Argyle, 1975). Like verbal language, Italian gestures have some local variations (Kendon, 2004: 93; Diadori, 1990/2003: 13; Poggi, 2007: 203-204), which, however, do not hinder either the process of communication, or the validity of research on specific varieties.

This is the case of the first scholar that embarked on a systematic investigation on Italian gestures, the archaeologist Andrea De Jorio, who, in 1832 analysed Neapolitan gestures by referring to the way they were portrayed in Roman mosaics and paintings (De Jorio, 2000). Thanks to his detailed analysis of local gestures, De Jorio revealed their importance in Italian communication, while, at the same time, highlighting the existence of grammatical and semantic relations between them (see section 2.1.1). More recently, the extensive work of David Efron (1941/1972), Adam Kendon (1995, 2004) and Pierangela Diadori (1990/2003), among others, have provided a thorough description of Italian nonverbal language, while Isabella Poggi investigated the possibility of creating a

'gestureary', or classification of Italian gestures based on specific semiotic categories (2004: 74-87; 2007: 147-208).

The reason why nonverbal language plays such a significant role in Italian communication in general – and Neapolitan in particular – seems to lie in the urban and social conditions of traditional life. On the one hand, since most activity took place in the street, gestures provided useful support to communication in a crowded, noisy environment (Kendon, 2004: 349-353; on the use of semiotic gestures in a noisy environment, see Ekman, 1969: 64). On the other, as previously mentioned, traditional society was based on networks of families: it is likely, therefore, that the individual needed to develop 'dramatization' skills to compete for attention among peers (Kendon, 2004: 354). Once again, the organisation of Italian society around urban centres and families is the key concept that may guide us through the intricate maze of the Italian character.

It has been pointed out that one of the features of Renzi's rhetoric, together with improvisation, is the frequent use of nonverbal language, which is the physical equivalence of dynamism and political action (Galimberti, 2015: 61-63). By studying the role of nonverbal language in conveying some aspects of the national character described above, in the next chapter I shall show why I considered nonverbal signs as part of the theoretical framework that enabled a holistic analysis of Renzi's speeches. The content of his speeches relies both on the verbal and the nonverbal form, hence the study of gestures that is discussed in the next chapter.

## 2

### Theoretical Framework

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework for analysis. Given the nature of the research as a pilot study founded on a bottom-up approach, the theoretical framework has grown out of the process of investigating the texts. To borrow an image from biology, instead of being the backbone of research, it is its exoskeleton. Moreover, since the research focuses on second-language production in a specific form of institutional communication, the theoretical framework embraces a variety of disciplines. This is because institutional communication is at the junction of different fields of investigation, and pivotal concepts such as discourse, power, identity, stereotyping and nationalism are cross-related in multiple ways (Billig, 1995; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002; Fairclough, 1998/2013; Hodge and Kress, 1979; Jackson, 2014: 88-90; Katan, 2004; 2009; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001; Moscovici, 2000; van Dijk, 1997; 1998/2000).

Whereas hand gestures conceptually pertain to the previous chapter insofar as a specific, culturally-loaded variant can be considered indexical of national character, I believe that a discussion on their classification and origin within the theoretical framework will be helpful to shed light on their overall role in communication. Indeed, as a form of nonverbal language with a semiotic value, some hand gestures have the same meaning-making potential of verbal language and may contribute to reinforce power relations and stereotyping.

Since drawing a linear theoretical path may result in an almost impossible task, I shall highlight the most relevant conceptual routes and the way these concepts relate to each other and overlap by following a linear path with no hierarchical structure. To do so, I shall draw on elements of debates from

translation studies, social semiotics, linguistics, ethnography, sociology, social psychology and philosophy.

## 2.1 Gestures

As mentioned in the previous chapter (section 1.2), for centuries the extensive use of semiotic gestures has been generally considered one of the distinctive traits of Italianness. This section offers a brief discussion on the classification of gestures, and establishes the semantic significance and the typology of gestures relevant to analysis. First, I shall briefly outline some discrepancies in terminology, then I shall focus on the two main debates that are relevant to this study, namely the classification of gestures and their innate or learned origin.

Investigations on gestures have traditionally involved a variety of disciplines, which have tackled the several questions raised by this fundamental component of human communication in different ways. Terminology itself is far from univocal, and the meaning of some crucial terms show significant variations. One of them is 'gesture', which may refer to any bodily action (Streeck, 2015: 27), or to 'conscious or unconscious body movements made with the head, the face alone or the limbs' (Poyatos, 1983b: 196). As such, gestures belong to the overarching category of nonverbal communication, namely bodily activity that plays a communicative role in social interaction (Argyle, 1972/1979; Kendon, 1981, 2004; Poyatos, 1983a, 1983b). The use of the term 'nonverbal' itself, however, may range from physical proximity and speech intonation to appearance, from posture to gestures and facial expressions. For this reason, Fernando Poyatos proposed a tripartite structure of human communication, further subdividing nonverbal acts into paralanguage and kinesics, and described human communication as consisting of a triple structure 'language-paralanguage-kinesics' (Poyatos, 1983a, 1983b). Peter A. Andersen, on the other hand, proposed a classification of gestures that did not take into account their semiotic value, but that was based on the neurophysiological implications of verbal and nonverbal communication, and ascribed different types of gestures to either of the two categories (1999: 15-29; 36-38; see below).

It is widely acknowledged, however, that communication functions as a *continuum* (Birdwhistell, 1970; Kendon, 1983, 2004; Poyatos, 1983a, 1983b). This is because nonverbal components cannot be easily separated – both from each other and from verbal communication – since they often co-occur and provide context information (de Fornel, 1992; Gumperz, 1982/2002: 140-150). Facial expressions, for instance, may help to disambiguate meaning (Argyle, 1972/1979: 249; Poggi, 2007: 181-182, 212, 214; Poggi and Zomparelli, 1987: 326): ‘[f]acial action (...) appears to serve as a kind of framing device, acting to produce, as movement inflections can, different interpretations of lexical information that is provided manually’ (Kendon, 1992: 102). For this reason, the classification of gestures proposed by Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen included ‘affect display’, namely a form of nonverbal communication mainly obtained by moving facial muscles (Ekman, 2004: 44; Ekman and Friesen, 1969: 70). Other classifications embrace a wider variety of deliberate kinetic expressions ranging from gaze and posture to proxemics, and even clothing (Poyatos, 1983a, 1983b).

Though facial expressions and their contribution to framing verbal communication may be relevant to the analysis of evaluative stances, I shall follow the scholarly tradition that restricts the usage of the term ‘nonverbal’ to indicate hand gestures, or gesticulation (Argyle, 1972; Birdwhistell, 1970; Diadori, 1990/2003; Efron, 1941/1972; Kendon, 1980, 1981, 1992, 2004; Leach, 1972; Lyons, 1972). The reason behind this choice lies in that detailed analysis of the different kinetic components of Renzi’s speeches would exceed the purpose of the study: first and foremost, the stereotype of Italianness is generally associated to culture-specific hand gestures, whereas facial expressions are often subservient to hand gestures. Second, he uses a variety of idiosyncratic facial expressions that are not necessarily instrumental to expressing evaluation, and their analysis would require a dedicated study. I shall, therefore, mainly focus on hand gestures, and limit the analysis of facial expressions to some relevant examples that serve the purpose of reinforcing framing (see sections 4.4, 4.5, 4.6, 4.7, 5.2, 5.6, 5.9 and 5.10).

For centuries, gestures have attracted the attention of philosophers, thinkers, artists and scientists, with alternate fortune and shifting focus. In the

Classical Antiquity gestures were mainly investigated to regulate the rhetorical practice of persuasive discourse. Later on, between the 16<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century, extensive works were published especially with reference to art, good manners, and the philosophy of language: Leon Battista Alberti, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, John Bulwer, Baldassarre Castiglione, Abbé Charles-Michel de l'Épée, Gerard de Lairese, Monsignor Della Casa, Gian Battista Vico and many others, (also quoted in Kendon, 2004: 17-42).

This interest continued in the following century and brought to quite a comprehensive understanding of gestures and the communication process. During the 20<sup>th</sup> century, scholars of a wide variety of disciplines, ranging from anthropology to psychology, from sociology to linguistics, neuroscience and cognitive sciences, attempted to find a clear-cut definition and classification, and focused on the function of gestures and their relation to speech (Andersen, 1999; Birdwhistell, 1970; De Jorio, 2000; Efron, 1941/1972; Ekman and Friesen, 1969, 1972, 1976, 2004; Kendon, 1980, 1981, 1992, 2004; Leach, 1972; McNeill, 1992; Poggi, 2007; Poggi and Zomparelli, 1987; Poyatos, 1983, to name only a few). Among various fields of investigation on gestures, two are particularly relevant to this study: their classification, and whether they are innate or culture-driven.

### **2.1.1 Classifications of gestures**

One of the first scholars who embarked on an extensive study of gestures in relation to culture was the Neapolitan archaeologist Andrea De Jorio, who, for this reason, is called 'the first ethnographer of gesture' (Kendon, 1995). As briefly anticipated in section 1.2, in his book of 1832, De Jorio analysed Neapolitan gestures on the background of their representation in ancient mosaics and paintings in order to illustrate the peculiarities of Neapolitan body language and show its link with the past. In particular, I emphasised the reasons why De Jorio's work is relevant to this study as it provides a systematic description of Neapolitan gestures as a language of its own. By confirming the extensive use of semiotic gestures as a peculiarity of Italian communication (as pointed out above, the existence of regional variations does not hinder the phenomenon on a

national scale), De Jorio established the rooted conceptualization of a unique and symbiotic relationship between the verbal and nonverbal communication in the Italian language.

What is relevant in this context, however, is that De Jorio paved the way to some of the directions of subsequent investigation (Kendon, 1995): he acknowledged that gestures are influenced by culture, and analysed them on the background of grammar, semantics and pragmatics. To do so he investigated the use of gender and number, described how gestures can be amplified or diminished, or used in a sequence, and highlighted how they can function as synonyms, metaphors, metonymies and the like (Kendon, 2000: lxxi). Finally, he provided a first classification by dividing gestures into *cryptic* (ritual, exoteric or technical), *conventional* (used by the overall population) and *natural* (Kendon, 2000: lxiii; De Jorio, 2000: 17). De Jorio did not give any details of the essence of natural gestures, despite they were the object of his own investigation, as he acknowledged that the boundaries between conventional gestures and natural gestures may not be clear-cut (2000: 17).

A century later, in 1941, David Efron published one of the pillars of contemporary studies on gestures: *Gesture and the Environment* – later re-published as *Gesture, Race and Culture* – a large study on the gestures of the Italian and Jewish community in New York (1941/1972). In his work Efron proposed a classification of gestures based on whether the ‘meaningfulness’ they acquire is derived in conjunction with speech or not. The terminology that follows draws on Efron’s classification (1941/1972: 96): gestures can be *logical* or *discursive* if they portray ‘the ideational process’ of thought, or *objective* if they possess a connotation of their own. The former category includes *baton-like* gestures, i.e. those hand movements that beat the tempo of speech, and *ideographics*, which trace the direction of thought. Objective gestures can be *deictic* (indicating a specific spatial point), *physiographic*, namely ‘depicting either the form of a visual object or a spatial relationship (*iconographic* gesture), or that of a bodily action (*kinetographic* gestures)’, or *symbolic* or *emblematic* if their meaning is entirely arbitrary and conventionalised.



On the wake of Efron's work, Paul Ekman and Wallace V. Friesen (1969, 1972, 1976, 2004) proposed a classification of nonverbal behaviour based on three elements: usage, origin and coding. The term 'usage' includes elements such as external conditions, the speaker's awareness and intention to communicate, the type of information, and so on. The origin of the act consists in whether the gesture depends on the nervous system, is species-dependent or culturally acquired. Coding, finally, refers to the relation it stands in to meaning, which can be arbitrary, iconic or intrinsic (implied). According to these criteria, Ekman and Friesen (1969) divided nonverbal behaviour into five categories, some of which were greatly influenced by Efron's work: *emblems*, *illustrators*, *regulators*, *affect displays* and *adaptors* – later on called *manipulators* (Ekman, 2004: 43).

Like in Efron's classification, emblems are defined as nonverbal behaviour that can be replaced by one or more words. However, according to this classification, their relation to meaning may be symbolic or iconic, whereas Efron defined it as always arbitrary. Illustrators are meant to support or contradict speech and are divided in several sub-categories that correspond to Efron's batons, ideographs, deictic movements and so forth, with only slight differences. Regulators serve the purpose of creating a rhythm for speech. Affect displays (or emotional expressions) consist, as mentioned above, in facial movements expressing emotions. Finally, adaptors are habits we learn very early in life to establish a contact with the world and the people around us, which we involuntarily reproduce in conditions of stress, or we experience certain feelings (biting one's own lips or wiping them with one's tongue during conversation are typical examples).

I shall not detail Ekman and Friesen's classification further. Instead, I shall focus on two concepts that are relevant for the study. First, while keeping Efron's overall classification, Ekman and Friesen set a different hierarchical organisation by distinguishing emblems from other 'objective' (in Efron's terms) gestures. This is because, by grounding their analysis on origin, usage, and code, Ekman and Friesen were able to identify emblems as substantially different from other gestures, that is, culture-dependent, deliberately communicative and mainly

symbolic (though sometimes iconic). Second, that Ekman and Friesen's classification slightly changed in time – regulators, for instance, later showed as a sub-category of illustrators – confirms that categories are not mutually exclusive and may overlap (1969, 1972, 2004). This notion is crucial to the present study, since gestures often transform into each other, making classification rather difficult, as the analysis of the speeches will show.

While acknowledging the importance of the contribution of Ekman and Friesen, Adam Kendon focused on the interaction between nonverbal and verbal communication, and devoted much of his extensive study to classify gestures on the basis of their function in communication (how they relate to speech) and their contribution to meaning. Though Kendon's thorough analysis of gestures largely exceeds the purpose of this study, I shall consider his contribution as crucial in two ways. First, as Italy – Naples in particular – has provided the context for part of Kendon's observations, some of his studies provide relevant description of key gesture families that also occur in Renzi's communication (Kendon, 2004). I shall briefly outline the salient characteristics of these families in the Operational Notes (section 3.2.4).

Second, Kendon highlighted the continuity between gestures, and between gestures and speech. His classification was subsequently interpreted in terms of a cline by David McNeill, who named it 'Kendon's continuum' in his honour (Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992: 37-72; 2016). At one end of the continuum is gesticulation, which accompanies speech and completes its meaning, followed by speech-framed gestures (namely gestures that are part of a sentence), emblems or 'autonomous gestures' (conventionalised signs), pantomime, and, at the opposite end of the cline, the gestures of sign language. Along the continuum, from gesticulation to signs, the weight of the verbal element decreases, and, in an inversely proportional manner, gestures show an increase in their language-related features. What is particularly relevant in the context of this study is that Kendon considered communication as a joint activity of verbal and nonverbal acts that are governed by the same area of the brain and work as 'idea units' (2004: 126).

As I have already pointed out, several important works focused on the classification of gestures. Among them, the seminal study of David McNeill and the dictionary of symbolic gestures of Betty and Franz Bauml. A comprehensive overview of all of them, however, would largely exceed the purpose of this chapter, since they include a variety of gestures of different type and geographical origin, whereas the focus of research is on Italian emblems. Therefore, I shall conclude this brief overview with Isabella Poggi's work, which pertinently and explicitly refers to Italian gestures (2004, 2007; Poggi and Zomparelli, 1987). Acknowledging that 'sometimes we cannot classify a gesture as belonging to a single type' (2007: 111), Poggi proposes five parameters that allow some flexibility in classification: semantic content, communication goal (namely whether communication concerns oneself, the world, and so on), the speaker's level of awareness, cognitive construction (whether a gesture is invented or coded), gesture-meaning relationship (motivated or arbitrary) and relationship to other signals. What is relevant in this overview on nonverbal language is Poggi's focus on symbolic gestures, or *lexical gestures*, which correspond to emblems (2004: 73; 2007: 147-150). Poggi describes them as culturally coded signs with a 'canonical corresponding verbal formulation' (2007: 149), and proposes a dictionary of gestures, or 'gestionary' (2004: 74-87; 2007: 147-208), as briefly mentioned in section 1.2.

Within Poggi's extensive work, it is worth underlining three key points that are relevant for analysis. First, that her project for a gestionary mainly focuses on Italian symbolic gestures testifies to the significance of nonverbal language in Italian communication. Second, lexical gestures can occur independently of verbal language (for them Poggi embraces Kendon's definition of *autonomous gestures*) or during speech (*coverbal*). Third, though Poggi rejects the concept of gestures as a language because there is no syntactic connection between different acts (2007: 169), she acknowledges some characteristics that gestures share with verbal language.

Indeed, symbolic gestures undergo the same sociolinguistic variations in use as verbal language, namely across time, space, users and situations (2004: 80;

2007: 203-205). Moreover, they can have a rhetorical function (2007: 183-189), and be connected with each other by semantic relations of synonymy, homonymy, polysemy and homophony, which Poggi and Zomparelli call *homocheiry* (Poggi, 2004: 83; 2007: 178-181; Poggi and Zomparelli, 1987: 314-315, 326). Finally, Poggi suggests that some polysemic symbolic gestures and the facial expressions that disambiguate their meaning may be linked by a morphological relation, whereby the root is the gesture and the flexional morpheme is the facial expression (2007: 214).

### **2.1.2 Innate or culture-driven?**

The second field of investigation of special relevance to this study concerns the debate between innateness and culture. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century philosophers approached the subject by generally acknowledging gestures as a natural expression and investigating possible ways of using this feature as the basis of a universal language (Kendon, 2004: 35, 326-327). Two centuries later, in *Gesture and the Environment*, Efron approached the question by refuting the theories based on the notion of race, which were so popular in the Thirties. These theories claimed that human behaviour, gestures included, was determined by biological race. Efron's refutation lay on two foundations: on the one hand, the analysis of historical documents confirmed the evolution of customs concerning gestures and the cross-influence between different national groups. On the other hand, the experimental analysis of the gestures of the two communities living in New York clearly showed that younger generations assimilated and lost awareness of some behavioural traits of their original group. What is relevant to research is that Efron's findings provided scientific evidence to the tight connection between some nonverbal communication and culture, whereby the former can be analysed as indexical of the latter.

While abandoning the idea of 'race', following research evolved into more general, interdisciplinary investigation on nonverbal communication/behaviour and innateness. As the approach broadened, the position of scholars became less categorical. Though innateness was generally acknowledged as a crucial

component of nonverbal communication, the weight attributed to culture varied significantly. Some studies clearly emphasised the phylogenetic origin of nonverbal communication by observing the similarities between cultures and animal species (Argyle, 1972/1979; Bateson, 1987; Eibl-Eibesfeldt, 1972), as opposed to the position, for instance, of Ray L. Birdwhistell, who affirmed that 'there is no body motion or gesture that can be regarded as a universal symbol' (1970: 81; see also Hager and Ekman, 1983: 288).

On the other hand, some scholars reconciled innateness and culture by identifying the coexistence, in nonverbal communication, of a genetic substratum and learned elements that developed locally through evolution, and attributing the differences between types of gestures to their genetic or cultural nature (Poyatos, 1983; Ekman, 1997; Ekman and Friesen, 1969, 1972, 2004; Hager and Ekman, 1983). For instance, one of the three pillars of Ekman and Friesen's classification was origin, for which they considered three main variants: 'neurophysiologically programmed' expressions, species-related behaviour – namely, adaptive responses to environmental conditions – and learned, culturally-dependent nonverbal behaviour. Ekman and Friesen, however, acknowledged that such a categorisation cannot be straightforward, and elaborated a 'neurocultural' theory, whereby emblems, illustrators and regulators are culturally acquired, adaptors are species-related, and affect displays originate neurophysiologically, then develop socially (Hager and Ekman, 1983; Ekman and Friesen, 1969).

A reconciliation of the dichotomy between phylogenesis and ontogenesis was also attempted on the grounds of the structuralist division between *deep structure* and *surface structure* (Leach, 1972: 332-343). According to this theory, the mind possesses an innate structuring capacity for language (Noam Chomsky's *deep structure*), which is expressed in the *surface structure* of communicative acts. This differentiation may account for the co-existence of universal traits and culture-specific expressions:

Spoken language, in its superficial manifestations, is infinitely varied but it contains at a deep structure level some elements of species-wide uniformity, and it is a plausible

hypothesis that, in some as yet unexplained sense, these uniformities may be genetically transmitted. This could be equally true of non-verbal symbolic 'language' for here too, although the superficial manifestations are infinitely varied, there seem to be uniformities of a structural kind. (ibidem, 343)

Overall, this position was already embedded in Edward Sapir's observation (1927: 137): '[l]ike everything else in human conduct, gesture roots in the reactive necessities of the organism, but the laws of gesture, the unwritten code of gestured messages and responses, is the anonymous work of an elaborate social tradition'.

As mentioned above, Andersen (1999) developed a different interpretation of the difference between verbal and nonverbal communication, and, accordingly, of the dual nature of gestures. An exhaustive presentation of Andersen's analysis would exceed the aim of this section; what is relevant here is that Andersen based his study on neurophysiological observations of how different areas of the brain are triggered by verbal behaviour and gestures, and clearly distinguished between two types of communication. On the one hand, verbal messages are defined as a left-hemispheric, 'digital' (arbitrary) code that is culture-based and content-oriented. On the other, nonverbal communication is right-hemispheric, analogic (iconic), biologically-based and emotional. The former type of messages is processed analytically and is symbolic, whereas the latter are processed as a whole and are spontaneous. Drawing on Ekman and Friesen's classification of gestures, Andersen defined speech and emblems as verbal, and illustrators and adaptors as nonverbal.

From the literature, I consider of essential importance for the present study three key concepts, which can be outlined as follows: 1) gestures are a crucial element in communication, form a continuum with verbal language and relate to it in a number of ways; 2) classifications of gestures are possible, but, given the large number of dimensions to account for, gestures form a continuum and categories inevitably overlap, thus making strict classifications impossible or redundant; 3) gestures are mostly learned and culture-specific and can be analysed as such, but they may also present a spontaneous, innate element, or

substrate. The consequences these three conceptual stances bear on the analysis are significant. First, the function of gestures in communication can be investigated along different pathways as their function may be verbal, or deictic, or they may serve as a framing device. Moreover, whenever they are culturally-driven, they may embody national stereotypes, as is the case of Italian gestures; on the other hand, the presence of some biologically-based element makes them perceived as more reliable and trustworthy.

Among the classifications mentioned above and the related debates, I draw on Ekman and Friesen's definitions, which better meet the criteria of the study. In particular, I shall focus on emblems insofar as they are culturally determined and may carry implicit stereotypes. I shall take illustrators into account when relevant to speech analysis, namely, when they affect or frame verbal communication, or form a continuum with emblems. Finally, I shall adopt Ekman's definition of emblems as

acts (a) which have a direct verbal translation usually consisting of a word or two, or a phrase, (b) ... this precise meaning is known by most or all members of a group, class, subculture, or culture, (c) which are most often deliberately used with the conscious intent to send a particular message to other person(s), (d) for which the person(s) who sees the emblem usually not only knows the emblem's message but also knows that it was deliberately sent to him, and (e) for which the sender usually takes responsibility for having made that communication. (1976: 14)

If, following the discussion above, we assume that emblems are spontaneous, culture-based, deliberate acts that contribute to a unified communication process, the consequences on research are quite significant, especially as far as the responsibility of the speaker is concerned. Since gestures are perceived as more genuine than verbal communication, the emotional involvement of the audience is likely to increase whenever it is stimulated by nonverbal language. Moreover, as they are culture-based, they can be stereotypical of national identity. This means that emblems can be instrumental to build a substratum of shared knowledge, a common ground, with the audience and make it reliable and trustworthy. However, this process may hinder intercultural communication, as

the level of emotional involvement can be remarkably different depending on the cultural proximity and understanding of gestures as semiotic indicators.

Assuming, therefore, that the use of emblems is deliberate, the study aims to outline the boundaries of Renzi's responsibility for choosing culturally-shared – even stereotypical – resources and for the resulting message, especially whenever communication takes a more personal turn. In order to understand the ideological implications of such rhetorical choices, the next section shall focus on the broad notion of stereotype and its role in consolidating national identity.

## **2.2 Stereotyping and national identity**

While discussing on the Italian national character (see section 1.2), the term 'stereotype' was deliberately avoided despite its being one of the main categories in the analysis of Renzi's speeches. The reason lies in the complexities embedded in the notion of Italianness, whose dynamics involve both group identification and national identity. On the one hand, Italianness is the outcome of a categorizing process, and, as such, is conveyed and reinforced through ideology. On the other, it involves the formation of national identity, and, as a consequence, nationalism is one of its main agents. In other words, stereotyping and nationalism are deeply entangled in the dynamics that lead to the formation and consolidation of national identity and its exploitation for hegemonic purposes.

This section, therefore, provides in this order a general overview that accounts for these dynamics by focusing on the main theories on stereotyping as well as on its function in national identity building and nationalism (Allport, 1954; Anderson, 1983/2006; Balibar, 1990; Bell, 2003; Bhabha, 1988/1997; Billig, 1985, 1995; Durkheim, 1912/1995; Gellner, 1983/2006; Hobsbawm, 1972, 1990/1992, 1983/2004a, 1983/2004b; Hogg and Abrams, 1988; Lippmann, 1922/1998; Moscovici, 2000; Pickering, 2001; Smith, 1991/1993, 2008; Tajfel, 1981; Wodak et al., 2009). Finally, Italianness is analysed in its peculiarities, and compared and contrasted to the notion of stereotype to provide a viable category for the analysis of Renzi's communication.



### 2.2.1 Stereotyping

The debate on stereotypes and stereotyping has spanned through over a century and, due to the variety of its implications, has attracted the interest of scholars of disciplines such as media studies, psychology, social psychology, sociology, cultural studies and anthropology. One of the first relevant works was published in 1903 by Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss, who analysed the process by which 'primitive' communities classify the world around them. They defined it as a process that aims 'to make intelligible the relations which exist between things' (1903/1963: 81), and described its origin as both emotional (namely, not grounded on abstract concepts), and social, since it takes after the human division into groups and hierarchies (ibidem, 81-88).

A few years later, in 1912, Durkheim published his work on religious life in which he extensively analysed representations. Durkheim defined them as a 'permanent framework of mental life' (1912/1995: 441), with particular reference to their being collective constructs moulded by society (Durkheim, 1912/1995: 8-18, 435-448; on the role of classifications in moral systems see Lakoff, 2000: 162). Though the notion of stereotype would be defined only two decades later, Durkheim's representations and Durkheim and Mauss' 'primitive classification' outlined the main dynamics behind the formation of categories, namely their being non-rational, social constructs with a cognitive function: these dynamics would be the focus of subsequent research on stereotyping until the present day.

Significantly enough, it was outside the social sciences that the term 'stereotype' was first applied to the current use by the American writer and political commentator Walter Lippmann in 1922.<sup>13</sup> In his volume *Public Opinion* Lippmann interpreted stereotypes in a very similar way to Durkheim and Mauss' 'primitive classification'. In his view, stereotypes are an ordering process that simplifies reality by introducing definiteness and consistency (1922/1998: 81). Through this process, human beings interpret reality and form an opinion on the

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<sup>13</sup> The term derives from the Greek words στερεός (*stereos*), 'firm, solid' and τύπος (*typos*), 'impression'. It was originally coined in 1798 to indicate a printing plate that was used to produce multiple copies (Sciarrino, 2009: 25).

basis of the code they possess, and 'pick out what [their] culture has already defined for [them]' (ibidem). Though Lippmann admitted the importance of the categorising function of stereotypes, he highlighted their being biased and illogical (ibidem, 90). What is particularly relevant is the conclusions that Lippmann reached in his analysis: not only are stereotypes a form of categorisation that provides a comforting, reassuring vision of the world, but, as such, they are also shared within the same culture, forged by the public opinion and subject to manipulation by the media and the institutions (ibidem, 95, 120, 125), for which Lippmann coined the term 'manufacture of consent' (ibidem, 248).

The debate over the negative connotation of stereotypes would become one of the main catalysts in the following decades. In 1933 Daniel Katz and Kenneth Braly published their study based on a questionnaire on stereotyping, which they defined in terms of 'racial prejudice' and 'discrimination'. Later on, a few other scholars supported the same negative view on stereotyping (Bhabha, 1988/1997; Campbell, 1967), whereas many either refuted it in different ways (Dyer, 1993: 11; Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 87-91; McCaulay and Stitt, 1980: 195-196), or grounded their classifications of stereotype-related concepts on the distinction between categorization as a natural process and its excess (Allport, 1954; Billig, 1985; Ullah, 1990). This shift towards a neutral definition is particularly relevant for research because it opens up stereotyping to a wider analysis that includes different forms (among them, self-stereotyping), and some degree of assimilation with national character, which a negative value would exclude.

One of the seminal works on stereotyping is undoubtedly Gordon Allport's *The Nature of Prejudice* (1954). As the title suggest, Allport's study focuses on prejudice, which he defines as an overcategorisation. In his view, category is 'an accessible cluster of associated ideas which as a whole has the property of guiding daily adjustments' (1954: 171). Among the many characteristics of categories, two are particularly significant in this context, namely their adding an emotional component and their containing a 'kernel of

truth' (ibidem, 21-22). If categorical thinking is a natural tendency of the human mind (see also Lakoff, 1987: 5-11), the attributes it defines can be essential or evaluative, and it is mainly the latter that may give rise to prejudice. This evaluative function implies that prejudice involves both beliefs and attitudes. The basis for understanding reality, beliefs may theoretically change quite easily in the presence of disconfirming evidence. In fact, they tend to resist change and adapt to support attitude: as their aim is to preserve stability, they need to confirm the validity of categories. Different from categories and prejudices but related to them, stereotypes are defined by Allport as exaggerated beliefs associated to a category. Their purpose is to rationalise and justify our conduct towards the category. Stereotypes, in other words, work as rationalising structures of prejudice (ibidem, 191, 204).

Though Allport approached his discussion on prejudice within the framework of psychology, he acknowledged the importance of the social and linguistic dimension in the acquisition and development of prejudice. On the one hand, each individual is a member of several groups, which can be determined by birth, circumstances, or choice. This implies that the individual acquires (or struggles to acquire) the set of beliefs and attitudes of the dominant majority (ibidem, 29-47). On the other hand, traditional culture and its prejudices are supported and reinforced by the mass media (ibidem, 200-202), whose significance is also determined by the primary importance of language in the formation of categories. Since thought alone cannot support all the manifestations of reality, individuals need to form 'clusters' of separate units and classify them by using labels (ibidem, 178-187). Language, therefore, is pivotal both in the formation of categories, prejudices, and stereotypes, and in their consolidation and reproduction.

One last attribute of the categorising process as analysed by Allport that is worth mentioning is the notion of self-fulfilling prophecy. Coined by the sociologist Robert K. Merton a few years before (1948), the term indicates 'a false definition of the situation evoking a new behavior which makes the originally false conception come true' (1948: 195). In other words, a stereotype can be

reinforced in the mind of the agent, who tends to see mainly evidence confirming her or his judgment, or by the targets themselves, who may display the very traits that they are being stereotyped for.

This behaviour may either be deliberate or spontaneously elicited by the context of social interaction; in both cases, the target contributes to start a vicious circle that leads to the confirmation of the stereotypes. Allport was one of the first scholars to include this phenomenon in his classification of the behaviours that minority groups may enact as a reaction to categorisation (1954: 159-160). Since then, innumerable studies have simply acknowledged, investigated or experimentally tested self-fulfilling prophecies, thus confirming their role in the affirmation and consolidation of stereotypes (among many others, Eiser, 1990: 252-254; Hogg, and Abrams 1988: 88; Macrae et al, 1996: 161-187; McCauley and Stitt, 1980; Pickering, 2001: 25; Snyder and Tanke: 1977). The concept of self-fulfilling prophecy may explain, at least in part, Renzi's extensive references to Italianness, since he may have spontaneously reproduced a stereotype based on his own life experiences and education. The study will show, however, that the largest part of those references is too complex and articulated to be spontaneous.

Though the social dimension of categorising was not new, it was Henri Tajfel who, in the 1960s, highlighted its significance in human psychology by investigating the dynamics of social identity (1969, 1981, 1978/1990a and 1978/1990b). Far from being only the background context for the diffusion of beliefs and attitudes, group membership became the focus of investigations on human behaviour. The importance of group dynamics lies in that '[i]dentity, specifically social identity, and group belongingness are inextricably linked in the sense that one's conception or definition of who one is (one's identity) is largely composed of self-descriptions in terms of the defining characteristics of social groups to which one belongs. This belongingness is *psychological*, it is not merely knowledge of a group's attributes' (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 7).

Tajfel identified three main cognitive processes that provide the grounds for the causal attributions by which we judge reality: categorisation, assimilation and coherence. Like Allport, Tajfel defined categories as a simplification that is

necessary to understand reality. These categories are learnt in childhood by a process of assimilation, and tend to adjust to change so as to preserve the coherence and the self-integrity of the individual (1981: 127-142). Categories, in other words, avoid cognitive entropy and preserve personal stability by ignoring differences and resisting change. This selective mechanism triggers a 'spiral effect' whereby categories confirm and reinforce themselves (1981: 134; 1969: 86).

As stereotypes can be considered as an oversimplification that focuses on some traits that are considered distinctive of an entire group, they have also been assimilated to a form of metonymy, 'where a subcategory has a socially recognized status as standing for the category as a whole' (Lakoff, 1987: 79). Stereotypes derive from the same cognitive processes as categories, but fulfil three complex social functions, which concern both the identity of one's own group (or *ingroup*) and the relation with other groups (or *outgroups*). Tajfel called the first function 'social causality' and defined it as the need to find an explanation for complex social events, especially if they are tragic or difficult to understand. The second, social justification, legitimizes actions against the outgroups. Finally, social differentiation helps to improve the positive attributions of the ingroup against the outgroups whenever the identity of the former is threatened or weakened. Stereotypes, in short, become social (shared) when they are instrumental to the sense of positive identity of a group and protect their system of values (Tajfel, 1981: 156-158).

Yet in some cases the sense of belonging to a group and the group's tendency to self-stereotyping may increase regardless of the positive or negative evaluation of ingroup attributes. This happens whenever an individual, feeling rejected by a powerful outgroup, needs to reconfirm her or his social identity; thus the devalued ingroup becomes a means to reassure the individual and improve her or his well-being (Latrofa et al., 2009). This protective self-categorisation involves both positive and negative attributes, thus contradicting the axiom that the well-being of the individual should depend on a positive self-representation: the need to seek protection into a sense of belongingness, in other words, may override the benefits of positive self-evaluation. It is worth noting

that the study that led to this observation was conducted on a group of southern Italians (*ibidem*), and this seems to confirm, and account for, the peculiar dynamics of Italianness considered in the study, as we shall see in section 2.2.3.

Social identity and its implications in category formation have been further investigated within the domain of social psychology by Michael A. Hogg and Dominic Abrams since the late 1980s. As social identity is based on a sense of belonging to a group whose membership has an emotional value for the individual (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 7; van Dijk 1998/2000: 122), self-stereotyping becomes a crucial process. This is because group membership can be attained through the categorisation of others according to similarities and differences of salient qualities. Categorisation and self-categorisation, in other words, work through comparison and contrast, and the differences between the (positive) attributes of the ingroup and the (negative) ones of the outgroup are accentuated in the process (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 20-23; see also Allport, 1954: 66-67; Oakes et al., 1994; Tajfel, 1981: 63-70; Turner et al., 1994).

According to Hogg and Abrams, this sense of belongingness 'places oneself in the relevant social category, or places the group in one's head; and it generates category-congruent behaviour on dimensions which are stereotypic (...) of the category. Self-categorisation is the process which transforms individuals into groups' (1988: 21). It is not idiosyncratic, but is shared: individuals acknowledge themselves as members of a social group; then, they acquire the beliefs and learn the norms – or stereotypes – and, finally, conform their behaviour to them by means of a process of social influence called *referent informational influence*, thus contributing to extend consensus (*ibidem*, 172-173). It is worth noting, however that group formation is merely cognitive and does not need external motivations or experiences: as Tajfel demonstrated in his 'minimal group paradigm', the categorisation of a person as member of a group suffices to cause behaviours that are consistent with such membership (Bar-Tal, 1998: 105-106, 110; Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 48-49).

Member categorisation, however, is not an absolute, but is often 'graded' (Lakoff, 1987: 45, 53). This implies that some members are more exemplary than

others, and, as such, act as prototypes (Lakoff, 1980: 71; 1987: 56; 2002: 8-9). This notion bears important consequences on the role of leadership in the definition of group membership in terms of shared norms, beliefs and knowledge. Being the member that best embodies the ingroup prototype, the leader selects ideologies, sets goals and maintains cohesiveness (Bar-Tal, 1998: 111; van Dijk 1998/2000: 149; see also Laclau, 2005: 99-100). The leader is inspirational to the other members, defines consensus and acts as the source of opinions and opinion change (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 113-114; Jaspars, 1990: 278-301; Moscovici, 2000: 45). 'This individual becomes socially or stereotypically attractive (...) - the target of unilateral respect, trust, and liking expressed by the followers - precisely *because* he or she embodies the group stereotype' (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 183; my italics). The notion that group formation is merely a cognitive process, and the causal relation between stereotype and leadership are pivotal in defining nationalistic discourse and the implication of Renzi's communication style.

Though the notion of social identity introduced the social dimension in the analysis of categorisation, it substantially built on the foundations laid by Lippmann and Allport. Yet one major difference distinguishes the social psychology approach from its forerunners, namely the notion that categories - hence stereotypes - may not be as stable as expected. Several scholars challenged the stability of categories as cognitive representations on the grounds of the mixed nature of (self) attributions (Abrams, 1999; McCauley and Stitt, 1980; Oakes et al., 1999; Turner et al., 1994). According to these theories, individuals are defined by both psychological and social categorisation (the former being more stable than the latter), which is context-dependent. Categories, moreover, can also be hierarchical, in that they present flexible definitions on a layer of deeper, more stable attributes. Detailed analysis of the theories that account for the variability of stereotypes would exceed the purpose of this overview. What is relevant, however, is that this variability is potential, and largely depends on how stable the social context is maintained by the institutions and the media. In other words, ideology may play a pivotal role in keeping self-stereotyping and ingroup belongingness stable and unchanging. We shall see in the following sub-

section how ideology also plays a pivotal role in the development, consolidation and stability of social identity.

I have already mentioned that categorisation would not exist without language. It is language that allows individuals to organise their knowledge within the boundaries of shared culture, and classification and evaluation would not be possible without it (Moscovici, 2000: 23-24; 74; van Langenhove and Harré, 1999). The importance of language is even more evident whenever stereotyping is consolidated as a fixed, natural state and becomes the Other: '[t]here is no pristine, real Other out there, somewhere (...). The location of the Other is primarily in language' (Pickering, 2001: 72).

Several studies focus on this primary role from different perspectives. Anne Maas and Luciano Arcuri identified four functions of language related to stereotyping: organising cognition, expressing stereotypes and maintaining them, and, finally, expressing stereotypical identities (1996): it is through language that categories are labelled and automatically recalled, and individuals can conform to stereotypical norms of behaviour. Others focused on the rhetorical aspect of categorisation and stereotyping (Billig, 1985; Ullah, 1990), or referred to Roland Barthes's theories to highlight that, as the product of language, all representations are deformations (Bhabha, 1988/1997), or to assimilate the stereotypical Other to Barthes' myths (Pickering, 2001: 48; see section 2.3.1). In short, whether by offering a stable representation of the Other, or by transforming categories into myths, language is pivotal in conveying stereotyping, and making it an absolute outside history.

Despite the varied angles of scrutiny and the (sometimes contrasting) – outcomes, research on classifications and stereotyping since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century has underlined its being a process of simplification and homologation of ingroup and outgroup attributes (Campbell, 1967: 824; Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 65; Oakes et al., 1994: 158-159; Turner, 1982: 28; Turner et al., 1994) that, by expressing a normative and rationalising function, involves ideology and power relations. Moreover, it has brought to the surface some of its key attributes: an emotional connotation, an evaluative component, a social dimension, strong dependence on



language, and resistance to change. We shall see in the following section how these attributes bear important consequences on the role of stereotyping in the consolidation of nationalism and, accordingly, on nationalistic discourse.

### **2.2.2 The role of stereotyping in nationalistic discourse**

The relationship between national identity and stereotyping is undoubtedly a very insidious domain, starting from the definition of the two concepts, which is far from univocal. A study by the psychologists Hubertus C. J. Duijker and Nico H. Frijda in 1960 provided a detailed account of a variety of publications on national stereotype and national identity and reached the conclusion that there was no evidence of the existence of a univocal relation. Other scholars, however, while making a clear-cut distinction between national identity and national character, assimilated the latter to stereotype (Wodak et al., 2009: 29).

Moreover, recent experimental data show a remarkable overlapping between the dynamics that lead to the formation and consolidation of social identity – including self-stereotyping – and the dynamics of national character. In other words, studies confirm that national (self) identification follows the same patterns of comparison, reinforcement or weakening as ingroup identification (Nigbur and Cinnirella, 2007).

I shall not investigate the nature of national character further or make any distinction between national character and national identity, as it would require a dedicated analysis due to the richness of the debate (Martin, D.C., 1995: 6; Patriarca, 2010: 2-3; Wodak et al., 2009: 29). Indeed, from a historical perspective there seems to be little doubt that not only an Italian character exists in some form, but most of its traits show a significant consistency in time (see Chapter 1). I shall focus, therefore, on the simplified, stereotypical version of national character that is systematically consolidated in political communication, and on its significance for nationalism.

The connection between national stereotype and nationalism is multilayered. On the one hand, as they both entail group formation and identity, they act in terms of representation and self-representation by means of similar

social dynamics, from the evaluative dimension to the emotional overtone and the role of power relations. On the other, nationalism exploits stereotyping as an essential component both in the process of myth-making and identity formation, on which it is grounded.

The concepts of nation and nationalism themselves pose several questions regarding their essence and origin (Bell, 2003: 64), which has frequently been dated back to the modern age. Benedict Anderson indicated the innovations that occurred in the 16<sup>th</sup> century as necessary for the development of nations as 'imagined communities': the evolution of vernaculars fostered by the Reformation, a new sense of time and simultaneity brought forth by the invention of clocks and calendars and, above all, the invention of printing (Anderson, 1983/2006: 22-26). Elie Kedourie identified the intellectual foundation of nationalism in the Enlightenment, with particular reference to the German philosophers of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (1960/1993). Other studies, on the other hand, indicated the industrial revolution as the pivotal factor that contributed to the consolidation of the state based on centralized bureaucracy, communication, mobility and access to knowledge (Billig, 1995: 19-21; Hobsbawm, 1972: 388-389, 391, 400-401; 1990/1992: 1, 9-10; Gellner, 1997/1998: 25-30; 2006: 4-5, 140-141).

While acknowledging the existence of a modern Western form of nationalism, Anthony D. Smith embraced a wider concept of nation as a community sharing culture, values and myths, which may or may not seek for political unification (2008: 17-18), and defined national identity as the 'continuous reproduction and reinterpretation of the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths, and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations, and the identification of individuals with that pattern and heritage' (ibidem, 19). Smith's definition of national identity is particularly relevant for the Italian case insofar as it accounts for the permanence of an underlying cultural 'layer', a national character, despite the centuries-long division into city-states and the foreign domination (see section 1.1). Though I shall keep Smith's analysis as a buttress to the permanence of an Italian character, for my working definitions of nationalism, I shall follow the 'modernist' tradition, which, because of its

historical specificity, is more relevant to the analysis of the use of national stereotypes in contemporary political discourse.

The definition of nationalism as 'a political principle, which holds that the political and national unit should be congruent' (Gellner, 1983/2006: 1) is rooted in the principles set forth by the Enlightenment and put into practice by the French Revolution (Kedourie, 1960/1993: 6-7). It presupposes a tight connection between nationalism and political unification, since nationalism arises only when the notion of state is taken for granted (Gellner, 1983/2006: 4-5), a condition that may not always happen. The fact that not all societies that share the same culture are organised into a state testifies to the absence of a relation of causality between culture and political unification. In other words, not all groups of citizens with the same cultural inheritance coalesce to form a nation (Gellner, 1983/2006: 44; Hobsbawm, 1990/1992: 5; Kedourie, 1960/1993: 72-76; Smith, 1991/1993: 14, 21; 2008: 20; Zahra, 2010).

Paradoxical as it may seem, the arbitrariness of the nation lies in its being based on culture. Unlike Smith's, the notion of culture that animates the 'modernist' view of nationalism is not synonymous with spontaneous, popular traditions and languages. On the contrary, it stands for a national narrative that is discursively constructed and reproduced (De Cillia et al., 1999: 153-156). In order to make 'culture and state become identical' (De Cillia et al., 1999: 155), citizens need to share the same loyalties and values, and, accordingly, become members of the same nation (Gellner, 1997/1998: 7). This social identity is so well-established that not only the loyalty towards the ingroup becomes primary, but it even substitutes any other (Hobsbawm, 1972: 388).

This process would not have been conceivable in Western culture without the philosophical movements of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and industrialisation. On the one hand, the right of the individual to self-determination soon evolved into an equivalent right for the nations to become independent (Kedourie, 1960/1993: 12-86). On the other, as belonging to the same race or speaking the same language are not synonymous with developing a national feeling, a standardised culture becomes necessary to generate the mutual will that consolidates the nation

(Kedourie, 1960/1993: 74-75). In this sense, industrial societies offered a fertile context for homogenisation, which serves their own need for skilled labour force flexible enough to change location and occupation.

Cultural homogenisation, however, should not be conceived as fixed and stable, but a process that involves struggle and tension (Hall, S., 1996b: 617). This is because individual identity is not univocal or stable in time, but is a work in progress, since it is composed of numerous identifications that individuals may change during their lives (De Cillia, 1999: 154; Martin, D. C. 2010: 13-15; Wodak, 2012: 216). In other words, 'this does not mean that social actors are free to fabricate narratives at will. Rather, there is only a limited repertoire of available representations and stories. Which kinds of narratives will socially predominate is contested politically and will depend in large part on the distribution of power' (Somers, 1994: 629). Cultural homologation, therefore, is the outcome of the strife of competing narrations, which struggle for hegemony over alternative voices by producing and re-producing representations of the world (Bell, 2003: 75; Billig, 1995: 38-39; Lippmann, 1922/1998: 238-239; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010).

Thus, the concept of sharedness acquired a new meaning: no longer the result of a plurality of spontaneous traditions, but a standard to be imposed through education, institutions and the media to obtain political legitimation (Gellner, 1983/2006: 53-58, 141; Hall, S., 1996b: 616; Kedourie, 1960/1993: 105-106; Smith, 1991/1993: 118-119). This does not imply that culture is artificially produced, but rather that traditions are conveniently selected and manipulated by the dominant classes and the intellectual elites (Hall, S., 2000; Hall, S., et al. 2013: 247-251; Smith, 1991/1993: 73, 118-122). Their ultimate aim is to attain cultural homogeneity by making (selected) high culture predominant over low culture (Gellner, 1983/2006: 53-55; Kedourie, 1960/1993: 76-79, 105-106).<sup>14</sup> Modernity, in other words, made high culture the main instrument of control and social identity.

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<sup>14</sup> The importance of hegemonies in determining and consolidating nationalism, with reference to its modern form, has also been acknowledged by Smith (1999: 73, 118-122).

This view of nationalism brings two pivotal elements to centre stage: culture as a construct of the ruling class, and, consequently, power relations as a pivotal factor in the definition of social identity (Wodak, 2012: 216-217). To act as a unifying force, nationalism needs to appeal to symbols and traditions such as religion, language and race and make them natural and unproblematic aspects of a shared identity (Balibar, 1990: 31, 48-54; Bell, 2003; Bhabha, 1988/1997: 215; Billig, 1995: 24-36; Gellner, 1983/2006: 55-56; 1998: 94-95; Hall, S., 2000: 38; Hobsbawm, 1972: 388-389; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010; Moscovici, 2000: 27, 33; Smith, 1991/1993: 72-73, 77-79; 2008: 19, 21, 185; Wodak et al., 2009: 22-27). In order to achieve this objective, nationalistic programmes manipulate representations and take advantage of their capacity to forge conventions and be prescriptive.

Expanding on Durkheim's concept of representations (see section 2.2.1), Serge Moscovici has provided a detailed analysis of their dynamics, which lead to the formation of common sense (2000). These dynamics consist in a three-phase evolution whereby social representations are first elaborated on the grounds of a scientific discipline or events, then communicated to society through the media and the institutions, and finally appropriated by a political party or school of thought (*ibidem*, 27, 66-67). Anchoring and objectification are the two processes that allow representations to become effective: the former serves the purpose of providing a classification, whereas the latter transforms concepts into reality (*ibidem*, 42-54). Representations, in short, make us see the world through the invisible lens that conventions have set for us (*ibidem*, 22-26) because their function is to 'make something unfamiliar, or unfamiliarity itself, familiar' (*ibidem*, 37). Overall, representations serve the purpose of making meanings emerge within the domain of familiar knowledge, and, to do so, act on collective memory (*ibidem*, 49; 55).

As identities - national identities in particular - emerge from a struggle among competing narrations, their ultimate purpose is to replace old loyalties and hierarchies with a new 'civic religion' that can satisfy the irrational component of the social psyche (Hobsbawm, 1983/2004b: 268-269). Instrumental

to achieving a sense of cohesion and identity is a system of public institutions, monuments, secular ceremonies, symbols, imagery and habits. Among habits, two are particularly relevant for Italianness, i.e. food and sport (Dickie, 1996: 20; see also section 1.2). The former, which is so frequently associated to Italy to become a cliché, is tightly connected to social well-being (Martin, D. C., 1995/2010: 12). The latter entered the political agenda at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the majority of the nationalistic rituals in European countries were created (Hobsbawm, 1983/2004b). The importance that politics attributed to sport - football in particular - lay in its appealing to class loyalties and nationalism, since it was shared both by the working class and the middle-class, and successfully aroused patriotism during international competitions (Hobsbawm, 1983/2004b: 288-303). In section 1.2 I briefly mentioned the significance of football in contemporary political discourse in Italy; in the analysis of Renzi's speeches I shall highlight that the references to food and football are far from being mere allusions to local traditions, but bear important consequences on the message insofar as they provide an effective tool for nationalistic propaganda, and, accordingly, recall a well-established tradition of political discourse.

The symbols and traditions that have been created to consolidate modern nations are largely based on the reinvention of the past (Billig, 1995: 38; Bell, 2003; De Cillia et al., 1999: 150, 154-155; Kedourie, 1993: 70-82; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010: 12; Smith, 1991/1993: 140, 161; Wodak et al., 2009: 25;). Together with a geographical territory with an idealised landscape and borders to be defended, history is, therefore, the main pillar of nationalism (Bell, 2003: 76; Billig, 1995: 74-78; Smith, 1991/1993: 14, 69, 117). Indeed, the ultimate purpose of representations is to build a sense of belonging to a common ground, and one of the most effective ways is manipulating collective memory.

Memory is a concept that is readily employed to represent a whole host of different social practices, cognitive processes and representational strategies and what gets submerged, flattened out, is the nuance, texture and often-contradictory forces and tensions of history and politics. In particular it can elide the manner in which such 'memories' are

constructed through acts of manipulation, through the atavistic play of power (Bell, 2003: 71).

These 'acts of manipulation' are necessary because collective memory far from univocal: as voices are often oppositional, traditions and culture need constant reinventing to become a shared myth (Hall, S., 1997: 613-615; Pickering, 2001: 85-86, 101-105; Smith, 1991/1993: 22-23, 37-40; Steiner, 1975: 30; Wodak, 2017: 408, 413-414). Paradoxically, though myth is grounded on the past, it erases history. It simplifies the past, and, by doing so, lives out of history in favour of an eternal present (Bhabha, 1988/1997: 215; De Cillia et al., 1999: 150; Pickering, 2001: 48; see also the notion of myth in Barthes, section 2.3.1). Chapters 4 and 5 shall highlight how Renzi frequently idealised Italy's (selected) past, and how he frequently appealed to Italy's past in order to invoke a similarly idealised future.

By creating a system of values and loyalties, the myth of the nation requires an ingroup whose membership should generate pride and comfort as opposed to the Other (De Cillia et al., 1999: 153; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010: 6-9, 12). So much so that the emergence of the celebration of national character in some European countries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century has been defined as a 'form of positively stereotyping a collective "we" through an imagined personification in its ideal essence' (Pickering, 2001: 95). Not only is this collective identity positive, but it is also meant to be unique, and, accordingly, homogeneous (Wodak et al., 2009: 27). Interestingly, stereotypes themselves are based upon simplification and homogeneity and act as myths: when they consolidate an 'us-them' opposition and give birth to the 'Other', they become an abstraction, an absolute (see section 2.2.1). Thus, the representation of both the nation and the citizens is rationalised and transformed by myth into common-sense knowledge (Bhabha, 1988/1997: 215; Billig, 1995: 61; Dyer, 1993: 14; Moscovici, 2000: 33, 66-67), a concept that will be particularly relevant in the analysis of Renzi's verbal and nonverbal references to national stereotypes.

It is worth mentioning that in some cases even individuals that recognise themselves as stereotypical of national character may choose to distance themselves from specific events of the country's past. It has been demonstrated

that whenever ingroup members are confronted with the comparison with specific, shameful events in their collective past, they tend to differentiate themselves more despite their overall conformity with national stereotype (Nigbur and Cinnirella, 2007: 687). The mythical essence of national identity provides an explanation for this apparent contradiction: as noted above, the nationalistic myth does not encompass memory as such, but selectively appropriates (and manipulates) only those elements and events that are instrumental to celebration, leaving the negative ones aside. For this reason, individuals may acknowledge their national identity and embrace history as far as it represents the myth of the nation, while, at the same time, distancing themselves from some of its negative aspects. We shall see in the analysis of the speeches that Renzi widely uses this mechanism of selective appropriation, which accounts for his sometimes controversial references to Italy's past (see, in particular, sections 4.10 and 5.11).

As noted above, the second pillar of Gellner's theory concerning the dynamics of nationalism is the importance of power relations. The myth of the nation and the social identity it entails are particularly indicative of these dynamics, as they are constantly reinforced by the ruling elite and the ideology it expresses. If, on a smaller scale, ingroup identity is defined by a leader that sets group beliefs, norms and consensus (see section 2.2.1), or ideology, on which national identity is grounded.

An ideology is a systematically interrelated set of beliefs and propositions whose primary function is explanation. Not only does it 'explain' but it also sets an agenda for what it is that one is, or should be, explaining (...) Its terms of reference circumscribe one's thinking in such a way as to make it almost impossible to 'break out' of its mould and perceive things in a different way (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 82-83).

Through ideology, the dominant culture produces the representations that buttress the individuals' knowledge of the world (Hall et al. 2013: 249-251; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010: 13): individuals are produced as homologised subjects through stereotypes with a well-defined role in society (Hall et al. 2013: 39-40; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010: 10, 14-15). Therefore, by selecting narrations and



symbols to be reproduced in daily life by means of rituals (Billig, 1995: 39-59; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010), Lippmann's 'manufacture of consent' naturalises representations and transforms them into shared background knowledge.

### **2.2.3 Stereotyping, nationalism and Italianness**

The studies mentioned in the preceding sub-sections outlined stereotyping as an evaluative process of classification that is built on and conveyed through language. It generates social identifications by setting norms and beliefs, and by appealing to the emotional sphere of the individual. As such, stereotyping plays a pivotal role within nationalistic ideologies in the ongoing process of nation-building, whereby high culture is hegemonically imposed on the plurality of low cultures. These attributes and mechanisms are pivotal both in relation to Italianness, and in the methods applied to analyse Renzi's speeches in several ways.

On the level of content, the dynamics of nationalism perfectly explain the process of unification of Italy: the imposition of high culture as opposed to local low culture (Bollati, 1985/1996: 59-62, 99; Moss, 2000: 99-123); the mythisation of the unification process, which was extended to span over century and include the Risorgimento, the First World War and the resistance against Fascism (Loporcaro, 2004: 190-191); finally, the systematic invention of a glorious past and the fabrication of ancestors to fight the lack of cohesion of the communities inhabiting the peninsula (Dickie, 1996; 2001: 32; Graziano, 2010: 50-51; see also section 1.2).

On an operational level, the importance of categorisation in consolidating hegemony and the pivotal role played by language in this process make the study of stereotyping in political discourse a useful tool to foreground ideology. Moreover, the evaluative nature of stereotypes and the role of time in the creation of national identity (Wodak et al., 2009: 26) are mirrored in the methodological framework of research. On the one hand, appraisal analysis detects the use of implicit and explicit evaluative resources in discourse. On the other, deictic positioning identifies the putative enemy that emerges from the use of negative

evaluation, and highlights the positioning of the speaker with reference the axes of time, space and modality (see section 3.1). Furthermore, though the boundaries between national identity, national character and stereotyping are controversial, for the purpose of the study we can consider Italianness a stereotype on the grounds of its being a social (self) representation that has been stable in time and resistant to change (see section 1.2), as well as ideologically reproduced and revived for political reasons.

It is worth noting that some specific traits ascribed to the Italian character as portrayed and reproduced by patriots and intellectuals (Patriarca, 2010: 1-8) seem to suggest that the term (self) stereotype does not apply to them. This is because their negativity contradicts the main purpose of self-stereotyping, which should provide a reassuring, positive self-image. However, I previously pointed out that the very sense of belonging can be very beneficial for the individual regardless of the ingroup attributes and, consequently, may prevail over the need for positive self-evaluation.

More importantly, some of the criticisms of the Italian character originated in the intellectual debate of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – when Italy was unfavourably compared to the more industrialised countries of Northern Europe (see section 1.2) – and were subsequently appropriated by Italian thinkers. In case of an ingroup-outgroup opposition, several strategies of group identification can be enacted and include, among others, strengthened internal ties, identification with the outgroup (assimilation and self-hate), self-fulfilling prophecies (Allport, 1954: 148-160; Hall et al. 2013: 252), and an ‘evaluative redefinition’ of negative attributes, which are celebrated with pride (Hall et al. 2013: 259-261; Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 28-29). As some of these expressions of social creativity have been detected in a survey on the social identity of Northern and Southern Italians (Capozza et al., 1982), it is plausible that the same dynamics played a role to turn the negative traits of the Italian character into distinctive national ‘vices’, to be sometimes despised, sometimes ironically commented on, or proudly waved as a national trademark.

### 2.3 Discourse, power relations and cultural mediation

The previous section focused on categorisation and how it may generate stereotyping. Although categories are necessary for the human mind to create an image of the world, stereotyping is the outcome of an articulated process of ingroup/outgroup formation that is instrumental to nationalistic narratives. The notion of stereotyping, in other words, is tightly connected to those of power and hegemony, which are pivotal both in imposing a specific social and political organisation and in forging the beliefs and social cognition that supports such an organisation (van Dijk, 1997: 29).

The crucial assumption on which theories on the relationship between power and discourse are grounded is that all utterances are essentially dialogic. Language does not exist as a neutral medium, but becomes 'one's own' only when it is 'appropriated' by the listener (Bakhtin, 1981: 280, 282, 293-294), or, in other words, '[m]eaning is formed in action; people create meaning' (Halliday, 1988: 39). If communication does not exist in a vacuum, discourse is *per se* a social practice (Fairclough, 1989/2015: 55-59; van Dijk, 1997). First, it is a 'mode of action' that shapes individual identities and social relationships (Fairclough, 1992a: 63-66). Second, it depends on context, namely the mental model that determines how the participants in interaction define the communicative event (van Dijk, 1997: 2; 2008; Wodak, 2013: xxxi-xxxii; see also: Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 26; Goffman, 1974/1986: 21-26, 563). Context is both subjective and socially-constructed, as it represents a personal interpretation of the situation, but is grounded on a variable amount of shared knowledge (van Dijk, 1997: 16-17). This is because the experience on which individual evaluation is based is not entirely subjective, but is determined by social cognition (van Dijk, 2008: 63).

The implications of this assumption are very significant for research. First, discourse is essentially evaluative: '[n]o utterance can be put together without value judgment. Every utterance is above all an evaluative orientation. Therefore, each element in a living utterance not only has a meaning but also has a value' (Volosinov, 1973: 105). However, as evaluation depends not only on personal values but also on socially-determined beliefs, ideology plays a crucial role in the

production of meaning: '[e]very sign is subject to the criteria of ideological evaluation (...) the domain of ideology coincides with the domain of signs (...) Everything ideological possesses semiotic value' (ibidem, 10). Second, if context is culturally determined, different societies produce different mental models and – at least partially – different interpretations of a communicative event (van Dijk, 1997:22): the wider the cultural distance between participants, the more significant the discrepancies in the mental models they recur to during the event.

The purpose of this section, therefore, is to outline the multi-layered connections between power and discourse from a philosophical perspective, highlight the contribution of Critical Discourse Analysis to foreground power relations, account for the methodological approach adopted in the study, and discuss the dynamics of cultural mediation. In particular, I shall discuss how the evaluative nature of communication in relation to ideology makes the methodological choice of the study all the more relevant, since it takes into account cognitive resources and presumptions in order to bring to the fore the evaluative stance and implied ideological assumptions of the speaker. Finally, I shall focus on the importance of cultural mediation and negotiation of identity in institutional communication.

### **2.3.1 Power in discourse: hegemony, ideology and language**

According to Michel Foucault's definition, power is far from being merely an instrument of repression and coercion, but is a means to control actions; as such, it permeates all aspects of human life (Foucault, 1980 [1972/1977]: 119; 1982; Keller, 2018: 75). Foucault's analysis of power is very relevant in that he connects it with truth, which is not intended as an absolute outside power, but as a function of it (Foucault, 1980: 131). Truth, in other words, is born of a variety of constraints and is delivered and consolidated by institutional discourse. Even if we follow the definition that '[p]ower is about relations of difference, and particularly about the effects of differences in social structures' (Wodak, 2001: 11), the role of language as a tool for (dis)confirmation of power is beyond doubt (ibidem).

It is the notion of hegemony, however, that provides better understanding of the complex dynamics that connect power, ideology, leadership and discourse. A concept that emerged in Lenin's rhetoric and was further developed by Gramsci, hegemony encompasses different aspects of life, from leadership to culture. Interestingly, hegemony is not limited to coercion, but also relies on consensus through the institutions (Gramsci, 1975: 1519, 2011; Fairclough, 1992a: 9, 91-93; 2001/2003a: 232; 1995/2013: 128; Lo Piparo, 2010: 25). This notion is particularly relevant as it tightens the connection between power and discourse: '[h]egemony is leadership as well as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society. Hegemony is the power over society as a whole (...) [It] is about constructing alliances, and integrating rather than simply dominating subordinate classes' (Fairclough, 1995/2013: 61). Hegemony, in other words, is the expression of a ruling elite that builds consensus and creates subjects by means of ideology.

This definition highlights three nodal points in the dynamics of hegemony, namely elites, subjects and ideology. As detailed in section 2.2.2, the leader sets group beliefs and defines national identity by producing ideological representations of the world that serve the purpose of creating homologised subjects (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001: 85). The process of creation of the subject, which Louis Althusser called 'interpellation' (Althusser, 1971/1984: 48) is determined by ideology, which legitimises power by providing a "representation" of the imaginary relationship of individuals (...) to their real conditions of existence' (Jessop, 2018: 37). Elites, in short, legitimise their hegemonic power through systems of shared beliefs called ideologies (van Dijk, 1998/2000: 48-49; 172-178; Wodak, 2001: 3).

However, there seems to be some disagreement among scholars on how pervasive and naturalised ideologies are. On the one hand, van Dijk described them as quite explicit and restricted their domain to specific groups, as opposed to shared beliefs, which, as an expression of the so-called 'common sense', span an entire culture (1998/2000: 106-107). Van Dijk described the process of creation of this common ground as knowledge, which becomes interpersonal once it is

communicated to another person and can, therefore, be presumed in all further communication (van Dijk, 2008: 85). On the other hand, other scholars deemed ideology responsible for both producing representations and naturalising them, as discussed above with reference to nationalistic practices (see section 2.2.2). For example, while focusing on how subjects are 'produced' by society, Althusser claimed that all individuals are affected by interpellation because nothing is outside ideology, though its pervasive presence is not patent because it conceals itself (1971/1984: 49; Jessop, 2018: 38).

Also Bourdieu recurred to the notion of 'self-concealment' referred to complete power (1979: 125), since it is by creating institutional and mental structures that it builds a system that is perceived as natural (1994; see also van Dijk, 1998/2000: 186-190). Finally, Fairclough grounded his analysis of the relationship between common sense and ideology on Gramsci's concept of 'implicit philosophy' that is embedded in everyday social life (1989/2015: 107), and concluded that ideologies are successful when they reach the status of common sense (1992a: 87). As the analysis of Renzi's speeches originated from observing his systematic creation and consolidation of shared knowledge in second-language discourse, I take on the assumption that such knowledge is pervaded by ideology. I shall, therefore, adopt the position that understands ideology as a naturalised set of shared beliefs.

Whether ideology is conceived as the expressions of the belief of a specific group, or common-sense knowledge permeating all social constructs, its connection with language and discourse is beyond doubt. In this section I shall focus on the philosophical grounds of the relationship between ideology (hegemony) and discourse, leaving the implications of these assumptions on the analysis of discourse for section 2.2.3.

First of all, language *per se* can be an instrument of hegemony. As Gramsci commented with specific reference to the Italian case (section 1.1), the debate over the choice of a national language was a political struggle (Gramsci, 1975: 2350; Marazzini, 1999: 195), as was the choice for a normative written grammar (Rosiello, 2010: 44). Seeing language as an instrument of hegemony, Gramsci

supported the access to the national language – the language of the elites – as a tool to reach ‘a convergence of social and historical interest’ (Lo Piparo, 2010: 24, 26; Rosiello, 2010: 39). That in the decades after Italy’s unification the Italian language could not reach linguistic predominance against dialects testifies to the failure of the dominant classes to exercise hegemony over the nation (Lo Piparo, 2010: 27). In turn, the only way for the popular masses to aspire to hegemony is to abandon the cultural division brought forth by dialects (Lo Piparo, 2010: 40; Jessop, 2018: 35).

Bourdieu shared Gramsci’s assumption that hegemony is also exercised through ‘a work of normalization and codification’ that is accomplished by the education system, which imposed an official language with a specific orthography (1994: 1-2). In contrast to Gramsci, however, Bourdieu saw this process as a pure instrument of domination by which the state, exploiting the performative function of language, puts itself into existence through the ‘monopolization of the universal’ (1977; 1991: 44-49; 1994: 16-17).

Above all, discourse provides schemata for the interpretation of reality and, accordingly, reproduces ideologies (Hodge and Kress, 1979: 5-6). Since individuals communicate as group members, ideologies pervade information exchange as well as knowledge in general (van Dijk, 1998/2000: 51; 1997: 31-32): all the structures of discourse – from lexico-grammar to syntax, graphics, nonverbal language, interaction and so on – can be instrumental to express implicit or explicit ideological beliefs (Fairclough, 1998/2013: 101-127; Machin and Mayr, 2012; van Dijk, 1998/2000: 200-210; 272-273). An exhaustive discussion on how these structures have been analysed to foreground underlying ideological assumptions would exceed the scope of this study. I shall, therefore, focus on two that are particularly relevant for research, namely metaphors and Barthes’ definition of myth.

Metaphors are more than a second meaning superimposed on the literal one (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 164-165), so much so that they are considered a way to conceptualise the world (Chilton, 2004a: 51-52), a vehicle of innovation and change in the way we experience reality (van Leeuwen, 2005: 29-36) and a

powerful ideological tool (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 29). According to Gunther Kress, all signs are metaphor 'hence code ideological positions in that they realize the social, cultural and therefore political position of their producer' (1993: 174). George Lakoff and Mark Johnson claimed that metaphors may create realities by acting as self-fulfilling prophecies since they may affect action in a way that it fulfils the metaphor itself (1980: 156; on self-fulfilling prophecies referred to stereotyping, see section 2.2.1).

For Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (1985/2001) metaphors are constitutive of reality as they participate in the struggle for meaning-making (ibidem, 101). In both cases, since metaphors are often imposed on us by hegemonic forces such as politics, media or institutions, their impact on everyday life is even more ideologically-loaded (Lakoff, 1980: 169). Indeed, we shall see in the analysis of Renzi's speeches how some commonplace metaphors that belong to the Italian tradition do, in fact, convey an ideological meaning, whose effectiveness is enhanced by their being reproduced by an institutional figure.

As the ultimate purpose of this study is to analyse how the representation of national identity works on an ideological level, Barthes' definition of myth is particularly relevant (Barthes, 1972/2009: 131-187; Hall, S., 1997: 24-26). According to Barthes, representation works through two semiotic systems, namely language (or any mode of representation) and myth, or metalanguage. The sign that results from the combination of a signifier and a signified in the linguistic process becomes the signifier, or meaning, of myth, which Barthes calls *form*. As such, it is the product of a specific reading and, therefore, belongs to history. Once this meaning becomes form and receives a new signified, or *concept*, it abandons all contingency, becomes abstract and gives birth to a new sign, or *signification* (see figure below).



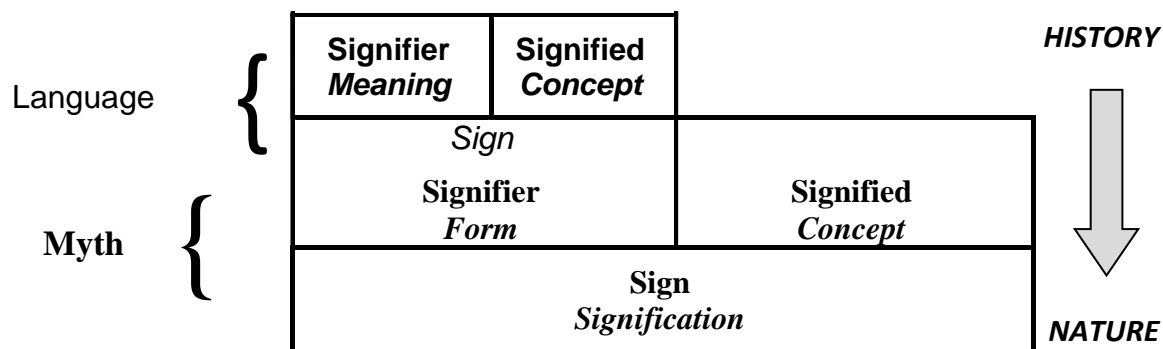


Figure 2-1. An overview of Barthes' myth (adapted from Barthes, 1972/2009: 138)

By transcending history, myth naturalises reality. It 'abolishes the complexity of human acts, (...) it organizes a world which is without contradiction because it is without depth' (Barthes, 1972/2009: 170). Far from being arbitrary, myth responds to ideological necessity.

The implications on analysis of Barthes' system is manifold. First and foremost, it highlights the normalizing function of myths and their consequent ideological motivation, which this study tackles by bringing to the fore implied meanings (see section 3.2.3). Second, it underlines the significance of the cultural dimension of representations. Third, it provides a relevant conceptual explanation for the notion of Italianness as a national stereotype: Barthes refers to *Sininess* or *Sininity* – the set of preconceived ideas on what being Chinese entails – as an example of neologism, whose purpose is to support myth-related concepts. By analogy, Italianness, like any other neologism referring to the (supposed) nature of national identity, belongs to the category of myths with an ideological purpose.

The brief overview of the theories on how ideology is reproduced/enacted in discourse highlights the circularity of the relationship between social life and the representations – whether imaginary or real – brought forth by discourse. This is because representations are enacted in networks of social practices that generate (or belong to) discursal or semiotic production (Fairclough, 2001: 3; 1989/2015: 17; Machin and Mayr, 2012: 19; van Dijk: 2001b: 114; Wodak, 2002: 149; Wodak et al., 1999/2009: 8; see also the notion of 'reflexivity' in Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 26). This circularity is all the more interesting when it reflects in personal identities, which, as mentioned when discussing stereotyping

in section 2.2, are subject to representations that, in turn, they reproduce and reinforce as self-fulfilling prophecies.

On a theoretical level, Laclau probably developed one of the most comprehensive theories on the dynamics of hegemonic power in relation to discourse. Laclau rejected Foucault's distinction between discursive and non-discursive practices, since every object is an object of discourse (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001: 107-108). Discourse, on the other hand, loses its mental character to become material, as it is demonstrated by the performative quality of language (*ibidem*)<sup>15</sup>.

The main consequence of a break with the discursive/extra-discursive dichotomy is the abandonment of the thought/reality opposition, and hence a major enlargement of the field of those categories which can account for social relations (...) Rejection of the thought/reality dichotomy must go together with a rethinking and interpenetration of the categories which have until now been considered exclusive of one or the other (*ibidem*, 110).

The consequences of the breaking of the boundaries between discursive and non-discursive are significant. Once again ideologies are far from being mere systems of concepts, since they are embodied in institutions and in the variety of forms of symbolic power (*ibidem*, 109), as discussed in the section on stereotyping and nationalism (see van Dijk, 1998/2000: 123). Moreover, social identities are defined as unfixed, since they exist in an unstable 'system of differences', a network of relations that never reach any point of stability (see van Dijk, 1998/2000: 111-113; 2005: 31; Wodak, 2012: 216). The reason behind the unfixity of social categories is their nature of 'floating signifiers' - elements that cannot reach stability due to the proliferation of signifieds (polysemy) - and it is this very emptiness that hegemony tries (temporarily) to fill in (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001: 88, 113; Laclau, 2005: 116, 171; Laclau, 2007: 43).

From the standpoint of research, this assumption brings forth three relevant implications. First, the floating nature of categories as empty signifiers at

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<sup>15</sup> See Austin, John L. (1962). *How to Do Things With Words*. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press.

the centre of hegemonic struggles makes the role of language essential in the tension of society towards stability. Second, institutions and institutional figures are pivotal in spreading ideologies and, in a society that can never reach its full expression, their role is never accomplished. Analysing institutional discourse, therefore, is even more crucial in foregrounding ideological meaning-making. Finally, since identity formation is an ongoing process at the centre of (discursive) relational tensions, possible issues and hindrances arising in the process of negotiating identity in intercultural discourse are pivotal, especially on an institutional level.

### **2.3.2 Discourse as social action: Critical Discourse Analysis**

The strong connection between discourse and ideology does not necessarily imply that the only location of ideology is language, or even that language *is* ideology. Indeed, 'language is not powerful of its own' (Wodak, 2001: 10). This is because text represents only one of the aspects that form discourse, the other two being social practice and discursal practice (Fairclough, 1995/2013: 59). Discourse, in turn, is influenced by a multiplicity of forces (Chilton, 2011a: 180) such as resistance, institutional sanction, and, more in general, context, as mentioned before.

Quite exemplary of the significance of the social and cognitive component in the production of ideology is the analysis of how manipulation is produced in text (Fairclough, 1989/2013: 101-127). Though linguistic structures 'are not *inherently* deceptive or manipulative' (ibidem, italics in the original), they can be aimed at influencing the hearer (Habermas, 1976/1979: 35). This influence, or manipulation, consists in violating the norms and conditions on which communication is based. These norms – developed with some variations by John L. Austin (1962), John Searle (1969), Jürgen Habermas (1976/1979: 2-5, 58) and Paul Grice (1989/1991) – define criteria of relevance, quantity, quality and truthfulness that the contribution of participants should fulfil in order for communication to be effective. What is more interesting is that these cooperative norms, or principles, can be deliberately disregarded with the purpose of

suggesting implied meanings, which appeal to the social and cognitive dimension of communication by referring to shared knowledge, conventions, or by triggering complex inferencing mechanisms (Chilton, 2004: 35; Grice, 1989/1991: 24-40; Thomas, 1995: 55-86). Language alone, therefore, does not account for the complex interplay of social and cognitive factors.

Detailed analysis of the theories of cooperative principles in communication and how they can be violated to produce implied meanings or *implicatures* – in Gricean terminology – would largely exceed the scope of this overview. I shall, therefore, mention only one definition that I adopt in research: Paul Chilton's notion of *presumption*. While belonging to the category of implied meaning or presuppositions, presumptions are not simply a way of taking information for granted, but also imply values and beliefs (Chilton, 2004a: 64-65; 80; 2011b: 777). The concept of presumption is particularly relevant to the analysis of Renzi's rhetoric for two reasons. First, it accounts for the cognitive dimension of discourse, whose significance in analysis I shall mention below. Second, Chilton specifically applies this category to the analysis of political discourse, since it is one of the resources that are typically employed to carry out the strategies embedded in political communication, namely coercion, (de)legitimation and (mis)representation (Chilton, 2004: 45-46; Chilton and Schäffner, 1997; Schäffner, 2004). According to this theory legitimisation consists in 'charismatic leadership projection, boasting about performance, and positive self-presentation', whereas coercion is not limited to exerting power by sanction and law, but includes 'setting agendas, selecting topics in conversation, positioning the self and others in specific relationships, making assumptions about realities that hearers are obliged to at least temporarily accept in order to process the text or talk' (Chilton and Schäffner, 1997: 212-213).

Indeed, if all forms of semiosis are part of social processes (Fairclough, 2001/2006: 122; 2001/2003a: 234), and, in turn, text is a form of social action (Fairclough, 1992b: 211), political activity is no exception. On the one hand, language has a paramount role in politics, so much so that the latter has even been described as completely dependent on the former because of its salience in

political practices and the representation of the world it offers (Croci, 2001: 349; Chilton, 2004: 6; Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 3; Fairclough, 2000: 3, 156-157). On the other, language can be considered a political category, not only as a tool for propaganda and ideology, but also due to its pivotal role in the construction of nations and national identity (Pelinka, 2007). In order to understand political discourse in all its implications, therefore, I chose to adopt a research methodology that focuses on the relationship between text and society. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is particularly relevant for its approach to analysis of discourse as a form of social practice (Wodak, 2002: 149) and an enactment of power relations (Fairclough, 1989/2013: 26; Machin and Mayr, 2012: 8-9; Wodak, 2001: 2).

CDA - which originated at the end of 1980s and became official in 1990 (Wodak, 2001: 4-5; 2013: xix-xxii) - encompasses a variety of methods and theories. Far from being a prescriptive methodology, it is a heterogeneous school that gathers analysts and scholars whose ultimate purpose is to bring to the fore - and challenge - naturalised ideologies that underlie everyday utterances (Wodak, 2001: xxiii-xiv; Wodak et al., 2009: 8; Wodak and Meyer, 2001/2009: 5):

(...) the critical analysis of discourse can imply to 'make the implicit explicit'. More specifically, it means making explicit the implicit relationship between discourse, power and ideology, challenging surface meanings and not taking anything for granted. Moreover, critical discourse analysts do not stop after having deconstructed textual meanings; the practical application of research results is also aimed at (Wodak, 2013: xxiv).

CDA, however, is not limited to analysis of discursive acts, but is both self-critical as a research practice or group of practices, and aims to contribute actively to social change (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 30-35; Wodak, 2013: xxv). In practice, CDA proceeds by individuating a discourse-related problem that is part of social life, analyse it in context, suggest possible actions to tackle it and reflect on the analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 60-66; Fairclough, 2001/2006: 125; 2001/2003a: 236; 2003b: 209-210; 1998/2013: 129-176). CDA consists in 'having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking a

political stance explicitly, and focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research' (Wodak, 2001: 9).

The reason why the existence of CDA is not hindered by the variety of the approaches it encompasses lies at the core of CDA itself. As language is seen as a social practice reflecting power relations, the analysis of discourse necessarily involves what has been defined the 'mediation between the social and the linguistic' (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 7), at the intersection of a range of disciplines that may account for the complex links between language and social organisation (van Dijk, 1998/2000 193, 199; 2001b: 96-98). Following the summary in Wodak and Meyer (2001/2009), the different forms of CDA can be located along an agent-structure axis, ranging from Fairclough's focus on semiosis as an expression of power relations to Theo van Leeuwen's Social Semiotics, whose focus is on the role of social actors in the production of discourse (ibidem, 22). In other words, the approach analysts seem to take on is either oriented towards cognitive-socio-psychological or macro-sociological-structural (ibidem, 21), while sharing a strong emphasis on linguistic analysis.

While discussing the connection between ideologies and language, I highlighted how scholars abandoned any distinction between discourse and non-discourse: due to the social essence of language, form and content, signifier and signified, are no longer separated entities. All is text, (Baldry and Thibault, 2006: 4), and form is a part of content (Fairclough, 1992a: 194; 1995/2013: 60). For this reason, most CDA analysts draw upon Michael Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) on the grounds that it focuses on the functions of language and the relation between 'texts and their social contexts' (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 50; Fairclough, 1992a: 212; Hatim and Mason, 1990: 36; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 1), assuming that texts - namely all signs - cannot be separated from the meaning-making processes in which they are involved (Baldry and Thibault, 2006: 3).

We use language to make sense of our experience, and to carry out our interactions with other people. This means that the grammar has to interface with what goes on outside language: with the happenings and conditions of the world, and with the social processes

we engage in. But at the same time it has to organize the construal of experience, and the enactment of social processes, so that they can be transformed into wording (Halliday, 1985/2004: 24).

Meaning, in other words, can only be understood as meaning potential, namely the variety of semantic choices that can be accessed within a culture (Halliday, 1985/2004: 26-28; Hatim and Mason, 1990: 10; van Leeuwen, 2005: 5). This means that the meaning making process can be seen as a cline, the 'cline of instantiation' (Halliday, 1985/2004: 28): at one end lies language as a system in its full potential, at the other, the individual texts as realisations of this potential.

Starting from the claim that the purpose of language is to make sense of the individual's experience in the world within the network of social relationships, Halliday accounts for the context of communication by focusing on the notion of *register*, namely the way an individual uses language in different situations. Register variations may concern setting or subject (*field*), the relation between participants (*tenor*), or the medium of communication (*mode*). Linked to this tripartite variation of register are three *metafunctions* of language: the *ideational* metafunction forms human experience by providing categories and classifications; the *interpersonal* metafunction enacts interpersonal relationships and builds social identities; the *textual* metafunction construes coherent discourse (Baldry and Thibault, 2006: 22; Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 140; Halliday, 1985/2004: 29-31). Detailed analysis of Halliday's SFL is far beyond the scope of this study. However, it is worth noting that by acknowledging the existence of potential semantic choices, Halliday's system also accounts for resources carrying implied meanings (Fairclough, 1992a: 212).

Although SFL was widely hailed as a system grounded on the relationship between discourse and context, it was also heavily criticised for not really considering context into its dynamic, cognitive dimension, with particular reference to mental representations and knowledge (Chilton, 2011b: 770; van Dijk, 2008: 28-54; Wodak, 2013: xxxii). Similar criticism was raised in relation to CDA as well, as it frequently relies on SFL for linguistic analysis though there have been several context-oriented developments (Chilton, 2005; Chilton, 2011b).

Among them, Munday's model for evaluation in translation – which I adopted as a tool for research – provides a comprehensive method for foregrounding the attitude of the speaker. By combining James R. Martin and Peter White's Appraisal Theory with Paul Chilton's Deictic Space Theory, Munday's model highlights the strategies of evaluation and self-positioning of the speaker with reference to time, space and modality. Indeed, besides the set of linguistic structures, the speaker is also confronted with the choice among a variety of personal values and social beliefs embedded in axiology and ideology (Munday, 2012): it is this stratification of knowledge and implied meanings permeating the message that this study aims to foreground.

I shall discuss the methodology and its implications in detail in chapter 3. At this stage it shall suffice to anticipate that this multimodal study tries to address the questions raised in relation to context by integrating a text-only model such as Munday's with cognitive resources that are relevant to the analysis of implicit and explicit stereotypes, such as clichés, shared background knowledge and nonverbal language. In particular, nonverbal language is of paramount importance in the process of meaning-making. Not only is it a semiotic mode of its own but, as extensively discussed in section 2.1.2, it is more spontaneous than verbal communication and, as such, is a powerful tool for speakers to engage with the audience on an emotional level and build a common cultural background. As such, nonverbal language contributes to all three of Halliday's metafunctions: it conveys textual information, frames discourse and, by providing a shared background and engaging emotionally with the audience, enacts interpersonal relationships and forms social identity. Analysing the type, function and frequency of nonverbal language in communication, therefore, is fundamental to investigate implied subtexts and, consequently, the articulation of political practices that is being constructed in discourse.

### **2.3.3 Cultural mediation and negotiation of identity**

The previous sub-sections showed how meaning is far from being defined once for all. This is because signs are polysemic: their meaning is the outcome of an



individual, context-dependent choice of the producer among a variety of culture-dependent options. This is why meaning is subject to ideology and is the terrain for hegemonic struggle. So far, however, I have focused on the production side of communication. In this section I shall provide a brief overview of the reception of message and the distortions that may arise between the two ends of the process.

In his influential essay of 1973 Stuart Hall defined mass-media communication in terms of a process of encoding and decoding that takes place on the grounds of two frameworks of knowledge, which he calls 'meaning structures' (Hall, S., 1973/2001: 93-94; see also Fairclough, 2003b: 10-11). Misunderstandings arise whenever the meaning structure of encoding is not symmetrical with the one of decoding due to the interference of ideology. Hall claims that all levels of meaning are ideologically determined: connotation is subject to ideological struggle, whereas denotation – far from being as fixed and stable as it is usually believed to be – is 'naturalised' by hegemonic ideology (ibidem, 97). Ideology, however, is not univocal, and different groups may express different beliefs. That is why the position of the reader/hearer can be more or less compliant, namely, dominant, negotiated or oppositional (ibidem, 101-103; see also section 3.2.3).

The gap between encoding and decoding is actively filled by the reader/hearer with her or his own personal knowledge, and it is because of this gap that communication acts as a process of translation (Conway, 2017; Steiner, 1975: 47, 279-280). 'If to use a sign is to transform it, and to transform it is to translate it, then it follows that to use a sign is to translate it. In other words, communication takes the structure of translation' (Conway, 2017: 719). Assuming that communication is translation, the distinction between inter- and intra-lingual translation ceases to exist. The only nodal point of the process is how wide the misalignment between encoding and decoding is: the wider the gap, the harder the negotiation of meaning. Since language is 'our reading of life' (Steiner, 1975: 473) and communication is a social practice firmly grounded on context, translation is fundamentally a process of cultural mediation (Jackson, 2014: 88-90; Katan, 2004; 2009; Liddicoat, 2016).

As I briefly mentioned in the introduction, the notion of culture embraces language as well as articulated sets of values, beliefs and traditions. Several are, therefore, the dimensions involved in the transformation/translation process, and, accordingly, affected by the encoding/decoding gap, from social relations to ideology and stereotyping (Scollon and Wong Scollon, 1995/2001:135-176).

Effective communication depends on finding and clarifying sources of ambiguity as well as learning to deal with places where miscommunication occurs. Such clarification is impossible when the analyst does not recognize areas of difference among participants, because he or she will assume common ground and mutual understanding (*ibidem*, 174).

Awareness of cultural differences and the need for mediation that they imply, therefore, is crucial to any successful process of communication.

As instances of second-language political communication, Renzi's speeches provide a very interesting variety of miscommunication, which ranges from calques and Italian words, to implied stereotypes, unsuccessful humour, and the pervasive use of culture-specific gestures. These resources and their function in Renzi's rhetoric will be analysed in detail in Chapters 4, 5 and 6. At this stage it shall suffice to make a few general remarks about how they may affect cultural mediation. First, presumptions and humour are instances of intentional indirectness. Since indirectness relies on shared understanding, it may either involve the reader (Tannen, 1989: 23), or seriously hinder the decoding process if the background knowledge that it refers to is not shared by the hearer (Thomas, 1995: 138; Blum-Kulka, 1989). Indirectness, in other words, is a risky practice: 'risky in the sense that the hearer may not understand what the speaker is getting at' (Thomas, 1995: 120). Moreover, gestures – specifically emblems – and other forms of nonverbal communication are culture-specific and, as such, are easily misunderstood (Riviello et al., 2010; on emblems, see section 2.1).

Not only does the use of specific resources, however, bear significant consequences in terms of how the message is decoded, but also affect the process of identity negotiation, especially in an intercultural context (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz, 1983). Indeed, for this study I draw upon the notion of identity as discourse-based and ideologically constructed (Davies and Harré, 1990; Hall, S.,

1996a: 4; Martin, D.C., 1995/2010; Wodak et al., 2009: 14-15). I am aware that a long tradition of studies considers identity as the outcome of transient interactions and influences and, as such, focuses on its being transformable, multiple and conflictual (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 29-47). However, what is relevant for the study is how a specific form of (national) identity is reinforced and naturalised in hegemonic discourse.

In *Translation and Identity* (2006) Michael Cronin points out that in recent years political debate has shifted from ideology to identity, due to globalisation and internationalisation on a social, economic and institutional level (Cronin, 2006: 1-3). In a society that is increasingly facing cultural exchange, Cronin highlights the concrete risk of annihilation that assimilation may bring forth (ibidem, 10-12). Similar risks have been suggested in different forms by other scholars (Allport, 1954: 146; Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 203; see Kedourie, 1960/1993: 56-58 for a discussion on German philosophers of the 18<sup>th</sup> century), together with possible ongoing language conflict (Pelinka, 2007: 140-141) or hybridisation.<sup>16</sup> Further discussion on identity negotiation in multicultural environments would largely exceed the scope of this section and, given its ongoing developments, would be far from exhaustive. For research's sake, I shall limit my analysis to identity as a choice among different narratives (Martin, D. C., 1995/2010: 17; Somers, 1994: 614; Wodak, 2012: 216), especially in case of a political identity (Fairclough, 2000: 95), and investigate possible hypotheses behind Renzi's discursive strategies.

Considering the discursive construction of identity as a choice is particularly relevant in the case of Renzi's privileged position as Prime Minister, as it foregrounds significant consequences. Since the formation of one's own identity is generally influenced by power relations and social classifications (Bourdieu, 1991: 21; Davies and Harré, 1990; Martin, D. C., 1995/2010; Thesen, 1997: 488), his institutional role provided him with some amount of freedom, at least in terms of hegemonic constraints. Moreover, his position as a leader made

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<sup>16</sup> For an analysis on hybridisation and translation practices within the European Union, see Schäffner and Adab, 1997.

his choice far from neutral: according to the dynamics of group formation, he acted as a prototype and his identity was particularly influential for ingroup members to identify with, as mentioned in section 2.2.1 (Hogg and Abrams, 1988: 114, 183; Laclau, 2005: 100).<sup>17</sup> For these reasons, in the Findings and Conclusions I shall ground the outcome of discourse analysis on the assumption that Renzi's identity construction in second-language discourse was the outcome of a deliberate choice for which he was fully responsible.

## **2.4 Concluding remarks**

In this section I provided an overview of the theoretical framework of research. On the grounds of the notion of Italianness and what it entails from a diachronic perspective, I defined semiotic gestures, investigated the notion of stereotyping and its role in nationalistic discourse, and, finally, provided an overview of the articulated connections between discourse, ideology and identity negotiation in a multicultural environment.

In the last section, in particular, I outlined the relevant background topics that motivate my methodological choice. Above all, van Dijk's notion of context and Chilton's insistence on the need to integrate CDA with analysis of cognitive resources encouraged me to include implicit references to Italianness such as nonverbal language and indirect references to stereotypes into Munday's model. The same applies to the notion that 'all is text' (Baldry and Thibault, 2006: 4; Halliday, 1985/2004: 3; Kress, 1996: 6), which provided a solid theoretical background to my choice of including visual resources in analysis and opting for a multimodal study. The following chapter will discuss these topics and the implications of my choices within the methodological framework of research.

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<sup>17</sup> For a quantitative measurement of the change in the receiver's attitude as a function of the influencer's weight, see Jaspars, 1990: 277-300.

## 3

### **Methodology and source material**

This chapter outlines the methodological framework of research. In particular, it accounts for the choice of models for analysis and discusses their inherent limitations, with some reference to the theoretical framework, as it was detailed in chapter 2. It also provides a description of the phases of analysis, the methods for data collection and the tools employed, and clarifies the use of some terminology. Finally, the framework is analysed on the background of mixed methods research in order to describe the paradigm and the worldview adopted in research.

#### **3.1 Methodology overview**

As outlined in the introduction, the aim of the study is to investigate whether Renzi's communication in English successfully conveys the idea of Italy as a modern country as opposed to the stereotypical image so frequently embedded in previous institutional communication. The purpose is to reveal possible contradictions between the message of innovation and dynamism that the Premier intended to communicate and the meaning underlying his verbal and nonverbal messages. I shall also outline the ways in which Renzi's discourse presupposes shared background knowledge, which he either creates by means of glosses, anecdotes, preference for the inclusive pronoun *we*, and so on, or reinforces by means of gestures, jokes, and allusions to the Italian customs, with specific reference to the notion of Italianness. Therefore, I shall focus on implicit and explicit references to Italian stereotypes and to the leitmotifs of traditional politics to show how they give a crucial contribution to Renzi's ultimate message.

In the previous chapters I discussed the complexity of the classification of gestures, and outlined their significance as one of the distinctive traits commonly associated to Italianness. Hand gestures, therefore, are crucial to the study since they are both a vehicle of background information, and have a semiotic value. For this reason, I chose to analyse video material, which provided a relevant source of multimodal communication.

As already mentioned, all utterances are essentially dialogic and contain an evaluative component (section 2.3), which implies the following consequences: first, communication is a social practice; second, lexical and semiotic choices are pivotal to foreground the speaker's system of values (axiology) and beliefs (ideology) that lie behind the surface meaning; finally, since ideology lies at the intersection of cognition, society and discourse, the cognitive dimension of analysis is of paramount importance in uncovering ideologies (van Dijk, 2000: 28-52; 235-242). From a methodological perspective, I take on the assumption that CDA needs to encompass the components of what van Dijk defines *mental models* (2001: 108-109; 2008, 2009) and, overall, extend its theoretical framework (van Dijk, 2001b: 97-98; Wodak, 2013: xxxi-xxxii):

... much research in CDA has often neglected the subtle and intricate analysis of latent meanings and has left the interpretation of implicit, presupposed and inferred meanings to the intuition of the researcher and/or the readership. ... an integrative pragmatic and discourse-analytic approach has to be further complemented with a range of other linguistic theoretical concepts as well as with theories from neighbouring disciplines. Such a theoretical framework should not only exist as an 'abstract umbrella or general framework', unrelated to the explicit and concrete analysis; such a framework would rather be necessary to be able to choose and justify the relevant categories for the analysis itself. (Wodak, 2007: 206)

The need for wider multidisciplinary approaches and conceptualisations, therefore, explains Chilton's position in favour of a Cognitive Linguistic Approach (Chilton, 2005; 2011b) to account for the role of values and shared knowledge.

As I briefly mentioned in section 2.3.2 it is of pivotal importance to integrate linguistic analysis with multidisciplinary methodological tools to

investigate historical, socio-cognitive, and socio-political components. The study addresses the methodological implications of these theoretical positions in two ways. On the one hand, a historical and sociological overview of relevant context information is included as preliminary background (Chapters 1 and 2). On the other, the analysis incorporates a cognitive dimension by drawing on Chilton's notion of deictic space and presumptions, as well as focusing on gestures and elements of shared background knowledge. I am aware that this study, due to its natural constraints, does not include any specific methodological tools from other disciplines to fulfil these criteria, on which, anyhow, there does not seem to be much agreement by CDA scholars (Chilton, 2005, 2011b; Wodak, 2007). However, despite the analysis focuses on text, the hypothesis underpinning my investigation recognises the importance of extending CDA methodologies and adopts a multidisciplinary methodological approach.

Starting from these assumptions, I adopt Munday's model for evaluation in translation (2012) and integrate it with visual semiotic resources (nonverbal language) and cognitive components such as stereotypes and deictic elements. The reason for choosing this framework lies in that it uncovers the axiological and ideological position of the speaker by investigating her or his evaluative stance and deictic positioning. The framework that Munday proposes draws on Martin and White's Appraisal Theory (2005) and Chilton's Deictic Space Theory, or DST (2004a, 2004b, 2009, 2010a, 2013). These theories elaborate on Halliday's notion that language is a social phenomenon and texts are instantiations of meaning potential (1988, 1985/2004; see also section 2.3.2), to provide practical models for analysis.

The aim of Appraisal Theory is to determine the stance of the speaker towards the object of her or his message, by describing the semantic components of communication in terms of her or his attitude and engagement, and assess intensity, or graduation, of these components (Martin and White, 2005). Appraisal analysis also foregrounds strategies of implicit evaluation, that is, the attitude that is expressed implicitly instead of being overtly stated in the text.

This is particularly significant in the analysis of stereotypes, which, as noted above, can be expressed both linguistically and cognitively.

Chilton's theory of deictic positioning, on the other hand, assesses the position of the speaker with reference to the hearer and the situation of communication. Deictic positioning represents the conceptual space that human minds 'set up ... as they process linguistic utterances' (Chilton, 2010a: 195). In other words, it does not represent physical space, but rather a projection in discourse of the speaker's position towards facts and events. This conceptual space develops along three axes or dimensions, namely, space, time and modality (the epistemic distance from the speaker) and are in fact vectors indicating relative distance from the deictic centre, where the speaker is located. Again, this intersection represents 'a conceptual space... the conscious now-here-real, which can be located at any point in real space-time' (Chilton, 2013: 238).

Spatial representation is possible because linguistic choices allow the speaker to foreground or background information: specific lexical choices such as pronouns (inclusive *we* as opposed to *them*), temporal markers, strategies expressing judgment, and so on, place information at relative proximity or distance. At the opposite end of the deictic centre, along each axis, lies what is distant in time and space, or deemed uncertain or untrue. Whereas both spatial distance and moral distance are associated to the Other, I adopt Chilton's definition of 'Otherness' as remoteness from the Self in terms of epistemic and deontic truth, and, accordingly, place it at the end of the modality axis.<sup>18</sup>

The relevance of this model from a methodological point of view in uncovering ideological assumptions - and hidden nationalistic stances - is twofold. First, it foregrounds the evaluative resources that the speaker uses to create the Other as opposed to her or his own values. This is particularly relevant in the case of stereotyping, which is grounded on evaluation and on the creation of an external Other (see section 2.1). Second, by highlighting the relevance of

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<sup>18</sup> There seem to be a discrepancy between Chilton and Munday regarding the domain of the Other, whereby the former associates it to 'untrue' or 'false' and places it at the extreme end of the modality axis (Chilton, 2004: 59-60), whereas the latter attributes it to spatial remoteness (Munday, 102: 68, 76).



time – if any – it sheds light on how the speaker uses recent and remote history to reinforce the national myth and, consequently, national identity.

Although this approach borrows from existing methods, I attempt innovative integrations in order to obtain a wider perspective that may help to shed further light on the use of evaluative resources, as I have briefly mentioned in the introduction. First, I apply Munday's model to linguistic and cultural second-language production, instead of using it as a tool to evaluate the product of an external translation process, as it was originally conceived. In other words, the focus of research is the evaluation that is hidden in the message as it is spontaneously adapted to get across to a foreign audience, rather than the interlinguistic interpretation carried out by a third actor, if any.<sup>19</sup> Second, the investigation also accounts for cognitive components that build shared background knowledge, such as stereotypes, clichés, semiotic gestures, and so on, which are analysed simultaneously with textual resources. Third, since hand gestures are a form of visual communication, the study is conceived as multimodal. Furthermore, I fully integrate the two models by applying them sequentially, since relevant data from appraisal analysis are used to draw deictic positioning charts.

It is worth underlining that in my interpretation the deictic centre may include all elements that are positively evaluated by the speaker, whereas Munday restricts it to spatio-temporal deixis and inclusive pronouns (2012: 74-76). Finally, I ensure that the study meets the criteria of internal validity, reliability, and generalisability required by the quality standards of research by providing the analysis in form of tables and charts (for a discussion on the quality standards of research, see section 3.3). Whereas DST charts were already included in Munday's model, I also present tables that do not show in Munday's

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<sup>19</sup> For examples of the official translation procedure of Prime Ministers' speeches, with reference to Canada and Germany, see Gagnon, C. (2010). When Text and Translation Production Meet: Translation in the Prime Minister's Office. In C. Schäffner & S. Bassnett (Eds.), *Political Discourse, Media and Translation* (pp. 164-177). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Schäffner, C. (2004). Political Discourse Analysis from the Point of View of Translation Studies. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 3(1), 117-150; Schäffner, C. (2003). Third Ways and new centres - ideological unity or difference? In M. Calzada Pérez (Ed.), *Apropos of ideology* (pp. 23-41). Manchester: St. Jerome.

method but develop from some examples in Martin and White (2005). All these integrations have not been previously attempted, to the best of my knowledge.

Due to its experimental nature, the analysis is conceived as a pilot study of two videos in order to test both the viability of the new, combined method of analysis – in terms of breadth, wealth and reliability of data – and the credibility and internal validity of the interpretations that can be generated by its coherent adoption. As I shall present in the next sections, the videos are transcribed and analysed in their verbal and relevant nonverbal components. Each model generates a separate diagram/table that highlights the outcome of the analysis, but the discussion of the results encompasses both sets of data, as shown in the figure below.

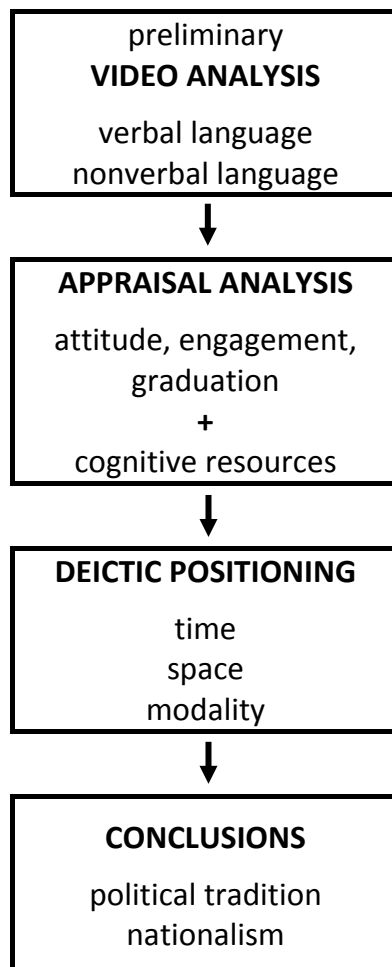


Figure 3-1. An overview of the combined method of analysis applied in the study.

As mentioned in section 2.3.2, all is text. Given the presence of different semiotic systems in the videos analysed, multimodal analysis allows me to focus on the evaluation simultaneously hidden in different resources, as it integrates both verbal and visual resources into the same framework. It has been pointed out that among the potential limitations of multimodal analysis, focusing the analyst's attention on too many different modes may cause some of them to be ignored or overlooked (Bezemer and Jewitt, 2010: 194). In the case of Renzi's speeches, however, the risk of dispersion is probably much lower, since the choice among the variety of modes that are relevant to analysis is somewhat restricted to speech and nonverbal communication or, more specifically, hand gestures.

The reason for the paramount importance of hand gestures as a visual resource in the context of Renzi's speeches is twofold. Besides being a communicative mode of their own, hand gestures are also a visual resource (Arnheim, 1970: 117). As such, they are crucial in shaping shared information: '[I]ike language, visual communication plays its part in shaping and maintaining a society's ideologies, and can also serve to create, maintain and legitimise certain kinds of social practices' (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 19). Visual resources are powerful nonverbal elements of discourse as they can carry implicit, indirect meaning by increasing redundancy, reflect attitude, define hierarchies and relations both within its components and with the surrounding resources. Thus the way visual resources are linked with the text, their composition techniques, and characteristics of colour, shape and lighting may entail specific relations between elements such as given-new, ideal-real, or set levels of salience (Kress, 2010; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996; Machin and Mayr, 2012; Martin and White, 2005; van Leeuwen, 2005). In other words, visual resources may function as an 'evaluative Theme, naturalising the stance from which ensuing verbiage can be read' (Martin, 2001: 320). By doing so, they are crucial in building up the underlying interpretative structure of a text, the so-called 'framing' (Baker, 2006; Chilton, 2004a; Fairclough, 1995/2013; Goffman, 1983, 1974/1986; Machin and Mayr, 2012; van Leeuwen, 2005).

However, there is one more reason that makes gestures crucial to analysis, while, at the same time, limiting the significance of other visual resources in the analysis of the videos under examination. Unlike resources such as images, filming techniques, lighting, and so on, gestures are independently generated by the speaker, and, consequently the spontaneous cultural load they carry is significant. All the more so in the case of Renzi's speeches, whose setting is institutionally orchestrated within technical constraints. This makes gestures one of the very few resources directly accessible to the speaker, as opposed to others that are not functional to express attitude. In particular, as I shall clarify later on this chapter, Renzi's gestures, a fully functioning nonverbal code, seem to provide the most relevant visual mode, since '[t]he positioning, actions, and orientation of the body in the environment are crucial to how participants understand what is happening and build action together' (Goodwin, 2003: 20).

Though multimodal analysis has been thoroughly investigated and has become a consolidated practice since Gunther Kress' and Theo van Leeuwen's seminal work *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design* (1996), visual resources in spoken communication still present some challenges (Adolphs and Carter, 2013) since they may contain some level of subjectivity and may lead to miscommunication, or cause problems of transcription, annotation, and interpretation. Transcription itself involves a process called 'transduction', whereby meaning is transferred across modes (Kress, 2003: 36). Whereas the relevance of these issues to the research is limited, I am aware of the constraints they may cause on the transcription and analysis of the visual components of Renzi's speeches: if deictic gestures retain some universal element, the description and interpretation of culturally-stereotyped symbolic gestures involves significant local variations and is far from univocal (see section 2.1).

From a methodological perspective, the analysis of hand gestures presents some significant challenges. Below I shall specify the tools for the identification of Italian gestures. In section 2.1.1, I introduced the main classifications of nonverbal communication and their rationale, and I explained why I investigate facial expressions only when strictly relevant. Besides functional or semiotic

categorisations, there exists an important tradition of gesture analysis in terms of single kinesic units (Birdwhistell, 1970; Efron 1941/1972; Kendon, 2004), and how they interact with other components of the utterance such as semantic meaning and tone (Kendon, 2004). As the ultimate aim of research is investigating the presence and function of stereotypes in Renzi's communication, however, I do not provide detailed analysis of gestural components. On the other hand, I consider relevant gestures as units of meaning in themselves, and investigate how they relate to the utterance.

Although Appraisal Theory provides a detailed system of analysis of semantic elements, as I shall detail in the next sections, interpretation involves a high degree of subjectivity. This is because meaning is generated by the interplay of lexico-grammar, paralanguage and kinesics (Martin and White, 2005: 11-12). Moreover, verbal and nonverbal language abounds with undefined, 'grey' areas, all the more so when it comes to gestures, which, as noted above, are inherently 'fuzzy' (Adolphs and Carter, 2013: 157). In addition, second language production generates inaccuracies that may at times produce challenging ambiguities of interpretation. However, rather than a bias, subjectivity in discourse analysis is to be considered a necessary component of the process of analysis itself – see section 3.2.4 – since it methodologically reflects the process of message decoding enacted by the hearer, which represents the final phase of the meaning making process (Hall, S., 1973/2001).

Before examining the model in detail, it is worth making a few considerations on the notion of Italianness from a methodological perspective. Like any other general label referred to a set of stereotypes, Italianness includes utterly diverse – if not contrasting – characteristics and categories, with significant variations in time. Yet, as detailed in section 1.1, like with any other stereotype it seems possible to achieve generally agreed definition, also on a diachronic basis. Although a questionnaire may have apparently provided a clear-cut, objective definition, the limited representativeness of respondents due to time constraints would have caused the sampling to be judged significantly weak. Moreover, the analysis focuses on a limited set of general categories

present in the speeches, some of which are overtly referred to as commonplace by the speaker himself. For these reasons, I rely on contemporary historical and sociological studies on the Italian national character as an exhaustive source of information for this study.

## **3.2 Methods**

### **3.2.1 Data**

The framework for analysis is applied to two sample videos, which were selected among the variety of official speeches in English available on the website of the Italian Presidency of the Council of Ministers (now on the Youtube channel of the Presidency) and the Youtube channel of the Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies.<sup>20</sup> Both videos were recorded in an academic environment, namely Georgetown University and Harvard, include extensive question time and are comparable in length (01:08:22 and 00:59:12 respectively). The reason to prefer two speeches addressed to a general audience – thus not specifically institutional – lies in that they include some interaction with the public.

The rationale for choosing material that contains dialogic exchange is manifold. The most obvious reason is that these speeches exemplify the essentially dialogic nature of communication mentioned above. Moreover, a foreign, general audience represents a sensitive public, since stereotypical messages may result in very loaded messages from a cultural point of view. More importantly, however, both speeches show a decrease in the speaker's control over the whole communication process. As I briefly noted in the introduction, Renzi did not extensively rely on spin doctors and usually liked to improvise instead of taking advantage of official scripts that were translated and overviewed by the Prime Minister's officers. Even in the presence of an official text – as is the case of the Georgetown speech – the need to get the message across frequently encouraged Renzi to follow his own habit of elaborating on the

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<sup>20</sup> <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tEEP1j8ceqk> and <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q8ntWEIntGg> (last accessed on 6 April 2019).

original message, but the use of a foreign language makes this deviation more tentative and less controlled.

This pattern was amplified by the direct interaction with the audience, which increased the variability of the whole communication process. The outcome of this situation was an anomalous form of political communication, as it caused the message to be conveyed with a higher level of spontaneity than institutional speeches delivered in Italian, albeit improvised. Thus, the speaker's use of English became more stereotypical in itself (see discussions in Chapters 4 and 5 below) insofar as some lexical and syntactic constructions were literally translated from Italian, and the amount of nonverbal communication, being 'an automatic or reflexive response' (Andersen, 1999: 24) frequently increased, bringing forth an even stronger cultural connotation.

The reason for opting for videos instead of other types of material lies in that they exemplify the inherent complexity of communication. Indeed, it has been pointed out that analyses of political discourse should access resources – if available – that may represent verbal and nonverbal features alike (Chilton and Schäffner, 2002: 7). Since the 1960s' growth of semiotic and sociolinguistic approaches to investigating communication, the discourse is now constantly referring to verbal and nonverbal content of most communication. Meaning is not generated by a single system of signs (Baldry and Thibault, 2006: 1-21; Hart, 2018; Higgins, 2018: 395; Kress, 1993: 187-188; 2010: 54-60; Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996/2006; Machin and Mayr, 2012: 6; van Leeuwen, 2005: 3). On the contrary, the process of meaning-making is the result of the deployment of a multiplicity of semiotic resource systems (see section 2.3.2)

In other words, 'the meaning of the text is the result of the various ways in which elements from different classes of phenomena – words, actions, objects, visual images, sounds and so on – are related to each other as parts functioning in some larger whole' (Baldry and Thibault, 2006: 21). All the more so in the case of spoken interaction, which is 'essentially multimodal in nature' (Adolphs and Carter, 2013: 12). Stereotypes, being a tool for meaning-making, are no exception: they can be generated, reinforced, reproduced and implied as background

knowledge by means of verbal and nonverbal resources alike. Videos, therefore, have been chosen in that they display the whole range of semiotic channels employed to generate the message, which would have been lost otherwise.

### 3.2.2 Tools

To verify the applicability of Munday's model to Renzi's speeches, I first tested the video of the Georgetown speech. I began by annotating all relevant verbal and nonverbal elements (see section 3.2) by means of ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator) software,<sup>21</sup> which provides an effective tool to signpost relevant intervals and transcribe the corresponding text.

I restricted the range of annotations to four main categories – called 'tiers' in ELAN – that I considered most relevant to the analysis on the basis of the investigations on the Italian national character and Renzi's idiosyncrasies: stereotypes about Italy, jokes, the use of Italian words or 'Italianised' English (calques), and nonverbal communication (gestures). I also annotated all the occurrences of past-future oppositions, as they provide the leitmotif and ideological background of Renzi's communication. For each tier or category, I transcribed the relevant part of the text in the corresponding time interval of the video. In case of relevant gestures, I annotated a brief description for reference.

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<sup>21</sup> Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands. The software is available at: <http://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tools/elan/>.



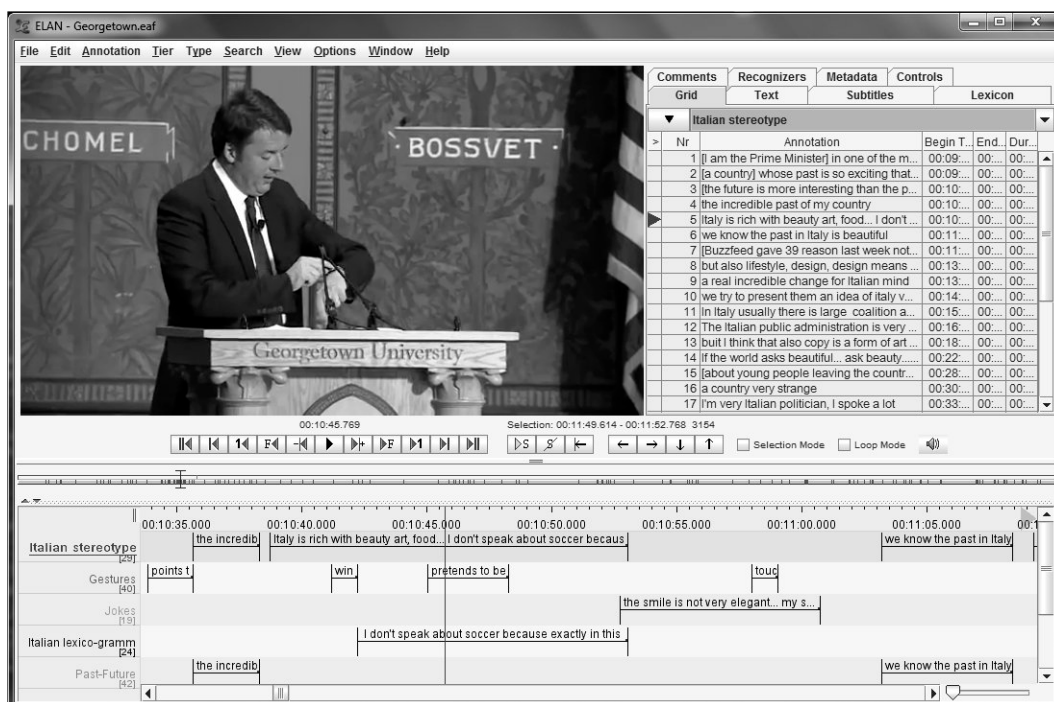


Figure 3-2. An example of annotation on ELAN.

Figure 3-2 shows an example of annotation on ELAN: the categories or tiers are listed in the bottom left column, while the transcriptions of the text/annotations are displayed in the corresponding segment of the timeline and in the table in the top right column, under the tier label.

The categories listed above were chosen because of their relevance in defining the frequency with which references to Italianness occur. Stereotypes about Italy and past-future contrasts referred to the lexical components of Renzi's speeches and fulfilled the main focus of research. Jokes and playful remarks aimed to win the approval of the audience and recall the tradition of *bella figura*, friendliness and clientelism (see section 1.2), thus representing a form of implicit cultural stereotype. Jokes, moreover, represented an interpretative frame in themselves (Bauman, R., 1975; 292). The interference of Italian words and lexico-grammar was indexical of failed cultural mediation and, therefore, provided a powerful framework for interpretation. Finally, gestures possessed an intrinsic cultural value, since 'one of the most basic and obvious functions of nonverbal communication is to communicate one's culture' (Andersen, 1999: 75); all the more so in the case of Italy, where, as previously mentioned, they represent a real language of its own and are, therefore, stereotypical. Moreover, due to their

complex nature as emblems or illustrators, they were crucial both as a form of implicit cultural stereotype, and a tool for evaluation and deictic positioning.

What is relevant in the context of research is the value and the interpretation strategy that these categories entail within the cultural system: nonverbal communication, jokes and interferences of Italian are three sub-categories of implied, indexical stereotype that may contribute to foregrounding hidden judgement or appreciation, emphasise the speaker’s positioning, and, overall, create or reinforce a cultural background. Their relevance, therefore, lay in their function as a second level sign (see section 2.3.1) in the context of the speech in which they occurred - or co-occurred. For this reason, I generally choose to present every occurrence as a unit of meaning without analysing each component. All the more so in the case of gestures, which I do not split in single kinetic elements, since I limit their classification to the relevant distinction between illustrators (more specifically, deictic gestures) and emblems. This methodological choice was is more significant in that it reflects some of the main characteristics of nonverbal communication, namely its being ‘continuous’ and ‘unitized’, and processed as a whole (Andersen, 1999: 19-23).

For clarity’s sake, Table 3.1 presents a selection of examples of the same type of data - categories, definitions and corresponding transcriptions - as extracted from ELAN.

| <b>Category/Tier</b>               | <b>Example</b>  |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Stereotypes about Italy            | ‘we are the country of very importance of mother and father’  |
| Past-future contrast               | ‘I believe the future, in Italy, is more interesting than the past’                                     |
| Jokes                              | [ <i>on brain drain</i> ] ‘If the brain has gone away, is pancreas still in Italy?’                     |
| Calques                            | ‘I think we must avoid the risk to invest in an education only technological and focused on scientists’ |
| Nonverbal communication (gestures) | [ <i>Renzi mimicks the gesture of paying money to stress the word ‘invest’</i> ]                        |
|                                    | [ <i>Hand gestures underlining time sequence and spatial movement in the narration</i> ]                |

**Table 3-1. Categories, definitions and examples as extracted in a table format from ELAN annotation, with their implicit or explicit value.**

After the annotation phase, I transcribed the entire speech, complete with the host's introduction and the relevant parts of the questions. To define the background for the study, I analysed the transcript in order to list all the lexical occurrences related to the concepts of future and the keywords connected to the notion of discontinuity, innovation, and change: by annotating the occurrences of past/old and future/new, I confirmed the significance of these references and prepared the ground for outlining Renzi's deictic positioning. Finally, I proceeded with the analysis according to Martin and White's evaluation model and Chilton's deictic positioning, as described below (see section 3.2.3).

For the second video (the Harvard speech), however, I chose not to carry out any preliminary annotations. Though the annotator software proved a useful organizational tool thanks to the use of tiers, annotations themselves mainly served a testing purpose, and turned out to be redundant once the procedure became effective. The Harvard video, therefore, was transcribed and analysed directly.

### **3.2.3 Multimodal Analysis**

Once completed the phase of transcription and the list of occurrences of terms connected to the notion of future and change, the text was analysed according to the two methods integrated in Munday's model, as outlined in Figure 3-1. It is worth noting that the units of analysis are of variable length, as I follow the single units of meaning formed by verbal and nonverbal resources alike. For these flexible, multi-semiotic units I borrow Kendon's definition of 'idea units' (Kendon, 2004: 126). The units were analysed according to Martin and White's Appraisal Theory model in order to highlight the evaluative stance of the speaker. All relevant cognitive resources such as explicit stereotypes and deictic components were also annotated in terms of their *value*, which indicates their meaning (as is the case of cultural references and gestures) and specifies whether they are implicit or explicit, or contribute to deictic positioning (for an example of analysis, see section 3.2.4).

The assumption that texts are essentially dialogic and reflect the axiology and ideology of the speaker (see section 3.1) bears a twofold implication. On the one hand, in the process of meaning-making speakers express their position and invite the audience to share the same values and beliefs. On the other, they construe a 'putative addressee' by drawing the contours of the receiver's shared knowledge and viewpoint (Martin and White, 2005: 95). Appraisal analysis, therefore, was crucial to the study since it both foregrounds the speaker's stance and sheds light on the process – whether intentional or unconscious – of identity negotiation and audience construction.

To unveil this process, the model proposes the analysis of three main resources: *attitude*, *engagement* and *graduation*. *Attitude* and *engagement* represent, respectively, the feelings of the speaker and her or his stance towards external voices. Graduation applies to attitude and expresses the degree of intensity. Each of these resources is further fine-tuned in a multi-level system of sub-categories. At this stage I shall provide a general overview in order to outline the tools of analysis, whereas the detailed model is illustrated in Appendix 8.1.

Attitude can be expressed as feelings and emotions (affect), may concern ethics, behaviour and capacity (judgement), or may refer to things and phenomena (appreciation). This classification is quite similar to the types of meaning – identification, action and representation – highlighted by Fairclough (2003b: 27). The speaker expresses her/his engagement by recognising or dismissing different viewpoints: s/he may show a variable degree of tolerance (heteroglossia) or avoid to acknowledge any alternative stance by providing information as 'given' (monoglossia). Finally, graduation, which can modify attitude, may feature as a scalable category (force), or a non-scalable one (focus), or it can be embedded (infused) in the lexical resource, as up-scaling or down-scaling intensification.

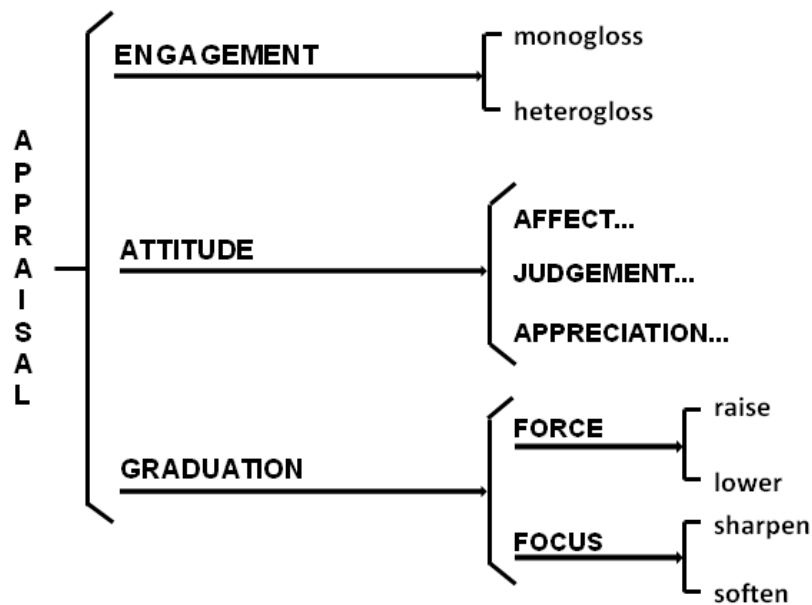


Figure 3-3. An overview of appraisal resources (Martin and White, 2005: 38).

Due to the limited syntactic and lexical resources that Renzi employs and the incongruities that pervade his speeches, my analysis was often limited to the first levels of the classification, which, at any rate, were fully satisfactory for the purpose of the study.

This model also acknowledges that attitude may be realised implicitly through specific lexical choices. The strategies vary in degree and together constitute a cline whose extremes represent complete explicitness (inscribed attitude), and complete implicitness (invoked attitude). Between the extremes, attitude can be modulated more or less overtly: when implicit, it can be conveyed by means of lexical metaphors (provoke), or implied in ideational meaning (*invite*). Within ideational language, moreover, attitude can be expressed in varying degrees, ranging from factual language (afford) to strategies to *flag* attitude, such as intensification, counter-expectancy indicators (however, actually, and so on), and non-core vocabulary employed metaphorically (Martin and White, 2005: 61-68). These categories lie on a cline that spans from direct to indirect, from inscribe to afford, and, as such, their contours are often blurred. As the focus of analysis is the presence of implicit stereotypes, however, I adopted the distinction between inscribe and invoke, but did not investigate further modulations.

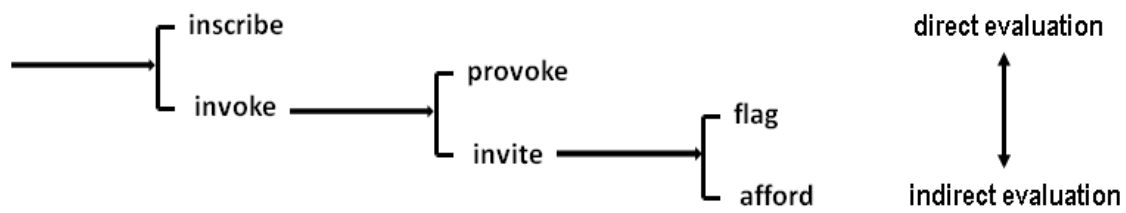


Figure 3-4. Strategies for inscribing and invoking attitude (adapted from Martin and White, 2005: 38 and Munday, 2012: 30).

As mentioned above (section 3.1), the model embeds some amount of subjectivity, since many resources can be ascribed to more than one category. This is because communication is the outcome of a subjective process of coding and decoding, and, accordingly, any interpretation necessarily requires contextual information. The variations of attribution of a resource, therefore, depend on different contexts, and the variety of ways the resource can be modulated in. As the aim of research was to show the persistence of implicit and explicit stereotypes, possible subjective interpretations of some resources did not hinder the analysis: I mainly focused on the polarity (positive or negative) of attitude, on the graduation, and the use of monoglossia and heteroglossia, approaching more specific modulations only when relevant.

In more general terms, subjectivity is an unavoidable component of reading, and, accordingly, of research, as long as it does not reflect individual idiosyncrasies (ibidem, 62). As mentioned above, language is meaning-making potential (Halliday, 1985/2004) and communication is a negotiation process influenced by axiological and ideological values. Moreover, the communication process is grounded on the interpretation by the reader/hearer, or 'decoding' (Hall, S., 1973/2001: 91; see section 2.3.3): it is the individual reader/hearer who fills the text with its ultimate meaning by applying her or his own set of beliefs and values. Readings, therefore, can be compliant (hegemonic), tactical (negotiated) or resistant (oppositional), according to the position of the reader/hearer towards the set of values explicitly or implicitly expressed by the speaker/writer (Hall, S., 1973/2001: 102; Munday, 2012: 39; Martin and White, 2005: 62; Fairclough, 1992a: 136). For this reason, 'when analysing invoked

evaluation, it is certainly critical to specify one's reading position as far as possible' (Martin and White, 2005: 62). As analysts should declare their standpoint, I adopted a tactical position: on the grounds of the purpose of this study, I acknowledged the authority and intention of the speaker but highlighted their contradictions and inconsistencies.

Since most resources analysed according to Martin and White's model can be used as the basis for revealing deictic positioning, they were employed as the starting point of the second analysis, which shed further light on the position of the speaker with reference to time, space and modality. As explained in section 3.1, this is particularly useful in that it clearly outlines the boundaries of the Other and the mechanisms used to build outgroups. The deictic positioning thus obtained was graphically represented as the intersection of the three axes of space, time and modality, along which the main semantic resources employed were placed according to their distance from the centre/speaker, as shown in Figure 3-5 below (for an example of a schematic representation of combined textual analysis, see section 3.2.4 below).

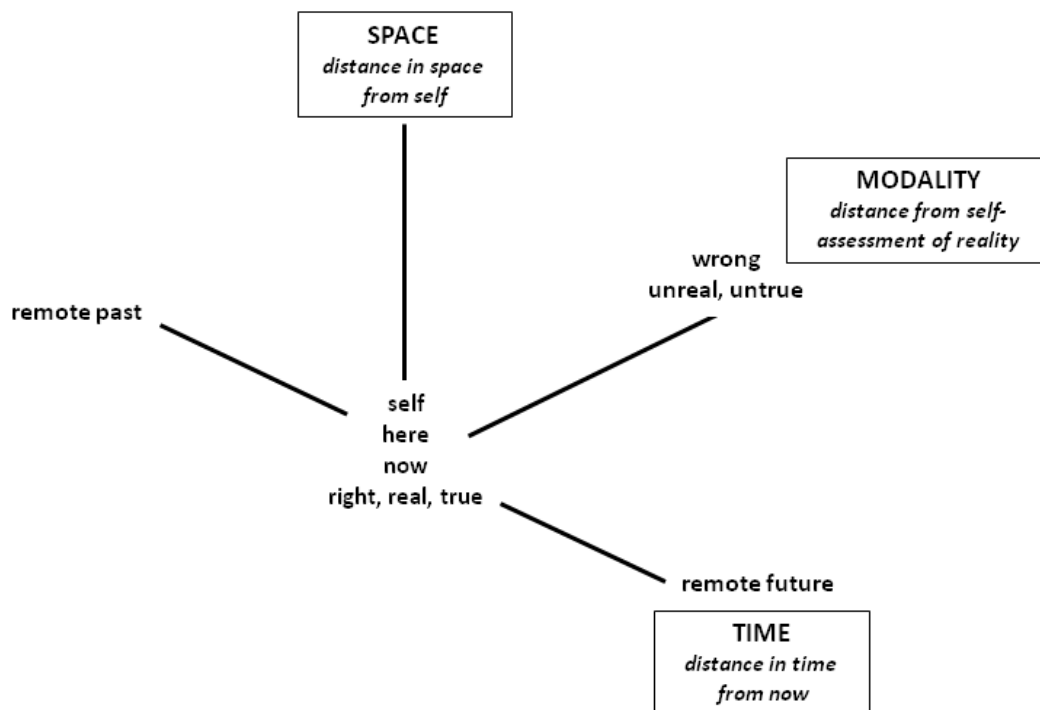


Figure 3-5. An overview of deictic positioning (adapted from Chilton, 2004a).

By including strategies for invoking evaluation, Martin and White's framework provides a model for the study of implicit, or presupposed, meanings. Since stereotypes can be reproduced on different cognitive levels, however, the study also focuses on three forms of Italianness that depend on shared background knowledge that is only partially produced in lexicogrammar: nonverbal communication, jokes and calques. In particular, the use of these resources, especially if reiterated, may contribute to the overall interpretation of information, reinforce the construction of a common ground and, consequently, contribute to create the audience. For them I adopt the term *presumption* as defined by Chilton (see section 2.3.2), namely the information or interpretation structure that the speaker takes for granted and presumes is shared and accepted by the audience.

The relevance of gestures, however, is not limited to their being a form of implied cultural stereotype. Following the distinction between emblems and illustrators/deictic gestures highlighted in section 2.1.1, I focused on their role as crucial resources in the creation of meaning and in building the interpretative frame. For this reason, my interpretation of gestures followed a multi-layered pattern, as they can simply connote a stereotype, may possess an evaluative function, or contribute to deictic positioning; I focused, therefore on their prevailing function on the basis of context. On the one hand, when emblems occurred I highlighted whether they possessed an evaluative role, and what type of connection they bear to verbal communication: Italian emblems were analysed insofar as they carry both a strong cultural connotation and an evaluative dimension (for a discussion on the cultural component of nonverbal communication see sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). On the other hand, relevant deictic illustrators were described as a means to reinforce deictic positioning on the basis of Chilton's model, and, consequently, to provide a further means to fine-tune the interpretative frame. Other instances of kinesics such as facial expressions – as well as paralinguistic components such as pitch and volume – were accounted for only whenever they worked as evaluation resources.



In the preceding sections of this chapter (3.1 and 3.2.1) I specified that second language texts may involve a high degree of subjectivity in interpretation. Especially whenever speech abandons scripts and takes a more spontaneous turn, the use of resources may become more limited, syntactic structures more approximate, and pauses, interruptions and changes of topic may cause gaps in the flow of meaning. The impact on investigation is quite significant: on the one hand, the – possibly unintentional – recurring use of a limited set of resources by the speaker may result in a predictable outcome of appraisal analysis and deictic positioning, especially when it comes to attitude, graduation and modality. On the other, in the presence of interruptions and incongruities the process of analysis itself may become more tentative and subjective. It is my belief, however, that these implications do not hinder the validity of the method. First and foremost, the speaker deliberately chose to express his ideas and opinions in a second language without recurring to an interpreter, and, accordingly, took responsibility for the message he conveyed and its implied meanings. Second, some of the interruptions and pauses give way to quotations in Italian or Latin, thus bringing a different but significant contribution to the speaker's positioning.

#### **3.2.4 Operational notes**

- (1) Considering the need to avoid unnecessary details (Adolphs and Carter, 2013: 12), the graphic conventions for analysis of this study draw on Martin and White's examples (2005: 172-173; 175-176). However, I restrict my choice to a limited set of fonts to avoid complex decoding (see table below). Whenever there may be partial overlapping of different categories, I operate a selection and present hybrid forms that retain part of the coding of each category. For example, jokes are usually coded in Courier New and are not subject to appraisal analysis; however, whenever I need to highlight the presence of one of the evaluation categories, I integrate Courier New with their main coding, i.e. bold for engagement, italics for attitude and capital letters for graduation.

- (2) Although I am aware that the punctuation conventions of written language do not correspond to the actual use of language in spoken utterances (Fairclough, 2000: 20), I believe that, in the case of this study, they ensure easy understanding of the transcripts. Moreover, adding further codification for pauses, exclamations and questions would add to the complexity of graphic conventions of appraisal analysis. Therefore, my transcripts shall use standard punctuation (for an example of transcription of dialogic exchange, see Fairclough, 1992a).
- (3) Due to mispronunciation, the transcription of some terms poses some difficulties. I try to mirror the actual pronunciation whenever possible and provide the amended version only in case of repetitive, idiosyncratic ‘deviations’ that I can disambiguate due to their frequency and concordance: earth/heart, word/world, this/these, think/thing, ourself/ourselves, through/true.
- (4) Since both the description and the interpretation of gestures are far from univocal, the transcription of visual language presents a considerable challenge. Analysing symbolic gestures bearing a marked national character, however, helps me to limit these constraints. Since also symbolic, ‘coded’ gestures, by their own nature, undergo some evolution, are idiosyncratic and easily merge into each other, I choose to present hand gestures and facial expressions by means of screen shots and brief descriptions. Whenever a long shot makes it impossible to zoom in the relevant detail, however, I provide only the description of the hand gesture or facial expression. Other forms of transcription – albeit authoritative – have not been adopted because they focus on different purposes, such as the synchronicity of kinesics and gesture (Birdwhistell, 1970; Kendon, 2004; McNeill, 1992), or the multimodal analysis of video frames (Baldry and Thibault, 2006).

| <b>Graphic conventions</b> | <b>Example of transcription</b>                               |
|----------------------------|---|
| <b>engagement</b>          | <b>Of course you might think</b>                              |
| aside-joke                 | they used to have Leonardo da Vinci now there is Matteo Renzi |


|   |  |
|---|--|
| <i>attitude</i>   | Italy is EXACTLY the place in which A LOT OF things could <u>change</u> , must <u>change</u> |
| <u>repetition</u>   |  |
| GRADUATION  |  |
| Calques   | Because is exactly that the goal and the targets of terrorists                               |
|  | <i>[Renzi touches his chest with his open hand]</i>  |
| Unmarked text   | after the last election  |

Table 3-2. Example of the graphic conventions adopted in appraisal analysis.

- (5) The speeches are divided into segments based on their internal organisation and the need for clarity in analysis. Chapters 4 and 5 provide an introduction and a discussion for each segment (complete with their time interval), and the concluding remarks for each speech. The tables of appraisal analyses and values, and the deictic positioning charts of the segments are in Appendix 8.2 and Appendix 8.3. The transcripts also include the welcome speeches of academic authorities, in which I highlight all the references to Renzi as an innovator (boxed text). In the appraisal analysis every unit – whether an utterance or a gesture – is numbered. Whenever a unit is quoted in the discussion of the segment, it shows by its number only (e.g. ‘unit 3’), whereas if a unit is quoted in the concluding discussion of a speech, the relevant segment and unit show as **segment#:unit#** (e.g: ‘unit 2:44’). A schematic representation of combined textual analysis looks as follows:


## Segment 2 – 00:12:00-00:12:53

### Transcript

Italy for the moment, in the last 20 years, in particularly in the last 20 years Italy seems a sleeping beauty. Politics, government, what you call in Washington DC ‘beltway’ got stuck. The world changed around us and for a long time Italy were unable to reform. Now it’s the time in which we can use this expression: Italy is back. And if the world of

globalisation asks for a different ideas of culture, values, education, Italy is exactly the place in which a lot of things could change, must change.

*Appraisal analysis and value*

|    | <b>Transcript</b>   | <b>Appraisal analysis</b>   | <b>Value</b>  |
|----|---|---|---|
| 28 | <p>Italy for the moment, <u>in the last 20 years</u>, in particularly <u>in the last 20 years</u> <b>Italy seems a sleeping beauty</b>. Politics, government, <b>what you call</b> in Washington DC 'beltway' <b>got stuck</b>.</p>       | <p>Italy seems: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); beauty: invoked appreciation (+valuation) mitigated by 'sleeping': judgement (social esteem: -capacity); what you call: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); got stuck: monoglossic engagement; stuck: judgement (social esteem: -capacity)</p> | <p>for the moment/in the last 20 years: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; sleeping beauty: irony and stereotypes</p>                            |
| 29 | <p><b>The world changed</b> around us and for a long time <b>Italy were unable to reform</b>.</p>   | <p>the world changed/Italy were: monoglossic engagement; changed around us: invoked judgement (social esteem: -capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); unable: judgement (social esteem: -capacity); reform: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>                           | <p>inclusive 'us'/'we'/for a long time: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'a naive person/a fool'; unable to reform: stereotype</p> |
| 30 |  <p>[Renzi cups his right hand upwards in a 'purse hand' gesture and briefly rotates it to form a circle while pronouncing the words 'around us'].</p> |   |   |
| 31 | <p><u>Now it's the time</u> in which <b>we can</b> use this expression: <b>Italy is back</b>.</p>   | <p>we can/ it's: monoglossic engagement; is back: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>   | <p>now/inclusive 'we': deictic positioning; now it's the time: repetition (see below)</p>   |


|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 32 | And <b>if the world of globalisation asks</b> for a <i>different</i> ideas of <i>culture, values, education</i>  | asks: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); globalisation: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); different: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); culture/ education: appreciation (+valuation); values: invoked judgement (social sanction: +propriety) | globalisation: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'being sure of one's own opinion' |
| 33 |  <p>[Renzi closes his fist and moves it downward while pronouncing the word 'different'].</p> |   |  |
| 34 | Italy <b>is EXACTLY</b> the place in which A LOT OF things <b>could <u>change</u>, must <u>change</u></b> .  | is/could change/must change: monoglossic engagement; exactly: graduation (focus: +sharpen); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); change: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)  | voice: higher pitch and volume   |

Table 3-3. Example of appraisal analysis.

*Deictic positioning*

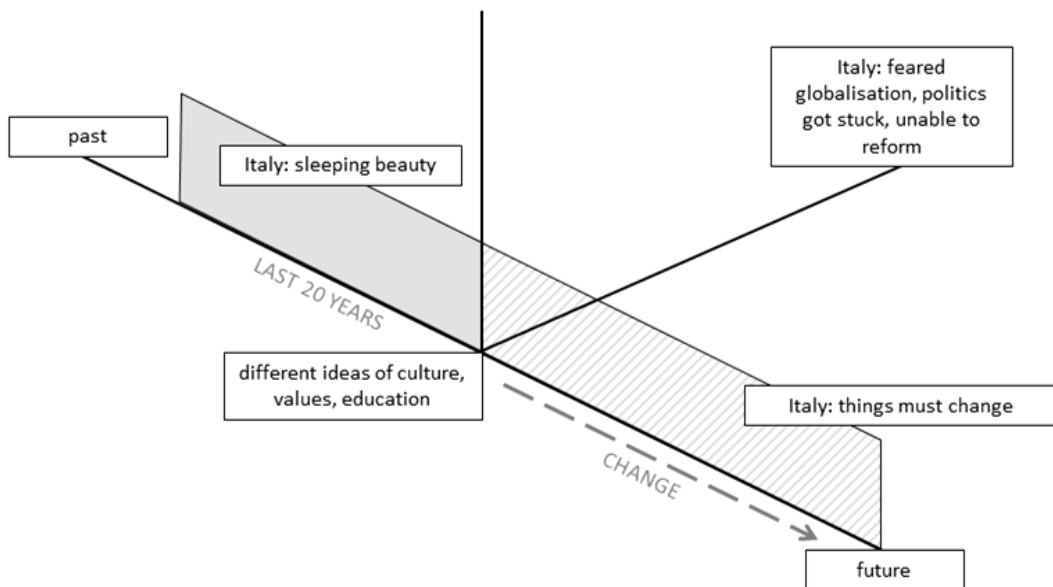




Figure 3-6. Example of deictic positioning chart.

- (6) Some utterances may contain elements that involve two or more parameters corresponding to different axes in the deictic positioning chart, as is the case of 'Italy was in very hard times four years ago' (Harvard, 4:40, Appendix 8.3.4) in which time, place and modality are quoted simultaneously. In similar cases, clarity is paramount: the key concept is placed along the axis that is most significant for analysis, whereas the other component is either ignored if irrelevant, or accounted for in the discussion. In the example mentioned above, the utterance is placed along the time axis, which provides the most relevant concept, whereas the space component is only mentioned and the evaluative one is discussed in terms of appraisal resources. There may be some rare cases, however, in which the speaker himself focuses the connections between the different components (see Harvard deictic positioning chart, Appendix 8.3.3.2). Whenever this occurs, all components show along the respective axis and are connected by arrows.
- (7) The analysis of Renzi's replies during question time is particularly challenging, due to the spontaneous flow of thoughts that implies numerous context changes, inconsistencies and increased hand gestures. For them I provide the appraisal analysis and deictic positioning of relevant parts, leaving institutional discussions aside. The parts of Renzi's speech in Italian are not subject to appraisal analysis, but are investigated regarding nonverbal communication, invoked stereotyping and jokes. For those parts, I provide a translation in English.
- (8) As the purpose of study is to investigate the use of stereotypes and the positioning of the speaker, I do not adopt the whole range of modulations and parameters included in Martin and White's framework (2005: 45-61; 92-154), but I apply some restrictions to those that are relevant for analysis (see section 3.2.3 and Appendix 8.1). For affect I adopt the variables of *happiness*, *security* and *satisfaction* in their positive/negative modulation (indicated, respectively, with plus or minus). For judgement and appreciation, I adopt the macro-categories and the sub-categories listed in


Appendix 8.1. For engagement, I adopt all categories, but not the contract/expand pre-selection. Finally, for graduation, I restrict the categories to force/focus and the respective subcategories to *sharpen/soften* and *quantification/intensification* (indicated, again, with plus or minus), specifying whenever infusing occurs. I chose to ascribe some lexical items to different categories or none on the grounds of their context: for example, 'idea' may be considered either as positive *normality*, positive *capacity* or neutral depending on whether it indicates a concept, a project or simply an opinion. However, I keep these ambivalences to a minimum. For the sake of clarity, in the appraisal analysis column of each table I indicate only the relevant categories, leaving the redundant ones aside. For example, in the case of a resource of positive *valuation*, I indicate 'appreciation (+valuation)' without specifying the macro-category of attitude, which is embedded in the category of appreciation.

- (9) As explained in section 1.2, despite the unavoidable regional variations they embed, Italian gestures are internationally well-known for being a language of its own, which provides researchers with several reliable manuals. To acknowledge emblems and illustrators as Italian I adopt either the specific classifications provided by De Jorio (2000), Diadori (1990/2003) and Munari (1958/2005), or observations by Kendon (2004) and Poggi (2007), whose studies have frequently taken place in an Italian environment. Nonetheless, some flexibility is necessary for interpretation due to several factors: local variations, evolutions in time as well as polysemy and *homocheiry*, whereby the same gesture can correspond to different meanings (Poggi and Zomparelli, 1987: 309; 2004: 83; see also section 2.1.1). Their being labelled as Italian does not imply that they may not be similar to gestures from other cultures, but possible overlapping will not interfere with the stereotypical value of the gestures under analysis.

For the meaning of key hand gestures I follow Kendon's classification of gesture families, for which I provide a brief guide here below (Kendon, 2004: 228-247; see also section 1.2).

| Description   | Meaning   | Examples  |
|---|---|---|
| <p><b>Grappolo hand or purse hand</b> (also known as 'finger bunch'): the hand in held upwards and the fingertips are drawn together.</p> | <p>This gesture is related to the main topic of conversation. Based on the sequence of movements (opening, closing, up-down or in-out oscillation), this type of gesture may be used when demanding explanation in a puzzled or annoyed way, nominating a core concept, or describing it (see below).</p> |   |
| <p>Variation of the grappolo hand, called <b>grappolo-to-open</b>: the purse hand opens upwards.</p>                                      | <p>This gesture is associated to an explanation or a comment to a concept that has just been mentioned.<br/>Note: Renzi often uses a variation of the 'grappolo-to-open', e.g. the hand is opened downwards.</p>  |  |



|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| <p><b>'ring' hand shape:</b> the index finger and the thumb are brought into contact and form a circular shape</p> | <p>This gesture is called 'precision grip'. It is closely related to the 'purse hand' family and shows similar variations related to the opening-closing sequence (see above).</p> <p>It expresses the idea of explaining a concept in detail and can be used as to mark the tempo of an utterance in order to show insistence and determination.</p> <p>A variation is also possible, with the index and thumb forming a cone and the hand turned downwards; in this case the gestures also conveys the idea of justice.</p> |  |
|--|---|--|

**Table 3-4. Guide to the main families of hand gestures (adapted from Kendon, 2004).**

- (10) Though nonverbal communication often constitutes a continuum and only specific analysis can satisfactorily separate each component, I choose not to analyse the whole range of illustrators, facial expressions, voice pitch and volume variations, and so on, as it would have exceeded the purpose of study. Moreover, some nonverbal language is caused by the speaker's personal idiosyncrasies, and cannot be generalised as stereotypes. Facial expression and some variations in pitch and volume, however, are analysed whenever they contribute to convey or work as means of graduation, namely, they reinforce the speaker's attitude and evaluation.

### **3.3 Research methodology: CDA and mixed methods**

As mentioned above, the study develops under the overarching theoretical framework of CDA. In section 2.3.2, I highlighted that, rather than a methodology, CDA is a 'paradigm' (Wodak, 2001: 4), or, in other words, it is 'an umbrella term used to refer to a series of theories and practices' (Saldanha and

O'Brien, 2013: 51). Due to this variety of approaches, CDA may proceed inductively or deductively. Indeed, the 'abductive' method is probably the most relevant to CDA, as it implies a continuous development from theory to data and vice versa (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 15, 63). The reason is twofold. First, CDA mainly follows the hermeneutic tradition, whereby interpretation is the outcome of detailed text analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2001/2009: 28). Since the meaning of a part can be understood with reference to the whole, but the whole can be only understood with reference to individual parts, the hermeneutic interpretation produces the so-called 'hermeneutic circle': a shift between the parts and the whole, which, far from making interpretation impossible, perfectly coincides with the abductive method. Second, the relevance of this method lies in that CDA adopts a problem-based approach, whereby the outcome of research is the starting point for further investigation.

Whereas cross- and interdisciplinary research imply some freedom in the choice of methods – and a consequent variety of ontological and epistemological positions – all the approaches encompassed by CDA are generally based on the notion that reality is dependent on the observer's interpretation, and, accordingly, take on a 'constructivist' approach to data structuring and data analysis (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 51). The reason for rejecting any objectivist/positivist perspective (ibidem, 53) derives from the concept of language as a social practice: if there are as many ways of representing – and, therefore, building – reality as there are speakers, the analyst too is constrained within the boundaries of subjective construction (ibidem, 53). Indeed, 'there is no such thing as a complete and definitive analysis of a text' (Fairclough, 2003b: 14), because our knowledge of a text is necessarily limited and our analysis unavoidably selective (ibidem). Subjectivity is therefore dual, since the meaning of all social phenomena is constantly construed by both the actors involved in the process and the observer (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011: 410; Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 11). In the case of CDA, the subjectivity of analysis is further reinforced by the term 'critical', which, as mentioned in section 2.3.2, entails taking an explicit political stance and reflect on process and role of research itself.

CDA, in other words, is 'discourse analysis "with an attitude" ... CDA is biased – and proud of it' (van Dijk, 2001b: 96).

This assumption is in apparent contrast with the criteria of validity, reliability, and generalisability required by the quality standards of research, whereby data need to be, respectively, evidence-based, replicable and transferrable. This is especially true when multimodal analysis involves resources whose interpretative boundaries are often blurred, or methods that encompass the interpretation of implicit meaning (see section 3.2.3). The shift towards a declaredly subjective position, however, does not imply any lack of rigour. On the contrary, '[w]ithout explicit and systematic methods, no socially useful as well as scholarly reliable observations and descriptions can be produced' (ibidem, 96). By applying an explicit, systematic method of analysis, the study intends to meet the quality criteria of research, while, at the same time, providing a subjective interpretation of discourse. The notion of validity, therefore, may also be conceived as 'warrantability', namely a co-construction between the researcher and the readers, which includes, among others, the criteria of accountability, demonstration, coherence and plausibility (see Wood and Kroger in Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 40-41). As all these criteria refer to inner features of analysis, I have defined this type of validity 'internal'.

If CDA does not prescribe any specific methods, various guidelines have been proposed by CDA scholars, which, overall, present some common features: they require some degree of linguistic analysis, employ 'eclectic' methods, and are problem-oriented (Wodak and Meyer, 2001/2009: 31). According to this approach, research should start by focusing on 'a social problem which has a semiotic aspect' (Fairclough, 2001/2006: 125) and then identify the semiotic and social practices involved in order to reach an understanding of the phenomenon and possible ways of tackling the problem. Finally, van Dijk specifies further the notion multidisciplinary as a combination of 'analysis of linguistic, cognitive, social and cultural aspects' (van Dijk, 1998/2000: 193).

The study fulfils these requirements insofar as it is based on linguistic analysis, encompasses some degree of interdisciplinarity, and is problem-based.

First, Munday's model for analysis provides a thorough method for linguistic analysis by combining Martin and White's Appraisal Theory with Chilton's deictic positioning. Deictic positioning also contributes to fulfil the second requirement, multidisciplinary, since, together with presumptions, it provides a highlight on cognitive processes. Further multidisciplinary outlook, moreover, is present in terms of a preliminary overview of social and political background. Finally, the study draws after Fairclough's problem-based model insofar as the idea for research sprang from a perceived contradiction between the commitment to innovation declared by Renzi and the frequent allusions to the traditional stereotype of Italianness in his speeches.

As the study is problem-based and follows an underlying circular, abductive pattern, it develops according to an exploratory sequential design (Creswell and Plano Clark, 2011). Born of the need to explore a phenomenon and provide qualitative data to fine-tune research, this type of design encompasses both qualitative and quantitative methods. It usually consists of a first qualitative phase providing data and relevant analysis that lead to a set of preliminary conclusions, followed by a second, quantitative phase whose aim is to test and generalise the findings of the first. By adopting 'multiple perspectives and deeper understanding' (ibidem, 87), this design matches the position of CDA, as it draws on a constructivist and interpretivist approach while proceeding abductively, but it allows data to force the analyst to consider all phases of data collection to monitor bias, which helps avoiding a completely subjective approach.

Within this design, the study focuses on the first, qualitative phase in order to test both the initial hypothesis and the methods by means of a pilot study of three samples, while leaving the second, purely quantitative phase to future investigation (on the integration of quantitative and qualitative data, see Fairclough, 2003b: 6). Although the research does not develop both phases, it retains a mixed methods component, since a quantitative strand is present in terms of frequency analysis, as described in section 3.2.2.

A final observation is due concerning quality research criteria. Thanks to the detailed grid for interpretation of Munday's model and the complete

presentation of data analysis that is provided in the Appendices, the study fully meets the criteria of internal validity and replicability. Generalisability, on the other hand, is subject to the variables of social contexts under analysis and, as such, may not be fulfilled, independently of the validity and replicability of the method (Saldanha and O'Brien, 2013: 37).

### **3.4 Concluding remarks**

In this chapter I described the research methods and analytic tools that made up the methodology of research for this study. They are employed for the analysis and hence influence the interpretative phase, but this chapter gave an account of all the measures taken to respect replicable criteria of selection, categorisation, and discussion of the data. I also discussed some theoretical grounds more thoroughly, with special reference to the model for analysis. In particular, I described Munday's model for evaluation, and focused on the reasons why it is applied in an innovative way: it does not involve the translation process as such, but focuses on the process of the negotiation of identity in second-language production; it integrates appraisal analysis and deictic space theory to the full; finally, it includes cognitive and visual resources (multimodality). The chapter also highlighted the details of corpus analysis and multimodal analysis, and their respective phases. In this context, I provided a few clarifications regarding some key concepts such as Italianness, invoked attitude and presumption. Finally, the paradigms of the study were briefly analysed in terms of mixed methods, and the underlying design was identified as exploratory sequential. The next two chapters provide a complete illustration of the approach chosen. They discuss the case studies and elicit the relationship between the methods of research and their complex application.

## 4

### Speech n. 1: From a Mythical Past to a Bright Future

#### 4.1 Introduction

The first video being analysed is Renzi's speech at Georgetown University (Washington, D.C.) on the occasion of his visit on 16 April 2015, over a year after the beginning of this cabinet. The speech is divided into three parts: the Provost's welcome speech, Renzi's talk, and question time.

The welcome speech frames Renzi as an innovator: as we can see from the transcript below, he is described as a 'ground-breaking leader', an 'international symbol for reform', the 'youngest Prime Minister', with an innovative communication style. These expectations are duly met by Renzi's talk, which focuses on the need to take on the challenges of the future, and unfolds around core concepts such as 'reform', 'change', 'challenge' and 'innovation'.

We shall see, however, that underneath this celebration of innovation and change Renzi conveys a different message: on the one hand, his positioning towards the past and the cultural heritage is shifting; on the other, he follows the wake of a conservative political tradition and reinforces a stereotypical view of Italy. Tradition is sometimes explicitly referred to (such is the case, for instance, of the Jesuits' experience or several stereotypes of Italianness), but, more often, implicitly recalled in terms of calques, playful remarks and the extensive use of culturally-loaded gestures. Quite predictably, the frequency of these resources increases during question time, when the speaker expresses his thoughts without the guidance of a script. However, we shall see that they are quite significant also during the official talk, thanks to the speaker's comments and asides.

The following sections present a discussion of the appraisal analysis and deictic positioning of the intervals in which the speech has been divided for operational purposes. The corresponding analyses are detailed in Appendix 8.2. As the study concerns Renzi's communication techniques, I present the interventions by other interlocutors only insofar as they provide context and interpretative frame for the speaker's talk. For this reason the transcript for the introduction is provided entirely, whereas questions are quoted only in their relevant parts and summed up in their preliminary remarks. On the other hand, I choose to present Renzi's reply in Italian to the full (albeit in my English translation) and analyse it to the extent that it contributes to his positioning.

## 4.2 Provost's Welcome Speech - 00:00:20-00:03:25

### 4.2.1 Transcript

Your Excellency, Special Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, thank you for joining us on this beautiful afternoon at Georgetown and welcome to Georgetown university. Today we are honoured to have His Excellency Matteo Renzi, Prime Minister of Italy, here on the hill top. Prime Minister Renzi is a **ground-breaking leader** and an **international symbol for reform, progress** and egalitarian opportunity. Even before becoming **Italy's youngest Prime Minister** in February 2014 **at the age of 39**, Prime Minister Renzi made **tremendous strides** as a political leader: from June 2004 through June 2009 he served as President... President of Florence Province, making him **the youngest** to serve in this capacity. Following his time as President he became Mayor of Florence and in his five years as Mayor he decreased the number of city councillors, he established hundreds of free wi-fi sites throughout the city, he reduced the waiting list for kindergarden grade level and increased funding for the provinces welfare programmes in academic institutions. His **progressive legacy** doesn't stop there. In 2010 **he proposed to reform** the very party he represented, **insisting that Italy direly needed change** after its prolonged period of economic bleakness. Since taking his current office, Renzi has **revitalised the economy** despite scepticism and pushback about his approach, and the reality of repairing the nation's finances. He recently unveiled the annual fiscal plan that projects to alleviate Italy's acquired debt after three years of... of deep recession. His platform as Prime Minister has also



Figure 4-1: Prime Minister Matteo Renzi pretending to be checking his smartphone after the Provost suggests that the audience should 'follow' him.

focused on issues of **labour reform** and constitutional amendment. **He is breaking ground** in his communication style, both within and outside his constituency he is **an avid Twitter user** with over 1.8 *[sic]* followers, you should follow him, and outside of wearing his political hat he is an enthusiastic football fan, a devoted watcher of Netflix series *House of Cards*. His connection with Georgetown is strong, he was here four or five years ago and his dedication and his vow to bounce back in times of conflict and crisis is inspirational and reflective of the spirit we think we aspire to as well. I welcome you to Georgetown.

### 4.3 Segment 1 - 00:03:41–00:10:04

#### 4.3.1 Transcript

Mr Provost, Faculty Students, Dear Friends of Georgetown Universities, Your Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen, *[Renzi fetches his mobile telephone from his jacket pocket and puts it on the lectern]* Amiche ed Amici italiani, thank you so much for this warm welcome. I'm really... I'm really honoured to be here. I visited Georgetown University... er... four years ago as Mayor of Florence exactly in this very gorgeous place and today for me it's particular an honour to start with... start my journey in United States and in the capital of the world, Washington DC, from an university, from your university. Because I think in this moment of the world, universities are more than a simply symbol. It's really a great challenge to discuss about the relation between universities and politics today. 'Universitas' in Latin, in Latin expression indicated spreading knowledge and uniting students. We can risk a very interesting link between the expression 'e pluribus unum'. Because really, 'universitas' in Latin expression, university today are the heart of the knowledge, the heart of the future. I know, in my country university is first of all the place of identity and the place in which the custodian of wisdom and of identity live every day but I prefer image university not only as a custodian of this identity, but a laboratory for the ideas of the future (...). Think about it. The product of this labour of the mind is the foundation of our values today. And if you think about the last terrible tragedy, tragedies around the world, if you think about Garissa, Kenya, if you think about a little school in Peshawar, Pakistan, if you think about the museum of Bardo in Tunisia, you can image exactly that: the place of culture are the targets for the terrorists. Why? Because is exactly that the goal and the targets of terrorists (...) When I was mayor for me the most important thing for my city Florence, obviously not only the museum and the cultural heritage, but also the presence of American universities most important around the Europe. The number of American universities in my city in Florence are the most important number around the my country. This is a symbol of opening mind and opening perspective for the future. Obviously, culture is key on the time of the fight against... against terror. If you think terrorist want us to die and if they can't they want us to live in fear and in the obscurity. My friends of Georgetown universities, our role is crucial and very important, because you can show around the world the absolutely importance of culture as a possibility to live not against terror but with idea and effort of



our values. This is the reason for the which now we think university, education, study, culture, the most powerful ways for us to say no to terror, we can say no, we must say no. And I think if this is the challenge, for Italy there is a very important role around the world. If really we think 'now is the time to fight against terrorists and terrorism with the ideas of culture' my job is a very incredible job because I am the Prime Minister, the leader of the government, in one of the most beautiful and important countries for the culture around the world. But it's also a terrific job if you think we can ensure the future to a country whose past is so exciting that just saying the word 'future' seems very hard. But this job is also fun because I want to tell you that future is more interesting than the past, also in Italy, even in Italy.

### 4.3.2 Discussion

In the first few minutes of his speech, Renzi introduces the main arguments of the entire talk: the importance of culture and universities in the fight against terrorism; the role of Italy and its complex heritage today; the overarching discussion over the past and the future, and his intended function as an innovator, or *demolition man* (see the general introduction to this study). These themes are often developed following a thesis-antithesis-synthesis pattern that apparently allows for alternative opinions, but are mainly based on a single-voiced construction, though heteroglossic structures are very frequent. This is because the dialogic voices in the section are never used to admit real alternative positions, but only to express shared knowledge (*proclaim*), dismiss alternative stances (*disclaim*), or offer the subjective position of the speaker (*entertain*), also in the form of a hypothesis and an Italian calque ('If you think').

The position of the speaker towards Italy is grounded on a multiple contrast: he expresses his own admiration for the country's past while somehow dismissing it in favour of the challenges of the future; his references to the country are stereotypical and sometimes framed by irony, whereas the use of calques and Italian gestures clearly reinforce the implicit link between the speaker and his country.

Since the very beginning of the speech, Renzi implicitly introduces himself in his role of innovator (unit 3), as he is not afraid of embarking on a debate on the relation between universities and politics. Such debate is defined as a 'great challenge', which expresses positive judgement in terms of *capacity*, and

reinforced by 'really'. The segment (units 4-6) continues with a variety of references to the Italian culture, both explicit (the greeting in Italian), and implicit (repetitions of Latin words, the word 'Latin' itself repeated several times, Italian calques), which are one of the pervasive *leitmotifs* of the speech under investigation. In this phase the Latin 'universitas' and contemporary university are juxtaposed to set a powerful connection between past and present, which is reinforced by the monoglossic statement 'are', the repetition of 'heart' and the equivalence between 'knowledge' and 'future'.

Soon after this brief introduction, however, the talk begins to unveil some contradictions, and, at the same time, the speaker's position acquires more specific contours (units 9-14). On the one hand, the use of an Italian emblem indicating proximity and possession while uttering 'my country', and the marked Italian intonation of 'I know' seem to reinforce this sense of belonging and identification. On the other, the conceding-counteracting structure ('I know... but') that embeds them provides a different interpretation: first Renzi concedes that Italy regards universities as the caretakers of identity and wisdom, then he proclaims that he prefers them to be a laboratory paving the way to the future. In other words, he implicitly confirms the stereotype of Italy as excessively attached to its past in order to pave the way to its own role as an innovator. It is worth noting, however, that this statement is framed by two Italian emblems (units 13, 15) that Renzi frequently uses during the speech and that somehow reinforce his belonging to the Italian tradition while contradicting the innovative image he aims to convey.

If we unravel 'custodian of identity' and 'laboratory of ideas', we shall find that the opposition involves two triadic elements: custodian-identity-past and laboratory-ideas-future, whereby custodian is opposed to laboratory, identity is opposed to ideas and past to future. To this we may add a fourth element, namely the origin of these two pathways: Italy ('my country') on one side and Renzi himself ('I') on the other. In other words, Renzi's position shows a contradictory nature: on the one hand he recalls, implicitly and explicitly, the traditional Italian culture; on the other hand he supports innovation while

building very well-defined discursive oppositions between his country and himself, identity and the future.

The same conceding-counteracting structure is used later on in the segment, when Renzi recalls his experience as the Mayor of Florence (units 23-29). This time, however, the effect is intensified by the choice of 'obviously' and 'not only' instead of 'I know', and the use of two extended gestures to frame the utterance. The first gesture is an Italian emblem indicating possession (unit 24), which is prolonged to accompany the whole introductory utterance 'When I was mayor for me the most important thing for my city Florence'. The second Italian emblem is more emphatic and accompanies the words 'museum and the cultural heritage' (units 25-26) It signifies repetition, but also implies distance and dismisses the concept as well-known, thus adding a slightly negative frame to the utterance. In this case, the opposition between 'museum and cultural heritage', and 'American universities' is less explicit: if they seem to be juxtaposed in a relation of addition, the use of 'not only/but also' introduces a conceding-counteracting structure in which the role of 'museum and cultural heritage' is somehow belittled in favour of 'American universities'. The effect is enhanced by the repetition of 'most important' and the gesture mentioned above, and reinforced by the statement 'this is a symbol of opening mind and opening perspective for the future' that follows (unit 30). The statement mirrors the concept of 'laboratory of the ideas of the future' described in unit 14, as the present participle 'opening' - repeated twice - denotes a dynamic action and, in terms of evaluative resources, expresses *capacity*, like 'laboratory'.

This utterance is also significant in Renzi's overall message: as 'this' refers to the remarkable number of American universities in Florence, an invisible thread is established between 'when I was mayor (...) most important thing', 'American universities (...) most important', 'my city' and 'this is a symbol of opening mind (...) for the future'. This axis, together with monoglossia, which admits no dialogic voice, seems to imply that Renzi directly contributed to promote the presence of American universities in Florence, and consequently to the future development of the city.

While introducing his idea of the role of universities and education, Renzi also outlines their counterpart, namely 'terrorists', 'terror', 'fear' and 'obscurity'. This putative enemy is presented in a very simplistic way (unit 34): it is referred to as the other ('they') within a monoglossic construction of social sanction, and by means of semantic choices loaded with a sense of insecurity ('they want us to die', 'terror', 'fear', 'obscurity').

Renzi affirms the role of universities in this opposition by expressing a very strong deictic positioning through the inclusive pronouns 'we' - repeated three times - and 'us', addressing the audience as 'my friends' to invoke both inclusion and positive attitude, and choosing the modals can/must in a crescendo of (moral) obligation. It is worth noting, however, that despite the strength of his assertions, Renzi's position seems to be slightly shifting: whereas he usually describes this opposition in terms of fight *against* terrorism, in unit 36 he adopts a different position and talks about culture 'as a possibility to live *not against* terror but with idea and effort of our values' (my italics). This shift may be due to Renzi's limited command of the language rather than an actual change in his position. However, as an institutional speaker, he is fully responsible for his communication and any interpretation of his message, therefore, can be considered legitimate.

The role of high culture and education in the fight against terrorism is one of the recurring topics of Renzi's rhetoric. On the one hand, it recalls Blair's interest in developing education as a means to achieve economic growth, as mentioned in the introduction. On the other, it is heir to the Italian debate of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose main protagonists were Croce and Gentile, who advocated education as the most effective means to reform society (Vittoria, 1984).

Renzi concludes this part of his speech describing the role of Italy in taking on the challenges of the future (units 40-50). He starts with a brief introduction, which follows a thesis-antithesis-synthesis structure: first, he evaluates this role positively ('very important') and clarifies that the reason lies in the contribution of culture in fighting terrorism. Second, he mentions his institutional position, for

which he expresses positive attitude ('very incredible') and invokes positive judgement ('Prime Minister', 'leader') in a monoglossic frame. Third, he links this appreciation and judgement of himself and his role to a similarly positive appreciation of Italy, which is 'one of the most beautiful and important countries for the culture around the world' (unit 45). The concluding phase of this segment is introduced by the use of countering 'but' referring back to his position as the Italian Premier (unit 47).

This final phase of the segment is particularly significant as two core concepts in Renzi's speech are brought at centre stage. First, the heritage of the past, however rich in culture, is considered a hindrance to the development of the future. Second, Italy is seen as rich in culture and traditions in an uncritically stereotypical way. Past and future are juxtaposed in a counter-expectancy relation: the positive appreciation expressed for the past ('so exciting') is set in an invoked opposition to the negative 'very hard' attributed to 'saying the word future'; on the other hand, the future is overtly described as 'more interesting than the past', thus explicitly declaring the supremacy of the former over the latter also thanks to the use of counter-expectancy ('also in Italy, even in Italy').

The second key concept is presented at the climax of a crescendo that underlies the entire segment, spanning from the first quick sketches 'in my country (...) the custodian of wisdom and identity', to 'my city Florence (...) the museums and the cultural heritage', and 'one of the most beautiful and important countries for the culture'. It is relevant to underline that Renzi presents Italy as stereotypically nostalgic for their past by using irony ('that just saying the word future seems very hard', 'also in Italy, even in Italy'), which, together with witticisms, is one of the main traits of Renzi's communication style. Again Renzi limits the presence of dialogic alternatives by using monoglossia ('we can', 'this job is', 'I want', 'the future is'), somehow mitigated by the Italian calque 'you think', a heteroglossic voice of the *entertain* type – and by opting for the inclusive 'we', which recalls the invitation to fight against obscurity expressed before.

To sum up, this segment highlights how Renzi positions himself as an innovator while, at the same time, showing a shifting attitude towards the

historical heritage, thus embracing or dismissing the typically Italian nostalgia for the past (see section 1.2). These contradictions are inscribed or invoked in the use of Italian gestures, stereotypes, calques and appreciation resources, whereas the overall structure remains single-voiced, and other stances are presented mainly in a hypothetical frame, or dismissed as shared background knowledge.

## 4.4 Segment 2 – 00:10:04-00:15:54

### 4.4.1 Transcript

So let me pay a last tribute to this university and the particular experience, the Jesuit experience. I remember Teilhard de Chardin who said 'the future will always end up happening'. This is the point of my speech: I believe the future, in Italy, is more interesting than the past. Oh, I know eh? I know very well the incredible past of my country. Italy is rich with beauty art, food... I don't speak about soccer because exactly in this moment Fiorentina lost with Dinamo Kiev so I don't speak about soccer. [*The audience laughs*]. The smile is not very elegant... my s... I really terr... my my situation in the heart is terrible after this result. So... we... we know the past in Italy is beautiful. Buzzfeed gave 39 reason last week not to visit Italy: Dolomiti, Val D'Orcia, wine, Sardinia sea, and we can continue. We have an unique art heritage and more than half the Unesco global heritage are in our country. Italy is a land of science, of experiments, of innovation. Of course you might think they used to have Leonardo da Vinci now there is Matteo Renzi, this is a really problem for the decline... symbol of decline of Italy. But, this is for me very important, the real challenge for my country is stop to look only in the past and try to turn in a different way. Italy for the moment, in the last 20 years, in particularly in the last 20 years Italy seems a sleeping beauty. Politics, government, what you call in Washington DC 'beltway' got stuck. The world changed around us and for a long time Italy were unable to reform. Now it's the time in which we can use this expression: Italy is back. And if the world of globalisation asks for a different ideas of culture, values, education, Italy is exactly the place in which a lot of things could change, must change. For this reason education is at the centre of our agenda. Innovation not only in technology, in the space, in investment of the future but also lifestyle, design, design means culture plus engineering, food, high end engineering, museums. We decide a little thing: for the first time the decision about the manager of museum in Italy depend not from the politician but from... ehm... race, international race. We publish the possibility to become director of museum in Italy in *The Economist* and we ask every one around the world to run for this service: a real incredible change for Italian mind. For 20 years Italy has feared globalisation. We need [needed] to defend for 20 years our 0.2 of the world surface and now it's the time in which we open our mind and our goal but also our dreams and we ask to 80 hundred millions middle-class consumers ask for beauty, quality... we try to present them an idea of Italy very different: multicultural, dynamic, flexible and open to challenging the future. For this reason we invest a lot of

our time in a process of reforms, institutional reform for the students of... [*aside, referring to something happening at that moment*: This is a symbol of future... don't worry... it's exa... absolutely in my framework... perfect], electoral law: In Italy usually there is large coalition and it's very difficult to image who is the winner in the election; in every part of world you know who is the winner; in Italian politics this is very difficult because there is not a clear message ok this is the winner. There is a long debate after the election to understand who is the winner. You smile I cry, this is the problem...

#### 4.4.2 Discussion

In this segment of his speech Renzi brings his audience to discover what he means by innovation and the role Italy can play in future scenarios. He abandons the notion he touched upon before that education can become a means to fight against terrorism to focus on the situation in Italy, which he describes as paralysed despite its potential, and begins to outline his own role in this (necessary) process of change. The contrast between the current conditions of Italy, as inherited from the recent past, and the initiatives fostering innovation of Renzi's cabinet are strongly connoted in terms of *social esteem* (judgement): the speaker outlines his position towards the past and the future expectations of the country by attributing positive or negative *capacity* to achieve results or perform actions to himself and his predecessors. As we shall see, Renzi engages with the audience on different levels, but whereas in the first five minutes of his speech the resources he uses are direct ('you', 'my friends') and explicit (extensive use of inclusive pronouns), in this segment involvement is achieved indirectly by means of stereotypes, shared background knowledge, jokes and gestures.

The segment begins with 'a last tribute' to his hosts that recalls the very beginning of his speech. By quoting the Jesuit Teilhard de Chardin, Renzi indirectly fine-tunes his positioning towards Georgetown University and the future: a Catholic practising Loyola's spiritual exercises (see the general introduction to this study), Renzi holds his speech in a Jesuit university, and the spiritual experience they share is summarised in a quote about the future. Thus Renzi draws two implicit, parallel trajectories that lead from a Jesuit authority of the past to the future, and are mediated by the two protagonists in the implicit parallelism: Georgetown University and himself. By means of these trajectories,

Renzi both completes the discussion about the role of universities in bringing the future to life that he outlined before, and introduces his own role as innovator more firmly, which is the core theme of the present segment.

It is relevant to note that the quote is presented as one of the very few dialogic structures of the *acknowledge* type in this segment, whereas the other heteroglossic resources either express the opinion of the speaker (*entertain*) or briefly acknowledge other voices and dismiss them (*concur*). The reason lies in that the Jesuit is both spiritually close to Renzi and instrumentally pivotal to his positioning. This supporting function is, on the one hand, directly expressed by the positive *valuation* of 'tribute' and the deictic reference 'this is the point' (unit 4), which syntactically refers to the assumption that follows, but semantically may also recall de Chardin's quote. On the other hand, the supporting function is also invoked by the word 'future', which is neutral in the quote, but is positively evaluated soon afterwards ('more interesting'). It is worth noting, however, that by placing the Jesuits at the deictic centre, Renzi outlines his own position as very paradoxical: though he warmly supports innovation, he highlights his strong bond with a religious order that, as discussed in section 1.2, has long been deemed responsible for the stagnation and the decadence of Italy during the Counter-Reformation.

Renzi does not present his programme for innovation *tout court*, but through an outline of its counterparts – the heritage of the past – that is introduced by the conceding structure 'I know' (units 7-8). Though this structure is the same as the one at the beginning of Renzi's speech, this time a variety of resources invoke a specific context of the Italian culture with some references to the authoritative position of the speaker: 'I know' and the interjection 'oh' and 'eh' are Italian calques; 'I know' is repeated twice and intensified by 'very well' to stress the conceding structure and the authoritative position of the speaker; the intonation is markedly Italian; the utterance is underlined by a gesture with both hands, an Italian emblem that is quite marked and brings the attention to the speaker himself.



This background knowledge is reinforced by the subsequent list of stereotypes about Italy (i.e. the rich past, art, beauty, food and football), a list Renzi reads from the written script. These commonplaces are presented as a matter of fact by means of a variety of framing resources, namely the conceding structure introduced by 'I know', and the complex nonverbal language that accompanies the word 'food' – a spontaneous turn that the speaker introduces while reading the list: Renzi raises his gaze to look at the audience, frowns, quickly nods and slightly opens his palm to stress the word 'food', uttered in a lower pitch. This nonverbal communication is instrumental for him both to underline the obviousness of what he is going to mention and to involve the audience in sharing background information.

Renzi's engagement with the audience reaches its climax when he chooses to refer to another Italian stereotype, football, by using a counter-expectancy structure, that is, declaring that he will not talk about it, whereas, in fact, he does (units 12-15). The speaker develops this contradiction by introducing an explanation ('exactly in this moment Fiorentina lost with Dinamo Kiev') whose irony is further enhanced by the subsequent joke about the supposed insensitivity of the audience, who he 'criticises' for laughing at his sorrow.

Being the frequent use of ironic remarks and jokes an index of Italianness, we can see that in this framing of the utterance acts, directly and indirectly, on two levels. First, Italianness is semantically inscribed in the stereotypes that Renzi lists, which belong to consolidated tradition of commonplaces. Second, it is invoked in a variety of resources: nonverbal language, calques ('I don't speak'), jokes, and the allusion to easy emotional involvement ('my heart'). This reference to a supposed personal sorrow is also instrumental to appeal to the audience and complete the empathy-building process that begins when Renzi raises his gaze from the written script and digresses from the text. Interestingly, both food and football are powerful rituals that serve the purpose of enhancing a sense of patriotism and social well-being (see section 2.2.2).

After the aside on football, Renzi resumes the discussion on the situation of Italy (units 16-20), which is introduced by a transition phrase confirming the

general assumption that 'the past in Italy is beautiful'. The stereotypical nature of this statement is reinforced by the introductory 'so' expressing a logical consequence, a conceding construction ('we know') a monoglossic statement ('the past (...) is'), and the inclusive pronoun 'we'. The transition phrase is followed by a more official listing of national treasures, quoted from the script, which supports the stereotype of Italy as the land of beauty. A first list is taken from the American social news website BuzzFeed, and includes specific landmarks and products, which replace the commonplace categories mentioned before. The list is the only other example of heteroglossia of the *acknowledge* type in this segment, besides the quote from de Chardin. Despite the presence of a dialogic voice and the apparently more official framing, the purpose of the quote is, again, to provide authoritative support to Renzi's statement, and, accordingly, reinforce the stereotype. Further invoked resources contribute to build a shared sense of Italianness: on the one hand, Renzi engages with the audience by quoting 'Buzzfeed', a very popular American website that appeals to the Internet culture of the young generation that is represented in the audience; on the other hand, the ironic use of 'not to visit', the Italian calque 'we can continue' - reinforced by the emblem with the same meaning - invoke traits of the Italian national character.

The final part of the description is more neutral as it reverts to a monoglossic, but inclusive structure ('we have', 'our country') and closes with the counter-stereotypical image of Italy as 'a land of science and innovation'. The counter-expectancy effect that the phrase 'science, experiments and innovation' achieves is introductory to the following part of the segment, in which Renzi focuses on change. Before moving to the next, more institutional phase, however, Renzi makes an interesting connection whereby 'innovation' does not introduce any view on contemporary Italy, but a historical figure from the province of Florence, Leonardo da Vinci. Leonardo, in turn, is mentioned within the frame of a joke (units 21-22), which Renzi reads from the script and delivers without directly engaging with the audience, as his only direct intervention consists in a rapid hand gesture to mimic the word 'decline'. This utterance embraces a

dialogic stance by using a heteroglossic voice of the *entertain* type, and presents the first invoked negative appreciation referred to himself. However, it is worth noting that these resources are framed within a joke, and their purpose is to obtain the audience's approval.

The core message of Renzi's speech – the need to innovate – is introduced as a counter-argument by 'but' (unit 23). The opposition between the past and the future that follows is presented in unequivocal terms ('stop to look only in the past and try to turn in a different way') and reinforced by implicit and explicit resources alike: three marked gestures underlining the key words 'stop', 'turn' and 'different', the use of 'only' that stresses the limitations of present Italy, and a few positive evaluations that are either inscribed ('very important') or invoked ('real challenge', 'different way'). Renzi expands his argument in two phases – symmetrically orchestrated in his script – that are narrated on a parallel structure with recurring syntactic and semiotic resources. This structure consists in a brief outline of Italy in the recent past, a description of the country's potential/new start underway, the offer-demand relation with the rest of the world, a programmatic statement, and one or more examples of Renzi's reforms.

Renzi opens this part of the discussion by specifically referring to the heritage of Italy's recent past (units 28-29): not only the two brief cabinets that preceded his mandate, but particularly the so-called *Berlusconi Era*, which began 20 years before the beginning of Renzi's cabinet, in 1994. Italy is depicted as a 'sleeping beauty', commonplace imagery that presumably belongs to the audience's background knowledge, and at the same time, refers back to the stereotypes of Italy as beautiful, but also backward (see section 1.2). The speaker then explains what he means by 'sleeping' by introducing another key concept in his speech, '[unable to] reform', which reinforces the stereotype of Italy as backward and excessively attached to its past. Interestingly, the negative judgement of the previous cabinets is reinforced by the reference to the world that changed around the country. Following one of the favourite rhetorical strategies of New Labour, called 'cascade of changes' (Fairclough, 2000: 28), Renzi describes innovation as inevitable and implies that those who missed these

innovations had an even greater responsibility. Finally, it is worth noting that despite the context of programmatic political communication, Renzi underlines the words 'around us' by using a typical Italian emblem (the so called 'purse hand', see Operational Notes in section 3.2.4), in its negative variant invoking foolishness or naivety.

The deictic phrase 'now it's the time' (unit 30) introduces the current situation: being the beginning of Renzi's cabinet, the transformation underway is also depicted in positive terms by outlining the great potential of a country that is able to change ('Italy is back', 'Italy is exactly the place in which a lot of things could change') and can meet the demand of the 'world of globalisation' with its new 'ideas of culture, values and education'. Here again Renzi's rhetoric mirrors New Labour's discursive strategies: he depicts globalisation as a positive driving force (Fairclough, 2000: viii, 27; Hall, S., 1998: 11); mentions culture, values and education that are the *leitmotifs* of Blairian rhetoric (Fairclough, 2000: 21-50; Hall, S., 1998) and uses the list form to define the 'cascade of changes' as inevitable, as previously noted, from 'education' to 'engineering' and 'museums'. Though the list contains some stereotypes such as 'lifestyle', 'design' (repeated twice), 'food' and 'museums', Renzi's stance is positive, despite it is never explicit but invoked in the context of his inclination towards innovation.

Finally, Renzi mentions an example to illustrate his programme of reforms. This example is particularly relevant to analysis because, despite its aim to exemplify innovation, it contains a consistent amount of tradition Italian gestures (units 39, 42, 43). One of them is particularly significant, the emblem that occurs simultaneously with the word 'politicians' and is a well-known gesture used in Italy to denote personal interests and possibly illicit business. This gesture is very quickly accompanied by a facial expression of negative appreciation, which enhances the effect of moral distance from the category of (traditional) politicians. As I shall detail in the discussions of the following segments, Renzi's position towards the category of politicians is not consistent throughout the speech and ranges from criticism in segments 2, 3, and 4 (see sections 4.5, and 4.6) to a neutral analysis of different positions in segments 6 and

7 (see sections 4.8 and 4.9) and his own identification with the category in segment 5 (see section 4.7). The rest of the utterance features a series of emblems and illustrators to underline the words 'race', 'publish' (repeated twice) and 'around the world'.

As it occurred in the first phase, the second phase of the speech begins by recalling the previous two decades of Italian politics and its limitations (units 48-49). According to Renzi, Italy 'has feared globalisation' and has tried to defend the small portion of land it occupies. Though the words 'globalisation' and 'world surface' mirror the allusion to the globalised world that Renzi makes in the previous phase, in this case while retaining their positive value, they are negatively framed both by the use of 'feared' and the irony embedded in his remark on the '0.2 of the world surface', which is also introduced by a quick chuckle. Renzi repeats the deictic phrase 'now it's the time' to introduce the change of perspective underway. Again, the positive attitude towards transformation is implicitly expressed through invoked attitude ('we open our mind and our goal but also our dreams'). On this occasion, the globalised world is represented as '80 hundred million middle-class consumers' (*sic*), and, though the beginning of the utterance is quite tentative and open to interpretations, the message is the same as before, whereby the general concepts 'beauty, quality' mirror 'different ideas of culture, values, education'.

Similarly, the 'process of reforms, institutional reforms' conceptually corresponds to the political agenda on education, and the innovative idea of Italy that may meet the demands of globalisation ('multicultural, dynamic, flexible and open to challenging the future', unit 52) corresponds to the variety of innovations listed before. It is worth noting that behind this declaration there lies the (opposite) stereotypical vision of Italy as backward and 'passatist' that he repeatedly recalls in this segment (units 28, 29, 48). The final step, the examples, is briefly interrupted by a minor incident occurring in the audience. This gives Renzi the opportunity for a quick humorous aside, on which I cannot comment in detail since the video does not show the incident (units 54-55). However, it is

worth noting that Renzi's aside can be ascribed to the category of ironic remarks or jokes and, therefore, it is in line with the overall framing of the speech.

Although the examples of Renzi's reforms are taken from his political agenda, the description that follows the aside is introduced by some ironic remarks on the indecisive outcome of the elections in Italy, a digression both from the institutional content and (apparently) the script (units 56-57). Not only is this description framed as a joke, but it also recalls Italianness through a variety of resources, both inscribed and invoked. First and foremost, Renzi explicitly presents a stereotypical way of seeing Italy as chaotic, prone to anarchy and used to sterile debates. Moreover, he buttresses his utterance with an increased number of Italian gestures: most of them are illustrators underlining words or rhythm, but he also uses the 'purse hand' in its most stereotypical meaning of 'who' in an interrogative way.

I highlighted how this segment of Renzi's speech focuses on the concept of reforms in Italy and the way they relate to the heritage of previous cabinets. This part of the speech is framed as an indirect appeal to the audience that acts indirectly by eliciting shared assumptions derived from national culture. Indeed, underlying allusions to Italianness permeate the entire segment – despite the speaker often referring to the official script and the institutional tone seems to prevail from time to time – and is embodied in stereotypes, both explicit (commonplaces), and implicit (calques, hand gestures, jokes). The validity of these assumptions on background knowledge is often supported by a monoglossic structure and strengthened by the use of an authoritative voice. Most of the alternative voices either express the speaker's stance or are instrumental to buttress it through (sometimes ironic) conceding structures, whereas others are truly acknowledged only whenever they come from supporting sources (Teilhard de Chardin, Buzzfeed).

## 4.5 Segment 3 – 00:15:40-00:22:3

### 4.5.1 Transcript

...but before I cry I decide to change and the new electoral law now is a reality exactly in the next weeks we will approve the last vote in the Chamber of Deputies. Reform in Constitution, second reform: Senate reform, faster legislation. Three, modernising and cutting cost of the public administration: I present to my project of reform to my colleagues and friends as – I'm sorry for the advertising – exactly as an iPhone because the Italian public administration is very difficult; I propose a very simple model, a model in which everybody could understand exactly, ehm, icon of an app of iPhone what is the... the... the relation, what is the relation with the public service of health care, the public relation with the fiscal system, a very simply model in which we can have with the digitalisation and innovation a simply model of relation and government. Four, a more simp... a more fair and simple tax system, also because the goal to create a simple tax system in Italy it's absolutely a priority. Woody Allen said 'we must pay taxes with a smile. I tried but they still ask for my money not for the smile'. So we must absolutely reduce the taxation in Italy because pay the tax with the smile is not the way, but we must also give a very clear possibility to discuss with the public administration. Five, labour market reform to increase flexibility and open up opportunities for those who have less. This is called Jobs Act, I'm sorry, is copyright is from American administration, I copy... I... but I think also copy is a form of art in Italy. A faster, more certain justice system, and seven, very important, the fight against corruption with a new, very dynamic and powerful organisation in our system called ANAC with the leadership of Raffaele Cantone, a judge who fought against the Camorra and Mafia in Campania. The work that we have done on reform is closely connect to our political role in European Union. We can change the politics in European Union and we started, after the last election 2014. I'm very happy for the result of European election because if I ask you 'What is the first party in Europe?' everyone could give an answer 'the party of Angela Merkel', CDU, the German party of right. It's correct because he r... she receive, Angela is my friend, receive 10.6 million of votes, but the Italian Democrat Party, our party, receive 11.2 million and so... just one time I underline this very important result. Jokes apart, also if this is not a joke, but jokes apart, we represent a strong progressive and reform-oriented European mainstream against populism, but against also the theory of austerity. Because if you think the economy in United States and in Europe in 2008, you can image today American economy, thanks to leadership of President Obama reduce the level of unemployment and increase the level of GDP. European economy, from 2008 to 2014 reduce the GDP and increase the level of unemployment. Italy had a lot of problems with this theory. The first responsibility is Italian, because if we continue to live in the past, if we don't accept the challenge of the future, if we don't try to realise reforms, it's normal to risks... to risk the depression, so the first responsible for the crisis in Italy is not Europe, is Italian politicians, but, at the same time, when we decide to start with very ambitious program of reforms we know the next challenge is create a different approach in European institutions. We start with the first results, investment plan of

Jean-Claude Juncker, the communication of flexibility by Commission, and third, the QE, quantitative [quantitative] easing realised by European Central Bank in these moment exactly because the climate in the discussion in Europe is changing, but this is also the first time. So... There is no way back from reforms in Italy this is very clear message, there is no way back from reforms in Italy, but at the same time we can image a reform not only about institutional, but about education, about values, about smart cities, about ideals for the future. If the world asks beautiful... ask beauty... ask the... connection, ask dignity, ask values, this world asks Italy.

#### 4.5.2 Discussion

This segment of Renzi's speech at Georgetown University is mostly devoted to outlining the reforms underway, both related to domestic politics and within the European Union. Renzi aims to describe the concrete reforms launched by his cabinet rather than comparing the present conditions of Italy to his programme of innovation, and this focus on his own political programme bears some consequences on the resources he uses in this segment. First, the appraisal resource he most frequently uses is judgement. Here it is mainly positive and does not move back and forth between the positive and negative polarity along the *capacity* axis, as it does in the previous segment due to the comparison with other cabinets. The few negative instances concern social sanction and are reserved to concepts such as Camorra, Mafia, austerity, corruption and the like.

Second, the narrating voice is frequently monoglossic: unlike the previous segments, here the widespread use of 'we' is not inclusive but stands for Renzi and the ministers of his cabinet, and the rare presence of 'you' is mainly impersonal. Though Renzi also presents some dialogic alternatives, most of them belong to the *entertain* type, which he uses to introduce his position as subjective. The only full heteroglossic voice is the witticism attributed to Woody Allen<sup>22</sup> (unit 14), which Renzi (mis)quotes to complete the ironic framing of his comments on the Italian tax system. Finally, as the segment contains an extensive description of a governmental programme, the evaluation expressed by attitude is, quite predictably, positive and frequently reinforced by graduation or

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<sup>22</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the most widely used version of the joke is 'I believe we should all pay our tax with a smile. I tried - but they wanted cash', and the author is unknown.



repetition. Negative attitude, on the other hand, is either attributed to what is considered ethically distant (current taxation, austerity, depression, crisis), or what Renzi ironically admitted doing ('I copy', unit 17), though in this case the negative effect is mitigated by the ironic framing, reinforced by Renzi's smile and his hand gesture of surrendering.

This segment is particularly noteworthy for the relation Renzi tries to establish with the audience. Overall, Renzi does not explicitly engage with his public: he explains the core of his programme of reforms in positive, undialogued terms, and significantly raises the pitch and loudness of his voice to frame his statements on austerity and reforms (units 21, 34, 36, 39, 41), according to the Western canons of dominating, authoritative stance.<sup>23</sup> However, he also adopts a series of implicit strategies to create shared knowledge, whose final purpose is to establish a relation of trust with the public.

Renzi progressively builds this shared cultural background by frequently recurring to stereotypes: he explicitly recalls commonplaces about Italy, and uses jokes, irony and Italian nonverbal communication to frame his speech. Most of these resources are simultaneously employed during his asides, whether they are present in the script – like Allen's quote – or not. It is interesting to note that these stereotypes act on different semiotic levels. From a lexical standpoint, stereotypes are explicitly mentioned in Italy's 'very difficult' Public Administration (unit 5; the same concept is recalled again in units 7:16-17), copying as a 'form of art' (unit 19), corruption (unit 21), the reference to Italy's beauty (unit 47), and Italy's extreme attachment to its past (unit 39). On the other hand, they are indirectly referred to in the use of the comparative modifier 'faster' (unit 20) and the phrase 'the goal to create a simple tax system in Italy it's absolutely a priority' (unit 12), which implies slowness and inefficiency in the Italian legislation, taxation and judicial system. On the level of nonverbal communication, Italian emblems are

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<sup>23</sup> In Western culture, authority is generally associated to a combination of loudness and pitch, but whereas loudness is a shared factor, pitch is markedly gendered: for male voices, authoritative pitch is high, whereas for female voices it is low (van Leeuwen, 1999: 111).

less frequent than in the previous segments, but, overall, illustrators seem more pervasive. A third, invoked, level on which stereotypes act, consists in the extensive use of irony and witticism: though the current discussion is mainly institutional, in this part of Renzi's speech witty comments and jokes abound, he frequently smiles or chuckles, and, for the first time, directly mentions the word 'joke' (three times).

A significant example of this multi-layered presence of stereotypes is the description of the reform of the Public Administration that Renzi's cabinet is working on (units 5-10). The speaker introduces his argument with marked nonverbal communication (he picks up his mobile telephone, an iPhone) and by invoking the stereotype of Italian playfulness in the introductory remark ('I'm sorry for the advertising'). Then he explicitly quotes the commonplace idea of Italian Public Administration being 'very difficult' and underlines this concept with a facial expression showing negative evaluation. During the utterance, Renzi repeatedly picks up the telephone, shows it to the audience and puts it down to emphasise the key points of his explanation.

For this reason the accompanying gesture is remarkably extended in time: it punctuates the utterance from the beginning to the end for an overall interval of approximately 45 seconds. It is worth noting that this extensive use of the mobile telephone comes as the climax of a series of implicit or explicit references to this device throughout the speech: the Provost's introduction of the Prime Minister as an 'avid Twitter user'; the various moments when he fetches his telephone, checks it (or pretends to) and puts it on the lectern or on the table, in response to the Provost comment, at the beginning of his own speech and during question time. This *leitmotif* throughout the speech also serves the purpose of reinforcing Renzi's reputation as a technology-dedicated innovator.

Both stereotyping and appraisal resources contribute to create a very well-defined deictic positioning. In the preceding segments Renzi's positioning is expressed in general terms: his institutional role and interest in reforms are opposed to either Italy's passivity, or the violence of terrorists; the references to the past are frequent, and the future is mostly presented as a harbour of

intentions. In the current segment, on the contrary, Renzi's positioning shows unequivocal contours. He focuses his attention on the future and his programme of reforms, and clearly defines what he considers to be his opponents. Thus, at the deictic centre we find several institutional figures (Raffaele Cantone, President Obama, and, quite contradictorily, Angela Merkel) and a variety of representatives of innovation, from technology (iPhone) to the Democratic Party, defined as 'progressive and reform-oriented' (unit 34). Along the time axis, the past is not mentioned, whereas, heading towards the future, we find a detailed list of Renzi's political reforms underway in Italy and the EU.

It is, however, the modality axis that brings significant elements to reinforce Renzi's positioning. The first element we find along this axis, close to the deictic centre, is Italy as the carrier of (general) qualities such as beauty, connection, dignity and values, which can pave the way to reforms 'not only about institutional, but about education, about values, about smart cities, about ideals for the future' (unit 46). Thus, the stereotype of the Italian love for beauty is logically connected to the Positivist idea of future as progress, reinforced by the repetition of the monoglossic statement 'there is no way back from reforms' (unit 44) and the anaphoric use of 'ask' (unit 47) at the end of the segment. Slow or ineffectual Italian institutions, on the other hand, are distant from the deictic centre and Italy as the heart of progress. At the same moral distance lie populism and austerity. Both Italian inefficiency and the economic austerity requested by the EU are the target of Renzi's programme, and, accordingly, are mirrored in the list of reforms that lies on the time axis.

Before examining the extreme end of the modality axis it is worth noting the shifting position of Angela Merkel's CDU (units 28-34). At first the resources that Renzi uses to introduce the subject are positive ('the first party', 'Angela is my friend', '10.6 million of votes') or neutral ('the party of right'). The discussion, however, proceeds with a concurring structure ('but') which introduces an implicit opposition between his own party and CDU. Far from being clear-cut, this opposition is mostly embedded in a series of subsequent allusions invoked in context information. First, the opposition is initially inscribed in the higher

number of votes obtained by the Italian Democratic Party, which stands in contradiction with Renzi's own statement that the first party in Europe is Angela Merkel's. Then, after the transition comment 'jokes apart', Renzi defines his party as 'strong progressive and reform-oriented European mainstream', which invokes the commonplace image of left-wing parties as opposed to the conservative, tradition-oriented right wing. Finally, though neither 'populism' nor 'austerity' are attributed to CDU in any way (the latter is, in fact, generically attributed to the European Union later on), context information regarding the current political debate may encourage the audience to draw both a relation between the commonplace of 'right-wing populism' and CDU being right-wing, and Germany as the EU member fostering austerity against the economic crisis.

At the extreme end of the same axis lie what is in contrast with the speaker's ethics, namely, the Other: Camorra and Mafia, depression, and, quite paradoxically, Italian politicians. I have already mentioned (segment 2; see section 4.4) the shifting position of politicians in Renzi's positioning. Like in the previous segment of this speech, politicians are positioned far from the deictic centre, but with substantial differences. First, here Renzi explicitly mentions *Italian* politicians as opposed to previous generic references. Second, by referring to the present economic crisis in Italy, Renzi invokes a specific generation of politicians, which implicitly recalls the previous 20 years of stagnation mentioned elsewhere. Third, the word 'politicians' is semantically opposed to 'we' – the personal pronoun that predominates throughout the segment, and represents Renzi and his cabinet, or, in other words, the innovators. Thus deictic positioning outlines a marked opposition between the group of innovators – honest, dynamic and reform-oriented – to which Renzi belongs, and its opponents: criminal organisations and backward, populist politicians. In the middle we find the current situation of some aspects of Italian administration and European politics, which, however, are on their way to reforms.

## 4.6 Segment 4 - 00:22:32-00:27:48

### 4.6.1 Transcript

And for this reason I think we must absolutely give more importance to role of our country in a lot of dossier, but I prefer listen your questions and I go very quickly about the dossier open in my table as Prime Minister in Italy. I... mm... simply some... some examples. Mediterranean dossier: the Mediterranean Sea exemplify the connection between our roots and our future; it's the custodian of our memory, but also an harbour of innovation. We need to continue to work together, United States and European Union on making the Mediterranean safer and a place of civilization. Today we risk a lot of things, we risk to lose the dignity of our value in Mediterranean because in this moment after the decision of international community in Libya in 2011, 2012 but without strategy after this decision, every day a lot of men and women, a lot of children, died in this sea to try to achieve the freedom. And this is an incredible spot [advertisement], an incredible slogan for the people who believe in populism, because there is in Europe in this moment, you can believe in France but you can believe also in part in Italy a lot of parties, a leaders who said 'Ah the people of Africa must stay in Africa, we can close the sea'... close the sea... 'we can make laws very strong'. But a people who died for the lack of food, for the war in Africa don't think about the law in France or in Italy. We can absolutely create Africa as a place of development for the next years and we must ensure not only an ideal, a generical idea, of freedom and of democracy in Libya and in the rest of North Africa but a concrete opportunity to reduce the risk of terrorism and to change the approach about African questions. 90% of illegal migrants crossing the Mediterranean come from Libya. We want a unite peaceful Libya, we... we discuss about it tomorrow with President Obama, we will continue our efforts in the correct direction, but let me be very clear: the stop human trafficking is a matter of security, clear, is also a matter of justice and every day Italian men and women, I'm proud of them, struggle to save human lives. I think that[s?] migrants are not number, they are faces, stories, there [they] are people, and I think we can absolutely fight against the connection between the human trafficking and terrorist who [which] is obviously clear and evident. The Mediterranean... the European Union but also the idea of Africa as a place in which energy, growth opportunities and investment in the young generation and in young people is clear a possibility to reduce the risk of clash of civilizations and invest in an idea of discussion for this reason there are a lot of Italian people and were a lot of Italian people in the twenty century who image as the... the... the shape of Italy's boot as a bridge between different cultures. We must come back to the point of start of my speech: culture is the only solution to fight against terrorism. Ma culture means simply... not only legacy in the cultural heritage, is a modality of lifestyle, is an idea and... of identity.

#### 4.6.2 Discussion

After outlining ongoing reforms, Renzi broadens his discussion to embrace the role of Italy on an international level, and focuses on one of the most significant issues the international community needs to address, namely the political situation in Libya and migration across the Mediterranean. This part of the speech is markedly institutional, and Renzi follows the script more closely than before, which causes a remarkable change in his use of verbal and nonverbal resources: monoglossia prevails, the use of Italian emblems decreases significantly, explicit stereotypes and jokes are absent.

Renzi, however, does not resort to reading *tout court*, and the intervention on his part is still significant. First, despite the script provides a solid backbone, some evident inconsistencies in Renzi' reading make the speech difficult to follow from time to time ('I... simply some examples', 'you can believe in France but you can believe also in part in Italy', 'is an idea and... of identity'). Second, a certain amount of nonverbal language is present in the form of facial expressions and illustrators that tend, at times, to be wider and more marked than before. It is also worth noting that for the first time Renzi uses an emblem – the closed-fists gesture, a typical Italian gesture meaning 'to sum up concisely' – as a full semiotic sign, with no verbal correspondent (unit 3). Third, Italianness is not recalled by explicit stereotypes but still significantly implied in the myth of 'Italians good people' (unit 33) as opposed to other bad' Europeans (unit 17) that dates back to the post-war period (see sections 1.2 and 4.10; see also Patriarca, 2010: 188-215). Moreover, Italianness is invoked in several resources: a few Italian emblems (units 3, 11, 19), some calques (units 32, 35, 41), the cliché of Italy as boot-shaped country – which Renzi presents as shared by generations of Italians – (see section 1.2), the 'incursion' of the Italian conjunction 'ma' instead of the English 'but', and some ironic remarks. Indeed, though jokes and witticisms are not present as such, a certain amount of irony is subtly conveyed by voice variations and facial expressions, mostly to discredit political opponents and their opinions. Finally, Renzi varies the pitch and loudness of his voice more

significantly than in the previous segments in order to add emphasis to his speech.

Though these variations in pitch are not frequent, they are rather marked and correspond to three pivotal points: the judgement on the military intervention in Libya (unit 9), the supposed quotation of (populist) leaders (units 18-23) and the strategy that Renzi suggests to improve the conditions in North Africa (units 25-26). On all occurrences Renzi raises the pitch of his voice, but the purpose varies. On the one hand, he offers a parody of the typical speech of populist leaders: the increase in pitch corresponds to the standard of (male) public speaking (see note 23 of section 4.5 above), but the slight decrease in loudness clashes with the social habit of expressing authority; the negative reaction invoked by the phrase 'must stay in Africa' (unit 18) is enhanced by a consistent facial expression; the wide gesture of throwing forwards his clenched fist underlines the theatricality and violence of this type of speech; the repetition 'we can close the sea... close the sea...' in lower pitch and loudness, which Renzi utters while raising his eyebrows, expresses doubt and irony.

On the other hand, when Renzi criticises the military intervention in Libya and when he resumes illustrating his own programme for the development of Africa, the canons of authoritative, dominating public speaking in an environment of formal distance are restored (van Leeuwen, 1999: 111), and higher pitch combines with higher loudness. This authoritative position is expressed on a lexical level by attributing to 'us' (either his cabinet or the European Union) an active role and keeping Africa in the passive role of the recipient (units 25-26 and 36-37).

The deictic positioning resulting from the wide use of evaluation resources is complex, as the stance of the speaker is often mitigated by shifting modulations. Thus, Africa is depicted as a victim of populist propaganda, and a place of war and famine, but also a cradle for development and growth; migrants are seen in their human suffering but are also defined 'illegal'; Europe is a precious ally, but also harbours populist leaders.

As the segment focuses on the situation of unrest in the Mediterranean, Renzi widely uses resources related to the sense of *security*, social esteem (*capacity* and *tenacity*) and social sanction to place the different elements of discussion at variable distance from himself. For the first time, Italy is seen in its human capital and praised in terms of *tenacity* for saving lives on migrant routes and *capacity* for its role as a bridge between cultures. As such, it lies at the deictic centre, despite the invoked negative judgement of populist leaders, which is quickly toned down by ‘in part’ (unit 17). Like in segments 1 and 3 of this speech (see sections 4.2 and 4.5), in the position of the Other at the far end of the modality axis lie terrorism and human trafficking, preceded by populism. Closer to the deictic centre are the international community and illegal migrants, whose negative judgement is limited to ‘lack of strategy’ and ‘illegal’, respectively.

It is interesting to note that positive judgement in terms of *capacity* is predominantly attributed both to Renzi’s programme of development and the Mediterranean Sea – ideally connected by innovation and opportunities – on the grounds of a reconciliation of the past and the future. Italy and the Mediterranean are presented as connecting factors, both geographically and historically (‘a bridge between different cultures, ‘connection between our roots and our future’, ‘custodian of our memory, but also an harbour of innovation’), and this capacity to forge the future on the legacy of the past is seen as the potential generator of the development of the African continent.

## 4.7 Segment 5 – 00:27:49-00:33:38

### 4.7.1 Transcript

So for this reason, and I conclude, the relation between Italy and the United States is not only a relation focused on the universities, on the students, on the American students who come in our continent and in our country to spend some months, some years... Italian students who decide to live in... abroad... to live above all in the United States usually in Italy there is the traditional expression ‘fuga di cervelli’ when Italian young people decide to leave Italy and to spend the... the... the... life or part of life in a different country the people said ‘ah this is terrible’. We are the peop... we are the country of very importance of mother and father and so if a young girl and young boy decide to live abroad there is a lot of polemics also in the politician debate. ‘It’s



incredible! You permit the Italian mind live in the United States'. I think this is a great thing. It's a great thing. The probl... I admire the success and energy of young Italy... Italians who innovate, create and improve in the United States. At the same time I'm very clear: when [while?] you spend time here, we continue, we try, we will achieve a great result. We will change our country. We're changing our country. And when you come back if you come back, also for the... for the holiday, but... we will see if for holiday or for always, you will try a different country, a country in which we are absolutely convinct [convinced] about the importance of past and for this reason let me be [pay] a special thanks to the United States in this moment because this is a moment in which we remember seventies years of freedom of Italy from Fascism and Nazism occupation and I'm very proud for the role of partigiani the people who worked and who make war in Italy but also a special thanks to young American people who died for the freedom of a country... very strange because maybe some of these... those people doesn't [unclear] know what is Italy and I think this is a moment in which we must absolutely give the importance to this history also about this history. But the ideals of democracy, freedom, tolerance, justice is absolutely important for us in the relation for... with the United States. So the real challenge today is a politics challenge and I conclude with the expression of Robert Kennedy because I have spoken a lot about of past, it's usually important to protect the yesterday, but we said remember and preserve only the past is not a job of politician, is a job of museum curators, not of innovator. If you are a politician you must offer a vision, a vision based on the knowledge in which the past is absolutely extraordinary but this past is not sufficient. Our future will be better than past, this is the politics, and Bob Kennedy, a great American leader, said once 'The future is not a gift. It's an achievement'. I think in this moment, in a moment of change, our future is an achievement, focused on the culture and of identity but focused on the quality of singular experience. So the politicians must realise reforms, must make very good laws, must fight against austerity and invest in a politics of growth, but at the same time nobody could realise the future as an achievement without the courage and the empowerment of the single citizen who believed possible create a particular challenge: realise an Italy in which the future is more important than the past. It's not easy but I'm sure it's amazing, it's fun, it's a great opportunity for everybody. Thank you. [*Renzi leaves the podium to join the moderator at the table*]. I'm very Italian politician, I spoke a lot.

#### 4.7.2 Discussion

The final segment of Renzi's speech before question time consists in a summary of the argument developed so far. Apart from a few asides, Renzi mainly follows the script, which is based on a tripartite structure similar to segments 1 and 4 (see sections 4.2 and 4.6). Despite some differences in how the argument is developed and the space devoted to each part, overall the content is very similar: the introduction focuses on the role of high culture against a moral and physical enemy, the second part provides a description of this putative enemy, and the

last one celebrates the importance of taking on the challenges of the future. The voices are generally monoglossic or express the speaker's opinion (*entertain*), whereas the very few other dialogic structures are mainly used to counter or dismiss alternative positions. As if to summarise the significant presence of Italianness, the segment abounds with calques, stereotypes and references to the Italian culture and history.

In the introductory part, culture mingles with the relation between Italy and the United States and is presented as a student exchange, unlike segments 1 and 4, in which it figures, respectively, as universities and museums, Mediterranean identity and historical heritage. The reference to student exchanges provides Renzi with the opportunity for a long aside (units 4-13) on the so-called 'brain drain'. Focusing on the way the phenomenon is perceived in Italian society, Renzi displays a wide variety of explicit and implicit stereotypes, which, on the one hand, obtain the intended effect of discrediting alternative (conservative) positions, but, on the other, replicate and reinforce existing commonplaces.

To criticise contrastive stances, once again Renzi adopts a playful, ironic attitude, thus implicitly conforming to one of the stereotypes of Italian character. He focuses his irony on the negative reaction of the public opinion, and the hostile climate of political debate towards the departure of educated (young) people who go and live abroad, with special reference to the United States. Both criticisms are presented as mockery: Renzi modulates the pitch and loudness of his voice and uses relevant nonverbal language to imitate, respectively, the desperation of Italians (possibly parents) at the departure of their youngsters, and the outrage of politicians. To mock the latter, Renzi adopts the same technique as segment 4 (units 18-23): he takes on the conventions of male public speaking by using a higher pitch, but deprives it of all authority by pronouncing the utterance at a lower loudness. Both mockeries are reinforced by relevant nonverbal language. However, on this occasion Renzi limits the use of semiotic gestures to covering his eyes, the Italian emblem for 'desperation' (unit 8).

It is interesting to note that, whereas the target of the second mockery – namely political debate – is overtly declared and negatively defined as ‘polemics’, the other is more generally addressed, and is only implicitly linked to the stereotype of Italian family culture that follows. This is because whereas Renzi can make politicians his putative Other, the public opinion (the electorate) cannot be depicted as such, and the only way to make criticism acceptable is to keep it in generic terms, and soften it into a national stereotype.

Besides the explicit use of the commonplaces of Italian family bonds, Italianness is invoked in a few lexical choices. Renzi starts his aside by quoting the Italian phrase for brain drain (*‘fuga di cervelli’*), which is accompanied by a facial expression that – possibly unconsciously – conveys negative appreciation. The Italian quote is then followed by the calques ‘young girl and boy’ and ‘Italian mind’, which stand for ‘young woman and man’ and ‘Italian intellectuals’, respectively.

If Renzi’s position is implicitly outlined in the ironic aside, soon afterwards it becomes unequivocal (units 14-15). Indeed the speaker explicitly declares his stance by repeating ‘great thing’ twice, and building up a crescendo of assertiveness, from the heteroglossic ‘I think’, which also implies an opposition to the stance that he described (or mocked) before, to the monoglossic structure of ‘it’s a great thing’. Though the young generation is apparently at centre stage, the actual focus is on the speaker: the subject of the action is Renzi (*‘I admire’*), who states his own position as opposite to current political debate by using an invoked countering structure and reinforcing this concept by pointing to himself. Moreover, though his involvement starts as an opinion, then it clearly shifts towards actual action (unit 18: *‘continue’*, *‘try’*, *‘achieve’*, *‘change’*), which is expressed by positive judgement in terms of *capacity* and is reinforced by repetition (unit 19).

Renzi concludes his digression by defining change and what it entails. This definition, however, is only briefly sketched by playfully recurring to the commonplace of Italy as a holiday destination (unit 20), and alluding to Italy’s notorious affection towards its past (unit 23). Just after mentioning the word

'past', however, Renzi abruptly narrows his focus to the role of young American combatants who died for Italy's freedom from Fascism and Nazism 70 years before. The seventieth anniversary of Italian liberation provides Renzi with the context to define the putative enemy, a role that, in this case, is played by Fascist regimes. As it occurred in segments 1 and 4, this putative enemy is not described, but mainly defined both in contrast to 'democracy', 'freedom', 'tolerance', 'justice' (unit 30) and those Italians who fought against oppression (unit 26). Though Renzi probably chooses to use the Italian word 'partigiani' due to his limited command of English, the overall effect is not only to remind the role of history, but also to emphasise the myth of the good Italian by building a connection between those who contributed to set the country free from German occupation and those who now rescue migrants in the Mediterranean or young talents who thrive abroad (see sections 1.1, 4.6.2, 5.9.2, and Chapter 6).

The third part reiterates the celebration of the future on the wake of the concepts already introduced in segment 1. The core utterance is unit 33, which establishes a clear link with the beginning of Renzi's speech by reaffirming the importance of the past, but limiting it to its protection and custody. As it occurs in segment 1, this concept is evident in the appraisal resources Renzi uses. On the one hand, we find resources such as 'protect', 'preserve', and 'museum curators' that focus on *security*. On the other, 'challenge', 'innovator' and 'vision' inscribe or invoke the dynamic idea of *capacity*, and are often reinforced by repetition. The idea that a future that is 'better than the past' (unit 36) needs building with dedication is summed up in the quote of Robert Kennedy in unit 39, where the positive *valuation* of 'gift' is juxtaposed to the *capacity* conveyed by 'achievement'. On the back of Renzi's statement of intention there lies the allusion to Italy's traditional 'passatism' (units 35 and 47), a *leitmotif* that implicitly recalls unit 23.

Kennedy's quote is pivotal to understand the deictic centre and the stance that Renzi builds for himself. First, Renzi explicitly restates Kennedy's idea soon after quoting it, when he agrees on the concept that future is an achievement and, once again, recalls the importance of culture and identity (unit 40). Second, the concept expressed by Kennedy coincides with the idea of the future as a

'laboratory' (unit 1:14) and a challenge, which he expresses throughout his speech. Third, Kennedy's description as a 'great American leader' (unit 38) clearly recalls his own definition as 'the leader of the government' (unit 1:45). In other words, by using the same appraisal resources and lexical choices, Renzi draws a direct link between Robert Kennedy and himself as an innovator, both explicitly and implicitly.

As far as the overall deictic positioning is concerned, it is worth noting once again that the position of politicians varies substantially throughout the speech. In the central segments (2, 3 and 4; see sections 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6) Renzi's judgment of politics and politicians is so negative that they often result in the putative enemy, whereas in segment 1 and the current segment their role is clearly defined as pivotal in the development of the country (unit 33, 37, 41-43). Apart from the ironic comment on the debate on brain drain (which, in any case, is generally dismissed as 'politician debate'), now politicians are associated to positive judgement in terms of *capacity* and *tenacity*. This is because, whereas in the previous segments the politics he focuses on is conservative, here Renzi and the figure of the politician coincide to the full. This is testified by the variety of nonverbal language Renzi uses in unit 41-44. First, he touches his chest while pronouncing the word 'politicians' to indicate that he is talking about himself in the first place. Second, the variation in pitch and loudness of his voice while listing the politician's tasks (unit 43) conform to the conventions of assertive public speaking. Third, he moves his fist upwards and downwards several times while pronouncing the phrase 'fight against austerity and invest in a politics of growth', thus using a variation of the gesture that he mockingly attributed to his political adversaries (unit 4:23). In other words, while describing the role of a politician, Renzi acts as one. This is also confirmed later on in the speech (unit 7:50), where Renzi's statement 'I must realise reforms' clearly echoes the affirmation 'politicians must realise reforms' of unit 42 in this segment. The speech, therefore, goes in full circle: Renzi starts by describing himself as the Prime Minister and leader of the government in segment 1, then moves to the criticism - sometimes harsh - of political opponents, finally he reaffirms his

position as a political leader who, like Robert Kennedy, meets the demands and takes on the challenges of innovation.

The official speech ends with confirmation that the challenge to make the future of Italy more interesting than the past will be exciting and worth experiencing. However, it is the concluding, informal comment 'I'm very Italian politician, I spoke a lot' that sums up the tone of the entire speech (unit 49). Renzi makes this brief remark while joining the moderator, as a spontaneous aside. This brief comment embeds all the key elements of the entire speech, from the explicit or implicit presence of stereotypes to Renzi's own positioning. Thus, he defines himself 'very Italian' as if to represent the quintessence of the national character, he fully embraces his role as 'politician', he explicitly recalls the stereotype of Italian politicians as very talkative, while presenting himself, once again, as good-humoured and witty.

## 4.8 Segment 6 – 00:34:00-00:52:10

### 4.8.1 Transcript

[The Moderator welcomes Renzi at the table, introduces question time and asks the first question.]

**Moderator:** *Let me follow up on the general context of your visit to the United States, your meeting with President Obama, tomorrow as I understand. Can you say something about how relations between the United States and Italy relate in turn with some of the themes you talk: the importance of the economic growth, the struggle against extremism... some of the context for your conversation tomorrow.*

**Answer:** I think in this moment American leadership is a great model for Europe in the economic, because American leadership with the presidency of Barack Obama, in face to the great crisis, incredible crisis, the most terrible crisis after the Second World War, invest in the new dream, new American dream. Europe lost this opportunity in my personal opinion. The model of economic development of Europe is a model focused on the austerity and not focused on the ideal of growth. The relation inside European context are not... are good, are normal, are very... we are partner and ally, obviously, we discuss a lot and in every European council I repeat the same quote: I don't understand why American people in these... in those seven years of crisis invest in a future with growth and Europe lost this opportunity. So for me, for my party, for my government, the relation about economics with the United States of America are stronger than the past, Barack Obama in the economics is absolutely a model for his vision, and I

try with my Minister of Finance who is today in Washington DC for IMF with the other members of the government to convince European people, European leadership to continue with budget attention, it's clear, but with investment in the future, and the first results arrive from Jean-Claude Juncker the new Commission.

[*The Moderator comments on the long queue of questioners.*]

[*The First Questioner introduces herself as an Italian student who has decided to pursue an education in the United States in the hope of going back to the country of her values and culture.*]

**Question:** *What is your outlook on the specific opportunities that our country will provide to us in terms of innovation, infrastructure and energy?*

**Answer:** Let me speak about this point in Italian, if you agree, because very, very brief speech.

[*The audience laughs and the Moderator chuckles.*]

**Answer in Italian** [*my translation*]: *I will never tell you, as many other people did, 'Please come back, there's brain drain, I'm worried'. First of all, it is a silly expression: brain drain... is the pancreas still in Italy, maybe? But the main point is that in a globalized world it is normal to live one's dream also far from home. What I want to tell you is that I promise we will build a country in which success does not depend on friends' friends, but because merit is valued. Success does not depend on occasions to follow a dream that are on this side of the ocean only, but also at home. If then you want to stay here, because you get married, you get engaged, you are doing well here, you prefer the United States, good luck, but if you want to get back you will find a country that has stopped being a hostage to the usual Persons Known<sup>24</sup> who live off their power. Whatever it takes, I may lose the next elections, but I will not lose face with you, this is my promise.*

And now only in English, also because my terrible English...

[*The Second Questioner recalls Giorgio La Pira<sup>25</sup> and his commitment to peace. The student mentions his interest in this political figure, which he shares with Renzi.*]

**Question:** *What is your commitment, personal commitment as Matteo Renzi to help and figure out Libyan solution right now? What is your position right now?*

**Answer:** So the question is very difficult because Giorgio La Pira is also a Saint, eh... [*Renzi chuckles*] was an incredible personality and every every time I... I worked for five years in the same office in which he worked and every day was an emotion. I don't

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<sup>24</sup> The 'person known' commonplace is often used in Italy to indicate 'the same old people' and paraphrases the title of a world-famous Italian movie of 1958, *I soliti ignoti*; in the UK the movie was released with a faithful translation of the Italian title, *Persons Unknown*.

<sup>25</sup> Giorgio La Pira was an Italian politician of the Christian Democratic party. He served as Mayor of Florence twice in the 1950's and 1960's. La Pira as Mayor of Florence was the subject of the thesis Matteo Renzi wrote for his degree in Laws.

... speak about the past and also the... the...the... ideas very particular of Giorgio la Pira... you remember the... the first trip in... the first and the last... trip in Viet Nam in the moment very particular, also the trip in Russia and the meeting of mayors in Florence, the Mayor of New York City and the Mayor of Moscow at the same table at Palazzo Vecchio, in Salone dei Cinquecento. I give an answer also about Libya. I think in Libya the only way to make peace, to realise peace is in the hands of the tribes, of the... the... the... people who live in Libya. It's impossible realise peace in Libya without the ability to involve Libyan tribes at the same table [*in a brief aside, the Moderator suggests the correct pronunciation of 'tribes'*]. This is a big problem because when international community decide, and was a correct decide... decision, to remove Gaddafi don't care about the next step and now we have a country in which we risk every day continuation of civil war but also for the pressure from the centre of Africa in the South Libya, Libya could welcome a lot of immigrants from a part of African countries in conflict. So first we must support the try of Bernardino León, the special envoy of the United Nation. I asked to Ban Ki Moon the last September with more determination 'please Mr Secretary, you must absolutely give a strong me... strong commitment to Bernardino León'. For the moment it is very difficult to image if there is a diplomatic solution. What we can and we mus... we need realise is operation counter terrorism because there is... the risk is the... the... the... infiltration of ISIS, of Daesh in Derna, in Sirte... there are two cities in the hand of Daesh and continue with the control in the sea because we must avoid in every way to trafficking human people continue in a moment in which the way is very simply: you call a man he pay two thousand dollars, two thousand five hundred dollars, one thousand five hundred dollars is the situation of the climate is not good, and the man who organize this incredible tragedy rise a business of three hundred thousand, four hundred thousand dollars, every... every time, every night. This is foolish. But not... it's impossible for the international community bring the place of tribes. We must force the Libyans to make the peace, because this is the only way also for them.

[*The Third Questioner introduced himself and the background of his question, the Armenian genocide of 1915 and Pope Francis' stance on the topic.*]

[*Renzi smiles, fetches his smartphone from his jacket pocket, looks at it and puts it on the table.*]

**Question:** *I would like to ask you the official stance of Italy on the Armenian events: does Italy officially call these events as a genocide and does Mr Renzi as the Prime Minister of Italy and as a citizen of Italy call these events as a genocide or... something else?*

**Answer:** You know the position of Italian government about it is clear. Minister of Foreign Affairs repeat the same position about... after the reactions of Turkish government against the Pope. You know the Pope criticised this... I think is not correct expression the Pope give a very clear message about what happened one century ago. The reaction of President Erdogan and my colleague Prime Minister was negative and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paolo Gentiloni, critici... make a statement of criticism against the position of the Turkish government about it. I think it's a goal for



everybody... this for the situation of Armenian people one century after. I think Turkey is a great country. I think is a value for everyone if Turkey fa... realise the process of integration in European institutions, Turkey is a very important partner of NATO. But it's clear in this moment the process of integration of Turkey in European institutions depend on the government of Ankara. I spoke officially in Gall... in Wales, in September, during the... the... the... the NATO summit supporting the position of Turkey for the... ehm... entrance in European institutions but today they must respect some values and some ideals who is on the base of European community. I'm confident and I hope the Presidency of Turkey in the G20 this year could be a little step to stop with the polemics, the position are clear, and invest in the future but at the same time respecting the common ideals and the common values.

[*The Fourth Questioner introduces himself as an Argentinian student.*]

**Matteo Renzi:** In a university of Jesuit from Argentina... fantastic! Your future is very interesting...

[*The Fourth Questioner, joking, expresses his disagreement on this point.*]

**Question:** *What is your vision and the main free challenge for education policies in your country, in the European Union, what do we have to do with the education systems during these days, what is the challenge for the new century?*

**Answer:** Very briefly: first, Italy must change the model of organization of system of education for a problem of efficiency and quality of organization. This is the first, I think it is not very interesting for you [*turning towards the Moderator*] but this is the first priority for us today in our country. If you think about the vision, point number two, I think I'm not in the same position of the majority of politicians and of stakeholders because I think we must avoid the risk to invest in an education only technological and focused on scientist. Let me be very clear: I believe in the culture of... traditional culture, I believe in the humanistic culture, I believe in an idea in which is absolutely imposs... important to ensure to the people the possibility to study the past, for example, not simply because we must create in the schools the skills but because I think the school must create the citizens. So, for this reason my position, maybe is not in majority, is we must preserve the traditional and humanistic culture around the world. The school and the education is not simply an instrument for technological career. The school and education is first of all a possibility to open the mind and the heart of the people and if this means 'but not with... everybody could work with History of Arts', this is a risk I know, but I prefer a man who cry in front of Leonardo's masterpiece ai people who know very well everything of Mathematics but he lost the emotion and the ideals.

#### **4.8.2 Discussion**

This segment marks the beginning of question time. As Renzi's answers do not follow a script, they are more spontaneous and, accordingly, offer some

incongruities, less predictability and a more fragmented structure. Overall, they show remarkable differences from the preceding segments of the speech: the use of evaluative resources is somewhat more explicit and less creative, whereas nonverbal language is much more frequent; moreover, the presence of stereotypes and references to the Italian culture – which culminates in a whole answer in Italian – is more pervasive.

With respect to evaluation, attitude is generally inscribed in a limited set of lexical resources, and mirrors the speaker's stance, which is consistent with the preceding segments. Also engagement is in line with the personal turn of the speech, since it is mostly descriptive (monoglossic) or expresses the opinions of the speaker (heteroglossic of the *entertain* type). The only two alternative voices that Renzi acknowledges belong, quite significantly, to his own political and cultural sphere: the Pope and Paolo Gentiloni, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of his cabinet. Of the three categories of evaluative resources, graduation is probably the most interesting, as it is often expressed through repetition (units 1-4, 68-71, 82, 88-96, 100-101). Though some of these occurrences may be related to the spontaneous flow of thoughts or the limited fluency of Renzi as a second-language speaker, overall they powerfully contribute to the rhetorical structure of the speech. This is particularly evident for the repetition of verb structures (units 88-94), which results in a chanting rhythm having its climax in 'I believe' (units 91-94), when the speech becomes almost liturgical.

In this part of his communication, Renzi uses a variety of gestures, possibly to compensate for his limited command of the language. Overall, hand gestures are used more extensively, with a particular increase in the frequency of emblems, almost entirely with an Italian cultural connotation. On three occasions, Renzi also varies the pitch according to the pattern of male public speaking (see section 4.5) either in its full assertive potential enhanced by an increase in loudness (unit 9), or as a quote of somebody else's opinion. In the latter case the rise in pitch is not accompanied by the rise in loudness, as I have already pointed out in similar occurrences, regardless of whether the tone is parodic or not (see the quotes in units 19 and 102). It is interesting to note, however, that during

Renzi's answer in Italian, the use of nonverbal resources (variations in pitch and loudness and hand gestures) does not seem to increase. In other words, there is no correspondence between nonverbal communication and language choice. Given the crucial role of hand gestures to Italian communication as opposed to English, this lack of variation may seem quite counter-intuitive. Nonetheless, it provides good evidence that Renzi's use of nonverbal communication is mainly idiosyncratic and independent of the language he uses. This leads us to infer that Renzi's approach to English is instrumental and lacks any process of cultural negotiation, which implies scarce control on the communication process.

This clearly shows in two specific moments of this segment: the brief introduction to the answer in Italian (units 17, 18), and the expression 'good luck' (unit 24). In first instance Renzi announces his intention to speak Italian: though his statement is serious, both the audience and the Moderator laugh. This incident is not mediated by Renzi in any way, though he usually indulges in humorous asides, and the only comment on his command of the language comes at the very end of his answer, when he prepares for the following question (unit 28). During his speech in Italian, Renzi wishes 'good luck' to those Italians who prefer to remain in the United States. Also on this occasion - though the message here is more ambiguous - Renzi's tone seems to be serious, but the audience laughs. My interpretation is that Renzi's use of 'good luck' is a calque of the Italian 'buona fortuna' (which is mostly used in a positive, wishing-well sense), but, partly because of Renzi's intonation, the audience understands it in its colloquial English meaning, as an ironic remark on the many difficulties the United States may present. Again, Renzi seems unaware of the implications of his utterance.

As previously mentioned, in this segment Renzi makes an extensive use of reference to the Italian culture, in a remarkable variety of forms. Besides the choice of Italian to answer one of the questions, and the extensive presence of culturally-derived emblems, which I have already discussed, this segment offers a significant presence of explicit stereotypes. It is worth noting that those concerning Italy depict it - either explicitly or implicitly - in negative terms, as a

slave to clientelism (unit 23), in the hands of a few 'oligarchs' (unit 25), inefficient and disorganised (units 86, 88). Also Renzi's frequent references to Florence, from 'Palazzo Vecchio' and 'Salone dei Cinquecento' (unit 36) to Leonardo da Vinci as the symbol of art (unit 104), are (implicitly) stereotypical. Indeed, they invoke the strong municipalism of Italian history, which is still present, as noted in section 1.2, in contemporary culture. It is interesting to note that, though Renzi positions himself in clear opposition to the current customs, his promise that he will 'not lose face' (unit 26) is strictly connected to the typical Italian obsession for *bella figura* (give a good impression) and, as such, place him within the domain of Italianness. Moreover, his statements in favour of the study of the past (units 94, 99) is clearly in contrast to Renzi's negative judgement of 'passatism' as a typical feature of the Italian character (unit 3:39). Once again, jokes also contribute significantly to the stereotype of Italianness, and range from playful comments and allusions (units 15, 28, 29, 84) to the parody of his opponents (units 19-20). Besides stereotypes, the segment abounds with other references to the Italian culture in a variety of lexical forms: the incorrect pronunciation of 'tribes' (units 37, and 61), calques, casual words and interjections in Italian ('Gall[es]' for 'Wales', unit 74; 'ai' for 'to', unit 105), and allusions to cinema<sup>26</sup> (unit 25) or religion (unit 29).

As I have pointed out before, Renzi's positioning mainly mirrors the stances he expresses in other segments, whereby the United States occupies the deictic centre together with Renzi's own cabinet, future programmes focus on some reforms of Italian and European institutions, and the Other is embodied by terrorism and civil war, whereas some figures are predictably placed at the deictic centre on the basis of Renzi's political outlook and affinity (Giorgio La Pira, Bernardino León, and Pope Francis). It is worth noting, however, that the position of some of the protagonists is far from clear-cut: the relations within the European Union are described in a crescendo of negativity ('The relation inside European context are good, are normal, are very... we are partner and ally

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<sup>26</sup> The allusion to Italian cinema is embedded in the 'persons known' commonplace that Renzi quotes, which recalls a famous Italian movie of 1958 (released in the UK as *Persons Unknown*).

obviously, we discuss a lot'); those with Turkey are shifting between closeness as an important partner and the hostility the country showed on the Armenian question. Even Giorgio La Pira, undoubtedly a central figure in Renzi's political education, is outlined in slightly ambiguous terms: Renzi defines him a Saint and 'an incredible personality' (units 29-30), admits that working in his office every day was 'an emotion' (unit 31), but does not hesitate to define his ideas 'very particular', while making an unequivocal Italian gestures meaning 'extravagant' (unit 33).

At the deictic centre, together with the study of the past, we also find one of the key elements of Renzi's speech, humanistic culture. In order to defend the importance of the humanities against the prevailing education model that favours technology and science (units 90-101), Renzi grounds the rhetorical structure of his speech on the rhythmic repetitions discussed above, and on an accurate pattern of oppositions. Thus, 'skills' and 'technological career' are opposed, respectively, to 'citizens' and 'open the mind and the heart' (units 96, 100, 101) in a crescendo that reaches its climax in the final definition of a dehumanised individual who 'know very well everything of Mathematics but he lost the emotion and the ideals' (unit 106). Though this stance confirms the importance of culture that Renzi often acknowledges during his speech (segments 1 and 4; see sections 4.2 and 4.6), it also contradicts the statements in which he dismisses the importance of museums, the cultural heritage and the past (units 1: 14, 1:25, 1:50, 4:42).

More specifically, in segment 4, unit 42, Renzi affirms that culture is not the legacy of the past heritage, but a lifestyle and an identity: this concept is in clear opposition to his statement in this segment that we must encourage the study of the past in schools so as to form future citizens. A possible reconciliation lies in that Renzi belittles the role of this heritage especially when he introduces his programme of reforms in Italy, whereas he is always consistent with the idea that culture can defeat terrorism and backwardness. The basic contradiction, however, remains unsolved, and Renzi' attitude towards the past and its

importance in education seems to be shifting, together with his position towards other key issues and leading figures in his speech.

## 4.9 Segment 7 – 00:52:20-00:1:07:31

### 4.9.1 Transcript

[*The Fifth Questioner* introduces himself and makes some remarks on the current situation of Italy and the projections of its growth, which does not seem very bright despite the favourable economic conditions.]

**Question:** *What gives you confidence that what you are doing is working and will work?*

**Answer:** I offer you the vision of the last three years. 2012: Mario Monti's government; GDP Italy: -2.3%. 2013: Enrico Letta government: -1.9. I th... pref... I look... there is the... the... the... members of cabinet... yes... because it's very important the fact checking in politician. 2014: 0.4 with my government. So three years of crisis with a little improve but the problem is the combination between the lack of reforms and the politics of austerity. For the future the previsions are fi... fi... finally after three years we come back to plus. Not sufficient, for me, but it's a first step: +0.7 for our prevision, 0.5 for IMF. Zero-nine, one... I think is not important the zero virg... the important is finally we come back to positive growth. Why I'm confident: because we change the labour market and we give a message very important for investors but also for Italian people; because we reduce the power of red tape of bureaucracy. And you know, you're Italian, you know very well the terrible power of bureaucracy in our country. I think at the same time we must absolutely give a message of positive approach not because this has a psychological... ehm... message. I don't know the translation of 'gruppo di auto-aiuto' in English [*Renzi looks at one of his collaborators, who suggests the translation*]. Self-aid. You know the... the... the... telefilm, the TV series in which everybody thanks for sharing. Everybody share the... the... the... her problem... and so the message of optimistic is a message for the mind. No. I think is economic message. And I give you a little example. 2012, you remember, -2.3: the level of savings in Italy are 3.5 trillion dollars... euro, sorry. Now is similar but 3.5 [*Moderator chuckles*] euro... it's a good, very important good thing for us the new relation between euro and dollar. 2012: 3.5. 2014: 3.9. So in a moment of crisis, you can think, the saving are at the level of decreasing... no. In Italy the savings, the private savings, are grew up ... ten percent. Why? Because we lost the confidence. This is a real problem. I don't speak about the relation between public debt, very high in Italy, 2 trillion, and private saving. The most important private saving around the world... as average ... in respect of the ... pro capita. This is absolutely interesting for the discussion with the markets but you know we can [*can't?*] use this expression for the markets because the savings are not important in the statistics. What important for me it's if in 2012, 2014 the savings grow up, this means there is a problem of confidence in Italy. So I must realise reforms: jobs act and labour market, fiscal system, public administration, electoral law, constitutional reforms, education system, but if we don't come back to

level of confidence positive in Italy, the problem remain the same. I believe this is the real challenge in the Italian politics. In a side there is some parties who believe the future of Italy is terrible. They c... bet on the crisis and in the other side there are a party of politician who believe possible come back to positive growth. So, but France, Germany in this moment are prevision more positive. I'm happy for France and Germany. I know in the next years if Italy make the reforms, Italy will be the leader of Europe for the next twenty years. *[Addressed to someone in the audience who was beginning to applaud]* This is not for applause, this is reality. *[Moderator and audience chuckle]* This is reality. If we realise the reform our pension system is absolutely good respect our colleagues and partner of Europe, our quality of engineering is extraordinary, our manufacturing are the second in Europe and one of the most important of the world. When Jeff Immelt, one example, the leader of GE, visited me last year he told me 'Oh, I'm very very exciting about some characters *[unclear]* of Italy'. And I believed *[wondered]* 'culture? Masterpieces? Food? Lifestyle? Holidays?' His answer 'No, engineering. The level of, your quality of your engineering is the best around the world'. So I'm confident despite the prevision because I think if Italy realise reforms, if Italy finally decide to invest in the future, maybe Italy not only come back in the role of leadership, but is also an hope for the rest of Europe.

*[The Moderator announces the time limit and comments on the long queue of questioners, which testifies to the interest that Renzi's visit has arisen. The moderator then asks Renzi if he wishes to take another question or two.]*

**Answer:** I.. one question, ok. The real role of President of Council is not very powerful. All... every schedule, every meeting not depend of you. You are simply a... an actor in the hands of terrible men and women called 'protocollo'. Are very dangerous, they are very dangerous people.

*[The Sixth Questioner thanks 'protocollo' and introduces himself. He wishes to suggest that maybe the government in Italy could either launch or support initiatives to connect all Italians abroad who want to help promote investments, commerce, tourism, culture, and to help transfer their knowledge and know-how, so as to make expatriates part of the change. The Questioner concludes by inviting Renzi to an official reception that very evening.]*

**Answer:** Thank you so much for invitation but in the team of 'protocollo' there's also the Ambassador organized the dinner in official residency called 'Villa Firenze'. I'm very proud for that, but Villa Firenze come from Florence, not from the city. From the woman Florence, so... about the... your consideration I think this could be a great propose to continue in this... involving the people. But let me conclude exactly from the point from which I started. This link could happen, could be realized only if we have an... a common ideal and value, not only the same passport. In other words, obviously, we are very happy the Italian people who... who... believe in our country for me it's a reason of happiness, of responsibility and thank you so much for this disponibility. But I think in this moment to be Italian around the world means remember to everybody, to you first

of all, and to everybody what is Italian value around the world. So if you speak about Lamborghini it's important to remember to Lamborghini's team the investment in Bologna with 500 people to... to... new jobs will realise next year I hope. But it's not the most important thing. The most important thing is remember to ourselves if we are Italians, we are not simply a catalogue of genius of the past. We are the people who have in DNA the possibility to believe in the future and not only in the past. For this reason I think the contribution from you, from abroad is obviously the link, the connection, the team working, the ideals and ideas to share with us, but it's, above all, the idea we can build a different world focused not only in economic values but focused on the quality of cultural values. Let me be very frank. I know there are not a difference... there are not a division between economic values and cultural values. If you think for example exactly in my city, Florence, you know the financial system create the masterpieces of art. The people here who know the history of Florence knows very well the incredible history of genius, innovation, affrescos, paintings, buildings, architecture come from a new era of finance. The financial system invest in the culture, invest in the innovation. So there is a link between economic development and mind development. But in this world the globalization give a message in which the important is only the money and the value. I think we must absolutely work hard, work strongly, achieve results and achieve the great results in the personal career, but to be Italian means remember ourselves there are the values of emotion and of ideals who is the value eternal and perpetual. This, for me, means to be Italian around the world and my request is exactly that: help us to remember ourselves to be Italian means to be people who try every day to build a different ideal of future remembering the past but challenging on tomorrow.

[Renzi pick up his mobile telephone and puts it back in his jacket pocket. The Moderator closes the meeting and thanks Renzi for attending.]

#### 4.9.2 Discussion

The use of resources in the last segment of Renzi's speech at Georgetown University does not show any substantial difference to the previous one: it is the continuation of questions time and, accordingly, it allows for spontaneity and less orchestration than the parts in which Renzi follows the script.

As it occurs in the preceding segment, Renzi uses a limited set of evaluative resources, which mirror the personal turn of the speech: appreciation is often inscribed or invoked in terms of positive or negative *capacity*, whereas engagement is either monoglossic, or reflects the opinions of the speaker (heteroglossic of the *entertain* type). These evaluative resources sum up Renzi's stance about the political situation in Italy, as expressed elsewhere in his speech (see, in particular, segment 3, section 4.5): the deictic centre is occupied by those



Italians and political subjects who share a positive vision of the present and the future of Italy as an innovative country, as opposed to its detractors; on the time axis lie the previous two cabinets and their disastrous economic result, and, on the opposite side, Renzi's programme of reform aiming to ensure Italy's leadership in Europe. Like in the deictic positioning of segments 2 and 3 (see sections 4.4 and 4.5), the position of Italy is rather ambiguous, as it is split between the negative judgment of some of its aspects (in this case, the bureaucratic system and the high debt) and the memory of its glorious past.

As noted in the previous segment, during question time Renzi indulges in an extensive use of nonverbal language, and this may possibly be a compensation for his limited command of English and increased involvement in the dialogue. In this segment, however, the frequency of hand gestures seems to increase even more: not only illustrators and body movements, but also emblems, whose function is so extensive that their use is sometimes prolonged to mark the tempo of the utterance (units 31, 93, 102, 105, 108, 114, 123, 133). Not only are emblems a pervasive presence of the Italian culture, but their role is particularly relevant in this segment because they are also used to replace verbal resources (units 94, 96), and, accordingly, express their full potential of carrying symbolic meaning. Quite predictably, the references to the Italian culture are very frequent in a variety of forms other than hand gestures also in this section. Whereas calques are quite frequent but not particularly significant (units 14, 40, 46, 67, 78, 100, 106, 124), stereotypes are extensively recalled, both implicitly and explicitly, and they play a pivotal role as they reveal Renzi's overall position.

Regarding implicit stereotypes, backwardness is inscribed whenever Renzi mentions the need for reforms (units 58, 60, 87). However, the so-called municipalism – namely a special sense of belonging to one's own city rather than the country as a whole (see section 1.2) – is possibly the most pervasive. I have already highlighted that Renzi mentions his city, Florence, on various occasions during his speech, most of which are motivated by the allusion to his own past as the Mayor of Florence (segments 1 and 6; see sections 4.2 and 4.8). In this segment, however, Florence is deliberately mentioned several times both in terms

of pun on the name of the Ambassador's residence (unit 92) and as an enlightening example of financial and artistic development (units 117-118). It is worth mentioning that the latter also recalls Guicciardini's well-known description of the balanced conditions that Italy experienced around 1490 (see section 1.2): whether Renzi has it in mind or not, in both circumstances the appraisal resources he uses denote extremely positive evaluation, reinforced by graduation and hand gestures. In other words, it seems that when his institutional role becomes less pressing, Renzi indulges in his attachment for Florence and makes it a reference point also when it is not strictly relevant.

Another pervasive invoked stereotype is, as we often see throughout the speech, the use of irony and jokes. As this part of Renzi's speech does not follow a written script, humour is far from following a linear development. Most instances are either limited to playful remarks (units 4, 37, 70, 90, 92), or consist in an incomplete and ineffective joke due to the contrast between its complexity and Renzi's limited command of the language (unit 25). As mentioned in the previous segment, it is worth noting that also in this part of the speech the correspondence between the speaker's intention and the reaction of the audience/moderator is not always fulfilled, resulting in some incidents in communication.

Here the instances of this lack of control on the part of the speaker are three and work in an opposite way. The first is the joke in unit 25, which is aborted because it is too complex for the speaker, and provokes no reaction from the public. In the second Renzi's comment on the similar value of the Euro and the Dollar is interpreted as an ironic remark by the moderator and the audience despite Renzi's serious expression and tone (unit 36). In the third one (units 74-76) the speaker aims to stop the applause to his (serious) remark on Italy's prosperous future, but he is unexpectedly confronted with the laughter of the hearers at his attempt. It is worth noting that in the second and third case, Renzi reacts promptly and catches up with his interlocutors. However, the frequency of this type of incident can be interpreted as an incomplete form of cultural negotiation.

It is explicit stereotypes, however, that more clearly reveal Renzi's position. If the commonplace of the power of the Italian bureaucracy (units 18-19) seems to be recurrent in Renzi's speech (see unit 3:5, Appendix 8.2.3) and is motivated by the discussion on political reforms, other stereotypes are spontaneously quoted by Renzi without being elicited by any interlocutor. The first instance is quite extensive, and sums up the typical clichés associated with Italy, such as culture, masterpieces, food, lifestyle and holidays (unit 82). The episode Renzi recalls is his conversation with the CEO of General Electric, Jeff Immelt, and the stereotypes he quotes are his own. It is evident that the situation Renzi depicts is somehow paradoxical: it is not Immelt who had a stereotypical view of Italy, but Italy's very Prime Minister, who, in turn, was surprised by Immelt's comment on the primacy of Italian manufacturing. To conclude his considerations on reforms, Renzi alludes to the past leadership the country may be able to go back to. In doing so, Renzi follows the centuries-old wake of reformers who invoked a renaissance of Italy's past glories, thus paradoxically conforming to a consolidated tradition of 'passatism' and nationalism (see sections 1.2 and 2.2.2).

In contrast to this – or, possibly, as a consequence – Renzi later on sums up what it means to be Italian: 'we are not simply a catalogue of genius of the past. We are the people who have in DNA the possibility to believe in the future and not only in the past (...) the idea we can build a different world focused not only in economic values but focused on the quality of cultural values (...) to be Italian means remember ourselves there are the values of emotion and of ideals' (units 107, 113, 128). Though these statements mirror the description of Italy in segment 2 ('We have an unique art heritage and more than half the Unesco global heritage are in our country. Italy is a land of science, of experiments, of innovation', see Appendix 8.2.2), they also reveal the complex construction of a stereotypical view of Italy.

First, Renzi dismisses the 'catalogue of genius of the past' commonplace by using a countering structure and an invoked negative *valuation*. In doing so, however, he contradicts both the instances in which he expresses similar

nostalgia for the past (see units 1, 2, 3), and even the example, which follows shortly afterwards, of Renaissance Florence as the perfect balance of finance, innovation and high culture. Second, his claims about the possibility to build ‘a different world focused not only in economic values but focused on the quality of cultural values’, and the ‘values of emotion’ are quite contradictory. On the one hand, they are stereotypical in themselves, as they recall the supposed Italian inclination for art and emotional overflow; on the other, they contradict Renzi’s statements about the technological superiority of Italy and the role of globalisation as a driving force (segment 2: 32, 48).

#### **4.10 Concluding Remarks**

In the preceding segments I underlined how the pattern of the speech at Georgetown University is extremely varied, and includes a welcome introduction, a talk and a question time, with dialogic exchanges and some shifts between English and Italian. Despite this variety, however, appraisal analysis and deictic positioning highlight substantial homogeneity in the use of resources and, above all, in the implicit message the speaker conveys. To promote his vision of Italy as a potentially dynamic, change-oriented country, Renzi mainly uses a monoglossic structure with little concession to heteroglossia, and an authoritative tone that is often supported by assertive gestures.<sup>27</sup> However, below the surface of enthusiasm for innovation and change Renzi substantially conforms to nationalistic themes, and adheres to well-established political ideas: though he insists that Italy should stop worshipping past glories and take on the challenges of the future, Renzi reinforces a stereotypical view of the country, and his programme of reforms does not seem to include an actual change in customs.

This is particularly evident in how Renzi outlines the country and himself. His references to stereotypes about Italy depict it as ‘one of the most beautiful and important countries for the culture around the world’ (unit 1:46), but hindered by inefficiencies (units 2:56; 3:2, 5, 12, 20; 6:86; 7:19), clientelism (unit

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<sup>27</sup> Here I am referring, in particular, to the Italian emblem of the clenched fist that means ‘being sure of one’s own opinion’, which is often used by Renzi also to mark the tempo of his utterance.

6:23), corruption and excessive family ties (unit 5:9); a country of emotions (units 2:14; 7:128) and beauty (units 2:10, 17), but hostage to its own backwardness (units 2: 2-20; 7: 58, 60, 87) and its own past (units 1:49; 2: 23, 28, 29; 3:39). These clichés have their climax in Renzi's comment to Jeff Immelt's admiration of Italian achievements (unit 7:82), a comment that reveals the position of the speaker beyond any doubt. As mentioned before, on this occasion the role of the protagonists is reversed: it is the foreign guest who points out the excellences of the country to its own Prime Minister, whose guess is limited to the ordinary stereotypes of cultural heritage, art, food, lifestyle and tourist attractions.

Renzi also presents a commonplace view of Italy by implicitly referring to two traditional notions that belong to two opposite political groups. On the one hand, his reference to 'custodians' (unit 1:12), 'museum curators' (unit 5:33) and 'holidays' (units 5:20, 7:82) seems to echo the rhetoric of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when some right-wing intellectuals despised Italians as 'citizens of a small, servile country [...] a people of hotel owners, museum custodians [and] shoe-shiners' (Enrico Sacchetti, 1944; see section 1.2). On the other hand, his allusion to the Italian resistance army ('partigiani'; 5:26), and, above all, the effort of Italian rescuers in the Mediterranean (unit 4:33) recall the myth of 'Italians good people' as opposed to some hostile European countries that Renzi will refer to also in his Harvard speech (see sections 5.9, 5.11 and 8.3.7.1). As explained in section 1.2, this myth spread after the Second World War to redeem the reputation of the country from the stain of Fascism and was widely represented in the intellectual debate of the time (Patriarca, 2010: 188-215). Whether these spontaneous references are deliberate or not, Renzi clearly grounds his vision of innovation on consolidated clichés, and, to do so, contrasts stereotypes by using other stereotypes, in a complex, often contradictory, *mise en abyme*.

As far as self-categorisation is concerned, Renzi conveys a stereotypical image of himself through a variety of resources, both verbal and nonverbal. His frequent references to his city, Florence – which also occur when they are not strictly relevant to the talk – are a clear index of a municipalistic attitude on his part, an attitude that is widely acknowledged as typical of Italian national culture

(see section 1.2). Renzi's municipalism mingles with and is reinforced by another Italian stereotype, the passion for football. Not only is Renzi's passion introduced in the Provost's welcome speech, but the Prime Minister himself mentions it among the excellences of his country, and devotes an entire aside to commenting on the defeat of the team he supports, which is, quite predictably, the team of his city (units 2:12-15; for a brief discussion in the role of football in nationalism, see sections 2.2.2). A crucial utterance in the definition of Renzi's identity is his concluding comment on his talk ('I'm very Italian politician, I spoke a lot'), since it is an aside addressed to the Moderator in which he spontaneously calls himself 'very Italian' and, at the same time, associates talkativeness to Italian character.

The presence of stereotypes becomes more pervasive if we extend the analysis to include inscribed resources such as nonverbal language and jokes. That the amount of nonverbal language, both emblems and illustrators, increases significantly during question time may easily be related to Renzi's limited command of the language, and the use of emblems in their full function of autonomous symbolic signs (units 7:94, 96) testify to the speaker's need for nonverbal support. I shall not investigate the frequency of nonverbal language further. What is worth noting for the purpose of study is its pervasiveness in the form of Italian emblems and illustrators, and the extended use of emblems to mark the tempo of an utterance.

Overall, the prevalence of nonverbal language and the significant presence of culture-specific gestures is pivotal for two reasons. First, based on the assumption that nonverbal communication is more spontaneous than its verbal counterpart (see discussion in section 2.1.2), the message it carries is likely to be perceived as more trustworthy. All the more so in the case of Renzi's communication, if we consider his commitment to sincerity in his declarations of frankness (units 7:115) and his intention of keeping his promises to his audience (units 6:26, 27). In other words, the stereotypical image Renzi conveys with his use of Italian gestures is less rational and, as such, more sincere than any of his statements, despite the assertiveness he expresses through monoglossia and its related gestures: as such, the message grounded on traditional values and

customs that underlies Renzi's statements is likely to be perceived as more reliable and sincere.

Second, the striking presence of nonverbal language, Italian emblems in particular, provides clear evidence of the role played by national culture in Renzi's communication. This is also confirmed by their persistence regardless the language Renzi is speaking (unit 6). Since significant idiosyncratic elements persist unaltered both in English and Italian, and these elements belong to the domain of spontaneous nonverbal communication, we may infer that the approach to English that Renzi adopts is instrumental and involves no adaptation on his part. Without any relevant cultural negotiation, Renzi cannot fully control the message he conveys or the way it is received by the audience, and this is also testified by some minor incidents in communication, whereby the tone of his comments is sometimes misinterpreted as playful or not interpreted as such.

The analysis of Renzi's frequent humorous remarks has highlighted that, on a cognitive level, Renzi's irony reinforces his image as stereotypically Italian. This is because his image is consistent with the country's reputation for playfulness and, on a historical level, the need to win the hearer's approval to create alliances (see section 1.2). Being highly culture-specific in terms of meaning, however, jokes and humour can be very sensitive to interpretation, and this leads us to further considerations regarding Renzi's identity in second-language production.

As long as humorous asides belong to the written script, the reaction of the audience and the Moderator seem consistent with the intention of the speaker. During question time, however, when Renzi's talk takes a spontaneous turn, some incidents occur: the joke on self-aid groups is abandoned because it is too complex for Renzi's fluency (unit 7:25) and elicits no audible reaction from the hearers; others reveal some misalignment between the speaker and the audience (units 6:17-18, 24; 7:74, 76), whereby the public interprets the speaker's serious remarks and assertions as humorous, but he does not provide any mediation. This misalignment and the likely unawareness of the speaker imply inadequate

control on the communication process, and, consequently, an incomplete process of cultural negotiation.

The hidden face of the narration of Italianness that is revealed by the use of stereotypes, both explicit and implicit, is substantially confirmed by Renzi's deictic positioning. Whereas the collocation of most protagonists and elements remains unaltered (the United States, President Obama, the Democratic Party, culture, values, reforms and innovation, and so on), or are just transient (Libya, Turkey, mafia, terrorism), three of them are crucial in outlining Renzi's positioning: Italy's past, politicians and the Jesuits.

The tension between the past and the future that is typical of Renzi's communication reaches its climax in his shifting attitude towards Italy's past, of which the entire speech provides a series of examples. Italy is sometimes defined in very positive terms (segments 1, 2 and 3; see sections 4.2, 4.4, and 4.5), and sometimes dismissed as taken for granted (unit 1:25) or as a 'catalogue of genius of the past' (unit 7:107), since Renzi both implies that Italy boasts a glorious past to revive (units 2:31; 7:89), and celebrates its capacity to innovate (units 2:20; 4:6; 5:15; 7:128, 132). This shifting attitude is summed up in what Renzi defines the capacity of Italians to 'believe in the future and not only in the past' (unit 7:107). Meant to sound as an encouragement that overturns the tendency towards pessimism of Renzi's predecessors, this claim, in fact, follows the wake – and sums up – the debate on the need to regenerate the Italian character (Patriarca, 2010: 51-78), which involved intellectuals and politicians particularly between the unification and Fascism. Whereas some of them referred to Italy's (supposed) glorious past, others preferred to appeal to a 'forward-looking vision' fostered by education (Patriarca, 2010: 99-107).

Indeed, Renzi himself celebrates high culture as a panacea against backwardness (units 1:14; 2: 35; 6:91-101) and terrorism (units 1:36, 40, 42; 4:40-42). In doing so, he not only follows the post-unification reformers, but he also implicitly recalls Gentile and Croce's faith in high culture as a means to abandon individual materialism in favour of a shared, superior good, as mentioned in section 4.2. This is overtly stated in unit 7:113, where Renzi claims that 'we can



build a different world focused not only in economic values but focused on the quality of cultural values.’ Moreover, to sum up his idea of innovation, Renzi resorts to two consolidated stereotypes of Italianness: the emotionality of the Italian character (unit 7:128), and localism, which is implied in choosing his hometown as an example of a harbour of innovation and culture both in the past (units 7:117-119) and in the present (units 1:25-31). It is worth noting that Renzi’s ongoing praise for Florence also recalls the post-unification debate among Italian intellectuals and father founders on the (supposed) supremacy of Florentine culture over other regional traditions (Gioberti, 1844/1920: 168-177; Marazzini, 1999: 161-177). In short, Renzi’s aspiration to foster innovation is imbued in tradition, as he quotes consolidated stereotypes and recalls the political and social theories that have accompanied the debate on the reformation of Italy since the unification (see section 1.2).

Tradition, however, is crucially present also in its stereotyped, ‘mythical’ form, i.e. the form that is typically instrumental to nationalistic discourse. Thus, the praise for food, the passion for football and the role of Italy as a bridge in the Mediterranean are not only background knowledge that Renzi assumes as shared, but also habits and clichés that have contributed to invent the Italian tradition, as well as powerful instruments to increase nationalistic identification (units 2:10-13, 2:38, 4:39, 7:82; see also section 2.2.2). More importantly, the past of Italy is not described in detail, but is an ‘exciting’, ‘incredible’ and ‘extraordinary’ myth that is generically connected to Leonardo, Florence and humanistic culture (units 1:49, 2:9, 5:35, 6:99-106, 7:117-118). It is worth noting that Renzi’s treatment of the recent past is altogether different, since it is immediately outlined as the Other by means of a variety of strategies. Though Renzi vaguely refers to it as a period in which ‘Italy got stuck’ and ‘years of crisis’ (units 2:28-29, 6:3, 7:7), overall he provides detailed figures of negative GDP and debt (unit 7:2), thus building a well-defined putative enemy. Moreover, his focus on his plan of reforms contribute to highlight, by contrast, the negative heritage from the recent past (units 2:32, 2:35-47, 3:1-25, 5:19-43, 6:86, 7:9, 7:16, 7: 58-60). This apparently contradictory attitude towards the past finds an explanation in the manipulation

of collective memory for nationalistic purposes mentioned in section 2.2.2, whereby past events are selected or discarded on the grounds of their being instrumental or not to the myth of the nation.

While analysing segment 5 (see section 4.7), I highlighted that throughout the speech Renzi's position is shifting between the praise for politicians as innovators and the criticism of the politics of austerity, hostility towards migrants and general pessimism towards reforms. In other words, Renzi fully identifies with the category of politicians (as highlighted above, he calls himself 'a very Italian politician'), despite, at times, 'othering' it. This contradiction is only apparent: predictably enough, the dualistic presence of politics reflects the opposition between conservative parties and progressive parties. By identifying with the latter, therefore, he embraces the category of politicians whenever he describes his program of reforms, but rejects it while contrasting or mocking conservative ideas.

If the shifting evaluation of politicians can be explained in terms of political ideology, an implicit contradiction lies behind Renzi's positioning regarding the Church. Though Renzi is the spokesperson of a progressive, left-wing cabinet, he implicitly affirms his conforming to an extremely conservative Catholic tradition. This heritage is recalled - implicitly and explicitly - on two occasions. Renzi praises Renaissance Florence for the harmonious coexistence of business and art, whereby the former supported the latter (units 7:117-18). What Renzi does not mention, however, is that the artistic production of the time was mostly of religious subject and intended for the Church. As it has been pointed out, in the Renaissance the patronage of the arts was far from secular, as it sprang from the need of wealthy merchants and aristocrats to atone for their sins and gain eternal salvation, in line with the spirit of the Counter-Reformation (Tullio-Altan, 2000: 16).

More explicitly, in segment 2 (see section 4.4) Renzi pays a special tribute to Georgetown University as a Jesuit university and quotes Teilhard de Chardin, making his words the point of his own speech (units 2:2-4). As already mentioned, this reference is far from being just a celebration of his hosts'

tradition: it is rather an invoked tribute to Renzi's own spiritual education as a Catholic practising Jesuit spiritual exercises. However, the implicit reference to the role of the Counter-Reformation in shaping the artistic heritage of the country and parallelism Renzi builds up between himself and the Jesuit tradition, carry an even wider implication. Historians and political thinkers have frequently deemed the Jesuits responsible for the backwardness of Italian society, controlling education and encouraging localism against the construction of a unified culture (see section 1.2): given these assumptions, the enthusiastic acceptance of this spiritual heritage by a young leader that calls himself *demolition man* is strikingly paradoxical.

In conclusion, despite his aim to promote his self-image as a dynamic innovator, Renzi grounds his communication on a complex structure of references and clichés that, acting on different cognitive levels, anchor him to a consolidated conservative, nationalistic tradition.

## Speech n. 2: Building a Common Ground

### 5.1 Introduction

The second video under examination is Renzi's speech at Minda de Gunzburg Center for European Studies at Harvard University (Cambridge, Mass.), which took place on 31 March 2016, namely almost a year after his visit to Georgetown.

Like in the Georgetown speech, Renzi is introduced as an innovator: as we can see from the transcript below, he is described as 'one of the most exciting leaders', 'the youngest Italian Prime Ministers since the Risorgimento', who has 'shaken up the Italian political scene with ambitious plans of reform' and has invoked fiscal flexibility and a 'more robust growth strategy'. Renzi, moreover, is the 'first incumbent Prime Minister of Italy ever to visit Harvard', a circumstance that Professor Peter Hall defines 'a new step forward'.

Though the context of the speech is official, Renzi's communication does not seem to follow a linear path, and spontaneous resources such as hand gestures, calques and humour are very frequent. The reason for this spontaneous turn may lie in the situation of the Harvard speech: the auditorium is much smaller and less solemn than Georgetown University, and the audience is within easier reach of the speaker. Overall, the atmosphere looks more familiar: Renzi shows an informal relationship with his host by alluding to a joke on Pisa; Renzi's wife is in the audience, and is both greeted by Professor Hall in his welcome speech and mentioned by Renzi himself during his talk. This informality may encourage him to engage with the audience and leave aside the script he has unfolded to speak more freely, without following any specific pattern. We shall see in the analysis of the segments, however, that this

spontaneity translates into the pervasive use of culturally-loaded resources that make the image of the country and the shared knowledge quite stereotypical and far from innovative.

The following sections present a discussion of the appraisal analysis and deictic positioning of the segments in which the speech has been divided for operational purposes. The corresponding analyses are detailed in Appendix 8.3. As the study concerns Renzi's communication techniques, I present the interventions by other interlocutors only insofar as they provide context and interpretative frame for the speaker's talk. For this reason the transcript for the introduction is provided entirely, whereas questions are quoted only in their relevant parts and summed up in their preliminary remarks.

## 5.2 Professor Hall's Welcome Speech – 00:00:19 – 00:02:37

### 5.2.1 Transcript

My name is Peter Hall, I'm the Krupp Foundation Professor of European Studies at Harvard and it's my great honour and privilege to welcome His Excellency Matteo Renzi to Harvard and to Minda de Gunzburg Centre for European Studies. It's a great privilege to have him here. Harvard has among its ranks some distinguished scholars of Italian art, literature, politics and economics but Prime Minister Renzi is the first incumbent Prime Minister of Italy ever to visit Harvard and we're very glad to have him here and we hope it's a new step forward. And this is also a very special occasion for us because it's an opportunity to hear from one of the most exciting leaders on the European continent. When elected in February 2014, as many of you will know, Prime Minister Renzi was the youngest Italian Prime Ministers since the Risorgimento and as you all know he's the leader of the Centre Left Partito Democratico and was previously the celebrated mayor of Florence. He's already made a variety of remarks about Pisa in the intervening period, all complimentary I might add. And I want to say it's also a special pleasure to have his wife, Signora Landini here today. We really welcome you very much at Harvard and we hope that your very brief visit nonetheless some good one. So since taking office, Prime Minister Renzi has shaken up the Italian political scene with ambitious plans for reform in taxation, the labour market, the political system, and he's also assumed a leadership role in the European Union, with clarion calls for fiscal flexibility, more robust growth strategy, and more complete European solidarity in the face of the refugee crisis. So the Prime Minister will speak for about twenty minutes leaving about a half hour for questions. We're very grateful to you for taking the time

and trouble from a very busy schedule to come and be with us. Mr Prime Minister welcome to Harvard. We look forward to your remarks with great anticipation.

### 5.3 Segment 1 – 00:02:46-00:10:20

#### 5.3.1 Transcript

Thank you, thank you so much dear Professor because your invitation for me it's great honour. *[Renzi pulls his smartphone from the jacket pocket and puts it on the table.]* I'm the first but I'm sure I'm not the last Prime Minister who visit the... incumbent... Harvard, this great place of the past but at the same time great place for the future of our time, of our people. I really... I'm really proud to... to... to be here in this moment because I think universities around the world are the keys of the future and so in every mission, institutional mission I spend some time in a dialogue with the students, with the researchers, with the professors because I consider an absolutely... I consider absolutely a priority to discuss about the future with you. This is particularly true in United States of America, this is particularly true in Harvard. If you think a lot of people believe very important the political discussion in the... the... the... day by day the discussion day by day. I think we need a deep strategy for the future and so we need a very important role of university. For me, so, this is a great day a great honour address in one of the most prestigious universities and academic institutions. Harvard is the heart of the future of the world is not simply the heart of the future of United States because if it's true we need a different idea of the world, we need a different approach by students, by researchers, by professor. And particularly this is true in Boston. Boston is one of the most important capital of political world for a lot of reasons: for the presence of universities, also because is the home of one of the most brilliant families and experiences in the political 20 century in United States around the world. When I visited the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library three times in my life every day I found something of different, of inspiration. Because? Because the... Kennedy's family (Kennedy was a student of this, John Kennedy was a student of this prestigious university) Kennedy's family and Kennedy experience give us also today an idea to combine together the day-by-day approach in the politics and at the same time a vision, an ideal and a strategy of long term, not only a day-by-day strategy. This is a particular important for me when I was mayor (Florence and not Pisa, my dear Professor, you know... we discussed, we joked about it), I decided with my team to dedicate an ancient jail, the ancient jail in the heart of the city, to Bob Kennedy Foundation, to Bob Kennedy ideals. You can image, this jail was in the heart of the city, downtown of Florence. Florence is very little city but in downtown there is this ancient jail called Le Murate and in this jail we open a place of freedom for the freedom of information, of press, of dialogue, blogger exactly in the heart of the city and the name is dedicated to Bob Kennedy with the support of Bob Kennedy Foundations. So Boston is that also for us. But I think, if we believe *[think]* about our time, we are facing tough times, very difficult times. Outside of this campus, outside of this beautiful city, on the other side of Atlantic, Europe was hit hard by an horrendous terrorist attack. The attack on Brussels was an attack to Europe, Europe as an

idea, Europe is the most incredible political project in the last century. Nobody realised a great project as European father because they give freedom and friendship to countries for century fought each other. And it's very important for the first time in the experience of Europe, European ideals permit us to live in prosperity, in peace, in security. But the idea of Europe is today a very difficult idea. And terrorists understood very well this point and they attacked our capital, Brussels, not only with... in the physical places but in the ideal places. The attack of Brussels is an incredible attack to ideals of Europe and unity of Europe, the project of Europe. Let me be very clear: not only Europe is under attack because if we think only about Europe we are not correct with ourself. A few days later the attacks in Pakistan remember to the world Christian religion as well as freedom of faith are under siege. A little garden, a little park with a lot of children killed in terrible way, but the approach of terrorists, in my personal view, is an approach very strategic. They consider Europe in crisis, they hit places, location of normal life day by day. A theatre in Paris, a restaurant, a stadium, a church, a synagogue, a museum not only in Europe if you think about Tunisian attacks, an hotel, a resort... the targets of those attacks are targets of day by day life. What is the point? For me, in my personal view, we are in crisis because for the first time, after a lot of period, without a vision and without a strategy, terrorists try to change our lives. They want kill us. In alternative, they try to force us to live in the terror.

### 5.3.2 Discussion

The first minutes of Renzi's speech at Harvard University do not seem to follow any specific pattern, but rather a free flow of thoughts that slowly introduces the deictic centre and its putative enemy. Deictic positioning, therefore, is pivotal to the segment and highlights the existence of two clearly opposite fronts: Europe, together with the United States and the victims of terrorism on one side, and terrorists on the other. Thus Renzi leads the audience along a route that starts from the praise for Harvard University as 'the heart of the future of the world', includes Boston as the hometown of the Kennedy family and Florence as the seat of a centre for the freedom of speech supported by the Robert F. Kennedy Foundation, and finally takes them to Europe and other countries that have recently experienced terrorist attacks. The focus on the creation of the Other and the choice of an (apparently) free structure bear significant consequences on the use of resources.

Renzi's need to take a specific stance and outline the boundaries of the two opposite factions is mirrored in the resources Renzi employs. First, to define his positioning beyond any doubt, Renzi identifies with the United States by

describing Europe's side of the Atlantic '*the other*' (unit 35), and uses some they/us oppositions (units 44, 58, 68), both invoked and inscribed. Second, the variety of the resources he uses is quite limited: almost all the appreciation resources expresses *valuation*, affect is related to *security*, and judgement is mostly referred to ethics (*propriety*), *normality* and *capacity*. Since the speech is hosted by the Harvard Centre for European Studies, Europe lies at the core of his communication. However, the lexical choices Renzi makes with reference to Europe is quite ambivalent. He often chooses to address the subject in terms of 'strategy', 'idea', 'project' and 'vision' (units 9, 22, 36, 37, 42, 49, 55, 66), which express (either positive or negative) *capacity* in its invoked and inscribed forms. On the other hand, on two occasions Renzi relates Europe to the concept of crisis, an opinion that is shared both by terrorists and – surprisingly – by himself (units 58, 66). Renzi, in other words, presents Europe as a project, not an accomplished political reality, which is experiencing a widely-acknowledged crisis.

The spontaneous flow of speech reflects in a balanced use of monoglossia and heteroglossia (with prevalence of structures of the *entertain* type to express the personal opinion of the speaker), and the complex use of nonverbal language. As it frequently happens whenever the speech takes a more spontaneous turn, in this introductory segment Renzi often resorts to hand gestures to complete or emphasise the concepts he is expressing. It is interesting to note that in this segment gestures are not only frequent but they also form quite complex structures. Though most of them are Italian emblems, they are often used in a sequence (units 11, 40-41, 47-48, 56-57, 59-60, 64-67), evolve into illustrators (units 31, 53, 62) or are accompanied by facial expressions (units 8, 54, 69) in a continuum of nonverbal language.

References to Italianness, however, are not limited to gestures, but are expressed in the jokes and in a specific stereotype he implicitly or explicitly quotes. Quite significantly, Renzi chooses to open his speech with a playful remark that is probably meant to capture the goodwill of the audience. Later on (unit 25), this playful tone takes the more concrete form of a joke between Renzi and his host about his own past as mayor of Florence, not of Pisa. By referring to



the rivalry between two Italian cities, on the one hand Renzi recalls the remark made by Professor Hall during the welcome speech; on the other he alludes to the stereotype of Italian municipalism and, by implying his own direct involvement, he emphasises the stereotype itself. Far from being just a personal joke, this aside introduces Florence as the protagonist of the brief narration that follows (units 28-32), and invokes municipalism as one of the main features of Italianness.

## 5.4 Segment 2 - 00:10:21-00:16:35

### 5.4.1 Transcript

And for the first time, for my generation and the generation of my children, for the first time, tomorrow is a problem, tomorrow is a threaten, a menace. If you think about my grandfather, my grandfather was in the war against French people or Greek people. If you think about my father, my father knew, the generation of my father knew for the first time the experience of peace of Europe and... but both, my father and my grandfather, think future could... as a possibility. Future as a optimistic way. My generation and the next generation are surrounded by fear. This is the point: we need a very strong reaction. Political reaction. This is the role of politics today and this is the role of Europe, finally. Preserve the great dream of gr... of the... the father of ideal... European ideals, but at the same time build a different strategy for the next generation. This is the point of Europe today. And I'm not happy about the quality of discussion, because after the attacks a lot of colleagues react with strong determination. Okay, we must fight against enemies. Yes, it's correct. We must tax the terrorist in Syria, in all the countries. In the Middle East, in North Africa. It's correct, we have a lot of problems in Middle East, in Africa. Africa is a great challenge for the future and we have a lot of problems in the presence of terrorist in Sub-Sahariana Africa, but not only in Africa. In Afghanistan, in Pakistan. So it's correct, there is this problem, but this is not only answer. If the only answer in front of this attack to European ideal is okay, our answer is bombing in Syria or other sites, I think we lose [unclear] the incredible quality of challenge. The challenge is different, is create a political answer. Let me be very clear, my dear friends of Harvard University. The terrorists who killed people in Paris or in Brussels didn't come from Syria, or from Lybia or from Tunisia or from Afghanistan. They grew up in Europe. This is the point. And if European politics don't understand the great problem of this element, this means we are without future. We must see the reality. The people who destroy our lives in Paris or in Brussels grew up in the suburbs, in the *banlieues*, of our cities. It's an European the man who killed in terrible way in Syria, Jihadi John grew up in UK. It's an European the man who organise the killer in Paris. It's an European the... the.... the... the... the brothers who destroyed the lives of Charlie Hebdo newspaper in last January. It's an European the team who destroy airport in

Brussels and... ehm... station near to European institutions. So, what is the answer by Italian government, the first point I want share with you and with the students. I think the reaction by European institutions must be in both directions. First, an investment very important in cyber technology, in security, sharing information between secret services and intelligence, give finally a European model of defence system. This is very important. We need also an answer in this field, but at the same time we need an incredible investment in a different way. The position of Italian government is that: for every euro invested in security, we need an euro to invest in education; for every euro invest in police we must invest one euro in the urbanistic model of cities in Europe. For every euro invested in cyber technology, we must invest one euro in theatre, in sport, in museum, because is exactly our culture the target of terrorists. I know, this position for the moment is not majority, but it's a very important position by Italian government. I hope my colleagues, my European colleagues accept this approach because without this approach we are not in condition to fight against the enemy. The enemy is not only abroad. The enemy is inside our cities, inside our borders.

#### **5.4.2 Discussion**

The segment is entirely devoted to developing Renzi's positioning towards terrorism and the policy adopted by some member states of the European Union. To reinforce his standpoint, Renzi invokes an opposition between past and future by comparing the condition of his generation and the next one with his father's and grandfather's. By doing so, Renzi introduces a parallel deictic positioning whose centre lies at some distance back on the time axis. This parallel positioning develops the idea of Europe overcoming the war of the past through a new ideal of peace and cooperation, which he introduced in units 1:38-39. Thus Renzi lies down two main cornerstones to his speech: enduring peace in Europe after the Second World War as a turning point in history, and the consequent optimistic view of the future of previous generations.

These elements are pivotal in outlining Renzi's own political programme and his position towards the foreign policy debate in the European Union. On the one hand, the unprecedented consolidation of peace gave birth to the subsequent project of a unified Europe, whose ideals need preserving and strengthening for future generations (unit 23). On the other, the optimistic view of previous generations is contrasted to the conditions of fear and threat with which the future is now perceived (unit 3, 14). Both European ideals and optimism for the

future should provide the goal for political reaction that Renzi encourages in unit 19.

It interesting to note that, in this parallel deictic positioning, the Other is not in any way related to space, since Renzi talks about war on 'French people' and 'Greek people' without any explicit reference to their geographical proximity. In his own contemporary positioning, on the contrary, the relation between some areas and terrorism, the ultimate enemy, exists. If Renzi defines the Middle East, Africa, Afghanistan and Pakistan a 'challenge' and a source of 'a lot of problems' with reference to terrorism, he explicitly points at European cities as not only the target of terrorists, but also their cradle, with particular reference to peripheries and suburbs (units 46-50, 69). This concept is reinforced by the solutions the Prime Minister recommends (units 60, 61, 63), which, by focusing on urban regeneration and high culture, invoke a strong connection between terrorism and social tension. It is worth noting that, once again, the solutions that Renzi suggests, education and culture, recall Blair's strategies for social and economic improvement, as well as the Italian debate over the supremacy of education of the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see the introduction to this study and sections 4.2 and 4.10).

Within this debate, Renzi expresses his doubts about the position of some (undefined) European partners that choose to limit their reaction to military intervention. Like similar occasions in the Georgetown speech, Renzi declares his dissatisfaction at their position by using a variety of resources, both verbal (units 29-39) and nonverbal (units 30, 32, 38), including kinesics, hand gestures and variations in the pitch and loudness of his voice. This type of variation occurs, like in Georgetown speech, when Renzi reports his colleagues' thought. Unlike the preceding cases, however, he does not imitate their speech with any mocking intent, since the pitch increases together with loudness according to the pattern of authoritative speech (see segment 3 of the Georgetown speech, section 4.5, note 13), instead of decreasing as it happens in its ironic version (see Georgetown segments 4, 5, 6 and 7; see sections 5.6, 5.7, 5.8, 5.9). The reason lies in that Renzi's

disagreement is only partial, which is confirmed by the following use of the countering structure 'it's correct' repeated three times (units 33, 35, 36).

As this segment mainly expresses Renzi's positioning towards terrorism and the policies against it, his engagement is either monoglossic or heteroglossic of the *entertain* type, whereas the resources he uses mainly refer to *security* and judgement. The latter, in particular, is widely employed in terms of *propriety* when terrorism is involved, and *capacity* when the discussion concerns strategies, roles and ideals. If the variety of these resources is somewhat limited due to the homogeneity of the discussion, repetitions, on the other hand, are extremely frequent and play a pivotal role both in terms of graduation and deictic positioning. They concern both single words ('generation', 'role', 'reaction', 'problem', 'answer', to name only a few), and phrases ('this is the point', 'we must', 'it's correct', 'it's an European', 'we must invest', and so on). By reinforcing meaning, they act as an appraisal resource, contribute to deictic positioning and convey an overall chanting effect that spans from beginning to end (units 5-41, 47-50 and 61-63).<sup>28</sup>

Similar remarks can be made with reference to nonverbal language, which is both used to express graduation and deictic positioning. The latter function, in particular, is achieved by three recurring types of gestures: the so-called 'precision grip', the gesture meaning 'I/my' and pointing. Though the first two gestures are also indexical of Italianness, in the context of this segment the presence of national character is overshadowed by their paramount role in reinforcing deictic positioning.

## 5.5 Segment 3 – 00:16:35-00:22:38

### 5.5.1 Transcript

This is the first thing very important and I believe this is a very great point of discussion in the next months in the European debate because when, nine eleven, your city was hit by terrorists, was clear: this attack was a foreign attacks against the United States the country of freedom. Now the situation is different. We have a problem with our citizen,

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<sup>28</sup> See also segment 6 of the Georgetown speech (section 4.8).

our education model, our urbanistic development. Just one consideration: in the newspaper, a friend of Salah, Salah is the guy... the killer who destroy... who belong to the team who participate and organised the attacks in Paris in November 2015. One friend of... of Salah in an interview with a newspaper, a European newspaper, used a very terrible expression: he spoke about Molenbeek, Molenbeek is this quarter of Brussels in which Salah was protected in the silence, by the neighbours. So after the good operation and ... ehm... when Salah was in jail, this friend of him told to the... to journalist 'ah only you foreigners you can image Salah could escape from Molenbeek, because this is our city,' attention: the very particular expression is 'only you, foreigners'. Who is the foreigners in our city? This is the point of... for a good debate in sociology, in politics, in the relation between the international studies and day-by-day life in our continent. So I believe absolutely important to invest a very public discussion about this point. I'm sure you don't even think about death if you have a place to go. You don't even think about death if you have a book to read, a movie to see. You don't think about death if you have a project, goal, a perspective. You don't think about death if you still have curiosity, creativity. If wait for the dawn thinking that the new day will bring something to learn about, something new to discover, a future to navigate, you are a citizen. The risk in this time is lose our idea of citizenship... become only number. We are citizens, not numbers. In the time of big data, we must be citizens. In the time in which social media are very important, it's time to be leader, not only follower. Second point. I think this is a moment in which government must show something of very concrete. If you think about the situation in Europe in this moment, you can see the last elections show in every country a problem for the governments. Obviously I'm really happy because I'm the last one to go to elections, so before me there are a lot of colleagues of the elections. But if you think, Ireland, Spain, Portugal. Greece with three elections in 2015, Denmark, Poland... the problem for the government are very big. Why? My personal position is that for two reasons: first, because European leaders choose a wrong direction in economy. They decide to invest a lot in austerity, austerity, austerity. And they lost the opportunity to give hope to the new generation. If is dream for a country is austerity, austerity, austerity nobody could fall in love with the politics. But nobody could give answer, concrete answer to the problems of the new generation. Let me be very clear: in some of our countries, the problem of populism is not created by terrorists, not only by terrorists, but before is created by the lack of employment, by the crisis of economic model. And for this reason I think the European approach of fiscal compact, of... treatise was a mistake, in the last five years. There is a problem in direction in the political and fiscal direction in Europe.

### 5.5.2 Discussion

A continuation of the previous discussion, this segment analyses the characteristics of the latest terror attacks and develops Renzi's positioning towards European policies. The focus of the segment is, therefore, deictic positioning, with particular reference to the modality axis. Once again Renzi

focuses on building up his notion of the Other, which consists not only in extremism, but also the political strategies he rejects. In this segment, however, deictic positioning is remarkably complex and peculiar, due to a network of cause-effect connections and a significant shift in viewpoint.

First, on this occasion Renzi stands alone with no allies at the deictic centre. This is particularly evident in that the references to 'we' and 'our' that he uses are negatively associated to problems or risks (units 5, 29, 53). Moreover, the United States – which often share the centre with the speaker – is deictically addressed to in the second person as 'your city' (unit 3), which causes the United States to be present only on the space axis. The paramount importance of the speaker reflects both in the use of the pattern of authoritative speech with an increase in loudness and pitch (units 45-49, 53-58), and in the prevailing use of monoglossic structures. It is worth noting that the heteroglossic structures either belong to the *entertain* type and report the opinion of the speaker, or *acknowledge* a statement made by a friend of Salah's – one of the terrorists of the Paris attack – who is the only truly dialogic voice in the segment (unit 17).

This quotation represents a second, significant component of Renzi's speech as it builds an equal and opposite viewpoint and, consequently, positioning. This opposition is introduced by contrasting the idea of security implied in the protection offered by Molenbeek (units 12-14) to 'jail' (unit 15), and reaches its climax with the way Salah's friend uses deictic pronouns: Europeans are referred to as 'you foreigners' and Molenbeek becomes 'our city' (units 17, 23). Interestingly, the use of 'foreigners' in this context echoes the definition of Nine-eleven as a 'foreign attack' (unit 3). Foreigners are the Other, regardless of who lies at the deictic centre, whether Salah's friend – and presumably his community – or Renzi and his allies. What is reversed is who is to be labelled as 'foreigner'.

Third, to reinforce the idea of diachronic change, Renzi outlines parallel connections between the axes, whereby each step on the time axis has a correspondence on the other two. Thus the attack in the United States took place in September 2001 and was caused by non-American terrorism, whereas the one

in Paris took place in November 2015 and is epitomized by Salah, a resident in a Belgian suburb: though the general category of 'terrorism' is the putative enemy of both Western allies, it has diachronically changed from foreign to domestic.

By outlining a different positioning that reverses (and undermines) the one he represents, and underlining a significant change in terrorist practice, Renzi introduces the core of his argumentation, namely the responsibility of European governments. Again, he chooses an indirect approach, which relies on two main rhetorical devices: repetition and contrast. On the one hand, the extensive use of repetitions provides the speech with a chanting rhythm (unit 27). On the other, he contrasts citizenship to the risk of becoming only numbers, and implicitly opposes 'death' to a list of actions with a positive *valuation* (units 27-32). This list also recalls and contrasts the 'problem with our citizen, our education model, our urbanistic development' that Renzi states at the beginning of the segment (unit 5).

To provide the details of the responsibilities of European governments, Renzi uses the same structure described above, whereby time, space and modality are linked together, though in this case time consists in an interval of five years. These political faults, in his view, mainly lie in the 'wrong' economic decisions that led to austerity and the lack of hope for the younger generations (units 45-52). It is worth noting that Renzi not only defines these political choices as 'wrong', a 'problem', a lost opportunity, a failure to give an answer, a 'mistake' and so on (units 33, 41, 45, 48, 51, 55, 57), but he also unequivocally attributes equal responsibility for populism to terrorism and European politics alike (unit 53). As a result, Renzi places European leaders quite far from the deictic centre along the modality axis.

In this segment Renzi does not specifically appeal to national character, but rather implies some spontaneous traits of Italianness as parts of his own personality. References are, therefore, invoked in calques (units 3, 12, 21, 32, 38), an ironic remark (units 35-37) and the extensive use of gestures, mainly Italian emblems that often develop from each other or turn into illustrators to mark the tempo of his speech (units 6-7, 18-20, 36-37, 43-44, 54).

## 5.6 Segment 4 - 00:22:40-00:28:30

### 5.6.1 Transcript

So, there is a second point: we need a system, institutional system able to give power to winner in the elections. In... I know for American citizen this is not very problematic because it's normal: the winner wins. And you think 'Oh... you are in Harvard and the only thing you can say is the winner wins'. Yes, because in Europe is not... this the... the... the... process. And I can speak because I am Italian. And I am the leader, the Prime Minister of the government number 63 on 70 years. Don't smile, please... the very strong decision of my government to invest in reforms project is not simply because we show to European people 'oh, the world is changed' but because we need stability and the possibility to give power... after the election. Because if the winner in the election is not able to change things, this is a very good assist for populists. Economic direction and, at the same time, a vetocracy, the power in the hands of the people who give the veto and don't realise reforms, don't achieve the reforms. If you think about the situation for example in Spain, today we risk a new election after three months the last election. I don't know obviously if... the... the... the... Mariano Rajoy or Pedro Sanchez other guys could create government... good luck, I don't enter obviously in the... Spain model. But I can remember when I become Prime Minister. My friends and my team told me 'Okay, we must change electoral law in Italy.' Yes. Because Italy is exactly a symbol of this lack of... ehm... stability in the past and a lot of them... give me this message 'Please Matteo, copy the Spanish system'. Today, we show, Spanish system with other system around Europe is not able to ensure stability for the future. So these two points, economy and institutional reforms push up and I go to conclusion to Italian system. Just some consider... remarks about my country. First: Italy lost the opportunity to discuss about economic direction because the discussion about fiscal compact and economic strategy was in a terrible moment for Italy. Italy was in very hard times four years ago, three years ago, five years ago and so we come back to the period of very great recession. From 2012, 2014 we had three years of recession. But now, after the jobs act, the reform of labour market, I use the same slogan and the same brand of Barack Obama (I ask the permission to President Obama, he told me 'don't worry, Matteo, is open source, don't worry) but the... we create a system more simple also because worst was impossible in Italy. So we give a simplification and now the labour market is okay. And now the reduction of taxation is... began, for the first time. And now we reduce the level of political impact in the economy, just to make an example: 2013 direct foreign investment in Italy: 12 billion of euro; 2015, two years after, after the reforms: we changed 74 billion. 12, 74 it's very great change. So we achieved the result of reforms in... in our side. Homework is okay. But now we are in condition to give our position to European colleagues. This approach of European economy it's a terrible mistake for European citizens. It's good only for one, two, three countries. But also for that countries could be a problem in perspective because if you're applause the role of more dynamic economy, as in Lisboa project of 2000 (this was the... the... the... goal), we are finished. First, Italy



realised reforms, and now is in condition to give a message of radical change in the economic direction.

### 5.6.2 Discussion

Though this segment begins by introducing the second cause for the crisis that spans through Europe – the electoral system – it provides Renzi with the occasion to explain his programme of reforms. To do so he focuses on his cabinet's achievements on the background of both Italy's near past and the policies of European partners.

This twofold comparison – which is conveyed both explicitly and implicitly – clearly influences Renzi's positioning. First, Renzi is no longer alone at the deictic centre, but shares it with his team, his allies, and the list of his reforms. Second, Renzi often opts for indirect evaluations to refer to his opponents. As a result, the modality axis does not present a definite Other, but a variety of European policies that Renzi considers unsuccessful, together with populists and opponents of his reforms. In other words, Renzi seems either to delegate his evaluation to indirect resources, or to limit their degree of negativity. Thus, he invokes his own distance from populism by means of a hand gesture (unit 20), expresses his negative evaluation of politicians who veto reforms by means of invoked judgement (unit 21), and finally implies some degree of precariousness in the policies of other European countries by using 'risk' and 'is not able to' (units 23, 33), and by announcing that Italy, by contrast, is now in a position to export its model of reforms (units 57, 70). Only units 59 and 62 contain an overtly negative evaluation, though the latter concerns a future hypothesis ('could be a problem in perspective').

The third consequence of the comparison that Renzi implicitly sets, lies in a time axis strongly unbalanced in favour of the 'past' side. As it happens in the Georgetown speech (see, in particular, segments 2 and 7), Renzi compares the programme of reforms of his cabinet to Italy's 70-year-old electoral tradition and recent economic stagnation. It is worth noting, however, that though the discussion on the need to reform the electoral law occupies the first half of the segment, its link with the past is briefly framed within an ironic remark (units 12-

15), which also invokes a mild negative reaction (unit 12). In other words, it is the recent past of the country and its economic stagnation that is the object of severely negative evaluation, with explicit references to time. This evaluation is both inscribed in expressions like ‘terrible moment’ (unit 38), ‘very hard times four years ago, three years ago, five years ago’ (unit 40), ‘period of very great recession’ (unit 40), and invoked in the increase in volume of direct foreign investment between 2013 and 2015 (unit 51).

This focus on the past-present comparison also bears some clear consequences on Renzi’s use of appraisal resources. First, since he judges the recent past mainly implicitly in a variety of ways, the striking majority of inscribed appraisal resources consist, unsurprisingly, in positive judgement of *capacity* referred to his programme of reforms (see, in particular, units 43, 48-57, 70). Second, engagement is mainly monoglossic, with some instances of heteroglossia of the *concur* and *entertain* type that, however, do not represent a significant alternative voice, but only serve the purpose of toning down the speaker’s presence.

Though Italianness is explicitly referred to only once on the occasion of an ironic remark (units 10-11), it is pervasively invoked in a variety of resources: a calque (unit 38), a significant number of Italian emblems that sometimes follow in a sequence (units 20, 27), and many instances of jokes and irony (units 3-9, 10-11, 12-15, 45, 47), which are often reinforced by hand gestures and facial expressions (units 4, 6, 8, 11, 15, 46).

## 5.7 Segment 5 – 00:28:33-00:32:56

### 5.7.1 Transcript

Second point, and I conclude, Italy finally invest in the structural reforms. I’m very glad because next week... no... in the... not next... in the... ehm... in the next two weeks we conclude for the sec... for the... six... six time the process of change of Senate. A constitutional reform very important: we reduce the power of region, we give more power to central state, but at the same time the Senators decide to cancel their role. Is the first time in western democracy and a part of Parliament decide des... to... transform the power, to reduce the power and in the future this means we stop with the expression

*bicameralism paritario* means two chambers who make the same thing and so this means a lot of problems in the time in the law making and this is a revolution for Italy, but I think also for the system. New electoral law with very important philosophy: the winner wins, so from the next election in 2018, finally, the winner will be able to make a government for five years with stability. And at the same time the reduction of role of politicians in the economy. Market, market, market. Not because market is the solution, because I think we need values present in the market, but present in the community, but because in the past the presence and the impact of political role in the economy was a terrible problem for Italian economy. Italian quality of job is incredible. We must finally open the mind, open the doors and invest in a different vision of the future. So, I think if we finally are able to change approach, to change approach and finally we invest in a different vision, my personal position is we'll be able to maintain legacy of our past. John Kennedy said 'change is the law of life. And those who look only the past or present are certain miss the future'. For Italy this is not easy, because the past in my country is incredible, is wonderful. Everyone loves the past in Italy because is beautiful, because is important, because it give a lot of message to ourself today. But now it's time in Italy of a new generation who believe important also the future. We love our past, but we belong to the future. And so for this reason change is the law of life, change in Europe: one euro for security and one euro in education; change for Italy, with the structural reform, change in the political and economy way in a moment in which we have a lot of dreams. The risk for my generation, the generation of my children is the dream become nightmare. I consider a priority for me and my team create a possibility and a opportunity for the new generation to live dream and not only nightmare. Thank you so much.

### 5.7.2 Discussion

The concluding minutes of Renzi' speech that precede question time are devoted to an overview of the constitutional reform his cabinet is planning to achieve, and a final appeal to embrace change as the natural dimension of the human race. Here the speaker seems to follow the script more often, which results in a reduced use of hand gestures and a significant presence of repetitions for emphasis' sake. Whereas in the previous segment the Other is built by means of invoked evaluation, here it is almost absent, only indirectly outlined by contrast with Renzi's reforms and vision for the future.

In other words, this segment focuses on the process of transformation that Renzi claims to have started, and the current conditions to be overturned – the Other – are generally defined by difference. Thus, the constitutional reform that Renzi describes (units 6-17) also outlines, by contrast, the current situation

whereby regions have excessive power, the role of the central government needs increasing, and the Senate is a hindrance to effective law-making. It is true that, with reference to the Senate, Renzi uses one of the very few negative judgements of *capacity* ('a lot of problems', unit 16), but the expression is too generic to build a definite Other. Also the new electoral law (units 18-22) serves the purpose of outlining the current situation by contrast, though, a few minutes before, Renzi devotes some time to a value judgement of elections in Italy and Europe (units 4:7-34). It is only when describing the reform that aims to reduce the influence of politics in economy that Renzi explicitly defines the impact of this influence 'a terrible problem' (unit 27) using, again, one of the few negative appraisal resources in the segment.

This definition 'by contrast' reflects on the use of resources on different levels. First, expressions such as 'change' and 'future' occur several times, together with 'transform' and 'revolution'. Second, although the word 'past' is also used, it is negatively evaluated only once (unit 27) and is never directly opposed to either the present or the future. On the other hand, it is generically referred to as a 'legacy' (unit 31) that can have a positive impact on the present and is so exciting that everyone loves it (units 33-35). The opposition with the future, therefore, is either implied by contrast as mentioned above, and summarised in the repetition of 'different vision' (units 29-30), or invoked in the countering structure of units 37-38, whereby the future should be more interesting than the past (a leitmotif that Renzi duly develops in segment 1 of the Georgetown speech). Third, the majority of appraisal resources, being referred to the programme of reforms and the future, is positive, especially in terms of *capacity* and *valuation*. Predictably, negative evaluation is almost absent, since direct appreciation of the past/present is limited to the few units discussed above.

It is worth noting that Renzi seems to choose the engagement resources on the basis of the time dimension he is focusing on. Whereas he uses some *entertain* structures to express his opinions about dreams and visions for the future, Renzi prefers monoglossia to outline his reforms and to (indirectly) refer to the past and

the present: he may accept alternative opinions about his visions for the future, but the way he portrays the past and the present of the country are not under discussion.

Though Italy is the protagonist that underlies the entire speech and the last two segments in particular, the references to Italianness are not very numerous: calques are not particularly significant; the reference to the Italian expression 'bicameralismo paritario' is duly followed by an explanation and is in tune with the context of the Center for European Studies where the speech is held; finally, as I have already noted, the speaker uses gestures in a limited way, possibly because he frequently refers to the script. Gestures, therefore, are less frequent and complex than usual, and emblems are not very varied and mainly explanatory (see, for example, units 2, 4, 13, 15, 17, 29). The stereotype quoted in units 33 and 34, on the other hand, is particularly interesting in its celebration of the Italian past for two main reasons. First of all, it reiterates the traditional Italian attachment to the country's history (see section 1.2). More importantly, the statement '[e]veryone loves the past in Italy because is beautiful, because is important', makes this attachment a matter of fact, a piece of shared knowledge. Indeed, it is referred to an all-inclusive subject ('everyone') and is grounded on a series of monoglossic structures, which span from the main statement ('everyone loves') to its supporting explanations ('because is beautiful, because is important'). By doing so, Renzi follows the wake of the nationalistic tradition, which has one of its pillars in the celebration of a real or imagined past (see section 2.1).

## 5.8 Segment 6 – 00:33:15-00:42:20

### 5.8.1 Transcript

[Applause.]

[Professor Peter A. Hall, Krupp Professor of European Studies, welcomes Renzi at the table.]

**Professor Hall:** *We have a little bit of time for questions and so I'll entertain some and let me just ask you to identify yourself, to keep you question short so that we can have more than one*

*perhaps and remember that a question ends with a question mark. So... Alberto Alesina... [Professor Hall invites the first questioner].*

*[The **First Questioner** thanks Renzi for his speech and introduces his question on austerity by making a remark on fiscal flexibility, which can be of two types: an immediate aggressive tax cut followed by a gradual reduction of spending, or an increase in current spending, which implies more tax in the future.]*

***Question:** Which one of these types of flexibility do you prefer, and, related to that, if in your flexibility you also see some role for government spending: what would you cut, particularly if you want to spend one euro on security and one euro on education?*

***Renzi:** I introduce Alberto Alesina, a very important Professor in...*

***First Questioner:** I forgot to introduce myself, Alberto Alesina from the Economics Department.*

***Renzi:** ... Professor of Harvard and a very brilliant mind, Italian mind. I give answer..?*

***Professor Hall:** Yes, please.*

***Answer:** Ma eh... Professor you know, my personal position is that: Italy's debt is too high, too... too much big. We... in this moment the... the... the... level of debt is 133%. For the first time in 2015 we stopped the growth, but the problem is the relation between GDP and debt; because in the last three years, with the recession, the GDP was the... our first problem. With the government of Mario Monti GDP in 2012 had -2.3%. With the government of Enrico Letta in 2013 the level of GDP was -1.9 and the first year of my government 0.4 minus. So if we have the GDP negative, it's impossible to reduce the debt. The growth is the priority. To give a possibility to growth, we must reduce obviously the sp... ehm... we... we must finally give a signal in the spending review, but also the spending review it's a problem for the growth because we reduce our expenditure of 25 billion euro in the last two years with my government, so we reduce the expenditure, but this for the GDP it's one more problem. So the combination (I know Professor... I don't know if Professor Alesina appreciated this... this Keynesian approach) but I think we must combine together spending review, reduction of taxation for the first time in Italy, with a lot of interventions I save yourself to a list of interventions the first was one.... one hundred dollars, eighty euros for the people who stayed under one hundred fifty... one thousand-fifty hundred euros every month, because the quality of salary of the middle class is a great problem I think not only in Italy - I think this is the most important problem in the debate in the United States in this moment but this is a consideration I shared yesterday with Rahm Emanuel about it in Chicago... and so, reduction of taxation, spending review, opening the mind and the doors to market in a lot of fields, for example, and I absolutely agree with you, in the... public utilities, in the cities, in the government, the local government, but at the same time we need something to push the growth. Public and private investments... public*

and also private... and at the same time the possibility to choose some little fields in which Italy could... Italy become leader. Because we don't know a... we are not superpower in the military field, but we can be superpower in the healthcare and relation with innovation: we signed an agreement very important with IBM just some minutes ago, we dedicate to Expo site, Expo place, post-Expo place, to innovation and technologies in this direction. We can be leader in the cultural and innovation technology. So, I believe, not increase taxation in Italy, also because is impossible: the people kill us, and I think the people... eh... the people it's corr... choose the correct way, this... it's impossible. Reduction of taxation is a priority. I'm democrat, I consider a priority for the left the reduce the gap of inequality, but I think it's impossible to increase the taxation today in Italy. So, reduction of taxation, spending review, opening markets, but flexibility means respect to parameters of... decided by Germany five years ago, use intelligence to reduce the debt, because if you reduce the debt in the level of fiscal compact, economy is died [dead]. Ah, okay, operation is good but the patient is dead. No. We must give a very good reduction of debt, but with intelligence, with [unclear] also because the debt in Italy is sustainable respect all the countries. We must reduce, we must reduce, we must reduce. At the same time we must encourage investment. A lot of... just one date, then we, we cha... because with economy, Italian economy, I destroy your day, I understand, but just to make an example. Eh... 2012 the level of private saving in Italy are four times... private no... private and public... private, only private savings... the level of banks money, the money in the banks eh... in... in Italy. The public debt was, more or less, two thousand billion; the private savings in the banks, four thousand billions. The double. The combination between public debt and private savings, it's impossible, obviously, but it's a symbol. Italian people have a lot of money. There is the fear of the future. There is the problem of confidence. Our government with the stability try to give confidence to the people to come back to invest in Italy. But to invest in Italy we must invest without political powers in the economy, without the traditional friends of friends in the economy system, open to the market and to the model of freedom this possibility. So, I think our economic strategy is very complicated to explain to great professor as you, because is a combination, is not a traditional right approach, is not a traditional Keynesian approach taxation and investment. I think we must reduce the taxation because the priority for the middle class, in USA as in Italy, and Europe, and at the same time encourage and push public investment private investment to grow up the GDP because without a growth of GDP it's impossible to reduce the debt.

## 5.8.2 Discussion

As noted in the introduction to this speech (see section 5.1), Renzi's talk seems to unfold quite freely despite the script he holds on the lectern. With question time, however, the talk becomes even more spontaneous, with a significant increase in references to Italianness, and in the use of nonverbal language. Some of the general observations that can be made on this segment have already been

developed in detail for segments 6 and 7 of the Georgetown speech, which are equally devoted to questions. Indeed, in this segment Renzi not only resorts to a variety of references to the Italian culture, but he also quotes the same stereotype concerning friendship and the same figures in relation to GDP and private savings, except for an inconsistency in the attribution of a positive or negative value to 0.4% of the GDP (see unit 7; see also the Georgetown speech: Appendix 8.2.7.1, unit 7:6). Given these overall similarities, I shall focus on the discussion of the segment within the context of the Harvard speech and leave further, more general comments and comparisons to the concluding remarks.

Among the references to the Italian character, nonverbal language occupies a preeminent role, in terms of both type and frequency. On the one hand, gestures – most of which are emblems – are used extensively, both in a sequence (units 20, 22-23, 25-27, 29-30, 53, 67-68, 75-76, 82-84, 86-87) and repeatedly (units 8, 19, 32, 55/57, 59/62, 76/86, 78/82, 84). On the other, the majority of emblems are culturally loaded, as they can both be ascribed to the Italian tradition and often belong to two of the main groups of Italian gestures, the so-called ‘purse hand’ and ‘ring-hand shape’ families (units 22, 34, 40, 53, 64, 67, 70, 72, 75; for a description of these gesture families, see Operational Notes, section 3.2.4).

Besides nonverbal language, Renzi often refers to the Italian culture both implicitly and explicitly by using some ironic remarks (units 46, 56, 65, 80), a stereotype (unit 77), several calques (units 21, 52, 58, 79, 80) and an Italian interjection (unit 2). Among them, the ironic remarks and the stereotype are particularly relevant insofar as they both recall the Italian tradition of familism (see section 1.2). Irony once again testifies to Renzi’s desire to please the audience and, consequently, embodies the traditional dedication to pleasantness and need to give a good impression. The latter explicitly refers to the consolidated habit to ground personal economic success on a well-established network of friends and connections (see the Georgetown speech: Appendix 8.2.6.1, unit 23). On the other hand, the calques and the interjection play a minor role insofar as they are mostly vague and unclear but in one case only (unit 21). Whether they may be due to an



actual overlapping of the Italian language, or to some gaps in Renzi's fluency, they create an evident discontinuity in cultural mediation.

If more spontaneity accrues cultural references also in terms of nonverbal language, the subject of Professor Alesina's question influences the use of appraisal resources and the positioning of the speaker. Indeed, as Renzi is directly invited to explain his programme of economic reforms, the resources he chooses and the corresponding outcome on the deictic positioning axes are similar to those I highlighted for segment 4 (see section 5.6).

In particular, most appraisal resources belong to the *judgment* type, with a striking majority of references to *capacity*, which is positive when attributed to Renzi's reforms, and negative whenever they are referred to the general economic conditions in Italy and abroad. Like in segment 4, however, negative judgement is expressed in mild terms, avoiding any severe evaluation. Renzi attributes the negative figures to the preceding two cabinets by rapidly juxtaposing names, years and data (unit 7), without further comments on the context and, consequently, leaving the audience to draw conclusions on the cabinets' performances. He embeds his judgements and evaluations in general references to debt, problems, lack of growth and low salaries. Finally, he generalises these problems by mentioning that Italy shares some of them with other countries (units 24-28, 83). Renzi saves the only unquestionably negative judgment to fiscal compact (and indirectly to Germany once again), which is explicit accused of causing economic collapse (unit 54). Interestingly, the positive judgement of the Italian debt ('the debt in Italy is sustainable respect all the countries', unit 60) brings forth yet another comparison with other EU members, both in this speech and in the previous one (see sections 4.9.1 and 5.9.1). While reclaiming the superiority of the 'Italian way', Renzi recalls the centuries-long debate over the backwardness of Italy in comparison to northern Europe (section 1.2).

Again, the way the speaker uses resources reflects on the deictic positioning: the time axis is populated by the variety of references to the past conditions and future developments of economy, and the modality axis does not

show a clear-cut putative enemy – perhaps except for the generic reference to fiscal compact – but a variety of policies and problems that Renzi criticises in vaguely negative terms.

If the use of evaluation resources seems to follow a very similar pattern to previous segments about the same topic, engagement shows some peculiarities. Unlike all the segments analysed so far (with the exception of segment 6 of the Georgetown speech), here engagement is mainly heteroglossic, despite a significant presence of monoglossia. Most heteroglossic instances, however, are of the *entertain* and *counter* type like in previous segments: Renzi does not introduce any actual dialogic voices but, rather, explains his own programme of reforms as an opinion (*entertain*) that unfolds in thesis-antithesis steps (*counter*). In other words, despite he frequently uses his voice in an assertive manner (units 18-20, 24-27, 41, 44-45, 61-62, 69-70, 74-79), he chooses to develop his argumentation less categorically than before.

The reason for the speaker to leave his usual assertiveness may very well lie in that he is directly responding to a renowned economist. Renzi himself acknowledges Professor Alesina's expertise by introducing him as a 'brilliant Italian mind' (unit 1) and, towards the end of his answer, resorts to humour to indirectly admit his difficulties in explaining his economic strategy to a 'great professor' (unit 80). In other words, by endorsing the reputation of his interlocutor, Renzi frames his own answer, and this may well account for his diminished assertiveness, which reflects in an unprecedented, extensive use of heteroglossia and, possibly, in the absence of any overtly negative judgement.

## 5.9 Segment 7 – 00:42:24-00:50:27

### 5.9.1 Transcript

[*Professor Hall thanks Renzi and invites the Second Questioner*].

[*The Second Questioner greets the Prime Minister, introduces himself and provides a brief background to his question, which concerns the European values mentioned by Renzi and the slow economy of some European countries.*]

*Question: How can we address issues of solidarity and all the great European values that we talk about without addressing the huge current account deficits that are in periphery countries versus current account surpluses in other countries that will keep Europe completely divided from an economic perspective up until we address these issues that also then include transfers and other things that make our economic union, monetary union handicapped?*

*Answer:* This is a good question, because your question is about the future of Europe. I'm really... I'm really... worried when in a... ehm... during a meeting in European Council some colleagues explain us the importance of walls, for Europe; after the crisis of refugees, of course. But I'm really worried because I think the sense of identity for my generation of Europe is the Berlin walls destroyed by the people who need freedom. Thinking, twenty-five years after, some colleagues, not only one, some colleagues image the sense of identity of Europe in the construction of new walls really terrorise me. So, your question is a big question because the sense of solidarity in face to refugees for me was a surprise in 2015 because in 2014 Italy was alone in this battle. When in Lampedusa, 2013, a lot of people died in front of coasts of Sicily, a lot of people cried but nobody helped us, and when in April 2015, exactly one year ago, less than one year because is in twenty April, twenty-second... I don't remember the date... the... eleven month ago, near to Libyan coasts, a lot of migrants died in the sea, more than seventy... seven hundred people, I remember only two countries ask a... meeting... extraordinary meeting of European Council: Malta and Italy. So in the last year everything is changed, why? Because this problem, the problem of solidarity of refugees crisis become an European problem, in Germany, in Austria, in Sweden, in a lot of countries. My answer is that: first, to be an... to maintain human being. This means we invest, the Italian government, twenty million, twenty million of euro to come back on the Mediterranean and bring the ship under the sea and give a tomb to these people. It's not concrete thing because... they're died, but our culture, you know because I think you're Italian, and I think the culture of American people and the culture of every civilization think it's important to give to the man and the woman died a place to stay for ever. It's a value. It's a value in the... ehm... Omero, in the... the... the... Iliade and Odissea and Eneide in the our culture and I invest money to give this right to these poor people. But at the same time I ask to my colleagues, finally, if the decision of solidarity it's only a strategy for the newspaper or for social media or for... to... to give a post on Facebook, or if it's really a different approach. If this is really a different approach, we need absolutely a different vision about Africa. Africa in the last ten years was in the hands of Chinese people (I think and I spoke about economy, obviously... but this is true). European people don't think about Africa. I show Italy, Italy is a bridge, natural bridge in the relation between Europe and Africa, and I propose, to my company, to the companies of Italian people, obviously, to invest in Africa. The strategy of energy for ENI now is not in the direction Russia-west, is in the direction north-south, the direction of S... Africa. This is a radical change of our energy and its politics... policy with our government. But at the same time we must help these people to create jobs in... in Africa, to give a strategy of innovation in this continent and this is the only way to show European leaders as able to give an answer not only in the short term, but in medium and long term. Obviously this is

possible only if we invest in an ideal, because if the debate is only about the deficit, the level of deficit, I'm ready to discuss about deficit. I reduce the deficit in the last ten years because for Italy this year is the best deficit, is 2.3%, the best in the last ten years. France is over 4%, Spain is over 5%, UK is 5% of deficit. So, we can discuss about parameters and deficit, but I think the real problem is not discuss about technical approach, is share a vision, share an ideal and then concreti... concrete this approach.

*Professor Hall: Thank you. I think we've got time for maybe at least one more.*

*Renzi: I'm Italian, I speak a lot.*

*Professor Hall [chuckling]: No, no, there's time. I'm, I'm looking for a woman here, so... there's one woman on the edge there.*

*[A person in the audience makes a remark that cannot be understood from the video.]*

*Renzi [addressing a person in the audience]: Ah, you're not a woman, eh? You can change, you can go to Casablanca, but I think is not a good idea, there is a woman... [he winks at his interlocutor]*

## 5.9.2 Discussion

The second question allows Renzi to describe his position with respect to the migration fluxes from North Africa and the consequent reactions of some countries of the European Union. The segment mainly restates some of the issues Renzi has already mentioned, such as the relationship with Africa (see the Georgetown speech, section 4.6), and the policy of other European leaders when tackling migrations and the relationship with Muslim countries (see segments 2 and 3 of this speech, sections 4.4 and 4.5). This time, however, the focus is almost entirely on the speaker and his cabinet: Renzi chooses a self-referential register that reduces his opponents to a marginal role, which serves the purpose of providing a contrasting background to his own political strategies and, consequently, underlining his achievements as Prime Minister.

The opening statements (units 1-7) sum up the pivotal resources Renzi uses to keep his cabinet and himself at centre stage: monoglossic engagement ('this is a good question'); the paramount importance of the future ('a good question, because [it] is about the future of Europe'); self-referentiality ('I'm really worried', 'I think', 'my generation', reinforced by relevant hand gestures);

and the indirect judgement of the stance of some European countries, which are introduced as a contrastive element ('some colleagues explain us the importance of walls' as opposed to 'the sense of identity for my generation (...) is the Berlin walls destroyed by the people who need freedom').

Among these resources, engagement is crucial to define Renzi's attitude. Quite predictably, the celebration of his political achievements is conveyed through monoglossia, with a few instances of heteroglossia. The latter, however, do not introduce any actual dialogic voices: Renzi uses some of them to express the opinions of the speaker (*entertain*), and a few others to accept hypothetical alternative viewpoints (*concur*) or raise doubts about the solidarity of other countries (*counter*). The only instance of the *acknowledge* type does not introduce a dialogic voice either. Instead, it presents a generic reference to the qualities that Renzi himself attributes to American culture and civilization in general (unit 33). In other words, the speaker uses heteroglossia only to present his stance and refute or accept his own projection of alternative positions.

Renzi, however, not only affirms his presence by preferring monoglossia and expressing his stance and evaluation, as we shall see below, but he is also the direct agent of some pivotal events. First, the investment to carry the casualties back to shore for burial is first referred to as 'we (...) the Italian government' (unit 26), then as 'I invest money to give this right to these poor people' (unit 37). Second, he is the one that requests a clarification about his colleagues' real motivations for solidarity ('I ask to my colleagues', unit 39). Third, he is the one that proposes that Italian companies should invest in Africa (units 50-54) by referring to Italian enterprises as 'my company'. Interestingly, though he immediately corrects his inaccuracy ('the companies of Italian people, obviously'), he accompanies this part of the utterance with a hand gesture that, by indicating possession (unit 52) seems to contradict his verbal amendment. Fourth, he introduces the reduction of the Italian deficit to the lowest level in ten years as 'I reduced the deficit' (unit 66).

Renzi's strategies stand out as humanitarian and development-oriented, in contrast to other European policies. He illustrates them in a crescendo that begins

with his personal negative opinion about his colleagues' choices (units 2, 6, 14), continues with a general reference to Italy as left 'alone in this battle' (unit 17) and calling an extraordinary meeting of the European Council together with Malta (unit 22), and finally proceeds with a list of the successes of the current cabinet (units 26-29, 37, 50-59, 66-68). The positive evaluation of these political acts is expressed on two levels: in terms of *capacity* and *tenacity* with reference to investments, new approaches and political battles (units 17, 22, 26-29, 43, 50-60, 66); and through appreciation (*reaction* and *valuation*) by associating them to humanity (unit 26), compassion and values (unit 29-35). Renzi, in other words, carefully focuses on a variety of details that help him to draw a favourable, all-round picture of his policies. It is worth noting, however, that if Italy is portrayed as the cradle of culture that can save both migrants and Africa as a whole, the role of Africa is once again that of a passive beneficiary (see also section 4.6).

Renzi also keeps at centre stage in an indirect manner, namely by referring to his interest in the future (unit 1) and trust in change, and keeping the presence of his political opponents to a minimum. Though no past-future oppositions or implied comparisons are present in the segment, a few references to change and innovation unequivocally recall the Prime Minister's philosophy as *demolition man* (see the introduction to the study). All these instances carry a positive evaluation that is often strengthened by graduation: 'in the last year everything is changed' (unit 24), 'this is really a different approach, we need absolutely a different vision' (unit 43), 'radical change' (unit 59).

The marginal role of Renzi's political opponents, on the other hand, translates in the limited presence of resources bearing a negative value, which are often implicit. Except for a very few references to the deficit of some countries (unit 68), negative *valuation* is expressed only three times in terms of judgement and appreciation (units 17, 19, 47, 62), mostly generic ('nobody', 'European people') or implicit ('Italy was alone'). In a small number of cases the evaluation is expressed metonymically, by transferring the negative connotation from agents to concepts. This is the case of units 3 and 13, in which the positively connoted term 'colleague' is associated to 'the importance of walls' and the 'construction of

new walls', whose negative evaluation is both expressed as a personal opinion of the speaker ('I'm really worried', units 2 and 6; 'really terrorise me', unit 14) and made explicit in unit six, where its contrary (the destruction of the Berlin wall) is positively associated to 'freedom'.

It is worth noting that Renzi also positively associates European countries to the migrant crisis as a 'problem of solidarity' that the EU finally shares (unit 25). This mildly positive evaluation, however, is far from unequivocal: first, it is not explicit, but indirectly conveyed by the metonymy of a 'European problem'; second, it is carefully scrutinized by Renzi himself, who wonders if solidarity is 'only a strategy for the newspaper or for social media' (unit 41).

Among appraisal resources, graduation is particularly significant. A pervasive element in this segment of the Harvard speech, it reinforces Renzi's celebration of his cabinet in a variety of forms, notably *quantification* and *intensification*. Besides lexical resources, *intensification* is also obtained by repetition (e.g., units 11-13, 25-29, 35, 41-43, 64) and, very importantly, hand gestures (e.g., units 10, 16, 34-40, 49, 50-54, 60-63, 66-67), which, being mostly Italian emblems, also contribute to creating a solid ground of shared knowledge.

This common ground is instrumental for Renzi to complete the persuasive, manipulative function of his speech. Renzi involves the audience by creating a familiar environment that gains its trust on an emotional level (Chilton, 2011a: 184). Together with a variety of Italian emblems, the segment shows many other invoked resources: the cliché of Italy as a bridge between Italy and Africa, which is also reinforced by a hand gesture (units 48-49; see also the Georgetown speech: Appendix 8.2.4.1, unit 4:39); some calques (units 26, 35); more interestingly, the final joke that he addresses to a member of the audience, which, besides being itself an embodiment of the Italian tradition of friendliness, is also reinforced by a smile and a facial expression of complicity (units 70-71).

Italianness, moreover, is also explicitly recalled in the crucial discussion about culture. To explain why the Italian government allocated several million Euros to bring the victims of a shipwreck to shore, Renzi appeals to the questioner's identity to define a common cultural ground ('our culture, you

know because I think you're Italian', unit 31), which is also reinforced by an emblem (unit 32). This appeal to shared values is reiterated in units 35-36: here Renzi mentions Homer, the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Aeneid by using their Italian names, he defines them 'our culture', and underlines this sense of belonging by pointing at himself.<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, the discussion over the burial of the victims invokes a diffused reference to the stereotype of 'Italians good people', which was also present in the Georgetown speech and, as mentioned above, dates back to post-war Italy to redeem the country's reputation (see sections 1.2, 4.6, 4.10 and 8.2.4.1; see also Patriarca, 2010: 188-215). The overall framing of the speech culminates in Renzi's remark 'I'm Italian, I speak a lot' (unit 69). This is not the first time Renzi portrays himself as a stereotypical talkative Italian, as a similar instance concludes segment 5 of the Georgetown speech (unit 5:49). Though here he does not call himself a 'politician', once again he underlines his Italian identity and admits possessing one of the main traits of the national character.

It is worth noting that, albeit in a humorous framing, Renzi's negative evaluation of gender reassignment surgery (unit 70) places him, once again, in a paradoxical position since it contradicts both his self-definition as an innovator, and, above all, his role as the leader of the Democratic Party, which firmly supports LGBT rights. In conclusion, in this segment Renzi is firmly at centre stage. To celebrate his political achievements he uses a variety of strategies; among them, monoglossia, self-referentiality, allusions to change and innovation, evaluative resources to overshadow the role of his political opponents, pervasive references to Italianness, and direct appeals to the audience are the most significant.

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<sup>29</sup> I am aware that in this case 'our' may stand for 'European', on the grounds that Homer, the Iliad and the Aeneid do not belong to the same national culture. However, this interpretation does not hinder the analysis above: even if the statement retains some ambiguity, it is framed within an appeal to Italian culture that is inscribed in unit 31, invoked in the name 'Aeneid' and reinforced by a self-referential gesture.



## 5.10 Segment 8 – 00:50:28-00:59:12

### 5.10.1 Transcript

*Third Questioner:* Mr Renzi I don't have a question, really. I merely wanted to point out something. You spoke of the Bob Kennedy Center in Florence a Le Murate: there is another very close connection between Harvard and Florence and that is the Villa I Tatti...

*Renzi:* absolutely

*Third Questioner:* ...which is the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies, post-doctoral research centre which was opened in 1961. I believe it is the only foreign property that Harvard owns on another continent and we invite you to visit us next time you are in Florence.

*Renzi:* This is advertising for Harvard and I appreciated very much. I think I think really Villa I Tatti is wonderful place, one of the most incredible view of Florence and I don't speak about all the cooperation between Florence and the United States of America because the first was Amerigo Vespucci [*the audience laughs*]. Amerigo give the name to America. He was a mistake eh? Because, you know... but the name of America come from Amerigo. It's a good thing the name is Amerigo because its [if] the name is Vespucci, [*Professor Hall laughs*] you can image [imagine] United States of Vespuccia [*the audience laughs*], I think 'my dear Vespuccian people' I think is not good, so the first was absolutely... the first relation between Florence and the United States are Amerigo, but I'm really happy to give this signal of attention to Harvard and Villa I Tatti. In general we have a lot of American universities in Florence and I think this is very important for the high quality of... sense of citizens... citizenship in my count... in my city, my former city. Former, unfortunate.

*Professor Hall :* We'll take one more for the... from the lady on the side, yes, right down here. Yes, wait for the microphone and please be very brief because... ehm we have only...

*Renzi* [*interrupting Professor Hall, his voice overlapping with his host's*]: don't make advertising for Pisa, eh?

*Professor Hall:* ... five minutes left.

*Renzi:* Pisa... it's impossible to have Villa I Tatti a Pisa.

*Fourth Questioner:* My name is Nadia De Carlo and I'm a 'consigliere' for the Comites, and you recently endorsed fellow Wellsley College along like Hillary Clinton for office and you also include a lot of women in your cabinet. I was wondering... because... if you're helping, if you started a ball rolling, Italy still suffers from a big gender gap and a wage gap with half the women

are not participating in the labour force, what are some measures Italy is taking to ameliorate this problem?

**Renzi:** It's a good question. In the politics I think it's easier than in the rest and I choose a lot of women for a lot of responsibilities in my cabinet but also in the companies. It's a woman the President of ENI, the President of EN... ENEL, the President of Poste and CEO of a lot of companies, the direct... technical... technicians director of a lot of offices. So ministers, managers, technicians... good. The problem is the life, day by day. This is the problem of gender gap in Italy. First, in the mind and in the cultural debate; with the think tank we prepare and we present next month a book, a document not a book, a paper, who start from an experience, and a book, called *Maternity is a Master*. Because in the Italian mind if you decide to have a child... a child, in the mind 'oh, this is the f... end of my career'. And this is a great cultural mistake: maternity is a Master. At the same time we must give concrete possibilities: co-working, opportunities for the women, opportunities for the high-level schools in the first year of life. So, it's a cultural challenge in Italy in this direction. I'm the first who choose a lot of women for the cabinet, I'm choose a lot of women for the... management, for the technic... technicians... I present my advisor for diplomacy: she's a woman who chose to dedicate a part of life to children, for the first time in the very difficult career of ambassadors in... in Italy, but (I discussed with my wife a lot of times) there is a problem: we can give not only the choice of single person, but create a climate, a context to encourage women. And in this direction, I'm very... I'm very frank with you, we have a great problem in Italy, because we have two Italies. North Italy: the average of unemployment and women unemployment is at the same level of Germany, of north Europe. In the south Eu... in the south Italy, the level is similar to Greece. Too... not good performance. So, this is true for women and this is true for economy. We com... must combine together double think[g], both think[g]: the very important presence in the political life but at the same time day-by-day... eh... experience and I use your question also to give a special good luck to Hillary Clinton also if this is not very elegant as Prime Minister but I am also Secretary, leader of my party, so I speak as leader of my party, a Democrat party in Italy, ehm... we follow your electoral campaign with great attention [*the audience laughs*], with great curiosity [*the audience laughs*], and we know, there a... [*something happens in the audience*] please... [*Renzi chuckles, the audience laughs*], please experience, different experiences in a lot of countries, also in Italy, very special in the past, ehm... and obviously we respect our best friend United States of America and the people's decision because the most important democracy around the world is for us a model and a very important point of reference. At the same time, I think, as Secretary and leader of Democrat party, Hillary Clinton is the most able, for me, to follow the dossier, to follow the strategies for the future. I'm more safe if I think in the White House after the great experience of a great leader as Barack Obama, will be a man or wome... woman, I prefer a woman this time, able to lead the free world in the correct direction. This is very important. Obviously we will respect every result, this is clear. We will host in G7 next time in Italy in May 2017 the President of United States elected by the people of United States. If will be a woman I will be more happy [*the audience laughs*].

*Professor Hall thanks Renzi for his participation.*

### 5.10.2 Discussion

The two final answers that conclude the Harvard speech do not introduce any significant variation in Renzi's use of appraisal resources, but are quite interesting in terms of deictic positioning, with particular reference to the modality axis. For the first time, the Other is the Italian culture, in the form of gender gap and the huge divide between the European, industrialised North and the backward South. In the preceding segments of the Harvard speech and the entire Georgetown speech, Renzi directs his severe criticism to Italian politics: even the few mildly negative remarks noted above, such as 'sleeping beauty' or 'the country of very importance of mother and father' are connected to politics in different ways (Georgetown, 2:28 and 5:9). On the other hand, on this occasion it is the Italian mentality *tout court* that is directly held responsible for 'a great cultural mistake' (unit 32) and a 'great problem' (unit 44), which require a 'cultural challenge' (unit 36). Interestingly, there are no other opponents along the modality axis, except for another element that remains unnamed – for diplomacy's sake – but is clearly identifiable as Donald Trump on the grounds of Renzi's allusions to the presidential elections. Renzi outlines this opponent by recurring to ironic remarks about the curiosity aroused by the electoral campaign, alluding to similar situations in Italy, and expressing his support for the Democratic Party, as I shall explain below.

Both opponents, the Italian culture and the anonymous candidate, help Renzi to underline his own achievements as Prime Minister in different ways. Though he admits that in politics it is easier to eliminate the gender gap (unit 21), he lists the actions he has taken, which span from appointing women to some significant management positions to issuing a document on maternity and career (units 22-24, 28, 37-38). Renzi, moreover, highlights that he is also devoting his efforts to changing the cultural context for future generations (unit 33, 40-43, 50-54).

Predictably, the key resources Renzi uses are *capacity* and self-referentiality. The former is positively attributed to his achievements and programmes as opposed to Italy's cultural 'mistakes' and 'problems', and is sometimes reinforced by hand gestures (units 34, 43). The latter is expressed in the precise use of the possessive *my* ('my city', unit 12, 'my cabinet', unit 22, 'my advisor' unit 38 and 'my party', unit 56), and the use (or exclusion) of dialogic voices. If the use of monoglossia is predominant, in this segment the instances of heteroglossia are remarkably numerous. A closer analysis, however, reveals that, like in previous segments, they do not present any actual alternative opinion: most of them are of the *entertain* type and, as such, express the opinion of the speaker, whereas the others are either instrumental to developing Renzi's argument (*counter* and *concur*) and attributed to Renzi's cabinet (units 40, 42, 60, 67), or are Renzi's representation of popular opinion (*acknowledge*, unit 29).

The second opponent, Trump, serves the purpose of reinforcing Renzi's political profile as a pro-American democrat, despite the context of an official visit during the American presidential campaign prevents him from overtly expressing his political views. Renzi uses a variety of verbal and nonverbal resources to achieve this goal. First, he introduces the discussion as a continuation of the gender gap topic (unit 55) and uses his position as the secretary of a party as a disclaimer for declaring his views about the elections (unit 56). Second, he chooses irony and facial expressions to invoke his doubts (supposedly) about the Republican candidate (units 57-59) and implying a similarity with an 'experience' in Italy's past (embodied, presumably, by Silvio Berlusconi), without mentioning him. Third, he does not miss the opportunity to restate his link with the U.S Democratic Party by defining himself the Secretary of the Italian Democratic Party (units 56, 62), and using judgement and appreciation to declare his support for Clinton (units 57-59, 62-65, 71) and his admiration for Obama (unit 63). Fourth, by confirming his respect for the result of the election, whatever it may be, he shows his esteem for the United States as a model of democracy (units 60-61, 67).

Overall, Renzi chooses inscribed appraisal resources and irony to outline his image as an innovative leader who fights against socioeconomic inequalities in Italy and has grown strong ties with the American Democratic Party. However, the significant presence of references to Italianness in the segment seems to create a different narration. First and foremost, Renzi frequently refers to the Italian culture directly (units 29-32, 36, 38, 44-48) in terms of gender gap and the backwardness of southern Italy (units 45-46). Though Renzi himself builds a connection between these two instances (unit 49), the way Renzi approaches them points towards two opposite directions: on the one hand, by acknowledging gender gap in the Italian culture, he portrays himself as an innovator; on the other hand, when talking about women workers, he cannot help focusing on a traditional view of maternity and its advantages (units 28-32). Moreover, the notion of the 'two Italies' (reinforced by an unequivocal hand gesture, unit 46), roots his remark in the consolidated cliché of the backwardness of southern Italy that animated the political debate in the past, especially in the first decades after the unification (see section 1.2).

The segment shows other references to the Italian culture in the form of invoked stereotypes, such as the cult of giving a good impression (unit 55) and municipalism, which underlies the entire first answer (units 3, 16-19, 20). Municipalism, in particular, once again frames Renzi as a nostalgic former resident (and former mayor) of Florence, whereby he states 'we have a lot of American universities in Florence' (unit 16) only to correct himself, a few seconds afterwards, by declaring that Florence is his former city, unfortunately (units 17-19).

Among the invoked resources, humour and jokes are so frequent that they represent the backbone of the segment (units 3, 8, 11, 20, 57-59, 64, 71-71), so much so that Renzi concludes his speech with a playful remark. Nonverbal language – albeit less frequent than in the preceding segments – contributes to framing some of the key utterances, since most gestures are Italian emblems. One of them, in particular is a rare example of double emblem, whereby Renzi uses his hands to make two emblems that reinforce two different concepts (unit 34).

Interestingly, for the first time in the speeches under analysis Renzi also makes a (possibly) Anglo-Saxon hand gesture indicating dismissal (unit 13), whose effect of cultural mediation, however, is diminished by its being framed in humour. Indeed, also the frequent use of calques, as well as Italian interjections and words contribute to impair cultural mediation.

Overall, the segment provides a powerful conclusion to the entire speech, summing up the *leitmotifs* of Renzi's communication: unequivocal references to the Italian cultural and political tradition behind the claims for innovation and change.

### **5.11 Concluding Remarks**

When introducing this second speech, I noted that, if compared to the Georgetown talk, Renzi opted for a more spontaneous register. The choice might have been driven by a much less formal context compared to the almost solemn environment of the previous talk. Among the distinctive elements of this event are a much smaller auditorium and the presence of Renzi's wife, whom Professor Hall addresses directly in his welcome introduction (see section 5.1 and Appendix 8.3.1). Also his relationship with his host seems rather informal, as he opens his speech by referring to a joke on Pisa and calling him 'my dear Professor' (unit 1:25).

Though the atmosphere is apparently more familiar, the resources and key elements of his communication style remain unvaried. Again, he promotes his political views as innovative and reform-oriented as opposed to the stagnation and recession of the recent past, and does so without introducing any substantially new elements: appraisal resources are used with consistency, with a prevalence of instances of monoglossia and judgement; nonverbal language, stereotypes, calques and humour abound. Unvaried is also Renzi's underlying message, which, once again, recalls some consolidated themes of the Italian political tradition and reinforces some traits of the national character.

However, these themes are reproduced and reiterated by using the resources in a different way. Appraisal resources hardly outline a well-defined

putative enemy, but rather some mildly negative elements along the modality axis. Monoglossia and the fewer examples of heteroglossia are often referred to in the first person 'I'; segment 7, in particular, shows Renzi as the direct agent of some fundamental events regarding the migrant crisis and Italian economy ('I invest money to give this right to these poor people', unit 7:37; 'I ask to my colleagues', unit 7:39; 'I reduced the deficit', unit 7:66).<sup>30</sup> Nonverbal language is very frequent both during Renzi's talk and question time, and sometimes it reaches some remarkable complexity. Jokes are so frequent that they frame the whole speech. Stereotyping is less significant as an overt resource, but remarkably present as an invoked one. Finally, on this occasion Renzi prefers to highlight the achievements of his cabinet by focusing on the present and by limiting the references to the contrast between the past and the future to some instances that are instrumental to his goal. In short, if on the surface the Harvard speech does not show any striking difference to the Georgetown one, the different context seems to foster a more direct, personal approach.

This variation in the use of resources mainly contributes to consolidate the paramount role of the speaker and create a common ground of shared assumptions. The deictic positioning charts of the Harvard speech provide a relevant summary of Renzi's self-referentiality: in all the segments Renzi is either completely alone at the deictic centre (segment 3; see section 5.5), or shares it with very few other subjects, most of whom either belong to his cabinet and reinforce his own pre-eminence, or are related to his hosts (the USA, Bob Kennedy, Barack Obama, and so on). The only exception is segment 7 (see section 5.9), whose challenging issue of migrants in the Mediterranean requires that Renzi introduce a more complex discussion.

The paramount presence of the speaker and his cabinet's achievements reflect in the lesser importance of his opponents. Except for terrorists (units 1-3), most of them are either defined very vaguely (units 4, 6, 7) or outlined by contrast (units 5, 8), and in some cases they do not represent an actual opponent

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<sup>30</sup> See Appendix 8.3.7. For a detailed discussion on Renzi's self-referentiality in section seven, see section 5.9.

(units 6, 7). Interestingly, one of the few unequivocal putative enemies is the Italian culture itself, as it is based on gender gap and a socioeconomic divide between the north and the south (segment 8; see section 5.10). Whereas this choice perfectly fits in Renzi's aim to present his programme of reforms in the wake of his reputation as an innovator, it also triggers a paradoxical contrast with the implied message he brings forth, as I shall detail further on.

As far as appraisal analysis is concerned, self-referentiality is reinforced by the prevalent use of monoglossia in the first person and heteroglossia of the *entertain* type, whose instances serve the purpose to give voice to the speaker's viewpoint. Other types of heteroglossia are also present, but they do not express any alternative stance, with the exception of segment 3 (see section 5.5, units 15-20), in which Renzi quotes a friend of the terrorist Salah. Indeed, most of these heteroglossic occurrences are either instrumental to the development of Renzi's stance, whether in the form of hypothetical alternative viewpoints (*concur*), or doubts (*counter*), or to *acknowledge* opinions that Renzi himself attributes to other protagonists (units 2:7-8, 7:33-34; 8:29-31).

In contrast to his paramount presence as a monoglossic first person, Renzi uses a variety of resources to build a dialogue with the audience. Indeed, the closer analysis of the segments reveals that the entire speech develops around the notion of shared knowledge. Nonverbal language is particularly relevant in this respect. Being more instinctive than verbal language (see discussion in section 2.1.2), it usually carries a spontaneous message that the audience is likely to perceive as more trustworthy. In the case of Renzi's talk it is functional to catch the attention of the public (see, in particular, units 7:70-71, in which the speaker accompanies his joke with a wink), and build a solid shared ground. Both strategies aim to obtain the trust of the audience. Indeed, emblems with a marked Italian character are the gestures Renzi uses most frequently. Among them the 'purse hand' and the 'ring-hand shape' (see Operational Notes, section 3.2.4). With the exception of segment 5 (see section 5.7), Italian emblems are used so extensively to reinforce concepts that they often form complex structures (segments 1 and 5; see sections 4.2 and 4.8), turn into illustrators (segment 3; see



section 5.5), and in one case are even used as a double emblem – when Renzi makes two semiotic gestures that reinforce different concepts at the same time (unit 8:34).

Another resource that greatly contributes to creating a familiar atmosphere is humour. Humour and jokes are so pervasive that they frame the entire speech from the beginning to the very end (segments 1, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8; see sections 5.2, 5.5, 5.6, 5.8, 5.9 and 5.10), and are often reinforced by gestures and facial expressions (units 1:1-2, 3:35-37, 4: 3-15, 6:56-57, 7:70-71, 8:8-13 and 71-72). Moreover, in some cases Renzi addresses his playful remarks to his interlocutors by using direct appeals to his host (unit 1:25), to the audience (units 4:14-15) and to one of its members (units 7:70-71 and 8:20), with or without the support of facial expressions. Finally, humour also carries a few allusions to stereotypes such as municipalism and inefficiency (units 1:25, 4:10-15 and 8:20), thus appealing to a common cultural background.

The strategy of intertwining stereotypes and humour is very effective as it acts on two levels. On a textual level, it conveys stereotypes as shared knowledge in a pleasant, informal manner. On a cognitive level, the overall playful tone Renzi adopts throughout his speech reproduces the well-known national trait of familism, which consists in using pleasantness to gain the approval of one's interlocutor and increase the number of potential allies (see section 1.2).

Other references to the Italian character, however, are also directly inscribed without any appeal to humour. Renzi presents most of them as a piece of shared knowledge, and it is exactly their being taken for granted that reinforces the traditional notion of Italianness. It is the case of another instance of familism, directly mentioned as 'the traditional friends of friends' (unit 6:77), the beauty of Italian history (units 5:33-34), the backwardness of southern Italy (units 8:45-49), the cult of giving a good impression (unit 8:55), and, finally, the cliché of Italy as a bridge between Italy and Africa (unit 7:48-49).

Finally, the common ground on which Renzi involves the audience is invoked in the interferences of Italian, and inscribed in the references to his own nationality. Though calques are predictably very frequent due to the (relative)

informality of the context, their significance is limited to their embodying a gap in cultural mediation. Italian names, on the other hand, are quite relevant since they are not accompanied by any explanation, and, as such, are quite revealing of Renzi's assumptions about the audience: 'ENI', 'ENEL' and 'Poste' are mentioned with no further clarification about their function (units 7:55 and 8:23)<sup>31</sup>, and Homer, the Iliad, the Odyssey and the Aeneid show as 'Omero', 'Iliade', 'Odissea' and 'Eneide' (unit 7:35) with no further annotations.

The relevance of Renzi's references to his own nationality does not lie in their frequency, but rather in their framing. The first two are inscribed within an ironic remark – 'I can speak because I am Italian' (unit 4:10-11), and 'I'm Italian, I speak a lot' (unit 7:69) – whereas the other shows in the context of the description of Renzi's (supposedly) humanitarian attitude towards migration from Africa. To defend his decision to allocate 20 million Euros to bring the victims of a shipwreck to shore, he appeals to 'our culture' twice (units 7:31, 35) and involves his interlocutor by affirming, soon afterwards, 'you know because I think you're Italian' (unit 7:31). Significantly, the whole reference to the compassionate burial of migrants implicitly recalls, as previously noted, the myth of 'Italians good people' in contrast to hostile European partners, which dates back to the post-war period. This notion, which Renzi also uses in the Georgetown speech (see sections 4.6, 4.10), aimed to 'clean' the country's reputation from the Fascist past, and was widely spread across channels, particularly the intellectual and political debate of the 1950s and 1960s (Patriarca, 2010: 188-2015; see also section 1.2). In short, it is a statement that sums up Renzi's goals and attitude towards the audience: he includes himself and his interlocutor in the circle of Italianness, which stereotypically implies the moral values of compassion, humanity and respect.

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<sup>31</sup> Eni S.p.A. is an Italian multinational oil and gas company. Enel S.p.A is an Italian multinational manufacturer and distributor of electricity and gas. Poste italiane S.p.A is an Italian postal services provider. The Italian government owns from 25% to 65% of the shares of these companies.

All the resources discussed so far – spanning from gestures, humour and stereotypes to calques, self-referential monoglossia and direct appeals – contribute to build a relationship of familiarity, trust and shared knowledge that makes the register of the Harvard speech differ from the communication at Georgetown University, in line with Renzi's choice not to follow the script. Despite the prevalence of different resources, however, the two talks convey very similar messages, since they both imply an alternative narration.

On the surface Renzi reaffirms his role as an innovator by focusing on his programme of reforms, vigorously stating his affiliation with the Democratic Party and his support for Hillary Clinton (units 6: 47; 8:56, 62-64, 71), and declaring his hostility towards Italian political and cultural tradition (segments 5, 6 and 8; see sections 5.7, 5.8 and 5.10). Behind the surface, however, his message shows remarkable adherence to conservative political debate on three levels. First, like in the Georgetown speech, Renzi presents the Italian tradition in the stereotypical form of 'myth', thus following the practice of nationalistic discourse; Italy shows as a cultural bridge in the Mediterranean (unit 7:48; see also section 2.2.2); its past, moreover, is not described in detail, but is 'incredible' and 'wonderful' (units 5:33-36; see also section 2.1.2), and connected to shared cultural values ('our culture') such as compassion and humanity. However, in line with nationalistic discourse, Renzi clearly operates a selective choice of events of the (recent) past. On the one hand, he criticises the inefficiencies of the Italian electoral system by resorting to irony (unit 4:10-15), and recalls the recent years of recession (units 4:40-41, 6:6-7), the negative impact of politics on economy (unit 5:27), and gender gap (unit 8:26-36). On the other, he positively recollects the years in which he was the mayor of Florence (unit 1:23), the dream of a peaceful Europe of his grandfather's generation (unit 2:7-12), and remarks on the recent successes of his programme of reforms (units 5:9-11, 6:13-14, 8:37-42).

Second, while apparently criticising the Italian culture and tradition, Renzi displays a contradictory attitude. Whereas he condemns gender gap and portrays himself as an innovator, he immediately sets a connection between the need to overcome discrimination for women workers and the significance of maternity

(units 8:28-32). Moreover, as previously noted, he makes a playful remark about gender reassignment surgery (unit 7:70). Humour and gestures frame the entire speech as a familiar conversation among people sharing the same cultural background, whereby conservatism, municipalism and familism are not only taken for granted, but also celebrated as common national traits.

Finally, at least one significant remark on the Italian culture is in fact grounded on a long tradition of political debate: the very criticism that Renzi makes against the socioeconomic gap between northern and southern Italy ('we have two Italies', unit 8:45) follows the wake of the 'Southern Question' tradition, a political discussion that, dating back to the beginning of the 19th century, consolidated after the unification of Italy to become a *leitmotif* of the political debate in the following century (see section 1.2).

## 6

### Findings and Conclusions

This study originated from observing that Renzi's dynamic communication style and enthusiasm for iconoclastic innovation hid frequent references to national clichés and themes of Italian conservatism. It assessed that such references were significant in Renzi's rhetoric and determined how they affected his political persona. In particular, the study foregrounded that Renzi's rhetorical strategies were not instrumental to promoting the dynamic, innovative view of the country that corresponded to his statement of intent, but, in fact, reinforced traditional values and beliefs. Indeed the resources that Renzi most frequently used were connected to the notion of stereotype, which proved pivotal in the development of the research.

Due to the heterogeneous nature of stereotyping, I used 'stereotype' as an umbrella term that included a variety of allusions to concepts and enactments of behaviours that are traditionally ascribed to the Italian national character. To identify the most common traits of Italianness, I adopted a diachronic perspective and focused on some pivotal concepts that emerged from studies of Italian identity: the loyalty to one's own community (municipalism and familism) and its daily, contemporary expression as the passion for football; the strong – at times even tyrannical – influence of the Catholic Church; the ability to develop duplicity and transformism to construct alliances as a defence against oppressive regimes; an almost obsessive pride for a past that is seen as glorious as opposed to a decaying present – whose backwardness seems to affect the South even more – and the consequent need for reformation; the rich artistic heritage that makes Italy one of the favourite tourist destinations worldwide; the extensive use of

semiotic hand gestures, which form a culture-specific language of their own (Ginsborg, 2001; Patriarca, 2010).

Due to the complex nature of the investigation, the study was grounded on a multidisciplinary theoretical background, drawing from historical perspectives on the Italian national character, on the sociological analysis of the notion of stereotyping, and on relevant classification of hand gestures in psychology and anthropology as meaning-making activities. Since the core of research consisted in linguistic analysis, but also needed to take into account cultural elements so as to capture the ways in which such traits affected Renzi's communication style, I adopted a linguistic method of analysis and integrated it with relevant cognitive resources.

On the grounds of these preliminary assumptions, the investigation aimed to contribute to research on two levels. On a methodological level, the objective of the study was to provide a viable, flexible method that includes implicit, cognitive resources and, accordingly, overcomes the limitations of mere textual analysis. On a content level, it aimed to expose the speaker's articulation of political practices by focusing on possible ideological manipulation in institutional discourse in a foreign language. This approach also aimed to fill a gap in current research on identity negotiation in multicultural environments, which, to the best of my knowledge, has mainly investigated social groups while neglecting institutional discourse.

The contribution of the research, therefore, concerns both the methodology and the outcome of the analysis of the case study. The expansions to Munday's model resulted in an integrated tool that proved to be systematic and flexible. A variety of rhetorical resources – verbal, nonverbal, explicit and implicit – were analysed on the grounds of a coherent, verifiable grid and the outcome was easily visualised by means of tables and charts. The case study provided relevant material to implement the method, test it, bring to the fore some critical steps in analysis; moreover, it showed that the method can be applied to contexts in which other forms of nonverbal language (or none) are used, since the analysis can be expanded to include different types of visual and kinetic components. Overall,

the analysis proved successful to foreground the rhetorical strategies that constructed Renzi's political persona.

Below I shall summarise the findings and the overall outcome of research by following the pathway of analysis, from linguistic resources to myth-making and implied ideology.

## **6.1 A multimodal approach**

As mentioned in the introduction, the research drew upon Critical Discourse Analysis and its core assumption that discourse embodies and reproduces power relations (Fairclough, 1989/2013: 26; Machin and Mayr, 2012: 8-9; Wodak, 2001: 2) and, as such, can foreground implicit ideology (Wodak, 2001: xxiii-xiv; Wodak et al., 2009: 8; Wodak and Meyer, 2001/2009: 5). It followed the main tenets of CDA since it originated from a discourse-based observation (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999/2001: 60-66; Fairclough, 2001/2006: 125; 2001/2003a: 236; 2003b: 209-210; 1998/2013: 129-176), was grounded on linguistic analysis (as in Munday 2013), integrated multidisciplinary enquiries (Chilton, 2005; 2011b; van Dijk, 2001b: 97-98; Wodak, 2007: 206 ; 2013: xxxi-xxxii) and introduced new ways of reflecting on the analysis. I adopted Munday's model for evaluation in translation because it focuses on the evaluative function of language – thus offering a well-structured model to foreground the positioning of the speaker – and provided reference grids and charts.

Munday's model draws on Martin and White's Appraisal Theory (2005) and Chilton's Deictic Space Theory, or DST (2004a, 2004b, 2009, 2010a, 2013). The aim of appraisal analysis is to determine the stance of the speaker by foregrounding her or his attitude and tolerance of alternative voices, and by assessing the intensity of these components (Martin and White, 2005). It was therefore natural for my project to engage directly and in detail with structured forms of appraisal analysis. Appraisal analysis also accounts for indirect strategies, namely, it foregrounds the attitude that is expressed implicitly. Chilton's theory of deictic positioning represents a projection in discourse of the speaker's position towards facts and events. This conceptual space develops

along three axes or vectors (space, time and modality) that indicate relative distance from the position of the speaker.

Though Munday's model offers a comprehensive tool for analysis, it was necessary to introduce some integrations for an exhaustive analysis of the textual and cognitive resources that Renzi used in his rhetoric in English. The investigation, therefore, developed as a pilot study that tested five variations to Munday's model. My contribution to the field can be considered also methodological in the sense that I carried out a comprehensive testing of these methods. By working on the fine details of the existing method, I came out with my own integrations while showing that the model can potentially be expanded to fulfil the needs of future, more comprehensive multimodal research to engage with similar communicative acts.

First, I tested whether Munday's framework, which was originally conceived for interlanguage translation, was flexible enough to be used as a tool to analyse second-language production. Indeed, due to the significant amount of improvisation and off-script additions in Renzi's speeches, the study of any potential process of translation into English by professional consultants and speech writers was not as relevant in this study, or at least it was not as relevant as his spontaneous production in relation to the construction of a discourse on Italian identity. Second, investigating the function of stereotyping implied that the model should account for those implied resources, both verbal and nonverbal, which were pivotal in shaping background knowledge. Among them, emblems were essential to research. An autonomous, culturally-loaded semiotic code, they represent a spontaneous form of communication that contributes to Halliday's metafunctions by providing information, conveying a worldview and establishing interpersonal relationships. It is worth underlining, however, that the contribution of this study as concerns the significance of gestures is not limited to the context of Italian culture. As the analysis also took non-semiotic gestures (illustrators) into account and underlined their significance in the process of meaning-making, it demonstrated that the model is applicable to



contexts whose variety and frequency of semiotic gestures is less marked than the Italian one.

The visual nature of hand gestures, moreover, contributed to integrate the analysis with a multimodal component that needed to be included – and accounted for – in the method. By implementing it, I changed the outcome of analysis, thus proving that the addition is not only operational at the level of detail but also at an ontological level. When used, the focus on multimodal communication enables us to discuss questions of details in the implicit subtexts embedded in the speaker’s discourse that could go completely unnoticed through a text-only CDA.

Furthermore, within the very constraints of the text-based analysis, whereas Munday’s model presents appraisal analysis and deictic positioning as alternative methods, in this pilot study they were integrated into a system so that the same data were used in both analyses and together generated the outcome of research. Finally, to ensure that the study meet the quality standards of research, appraisal analyses were graphically rendered as tables that included textual, cognitive and visual resources. Though the analysis of discourse is essentially subjective, these tables, which developed from the core idea originally presented by Martin and White, guarantee internal validity, reliability and context-dependent generalisability, as discussed in section 3.3.

The integrations to Munday’s model proved successful in bringing to the fore some of Renzi’s implicit discursive strategies and highlighting their relevance, consistency and frequency. Above all, the study demonstrated that the model is adaptable enough to allow for substantial expansions involving textual as well as visual elements, and this may lead to further research at least in two ways. First, it can provide a reliable qualitative strand to research on which a quantitative, confirmatory phase can be grounded. In section 3.3 I have discussed how the study developed along an exploratory sequential design. Whereas the investigation focused on qualitative data, a second, quantitative strand could provide more information, for example, on the frequency of collocates and

emblems as opposed to deictic gestures. This, in turn, could generate further questions and hypotheses.

More importantly, the study contributed to offer an adaptable tool for analysis of contemporary discourse, since the amount and quality of implicit resources and visual components can be expanded to fulfil the needs of different fields of investigation, such, as for example, news reporting, social networks, and so on. Among them, I believe that the search for methods of linguistic analysis to tackle disinformation and fake news in a variety of media would deserve special attention.

## 6.2 Rhetoric and ambivalence

The study highlighted that the references to Italianness that Renzi used in his rhetoric in English were multifarious and complex: they ranged from stereotypes to quotations, involved verbal and nonverbal resources alike and were both implicit and explicit. Overall, they (re)produced a stereotypical view of the country (Ginsborg, 2001) that stood in dramatic contrast with Renzi's change-oriented political programme. The study showed that, though Renzi apparently celebrated innovation and invoked a future of radical change, he constantly reaffirmed and reproduced the *status quo* by means of two main strategies: stereotyping and referencing. Below I shall explore how these resources appealed to specific ideologies to create meaning.

Renzi referred to the stereotypes of the Italian character by either *quoting* or *enacting* them in a variety of ways (see Chapters 4 and 5). On the one hand, he naturalised some clichés, both explicitly and implicitly, by quoting them as a matter of fact by means of monoglossic structures: 'Italy is rich with beauty art, food (...) We have an unique art heritage and more than half the Unesco global heritage are in our country' (section 4.4.1), 'Culture? Masterpieces? Food? Lifestyle? Holidays?' (section 4.9.1), 'Italy is a bridge, natural bridge in the relation between Europe and Africa' (section 5.9.1), 'I'm Italian, I speak a lot' (section 5.9.1), 'we have two Italies' (section 5.10.1). Surprisingly, he found himself in the paradoxical situation of mentioning such clichés even when his

interlocutor, Jeff Immelt, contradicted him and mentioned engineering as a different, more modern interpretation of Italian primacy. Not only did Renzi express a commonplace view of the country he officially represented during his conversation with Immelt, but he also reinforced his own opinion by narrating the episode at Georgetown University with an overtone of surprise (section 4.9). Renzi, however, referred to stereotypes also in a more indirect way by implicitly recalling the myth of the 'good Italian' (section 1.1), when he characterised the international role of Italy in terms of solidarity, humanitarian rescuing, ethical values and emotions as if these traits were uniquely Italian (see especially sections 4.6, 4.9 and 5.9).

On the other hand, Renzi frequently enacted some specific behaviours that constructed a stereotypical ingroup prototype. To begin with, he frequently showed a significant degree of municipalism by referring to his hometown, Florence, even when it was not strictly relevant. Not only did he mention his experience as a mayor (sections 4.3 and 5.3), but he did not miss any opportunity to refer to Florence in a variety of ways, both explicitly and implicitly. He mentioned his passion for football and his being a fan of the team of his hometown (section 4.4); chose Leonardo da Vinci as an example of the Italian 'genius' (section 4.4); joked about the name 'Villa Firenze' and Amerigo Vespucci (sections 4.9.1 and 5.10.1); quoted Florence and the Renaissance as an ideal balance of artistic and financial development (section 4.9.1), and so on. Another element that outlined Renzi's institutional persona as stereotypical is his own Catholic heritage. Though he did not mention the Church very often, his Catholic upbringing is quite significantly summed up in his warm appreciation of the Jesuit tradition of Georgetown University (section 4.4), which, quite significantly, place him in a fully conservative position.

The high frequency of witty remarks and jokes in his rhetoric is also quite indicative. Since they were recurrent in both speeches, but increased whenever the interactions became more spontaneous and were sometimes unsuccessful due to improvisation or misunderstanding (see especially section 4.9), they seemed to be born of the speaker's urge to please the audience rather than being simply a

rhetorical device. Finally, the stereotype of Italianness is significantly embedded in Renzi's extensive – and often very complex – use of Italian semiotic hand gestures, accompanied by calques and interferences of the Italian language.

The second strategy consisted in recalling (both implicitly and explicitly) mainstream theories dating back to the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These references are pivotal to understand Renzi's political discourse as they involved his programme of innovation, showed a complex interplay of opposing influences and provided an explanation to his contradictory attitude towards the past.

First, the main themes and tones of Renzi's programme recall the iconoclastic rhetoric of the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. His enthusiasm for technological innovations, radical change, youth, dynamism and speed recall the violently radical programme of the Futurist movement (Barile, 2014a: 36; 2014b: 7-8; see also Marcello Veneziani, cited in Galimberti, 2015: 22). So much so that his use of the term 'demolition' was gloomily associated with Fascist rhetoric by an official voice of the former Communist Party, as mentioned in the introduction. Thorough analysis of the similarities between the communication style and the reformation programme of Mussolini and Renzi would largely exceed the purpose of this research. It is worth noting, however, that Renzi's iconoclastic claim to modernity, his celebration of youth and dynamism, his urge to renovate Italy and build the new Italians by reviving past glories, his passion for modern media, his use of everyday language and appeal to emotions, have their legacy in the performative politics of right wing movements and, above all, of the Italian Fascist leader (Corner-Pels, 2003: 8-9; for a discussion on Mussolini's communication style, see Falasca-Zamponi, 2000). Renzi himself implicitly testified to this legacy when he quoted Papini's harshly derogatory words to express his contempt for the passive, past-oriented attitude of the Italians and recalled – whether deliberately or not – other intellectuals of the Fascist period when he insisted on the figure of 'museum custodians' (see introduction and sections 1.2 and 4.10).

Second, both Renzi's positivistic optimism for the future and his obsession with backwardness and regeneration were heir to a debate that had engaged intellectuals and politicians for centuries (see introduction and section 1.2). Whereas his definition of the country as a 'sleeping beauty' (section 4.4) recalls similar comments by writer Madame de Staël and poet Alphonse De Lamartine (Patriarca, 2010: 27; De Lamartine, 1825: 62-63<sup>32</sup>), the solutions he proposed evoke the reformation programmes of the Father Founders. Thus, Renzi echoed Croce, Gioberti and Mazzini, to name only a few, in his attempt to propose a 'Mediterranean way' to regenerate Italy as opposed to the model of Northern Europe. He suggested that such a solution would be grounded on the presumed primacy of the country as the cradle of civilisation due to its position in the Mediterranean (sections 4.6.1 and 5.9.1) and its humanistic legacy – supposedly rich in beauty, emotions and ethical values – which would lead to a new Renaissance (sections 4.6, 4.8, 4.9 and 5.9). Interestingly, Renzi followed the school of Croce and Gentile, and insisted on education and culture as a way towards reformation and rebirth (sections 4.3, 4.4, 4.5, 4.8, 5.4, 5.5 and 5.7)<sup>33</sup>. Moreover, his reference to Florence as the most successful example of innovation and culture in Italy exceeded the boundaries of localism to recall those intellectuals – among them, Gioberti and Manzoni – who advocated the supremacy of the Florentine culture and literature in the debate on the national language of the newly born Kingdom of Italy (Marazzini, 1999).

More importantly, Renzi's faith in progress and the positive development of history dates back to the age of European imperialism and were grounded on modern idealism – which saw in Croce its most important Italian representative – and its aim to reform society through 'struggle, commitment and mediation' (Bauman and Bordoni, 2014: 80, 122). It is worth noting, however, that Renzi's version of idealism was highly inconsistent. While embracing the rational,

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<sup>32</sup> '[T]out dort,/Tout, jusqu'aux souvenirs de ton antique histoire./Qui te feraient du moins rougir devant ta gloire !/Tout dort!'

<sup>33</sup> Renzi's knowledge of Croce is testified to by a recent article on a prominent Italian newspaper. According to the article, Renzi quoted the Italian philosopher to stigmatise incompetence (*La Repubblica*, 13 January 2018. 'Elezioni 2018 Renzi: nostro avversario l'incompetenza. Uno del PD a Palazzo Chigi.')

solidarity-oriented collectivism of the Hegelian school, he also embodied postmodern irrational subjectivism by celebrating innovation for innovation's sake, flexibility and change and behaving as an individualistic, post-ideological politician (on the contrasting dynamics of modernity and postmodernity, see Bauman and Bordoni, 2014: 80-84, 113-128).

It has been pointed out that some of the ambivalence embedded in Renzi's rhetoric was an expression of his composite personality and his intention to appeal to the electorate of the left and the right alike by drawing on the style and programme of the New Labour to develop his own 'Third Way' (Barile, 2014a: 14, 18, 58-62). According to this interpretation, Renzi's praise for dynamism was a way to make Italians more cosmopolitan (Barile 2014b: 8), while appealing also to a more conservative electorate by displaying the everyday communication style of the 'person next door', based on emotions and storytelling (ibidem, 58, 88-94, 117, 132). In other words, Blair's carefully-constructed 'normalness' (Fairclough, 2000: 97-100) was transformed by Renzi into Italianness. Therefore, Renzi's frequent references to his experience as a mayor, his limited command of the English language and his markedly Italian accent were instrumental to connect to his audience (as much as his Florentine accent to connect to his Italian electorate), since he behaved as first among equals and embodied the traits of the Italians (Barile, 2014a: 58; Galimberti, 2015: 40), like Berlusconi did with their vices (Savio, 2014: 317). A 'mediatised' politician, he drew inspiration from pop culture and the show business and adopted their techniques based on conversationalism, sociability, emotions, irrationality, casualness and friendliness (Barile, 2014a; Corner-Pels, 2003; Higgins, 2018; Street, 2001, 2003, 2004).

I only partially agree on explaining the inconsistencies in Renzi's communication as part of his personal strategy to reconcile contrasting behaviours and beliefs. It was indeed my intention to go beyond this interpretation and attempt deeper understanding of political and ideological implications in the in-depth linguistic and multimodal analysis discussed in this study (see RQ3). First, as I have already pointed out, the Italian legacy of this

communication style dates back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century within right-wing movements. When Renzi gained his position at centre stage in the contemporary political arena, these techniques had largely been exploited by centre-right parties (Loporcaro, 2004: 95), whereas the left still preferred a more traditional approach. Indeed, it was Berlusconi who introduced the innovations that Renzi would follow and develop in the years to come. Moreover, celebrations of local identity such as municipalism did not belong to Italian left-wing discourse, which heavily contested it as a potential source of sectarian interests (Pratt, 2001: 90). Finally, Renzi's almost obsessive reference to stereotypes and the traditional Italian culture largely exceeded the boundaries of informal style. Though his deliberate spontaneity also involved some degree of provincialism, as he admitted (2011: 88), he could have still behaved in an informal, friendly way while opting for a more international, less insular image. The resulting political persona would have been more consistent with his statements and would probably have contributed to avoid or reduce flaws in intercultural communication.

### **6.3 Italianness and the myth of the nation**

Renzi's rhetorical strategies bore a significant ideological consequence for two reasons. On the one hand, identity is a choice and is constructed in discourse (see section 2.3.3). On the other, ideology plays a crucial role in keeping stereotypes (and group membership) stable. Whether spontaneous or carefully staged or the interplay of both dynamics, Renzi's identity foregrounded illusory dynamism and modernity while perpetuating the founding elements of Catholic political tradition. This is because Renzi produced precise ideological representations, or slogan-images (Simons, 2000: 96), of Italy and the Italian character that sounded innovative and change-oriented while, at the same time, being reassuringly familiar. To do so he made extensive use of two main strategies of political communication, legitimisation and coercion, namely the forms of 'soft power' (Nye, 1990) that I mentioned above, when discussing discourse and power relations (see section 2.3.2).

Renzi realised his own form of soft power by constructing a political persona that embodied stereotypes and reproduced clichés. On the one hand, his rhetorical devices, from culturally-loaded emblems to calques, jokes and his limited command of English converged into the creation of *the* Italian. On the other, monoglossia, rhythmic deictic gestures and the authoritative pitch and volume of his voice underlined his leadership role and contributed to make his figure prototypical. Significantly, in the speeches analysed in this study Renzi used the explicit locution 'I am' only to define himself either as a leader or a typical Italian (see sections 4.3.1, 4.7.1, 5.3.1, 5.6.1 and 5.10.1). The function of Renzi's Italianness, therefore, was twofold: it overtly defined his own identity, but implicitly determined the characteristics of group membership and set its goals, values and beliefs. By embodying the prototypical Italian, Renzi reproduced and reinforced the myth of the national character, since 'myths survive for only as long as they are enacted by those who accept them' (Gray, J., 2013/2014: 124).

While reproducing the prototype of the Italian citizen, he also reproduced the myth of the nation. He constructed, in Anderson's terms, an 'imagined community' (2006) with a mythical past and a mythical geographic space. This community gathered around the inclusive pronoun 'we' that Renzi frequently used, very relevantly, when discussing about shared values and the Italian cultural and artistic heritage (see sections 4.3.1, 4.4.1, 4.6.1 and 5.9.1). To define the geographic space of the community Renzi recalled traditional clichés, 19<sup>th</sup> century reform programmes and an ethical vocation by referring to a 'boot', a 'bridge between different cultures,' 'a natural bridge in the relation between Europe and Africa,' and to the Mediterranean as the 'connection between our roots and our future (...) the custodian of our memory' (sections 4.6.1 and 5.9.1). Similarly, he reinvented a mythical past to be revived by celebrating the Florentine Renaissance and praising humanistic culture and emotions (see section 4.8.1). Community, geographic space and history, therefore, were all grounded on the general, unspecified notion of 'values', which Renzi chose to frame his myth of the nation, a myth that he summed up in the slogan '[i]f the



world asks (...) beauty... ask the... connection, ask dignity, ask values, this world asks Italy' (section 4.5.1).

Though inclusive, myths naturalise reality (see section 2.3.1). They erase complexity and represent reality as uncontested and uncontroversial (Baker, 2006: 3, 8-11; Bell, 2003: 75). In other words, they offer the 'symbolic generalization' that reduces complexity and makes explicit communication largely redundant (Luhman, 1979: 130). Myths, therefore, are 'uni-vocal' narrations (Bell, 2003: 75) and can be constructed only by excluding dialogic voices.

All forms of fellowship, community and solidarity depend upon meanings which are shared and can be taken as given, and no form of social communication or interaction is conceivable without some such 'common ground'. On the other hand, the capacity to exercise social power, domination and hegemony includes the capacity to shape to some significant degree the nature and content of this 'common ground', which makes implicitness and assumptions an important issue with respect to ideology. (Fairclough, 2003b: 55)

If Blair extensively made categorical statements to claim moral authority and toughness (Fairclough, 1995/2013: 388-389), Renzi used monoglossia and presumptions as a significant instrument in the process of myth-making to naturalise representations by excluding alternative voices (Fairclough, 2003b: 42-47). It is worth noting that humorous remarks and nonverbal language also played a pivotal role in this mythical narration. Gestures, in particular, largely contributed to making communication more immediate since they are spontaneous, appeal to emotions, and (re)produce and naturalise shared culture.

Whereas the frequent and extensive use of these techniques was instrumental to engaging with the audience, they were also crucial in creating the necessary trust to ensure that the myth of the nation got across. Trust is indeed a pivotal notion in Renzi's rhetoric. It needs a familiar world that builds upon a simplified vision of history in order to define (and present) a reassuring, uncomplicated version of the future (Luhman, 1979: 20). It is through trust, therefore, that Renzi naturalised a familiar, selectively appropriated, version of the past to pave the way to a positive, simplified future. Thus, the many

inconsistencies and contradictions in Renzi's talk lost their power in the vagueness of myth.

#### **6.4 Behind the mask**

The introduction provided an overview of the research questions that the study addressed, namely how Renzi's use of the stereotypes of Italianness affected his communication (RQ1) and, as a consequence, how it influenced his political persona (RQ2). Ultimately, the study investigated what type of values and view of the country Renzi's rhetorical strategies promoted and what was their possible contribution to contemporary post-ideological political practice (RQ3). As far as significance is concerned, the analysis showed that stereotypes were pervasive and involved a variety of rhetorical strategies, both verbal and nonverbal. Since Renzi not only quoted clichés, but also embodied them, his political persona emerged as culturally-loaded, even provincial, as testified to by the incidents of miscommunication that occurred during his speeches.

The choice of such a specific political persona had very significant consequences on the values and beliefs that Renzi brought forth, which were the ultimate focus of this study. Indeed, all the strategies discussed above are far from being ideologically neutral. First, the prevalence of monoglossia is contrary to the principles of democracy, which, following Habermas, is grounded on dialogue (see discussion in Susen, 2018: 50). Indeed, the use of an informal, simplified communication style that involves emotions and provides myths rather than information presupposes a specific intended audience with precise features. Not only does this audience coincide with the target of the mass/social media – as is the case of all 'post-ideological', mediatised politics – but it must be conceived as a mass of passive, irrational, misinformed recipients who are incapable of critical thought (Loporcaro, 2004: 18). This notion, which is crucial for totalitarian regimes to preserve power, has never abandoned Italy since the period of Counter-Reformation, when the peninsula was almost untouched by the principles of the Enlightenment and the Church was able to exert power by oppressing intellectuals and controlling education (*ibidem*, 18). Rationality and

critical thought, therefore, did not develop in Italy as elsewhere in Europe: as a consequence, visual language has been privileged to the written word, and emotions to rationality until the present day (Graziano, 2010: 125; Loporcaro, 2004: 191-192). As the Italian contemporary writer Pier Paolo Pasolini observed, 'nowadays the culture of a nation (especially Italy) is expressed above all through the language of behaviour, or physical language, *plus* a certain amount - completely conventionalised and extremely poor - of verbal language' (1974/2016: 47; my translation, italics in the original). Renzi was no exception. His rhetoric was heir to this 'pictorial' tradition and privileged visual resources (gestures and facial expressions) to data, and emotions to information. Though he insisted on the role of education and culture, the putative audience of his talks was nothing more than the passive public of a show.

Renzi, therefore, emerged contradictorily as a post-ideological politician that acted as an ideologised politician. The ambivalence depends on the two parallel planes along which Renzi's communication unfolded: the explicit celebration of innovation and modernity, which Renzi broadcast as an entertainer, and the implicit consolidation of a traditional form of nationalism, grounded on Catholicism, which he partly enacted and partly expressed through the discursive strategies described in the previous chapters.

Hypotheses on the ultimate functions of such strategies would largely exceed the scope of this study. Instead I shall make some final observations on the dynamics of ideology on the grounds of van Dijk's work (1998) and the general context of contemporary politics, which may have played a significant role in Renzi's rhetoric. First, though ideologies are consistent at the level of the group, they can become incoherent at the level of the individual, who, being a member of several groups and involved in various social interactions, brings her or his own interpretation and personal representation of such beliefs (van Dijk, 1998/2000: 90-95). Moreover, ideologies can be referred to more or less consciously. Interestingly, dominant ideologies tend to be implicit and processed 'naturally' unlike oppositional ideologies, which are more explicit (ibidem, 98). Finally, ideologies select information and concepts so that knowledge reflects the

interests of the group (ibidem, 108-117). Thus, Renzi's Catholic, conservative political and cultural background may have interfered with his discourse on innovation by introducing unconscious, confounding elements and selecting stereotypes and clichés from the dominant cultural tradition.

Within the context of contemporary politics, however, Renzi's rhetoric seems to respond to the current 'state of crisis' (Bauman and Bordoni, 2014) almost to perfection, at least theoretically. Selective remembering - and, consequently, selective forgetting - is not limited to tyrannical regimes, but is widely practised by democracies to exert control over their electorate. Given the present condition of paralysis due to the separation of politics and power (ibidem, 12), the only response lies in the manipulation of collective memory (ibidem, 61), in the nostalgic recreation of that mythical 'elsewhere' that Zygmunt Bauman calls 'retrotopia' (2017: 3-5). Indeed, far from reviving the past in the present or making it a viable solution to current problems, myth lives outside history (see sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2, and 2.3.1), and '[w]hen commemoration freezes into permanent forms that cannot be changed without cries of sacrilege, we can be certain that it serves the particular interests of its defenders and not their moral edification' (Todorov, 2001: 21).

Though Renzi's strategies were successful in ensuring a large consensus until 2015, they could not prevent its dramatic downfall, which led to the poor result of the Democratic Party in the general election of March 2018 and the consequent rise of an improvised, right-wing coalition. A possible explanation may lie in that he recurred to traditional ideology to meet the demands of a disoriented, post-ideological electorate. Renzi chose to fill the signifiers that had been left empty by contemporary hegemonic struggle with traditional meanings and offered what he presumed that many Italian voters were asking for, namely a familiar, stereotypical character that appealed to their emotions and with which they could identify. His version of the so-called 'civic nationalism' (Chouliaraki, 2000) - naturalised as a dominant ideology by a long tradition - provided them with something with which they had been familiar for centuries: a reassuring,

simplified representation of a mythical dimension that promised to pave the way to a likewise mythical future.

Whereas 'rising numbers of actual and aspiring political leaders (...) have little to offer to their electors except "consciousness of the unity" rooted in a distant and murky past' (Bauman, 2017: 77), governments and institutions try to restore some level of control by reducing unknown dynamics to known practices and limiting complexity (Bauman and Bordoni, 2014: 68). To be a modern (or postmodern) politician, on the other hand, means acknowledging that the challenges of globalisation can be met only by undermining stereotypes and making the features that have traditionally been selected as ingroup/outgroup markers, irrelevant (ibidem, 128-127). Renzi's strong connection with conservative tradition prevented him from offering boldly innovative solutions within a structured institutional framework and paved the way, almost a century after the March on Rome, to yet another surge of the far right.

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## 8 Appendices

### 8.1 Appendix 1: Appraisal resources

**Attitude:** expresses the feelings of the speaker.

Affect: emotional reactions of the speaker.

| <b>Variables of AFFECT</b> | <b>Examples</b>                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| happiness                  | The captain felt <b>happy</b>     |
| unhappiness                | The captain felt <b>sad</b>       |
| security                   | The captain felt <b>confident</b> |
| insecurity                 | The captain felt <b>anxious</b>   |
| satisfaction               | The captain felt <b>absorbed</b>  |
| dissatisfaction            | The captain felt <b>fed up</b>    |

An overview of the realizations of affect (adapted from Martin and White, 2005: 49-51)

Judgement: attitude to people and how they behave.

| <b>Social esteem (positive/negative)</b> |                            |
|--|----------------------------|
| - normality                              | 'how special?'             |
| - capacity                               | 'how capable?'             |
| - tenacity                               | 'how dependable?'          |
| <b>Social sanction</b>                   |                            |
| - veracity [truth]                       | 'how honest?'              |
| - propriety [ethics]                     | 'how far beyond reproach?' |

An overview of the realizations of judgement (adapted from Martin and White, 2005: 53)

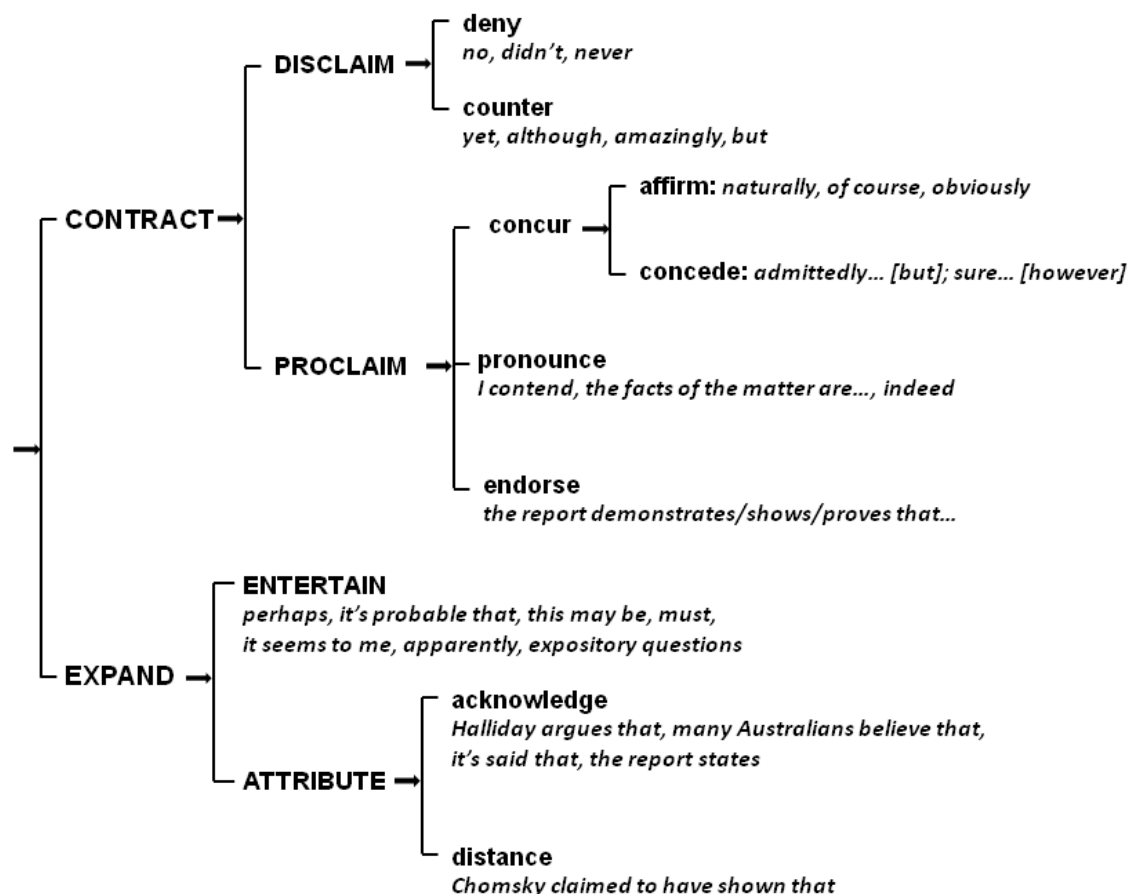
Appreciation: attitude to things, performances and natural phenomena.

|  |                          |
|--|--------------------------|
| <b>Reaction (positive/negative)</b>    |                          |
| - impact                               | 'did it grab me?'        |
| - quality                              | 'did I like it?'         |
| <b>Composition (positive/negative)</b> |                          |
| - balance                              | 'did it hang together?'  |
| - complexity                           | 'was it hard to follow?' |
| <b>Valuation (positive/negative)</b>   | 'was it worthwhile?'     |

An overview of the realizations of appreciation (adapted from Martin and White, 2005: 56)

**Engagement**: expresses the acknowledgement of other points of view, or voices.

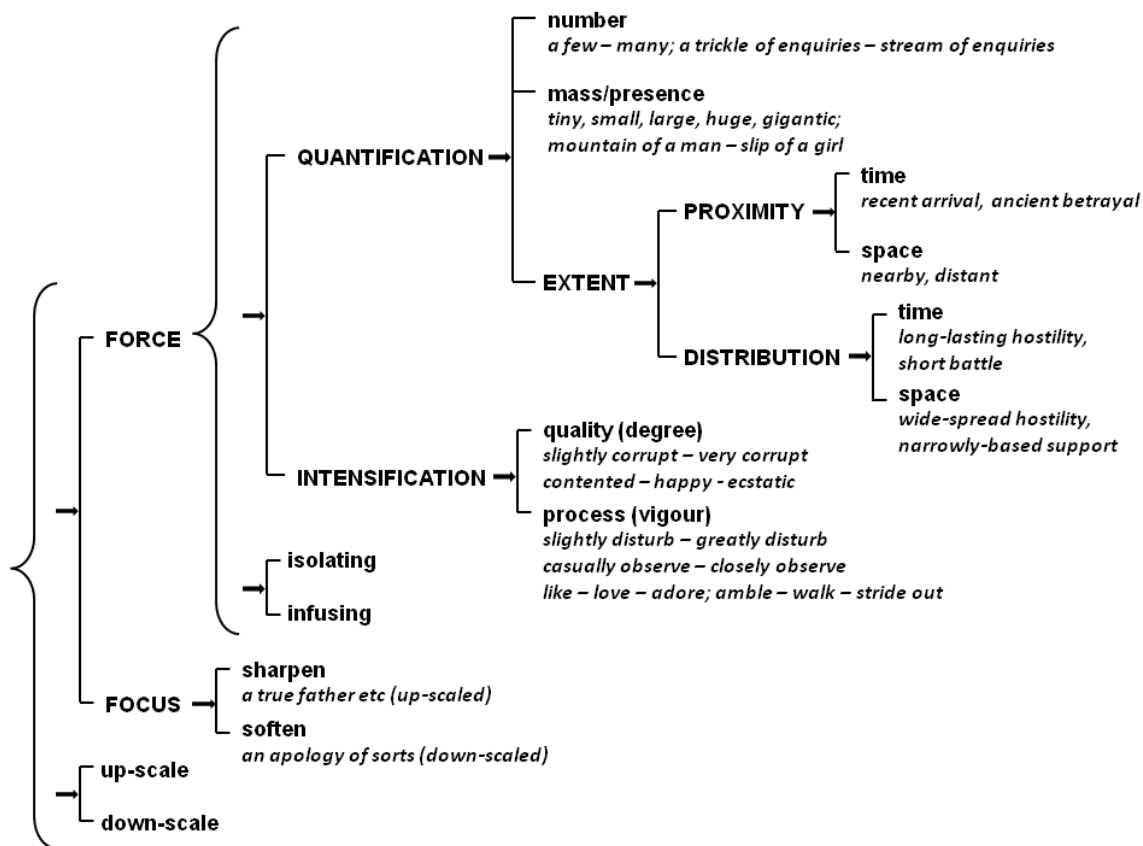
Heteroglossia: allows or implies dialogic alternatives.



An overview of heteroglossia (Martin and White, 2005: 134)

Monoglossia: bare, 'undialogised' assertions in which information is treated as given (Martin and White, 2005: 99-101). No specific sub-categories, therefore, can be highlighted.

**Graduation:** indicates the intensity of attitude and engagement. It can be expressed through force and focus, which include scalable or non-scalable categories, or implicit ('infused') up-scaling or down-scaling.



An overview of graduation (adapted from Martin and White, 2005: 154)






## 8.2 Appendix 2: Speech n. 1 – Analysis




### 8.2.1 Segment 1 – 00:03:41 – 00:10:04




#### 8.2.1.1 Appraisal analysis and value

|   | <b>Transcript</b>  | <b>Appraisal analysis</b>   | <b>Value</b>   |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | Amiche ed Amici italiani   |   | greeting in Italian:<br>reference to the Italian culture   |
| 2 | the <i>capital OF THE WORLD</i> ,<br>Washington DC                           | capital of the world: invoked appreciation (+valuation), graduation (focus: +sharpen) and invoked monoglossic engagement                                | deictic positioning  |
| 3 | <b>It's REALLY a GREAT challenge</b>   | It's: monoglossic engagement; really a great challenge: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (focus: sharpen and force: +quantification) |  |
| 4 | ' <u>Universitas</u> ' in <u>Latin</u> , in <u>Latin</u> expression          |   | universitas/Latin: invoked reference to the Italian culture, reinforced by repetitions                     |
| 5 | <b>We can risk</b> a very interesting link                                   | we can risk: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)   | Italian calque   |
| 6 | 'E pluribus unum' (...)<br>' <u>universitas</u> ' in <u>Latin</u> expression |   | e pluribus unum/universitas/<br>Latin: invoked reference to the Italian culture, reinforced by repetitions |



|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 7  | <p>university today <b>are</b> the<br/> <u>HEART</u> of the knowledge, the<br/> <u>HEART</u> of the future</p>  |   |   |
| 8  |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his right hand upwards, and closes and opens it twice while pronouncing the word 'heart']</i></p> | <p>are: monoglossic engagement;<br/> heart: invoked appreciation<br/> (+valuation) and graduation<br/> (focus: sharpen, and force:<br/> +intensification by repetition)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian<br/> emblem indicating the<br/> core meaning</p>                                     |
| 9  | <p><b>I know</b></p>  | <p>heteroglossic engagement<br/> (proclaim: concur)</p>   | <p>Italian intonation</p>   |
| 10 | <p>in my country</p>  |   |   |
| 11 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest with both his open hands while pronouncing the words 'my country']</i></p>          |   | <p>my: deictic positioning<br/> reinforced by hand<br/> gesture (Italian<br/> emblem) meaning<br/> 'I/my'</p> |



|    |  |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|
| 12 | <p><b>university is FIRST OF ALL</b> the place of <i>identity</i> and the place in which the <i>custodian of wisdom</i> and of <i>identity</i> live every day</p>  | <p>university is: monoglossic engagement; first of all: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); identity: invoked affect (+satisfaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); custodian: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); wisdom: invoked judgement (social sanction: +veracity); but I prefer: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter), reinforced by repetitions); not only as a custodian: invoked judgement (social esteem: -tenacity); not only (...) but: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); a laboratory: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); ideas of the future: judgement (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p> | <p>identity/custodian/wisdom: stereotype of Italy as linked to the past reinforced by repetitions; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; laboratory for the ideas/future: opposition; I prefer (...) future: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p> |
| 13 |  <p>[Renzi closes his hand, pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'the place in which']</p>         |   |   |
| 14 | <p><b>but I prefer</b> image university <b>not only</b> as a <i>custodian</i> of this <i>identity</i>, <b>but a</b> laboratory for the ideas of the future</p>   |   |   |
| 15 |  <p>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'for the ideas of the future']</p> |   |   |
| 16 | <p><b>Think about it</b></p>   | <p>monoglossic engagement</p>   | <p>Italian calque</p>   |
| 17 | <p>The product of this <i>labour</i> of the mind <b>is</b> the <i>foundation</i></p>   | <p>labour: judgement (social sanction: +capacity); is: monoglossic engagement; foundation: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>   |   |
| 18 | <p>of our <i>values</i> today</p>  | <p>values: judgement (social sanction: +propriety)</p>  | <p>inclusive 'our'/today: deictic positioning</p>   |

|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 19 | <p><b><u>If you think about</u></b> the last <i>TERRIBLE</i> tragedy, tragedies around the world (...)<br/> <b><u>If you think about</u></b> (...)<br/> <b><u>If you think about</u></b> (...) <b><u>If you think about</u></b> (...) <b><u>you can image</u></b> exactly that (...) <i>terrorists</i>.</p> |   |   |
| 20 |  <p>[Renzi closes his hand, pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'if you think about']</p>  | <p>If you think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); terrible: appreciation (–reaction) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); tragedy/tragedies: invoked affect (–security); you can image: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); terrorists: judgement (social sanction: –propriety)</p> | <p>if you think/last/: Italian calque, reinforced by repetition; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p> |
| 21 | <p>because <b>is</b> exactly that the <i>goal</i> and the <i>target</i> for the <i>terrorists</i>.</p>  |   |   |
| 22 |  <p>[Renzi closes his hand, pinches his thumb and forefinger and extends his arm while pronouncing the phrase 'exactly that']</p>  | <p>is: monoglossic engagement; terrorists: judgement (social sanction: –propriety); goal: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); target: affect (–security)</p>  | <p>is exactly that the goal: Italian calque; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>                     |
| 23 | <p>When I was mayor for me the <i>MOST</i> important thing for my city Florence</p>   |   |   |
| 24 |  <p>[Renzi keeps his open right hand on his chest with while talking about his past as the Mayor of Florence]</p>  | <p>most important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>when I was mayor/I/me/my city: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'</p>  |

|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 25 | <b>obviously not only the museums and the cultural heritage</b>   |   |  |
| 26 |  <p>[Renzi repeatedly rotates both hands far from his chest holding his palms open while pronouncing the words 'museum and the cultural heritage']</p> | obviously: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); not only the museums and the cultural heritage: invoked appreciation (-reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)                                   | not only: invoked opposition between 'museums-cultural heritage' and 'American universities' below; museums and cultural heritage: invoked stereotype; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'repetition'; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely' |
| 27 |  <p>[Renzi closes his hand, pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'but also the presence']</p>                                 |   |  |
| 28 | <b>but also the presence of American universities MOST important around the Europe</b>  | but also the presence of American universities: invoked appreciation (+valuation); most important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)   | but also: counter argument (invoked opposition anticipated by 'not only'); universities most important, the Europe: Italian calques  |
| 29 | in <u>my</u> city in Florence (...) <u>my</u> country <b>are</b> the <b>MOST important number</b> around the <u>my</u> country  | most important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); are: monoglossic engagement   | my: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; are the most important (...) country: Italian calque   |
| 30 | <b>This is</b> a <b>SYMBOL</b> of <u>opening mind</u> and <u>opening perspective</u> for the future   | is: monoglossic engagement; symbol: infused graduation (focus: sharpen); opening mind/perspective: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition, present participle and hand gesture) | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'  |
| 31 |  <p>[Renzi rotates his hand forward keeping arm on the lectern while pronouncing the phrase 'opening perspective for the future']</p>                |   |  |

|    |  |  |  |
|----|--|--|--|
| 32 | <p><b>Obviously</b>, <i>culture</i> is <b>KEY</b> on the time of the <i>fight against... against terror</i></p>          | <p>obviously (...) is: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); culture: appreciation (+valuation); fight against: judgement (social esteem:+tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); key: graduation (focus: sharpen); terror: invoked judgement (social esteem: -propriety)</p> |  |
| 33 | <p><b>If you think</b></p>   | <p>if you think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)</p>  | <p>Italian calque</p>  |
| 34 | <p><b>terrorist want us</b> to die and if they can't <b>they want us</b> to live in fear and in the <i>obscurity</i></p> | <p>terrorist: judgement (social esteem: -propriety); want/want: monoglossic engagement; die/fear/obscurity: affect (-security)</p>   | <p>inclusive 'us'/they: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition</p> |
| 35 | <p>My <i>friends</i> (...), our role is <b>CRUCIAL</b> and <b>VERY important</b></p>                                     | <p>friends: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); is crucial: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>  | <p>my/inclusive 'our': deictic positioning</p>                           |

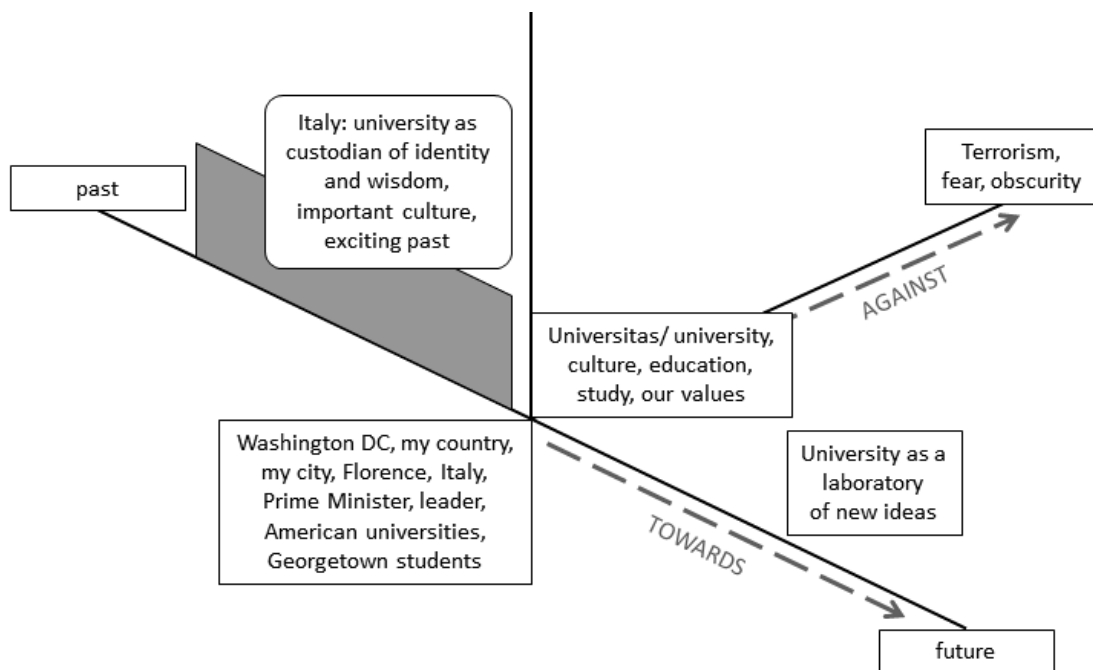
|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 36 | <p><b>you can show</b> <i>AROUND THE WORLD</i> the <i>ABSOLUTELY</i> <i>importance of culture</i> as a <i>possibility</i> to live not against <i>terror</i> but with idea and <i>effort</i> of our <i>values</i></p>          |  |   |
| 37 |  <p>[Renzi caps his right hand upwards and moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the word 'culture as a possibility']</p> | <p>you can show: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); around the world: graduation (force: +quantification); absolutely importance of culture: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification reinforced by hand gesture); possibility: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); terror: affect (-security); effort: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); values: judgement (social sanction: +propriety)</p> | <p>inclusive 'our': deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'being sure/strong'</p>             |
| 38 |  <p>[Renzi closes his fists and moves them up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'idea and effort']</p>                                  |  |   |
| 39 | <p><b>This is</b> the reason for the which</p>  | <p>this is: monoglossic engagement</p>   | <p>Italian calque</p>   |
| 40 | <p>now <b><u>we</u> think</b> <i>university, education, study, culture,</i> the <i>MOST powerful</i> ways for <b><u>us</u></b> to say no to <i>terror</i>, <b><u>we can say no, we must say no.</u></b></p>                   | <p>we think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); we can/must say no: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); university/education/study/culture: appreciation (+valuation); most powerful: judgement (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +intensification); terror: affect (-security)</p>   | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; now/inclusive 'us' and 'we': deictic positioning reinforced by we/we repetition; can/must: use of modality to reinforce opposition</p> |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 41 | <p><b>I think (...)</b> for Italy <b>there is a VERY important</b> role <b>AROUND THE WORLD</b></p>  | <p>I think there is a very important role: heteroglossic engagement (entertain), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); around the world: graduation (force: +quantification)</p>  |  |
| 42 | <p>If <b>REALLY we think</b> 'now is the time to <i>fight against terrorists</i> and <i>terrorism</i> with the ideas of <i>culture</i>'</p>  | <p>really we think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (focus: sharpen); is: monoglossic engagement; fight against: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); terrorists/terrorism: judgement (social sanction: -propriety) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); culture: appreciation (+valuation)</p> | <p>if really we think: Italian calque; opposition between culture and terror (against); hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p> |
| 43 |  <p>[Renzi closes his hand, pinches his thumb and forefinger twice while pronouncing the phrase 'if really we think now is the time']</p> |   |  |
| 44 |  <p>[Renzi keeps his open right hand on his chest with while pronouncing the words 'my job']</p>  | <p>my job is/I am: monoglossic engagement; very incredible: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification); Prime Minister/leader: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>  | <p>my job/I am: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p>   |
| 45 | <p><b>my job is a VERY incredible</b> job because <b>I am</b> the <i>Prime Minister</i>, the <i>leader</i> of the government</p>   |   |  |
| 46 | <p>in one of the <b>MOST beautiful and important</b> countries for the <i>culture</i> <b>AROUND THE WORLD</b></p>  | <p>most beautiful and important/culture: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); around the world: infused graduation (force: +quantification)</p>  | <p>one of the most beautiful and important countries for the culture around the world: stereotype</p>  |



|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 47 | <b>But it's also a terrific job</b>   | but it's also: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); terrific: appreciation (+valuation) or affect (-security)  | but: countering structure   |
| 48 | <b>If you think</b>   | heteroglossic engagement (entertain)   | Italian calque  |
| 49 | <b>we can ensure</b> the future to a country whose past is so <i>exciting</i> that just saying the word future <b>seems</b> <i>VERY hard</i> .                | we can ensure: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) exciting: appreciation (+reaction); seems: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very hard: appreciation (-composition) and graduation (force: +intensification)   | inclusive 'we': deictic positioning; future-past invoked opposition; a country whose past is so exciting: stereotype; just saying (...) very hard: irony and stereotype |
| 50 | <b>But this job is also fun</b> because <b>I want</b> to tell you that <b>future is MORE interesting</b> than the past, <i>also in Italy, even in Italy</i> . | but this job is also fun: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) and appreciation (+reaction); I want: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: pronounce); future is more interesting: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification); also/even in Italy: invoked appreciation (+reaction) | future-past opposition; also-even: crescendo and opposition reinforced by a stress on 'even'; even in Italy: irony  |




### 8.2.1.2 Deictic positioning







## 8.2.2 Segment 2 – 00:10:04-00:15:54



### 8.2.2.1 Appraisal analysis and value

|   | Transcript   | Appraisal analysis  | Value   |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1 | So <b>let me pay</b> a last tribute to this university   | let me pay: monoglossic engagement; pay (...) tribute: invoked affect (+satisfaction)   | this university: deictic positioning  |
| 2 | <i>particular</i> <u>experience</u> , the Jesuit <u>experience</u>   | particular: appreciation (+valuation); experience: graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)   | Jesuit: invoked deictic positioning   |
| 3 | <b>Teilhard de Chardin who said</b> 'the future will always end up happening'  |   |   |
| 4 | <b>This is THE POINT</b> of my speech:   |   |   |
| 5 |  <p>[Renzi closes his hand, pinches his thumb and forefinger twice while pronouncing the phrase 'the future will always end up happening. This is the point']</p> | said: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); this is: monoglossic engagement; the point: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification) | future: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely' |
| 6 | <b>I believe</b> the future, in Italy, <b>is MORE interesting</b> than the past  | I believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); is more interesting: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification)                 | future/past: opposition; repetition of the concept already stated             |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 7  | Oh, <b>I know</b> eh? <b>I know</b><br>VERY WELL   |   | Oh, I know eh?/I know very well: Italian calque and intonation; intonation also invokes a conceding-counteracting structure; hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my': deictic positioning |
| 8  | <br><i>[Renzi quickly touches his chest with both his open hands while pronouncing the words 'I know very well']</i>                            | I know: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and the use of hand gesture); very well: graduation (force: +intensification) |  |
| 9  | the <i>incredible past</i> of my country   | incredible past: appreciation (+reaction)   | my country: deictic positioning; incredible past: stereotype   |
| 10 | Italy <b>is rich</b> with <i>beauty, art, food</i> (...) soccer  |   |  |
| 11 | <br><i>[Renzi raises his gaze to look at the audience, frowns, quickly nods and slightly opens his palm while pronouncing the word 'food']</i> | is rich: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (+valuation); beauty/art/food: appreciation (+valuation)   | beauty/art/food/soccer: stereotypes; nonverbal communication and lower pitch while pronouncing 'food': invoked shared knowledge  |
| 12 | <b>I don't speak about soccer</b> because exactly in this moment Fiorentina lost with Dinamo Kiev so <b>I don't speak about soccer</b>   |   |  |
| 13 | <br><i>[Renzi pretends to look at his watch while pronouncing the words 'in this moment']</i>   | I don't speak: monoglossic engagement   | I don't speak... soccer: joke; I don't speak: Italian calque; Fiorentina: deictic positioning; hand gesture (emblem) reinforcing his joke  |



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| 14 | <p>The smile is not very elegant... my s... I really terr.... my my situation in the heart is terrible after this result</p>  |  | <p>my situation: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'; invoked stereotype of Italians as emotional</p>             |
| 15 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the word 'heart']</i></p>  |  |  |
| 16 | <p>So... we... <b>we know</b> the past in Italy <b>is beautiful</b></p>   | <p>we know: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); is beautiful: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (+valuation);</p> | <p>so: reinforces background knowledge by summarising the previous concept; the past is beautiful: stereotype; inclusive 'we'/past: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 17 | <p><b>Buzzfeed</b> gave 39 reasons last week not to visit Italy: Dolomiti, Val D'Orcia, wine, Sardinia sea, and we can continue.</p>  |  |  |
| 18 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his right arm forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the word 'continue']</i></p> | <p>Buzzfeed gave: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge)</p>  | <p>Buzzfeed: invoked appeal to a young audience; not to visit: irony; we can continue: Italian calque; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'repetition'</p> |

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|----|---|---|---|
| 19 | <p><b>We have</b> an <i>UNIQUE</i> art <u>heritage</u> and more than half the <i>Unesco GLOBAL heritage</i> are in our country</p>  | <p>we have: monoglossic engagement; unique art heritage: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); Unesco global heritage: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (focus: +sharpen)</p>   | <p>unique art heritage: stereotype; inclusive 'our': deictic positioning</p>  |
| 20 | <p><b>Italy is</b> a land of <i>science</i>, of <i>experiments</i>, of <i>innovation</i>.</p>   | <p>Italy is: monoglossic engagement; science/experiments/innovation: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   | <p>invoked opposition with 'heritage' (repeated twice)</p>  |
| 21 | <p>Of course <b>you might think</b> they used to have Leonardo da Vinci now there is Matteo Renzi, this is a <i>REALLY</i> problem for the <u>decline</u>... symbol of <u>decline</u> of Italy.</p> | <p>you might think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); problem/decline: invoked judgement (-capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); really: graduation (focus: sharpen)</p>   | <p>joke reinforced by a hand gesture (illustrator); of course: conceding structure</p>  |
| 22 |  <p>[Renzi mimics a sloping surface while pronouncing the word 'decline']</p>                                    |   |   |
| 23 | <p><b>But, this is for me VERY important</b>, the <i>REAL</i> challenge for my country is stop to look <i>only in the past</i></p>  | <p>but the real challenge (...) is: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) and judgement (social esteem: +capacity); this is for me: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); real challenge: invoked judgement (+capacity) and graduation (focus: sharpen); only in the past: invoked appreciation (-valuation)</p> | <p>for me: deictic positioning; hand gestures (Italian emblem) meaning 'past' but also 'to refuse'; stop to look only in the past: stereotype</p> |
| 24 |  <p>[Renzi moves both hands and slightly turns towards the left while pronouncing the word 'past'].</p>          |   |   |



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|----|--|--|--|
| 25 | and <i>try to turn</i> in a <i>different</i> way.  |  |  |
| 26 |  <p>[Renzi slightly cups his right hand and briefly rotates it while pronouncing the word 'turn'].</p>  | try to turn: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); different: invoked appreciation (+valuation)  | hand gesture (illustrator) reinforcing the concept of 'turning'; hand gesture: possibly a variation of the Italian emblem indicating the explanation/comment to a core concept <sup>34</sup> |
| 27 |  <p>[Renzi slightly cups his right hand far from his body while pronouncing the word 'different'].</p>  |  |  |
| 28 | Italy for the moment, <u>in the last 20 years</u> , in particularly <u>in the last 20 years</u> <b>Italy seems</b> a <i>sleeping beauty</i> . Politics, government, <b>what you call</b> in Washington DC 'beltway' <b>got stuck</b> . | Italy seems: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); beauty: invoked appreciation (+valuation) mitigated by 'sleeping': judgement (social esteem: -capacity); what you call: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); got stuck: monoglossic engagement; stuck: judgement (social esteem: -capacity) | for the moment/in the last 20 years: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; sleeping beauty: irony and stereotypes  |


<sup>34</sup> This may be a variation of the gesture of the 'purse hand' family that Kendon describes as 'grappolo-to-open', namely the purse hand opening upwards while providing an explanation or a comment to a concept just mentioned (see Operational Notes, section 3.2.4).

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| 29 | <p><b>The world changed</b><br/>AROUND US and for a long time <b>Italy were unable to reform.</b></p>   |  |  |
| 30 |  <p>[Renzi cups his right hand upwards and briefly rotates it to form a circle while pronouncing the words 'around us'].</p> | <p>the world changed/Italy were: monoglossic engagement; changed around us: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); unable: judgement (social esteem: –capacity); reform: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>                              | <p>inclusive 'us'/'we'/for a long time: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'a naive person/a fool'; unable to reform: stereotype of passatism</p> |
| 31 | <p><u>Now it's the time</u> in which <b>we can</b> use this expression: <b>Italy is back.</b></p>   | <p>we can: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); it's: monoglossic engagement; is back: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>  | <p>now/inclusive 'we': deictic positioning; now it's the time: repetition (see below)</p>  |
| 32 | <p>And <b>if the world of globalisation asks</b> for a <b>different</b> ideas of <b>culture, values, education</b></p>  | <p>asks: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); globalisation: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); different: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); culture/ education: appreciation (+valuation); values: judgement (social sanction: +propriety)</p> | <p>globalisation: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'</p>  |
| 33 |  <p>[Renzi closes his fist and moves it downward while pronouncing the word 'different'].</p>                              |  |  |
| 34 | <p>Italy <b>is EXACTLY</b> the place in which A LOT OF things <b>could <u>change</u>, must <u>change</u>.</b></p>   | <p>is/could change/must change: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); exactly: graduation (focus: +sharpen); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); change: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness</p>  |



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| 35 | For this reason <i>education is</i><br><b>AT THE CENTRE</b> of our<br>agenda.  | education: appreciation<br>(+valuation); is: monoglossic<br>engagement; at the centre:<br>graduation (focus: sharpen)  | at the centre/inclusive<br>'our': deictic<br>positioning;   |
| 36 | <i>Innovation</i> not only in<br><i>technology</i> , in the <i>space</i> , in<br><i>investment of the future</i>   | innovation/lifestyle: judgement<br>(social esteem: +capacity);<br>investment of the future:  |   |
| 37 |  <p>[Renzi rotates his hand forward<br/>holding his palm open while<br/>pronouncing the word 'investment']</p>    | judgement (social esteem:<br>+capacity) and graduation (force:<br>+intensification by hand gesture);<br>technology/space/culture<br>high end/engineering/food/<br>museums: invoked appreciation<br>(+valuation); design: invoked<br>appreciation (+valuation) and<br>graduation (force: +intensification<br>by repetition); means:<br>monoglossic engagement | lifestyle/design/food/m<br>useums: stereotypes<br>reinforced by<br>repetition; hand<br>gesture: Italian<br>emblem meaning<br>'further/future' |
| 38 | but also <i>lifestyle</i> , <u><i>design</i></u> ,<br><u><i>design</i></u> means culture plus<br><i>engineering</i> , <i>food</i> , high end<br><i>engineering</i> , <i>museums</i> .              |  |   |
| 39 |  <p>[Renzi opens his thumb and<br/>forefinger in a 'U' sign while<br/>pronouncing the words 'little thing']</p> | we decide: monoglossic<br>engagement and invoked<br>judgement (social esteem:<br>+capacity); a little: graduation<br>(force: -quantification) and<br>graduation (force: -quantification)   | inclusive 'we': deictic<br>positioning; hand<br>gesture: Italian<br>emblem meaning<br>'small'   |
| 40 | <b>We decide</b> A LITTLE thing:   |  |   |



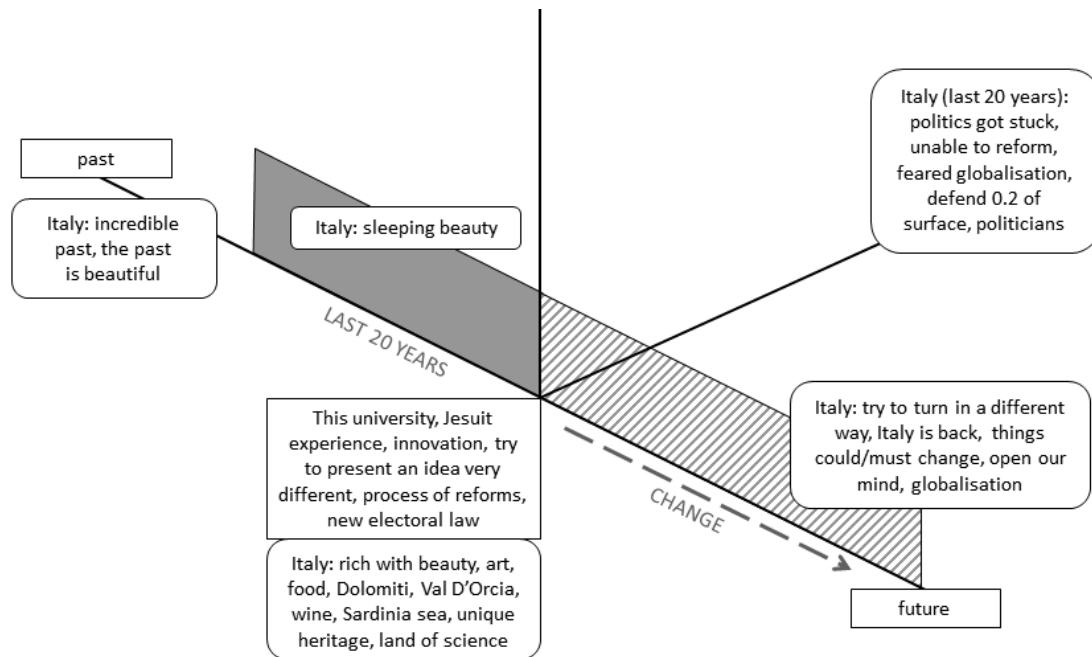
|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 41 | <p><i>for the FIRST time the decision about the manager of museum in Italy <b>depend not</b> from the politician <b>but</b> from... ehm... race, international race</i></p>   |  |   |
| 42 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his right hand downwards and his facial expression briefly shows negative attitude while pronouncing the word 'politicians']</i></p> | <p>for the first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); first hand gesture and facial expression: invoked appreciation (-valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); depend not: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter)</p> | <p>first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to have a finger in every pie/to conduct illicit business'; it is reinforced by facial expression of negative appreciation; second hand gesture: (possibly Italian) emblem meaning 'everybody'</p> |
| 43 |  <p><i>[Renzi points upwards and rotates them symmetrically a few times while pronouncing the word 'race']</i></p>                                       |  |   |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 44 | <p><b>We publish</b> the possibility to become director of museum in Italy in <i>The Economist</i></p>   |   |  |
| 45 |  <p><i>[Renzi claps his right hand fingers on his left hand palm after pronouncing the word 'published'; he repeats the gesture while pronouncing the word 'The Economist', clapping twice]</i></p> | <p>we publish: monoglossic engagement</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to publish/to put on paper', reinforced by repetition</p>   |
| 46 | <p>and <b>we ask</b> every one around the world to run for this service: a <i>REAL</i> incredible change for Italian mind.</p>   |   |  |
| 47 |  <p><i>[Renzi points upwards and rotates his hands symmetrically once while pronouncing the words 'around the world']</i></p>   | <p>we ask: monoglossic engagement; incredible: appreciation (+reaction); real: graduation (focus: sharpen)</p>                    | <p>invoked opposition between past and present ('change'); hand gesture: (possibly Italian) emblem meaning 'everybody'</p>   |
| 48 | <p>For 20 years <b>Italy has feared</b> globalisation</p>  | <p>has feared: monoglossic engagement and affect (-inclination); globalisation: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality)</p> | <p>for 20 years: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; feared globalisation: invoked opposition with previous 'globalisation', stereotype of passatism</p> |
| 49 | <p><b>We need</b> [needed] <b>to defend</b> <u>for 20 years</u> our 0.2 of the world surface</p>   | <p>we need: monoglossic engagement and invoked affect (+security)</p>   | <p>irony underlined by a quick chuckle</p>   |

|    |  |  |  |
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| 50 | and <u>now it's</u> the time in which <b>we open our mind</b> and <u>our goal</u> but also <u>our dreams</u>                                     | is/open: monoglossic engagement; open: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); mind: affect (+inclination); goal: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); dreams: invoked affect (+inclination)  | now it's the time/ inclusive 'our': deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; now it's the time: repetition (see above)                        |
| 51 | 80 HUNDRED MILLIONS middle-class consumers <b>ask</b> for <i>beauty, quality</i>   | 80 hundred millions: graduation (force: +quantification); ask: monoglossic engagement; beauty/quality: invoked appreciation (+valuation)   |  |
| 52 | <b>we try</b> to present them an <i>idea</i> of Italy <i>VERY different: multicultural, dynamic, flexible and open to challenging</i> the future | we try: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); idea (...) very different: judgement (social esteem: +normality), invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); multicultural: appreciation (+reaction); dynamic: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); flexible: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); open to challenging: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) | inclusive 'we': deictic positioning; very different/challenging the future: opposition past-future; multicultural (...) future: invoked stereotype |
| 53 | For this reason <b>we invest</b> a LOT OF our time in a process of <u>reforms</u> , institutional <u>reform</u>                                  | we invest: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem: +capacity); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); reform: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)   | inclusive 'our': deictic positioning   |

|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 54 | <p>This is a symbol of future... don't worry... it's exa... absolutely in my framework... perfect</p>   |   |   |
| 55 |  <p><i>[Renzi closes his hand, pinches his thumb and forefinger twice and moves it up and down, then pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'absolutely in my framework... perfect']</i></p>              |   | <p>joke; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely' (also similar to the 'OK' gesture)</p>  |
| 56 | <p>In Italy(...)it's very difficult to image who is the winner in the election;(...)in Italian politics this is very difficult because there is not a clear message ok this is the winner. There is a long debate after the election to understand who is the winner. You smile I cry, this is the problem...</p> | <p>smile: affect (+happiness); cry: affect (-happiness)</p> | <p>joke (reinforced by Renzi's smile while talking) and stereotype about Italy being prone to anarchy; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'who' in a doubtful or interrogative way; several other hand gestures: illustrators</p> |
| 57 |  <p><i>[Renzi quickly cups his right hand upwards while pronouncing the word 'who']</i></p>  |   |   |



### 8.2.2.2 Deictic positioning






### 8.2.3 Segment 3 – 00:15:40-00:22:32

#### 8.2.3.1 Appraisal analysis and value



|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis   | Value   |
|---|---|--|---|
| 1 | <p><b>but</b> before I cry I <b>decide</b> to <i>change</i> and the <i>new</i> electoral law now <b>is a reality</b> EXACTLY in the next weeks <b>we will approve</b> the last vote (...)</p> | <p>cry: affect (-happiness); but (...) I decide: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); change: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); new: appreciation (+reaction); is a reality: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); exactly: graduation (focus: sharpen); we will approve: monoglossic engagement; approve: invoked appreciation (+reaction); new: appreciation (+reaction)</p> | <p>now/in the next weeks: deictic positioning</p> |

|   |  |  |   |
|---|--|--|---|
| 2 | <p><u>Reform</u> in Constitution, second <u>reform</u>: Senate <u>reform</u>, <i>fastER</i> legislation. Three, <i>modernising</i> and <i>cutting cost</i> of the public administration</p>          | <p>reform: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); faster: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); modernising/cutting cost: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>faster legislations: invoked stereotype by contrast</p>  |
| 3 | <p>I present to <u>my project</u> of reform to <u>my colleagues</u> and <i>friends</i> as – I 'm sorry for the advertising – EXACTLY as an <i>iPhone</i></p>   | <p>I present: monoglossic engagement; project of reform: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); colleagues/friends: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); exactly: graduation (focus: sharpen); iPhone: invoked appreciation (+reaction)</p>           | <p>my: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; I'm sorry for the advertising: irony; hand gesture: illustrator invoking modernity and deictic positioning (he is the owner of the phone); iPhone: invoked reference to the Provost's introductory remarks</p> |
| 4 |  <p>[Renzi picks up his mobile phone while pronouncing the word 'iPhone']</p>                                      |  |   |
| 5 | <p>(...) the Italian public administration is <b>VERY difficult</b></p>  | <p>is very difficult: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (-reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification, reinforced by nonverbal language)</p>  | <p>stereotype of Italian inefficiency</p>   |
| 6 |  <p>[Renzi emphasises the word 'difficult' by using an unequivocal facial expression followed by a quick nod]</p> |  |   |


|    |  |  |  |
|----|--|--|--|
| 7  | <p>I propose a <u>VERY simple model</u>, a <u>model</u> in which <b>everybody could understand EXACTLY</b></p>   |  |  |
| 8  |  <p>[Renzi pick up his mobile phone to mimic its use]</p>   | <p>I propose: monoglossic engagement; everybody could understand: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very simple: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); model: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); exactly: graduation (focus: +sharpen)</p> |  |
| 9  | <p>(...) a <u>VERY simply model</u> in which <b>we can have</b> with the digitalisation and <i>innovation</i> a <u>simply model</u> of relation and government</p>                                       | <p>very simply/simply: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); model: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); we can have: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); innovation: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p>                                    | <p>very simple/simply/more simple: deictic positioning and contrast with 'very difficult' above; hand gestures (illustrators) repeated several times</p> |
| 10 |  <p>[Renzi pick up his mobile phone and holds it while he makes rhythmic hand gestures to underline his utterance]</p> |  |  |
| 11 | <p>a <u>MORE simp...</u> a <u>MORE fair</u> and <u>simple</u> tax system</p>   | <p>more simpl[e]/more fair: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  |  |



|    |  |   |  |
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| 12 | <p>also because the <i>goal</i> to create a <i>simple</i> tax system in Italy <b>it's ABSOLUTELY a PRIORITY.</b></p>   |   |  |
| 13 |  <p><i>[Renzi smiles throughout the whole utterance]</i></p>                                | <p>goal: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); simple: appreciation (+valuation); to create: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); it's absolutely: monoglossic engagement and graduation (force: +intensification); a priority: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +quantification); Woody Allen said: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge)</p> | <p>simple: deictic position and contrast with 'very difficult' above, also reinforced by repetition; invoked stereotype: allusion to Italy as a country with an unfair tax system; invoked joke (Renzi's smile and Woody Allen's quote).</p> |
| 14 | <p><b>Woody Allen said</b> 'we must pay taxes with a smile. I tried but they still ask for my money not for the smile'</p>   |   |  |
| 15 | <p>So <b>we must ABSOLUTELY reduce</b> the taxation (...) pay the tax with the smile <b>is not</b> the way, but <b>we must also give</b> a <i>VERY clear possibility</i></p> | <p>we must reduce/give: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) ; absolutely: graduation (force: +intensification); is not: monoglossic engagement; very clear: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification); possibility: possibility: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  |  |
| 16 | <p>labour market <i>reform</i> to <i>increase flexibility</i> and <i>open up opportunities</i> for those who have less</p>   | <p>reform/increase flexibility/open up/ opportunities: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   |  |





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|----|--|---|--|
| 17 | <p><b>This is called</b> Jobs Act, <i>I'm sorry</i>, is copyright is from American administration, <i>I copy</i></p>   | <p>this is called/I copy: monoglossic engagement; I'm sorry: affect (–happiness) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>joke; hand gesture: emblem meaning 'to offer' and reinforcing the idea of surrendering, admitting the truth<sup>35</sup></p>  |
| 18 |  <p>[Renzi repeatedly raises his right hand ('open hand supine') throughout the whole utterance]</p>                          |   |  |
| 19 | <p>but <b>I think</b> also copy is a <i>form of art</i> in Italy</p>   | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); form of art: appreciation (+valuation)</p>  | <p>joke and stereotype</p>   |
| 20 | <p>A <i>fastER, MORE certain</i> justice system</p>  | <p>faster: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification); more certain: invoked judgement (social esteem: +security) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>faster/more certain: invoked stereotype of Italian inefficiency</p>   |
| 21 | <p><i>VERY important, the fight against corruption with a new, VERY dynamic and powerful</i> organisation in our system (...) Raffaele Cantone, a <i>judge</i> who <i>fought against Camorra and Mafia</i></p> | <p>very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); judge: invoked judgement (social sanction: +propriety); fight against: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); corruption: judgement (social sanction: –propriety); new: appreciation (+reaction); very dynamic/powerful: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture); Camorra and Mafia: invoked judgement (social sanction: –propriety)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; corruption: stereotype; fight against corruption/Raffaele Cantone, a judge who fought against Camorra and Mafia: deictic positioning; hand gesture: illustrator</p> |
| 22 |  <p>[Renzi bangs his fist on the lectern while pronouncing the word 'powerful']</p>   |   |  |

<sup>35</sup> This gesture belongs to the family called 'open hand supine', which in general indicates the act of offering, living, and, by extension, withdrawing from action (Kendon, 2004: 248).



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| 23 | The work that <b>we have done</b> on <i>reform</i> is <b>CLOSELY connect</b> to our political role in European Union.  | we have done/is connect: monoglossic engagement, judgement (social esteem: +capacity); reform: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); closely: graduation (focus: sharpen) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture) | deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'strong connection' |
| 24 |  <p>[Renzi intertwines his fingers while pronouncing the words 'closely connect']</p> |  |   |
| 25 | <b>We can change</b> the politics in European Union and <b>we started</b> , after the last election 2014.  | we can change: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); we started: monoglossic engagement; change: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)  | after the last election 2014: deictic positioning                             |
| 26 | <b>I'm VERY happy</b> for the result of European election  | I'm very happy: monoglossic engagement, affect (+happiness) and graduation (force: +intensification)   |   |
| 27 | if <b>I ask you</b> 'What is the <i>first</i> party in Europe?'  | I ask: monoglossic engagement; first: appreciation (+valuation)  | voice: higher pitch to imitate a question                                     |
| 28 | CDU, the German party of right. (...) <b>she receive</b> , Angela <b>is</b> my <i>friend</i> , receive 10.6 million of votes   | she receive/is: monoglossic engagement; friend: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality)  | party of right/Angela (no surname)/my friend: deictic positioning             |

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| 29 | <p><b>but</b> the Italian Democrat Party, our party, <b>receive</b> 11.2 million</p>   |  |  |
| 30 |  <p><i>[Renzi starts smiling at the beginning of the utterance, quickly points to himself while pronouncing the words 'our party' and nods a few times]</i></p> | <p>but (...) receive: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur)</p>  | <p>the Italian Democrat Party/our party: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my', and invoked opposition with 'the German party of right'; facial expression framing the utterance as a joke</p> |
| 31 | <p>just one time <b>I underline</b> this <b>VERY</b> important result ...</p>  |  |  |
| 32 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves his hand from right to left twice, mimicking the word 'underline' and keeps smiling]</i></p>         | <p>I underline: monoglossic engagement, very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; facial expression framing the utterance as a joke</p>   |
| 33 | <p><u>Jokes apart</u>, also if <b>this is not a <u>joke</u>, but <u>jokes apart</u></b></p>  | <p>jokes apart: invoked appreciation (-valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); this is not: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur)</p> | <p>repetition explicitly emphasising that the utterance is a joke</p>  |

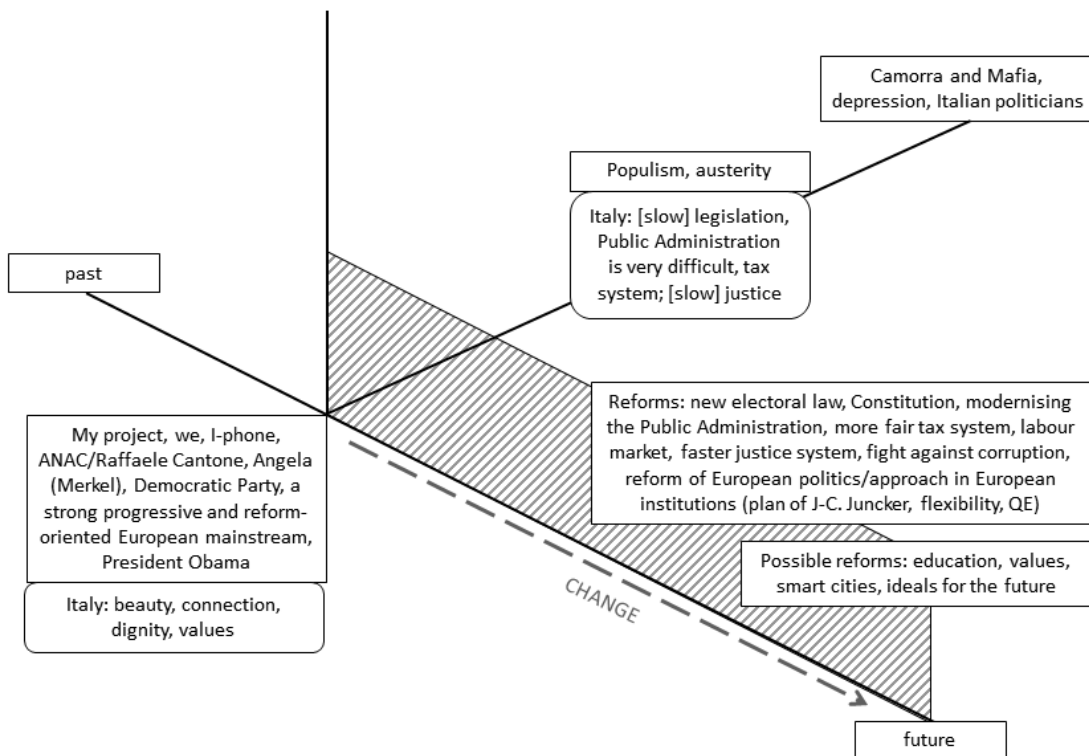
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| 34 | <p><b>we represent</b> a <i>STRONG progressive</i> and <i>reform-oriented</i> European mainstream <u>against</u> <i>populism</i>, but <u>against</u> also the theory of <i>austerity</i></p>  | <p>we represent: monoglossic engagement; strong progressive: judgement (social esteem: +capacity and appreciation (+valuation)); reform-oriented: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); populism/austerity: invoked judgement (social esteem: -normality)</p> | <p>progressive/reform oriented: invoked opposition to 'right'; against populism/austerity: opposition and deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; voice: higher pitch and loudness (starting with 'against')</p> |
| 35 | <p><b>if you think</b> the economy in United States and in Europe in 2008, <b>you can image</b> today American economy, thanks to <i>leadership</i> of President Obama</p>  |   |  |
| 36 |  <p>[Renzi stretches his arm in a pointing gesture and moves it up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'American economy, thanks to leadership of President Obama']</p> | <p>if you think/ you can image: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); reduce/increase: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: ±capacity); leadership: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>                                  | <p>(continued) voice: higher pitch and loudness; today/thanks to leadership of President Obama: deictic positioning; hand gesture: illustrator</p>   |
| 37 | <p><b>reduce</b> the level of unemployment and <b>increase</b> the level of GDP. European economy, from 2008 to 2014 <b>reduce</b> the GDP and <b>increase</b> the level of unemployment.</p>   |   |  |
| 38 | <p><b>Italy had A LOT OF</b> <i>problems</i> with this theory.</p>  | <p>Italy had: monoglossic engagement; a lot of problems: invoked appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +quantification)</p>   | <p>deictic positioning</p>   |

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| 39 | <p>The <u>FIRST</u> responsibility is Italian, because if <b>we continue</b> to <i>live in the past</i>, if <b>we don't accept</b> the <i>challenge</i> of the future, if <b>we don't try</b> to realise <i>reforms</i>, <b>it's normal</b> to <i>risks... to risk the depression</i></p> | <p>first responsibility: invoked judgement (social esteem: –tenacity) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); is/we continue: monoglossic engagement; live in the past: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity); we don't accept/we don't try: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: deny); it's normal: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (+reaction); to risk: affect (–security); accept: affect (+behavioural); challenge/reforms: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); depression: judgement (social esteem: –capacity)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; responsibility: Italian calque; continue to live in the past: stereotype; past-future/reforms-depression: deictic positioning and opposition</p> |
| 40 | <p>so the <u>FIRST</u> responsible for the <i>crisis</i> in Italy is <b>not</b> Europe, <b>is</b> Italian politicians,</p>  | <p>first responsible: judgement (social esteem: –tenacity) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); is not: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: deny); is: monoglossic engagement; crisis: appreciation (–reaction)</p>   | <p>Italian politicians/we: opposition and deictic positioning</p>   |
| 41 | <p><b>but</b>, at the same time, when <i>we decide to start with VERY ambitious</i> program of <i>reforms we know</i> the next <i>challenge</i> is <i>create a different</i> approach in European institutions.</p>   | <p>decide to start/create: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); very ambitious: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification); but (...) we know: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); reforms/challenge: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); different: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p>   | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness reinforced by hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'; next challenge: deictic positioning</p>                                   |
| 42 |  <p>[Renzi clenches his fist and moves it downward while pronouncing the word 'different'].</p>  | <p>decide to start/create: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); very ambitious: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification); but (...) we know: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); reforms/challenge: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); different: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p>   | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness reinforced by hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'; next challenge: deictic positioning</p>                                   |

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| 43 | <p>We start with the <u>FIRST</u> results (...) this is also the <u>FIRST</u> time</p>  | <p>first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation), graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); results: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  |  |
| 44 | <p><b>There is</b> no way back from <u>reforms</u> in Italy <b>this is VERY clear</b> message, <b>there is no way back from reforms in Italy,</b></p>   | <p>there is/this is: monoglossic engagement; no way back from reforms: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); very clear: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>deictic positioning reinforced by repetition<br/>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p> |
| 45 |  <p><i>Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger twice while pronouncing the phrase 'there is no way back']</i></p>                           | <p>there is/this is: monoglossic engagement; no way back from reforms: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); very clear: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>deictic positioning reinforced by repetition<br/>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p> |
| 46 | <p><b>but</b> at the same time <b>we can image</b> a <i>reform</i> not only about institutional, but about <i>education</i>, about <i>values</i>, about <i>smart cities</i>, about <i>ideals</i> for the <i>future</i>.</p> | <p>but (...) we can: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); reform: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); education/ smart cities/ideals/future: appreciation (+valuation); values: judgement (social sanction: +propriety)</p>                                 |  |

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| 47 | <p>If the world <b>asks</b> beautiful...<br/> <b>ask</b> beauty... <b>ask</b> the...<br/> connection, <b>ask</b> dignity, <b>ask</b><br/> values, this world <b>asks</b> Italy.</p>              | <p>asks: monoglossic engagement reinforced by repetition;<br/> beautiful/beauty: appreciation (+reaction); connection: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); dignity/values: judgement (social esteem: +propriety)</p> | <p>beauty: stereotype;<br/> first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'connection';<br/> second hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p> |
| 48 |  <p>[Renzi rapidly moves his hands as if to intertwine his fingers while pronouncing the word 'connection']</p> |  |   |
| 49 |  <p>[Renzi cups his right hand upwards while pronouncing the word 'values']</p>                                 |  |   |

### 8.2.3.2 Deictic positioning



## 8.2.4 Segment 4 – 00:22:32-00: 27:48




### 8.2.4.1 Appraisal analysis and value



|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis  | Value   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | <b>I think we must</b> ABSOLUTELY give <i>MORE importance</i> to role of our country  | I think (...) we must absolutely give: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification); more importance: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification) | our: deictic positioning  |
| 2 | but <b>I prefer</b> listen your questions and <b>I go</b> VERY QUICKLY about the dossier open in my table as Prime Minister in Italy  | I prefer: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); I go: monoglossic engagement and graduation (force: +intensification)   | My/Prime Minister/in Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be concise' <sup>36</sup>           |
| 3 |  <p>[Renzi closes his fists to indicate his intention to sum up and conclude, while pronouncing the words 'I prefer']</p> |   |   |
| 4 | the Mediterranean Sea <b>exemplify</b> the <i>connection</i> between <u>our</u> roots and <u>our</u> future   | exemplify: monoglossic engagement; connection: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); roots: invoked appreciation (+valuation)   | Mediterranean Sea: deictic positioning; inclusive 'our': deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; roots-future: contrast |
| 5 | <b>it's</b> the <i>custodian of our memory</i>  | it's: monoglossic engagement; custodian of our memory: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)   | custodian: reference to unit 1: 10-11; our: deictic positioning   |


<sup>36</sup> The meaning of this gesture is defined metaphoric by Poggi, as it derives from the literal meaning of 'squeezing' and is applied to discourse; hence the meaning of 'being concise' (Poggi, 2007: 184-185).



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| 6  | <p><b>but also</b> an <i>harbour of innovation</i></p>   | <p>but also: invoked heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); harbour: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); innovation: appreciation (+valuation)</p>   |   |
| 7  | <p><b>We need to continue</b> to <i>work together</i>, United States and European Union on making the Mediterranean <i>safer</i> and a <i>place of civilization</i></p>                          | <p>we need to continue: monoglossic engagement; work together: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); safer: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification); place of civilization: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p>                      | <p>we/United States/European Union: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 8  | <p>Today <b>we risk</b> A LOT of things, <b>we risk</b> to lose the <i>dignity</i> of our <i>value</i> in Mediterranean</p>  | <p>we risk: monoglossic engagement; risk: invoked affect (-security) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); dignity: judgement (social esteem: +propriety); value: judgement (social esteem: +normality)</p> | <p>today/inclusive 'we'/'our': deictic positioning</p>  |
| 9  | <p>in this moment after the decision of international community in Libya in 2011, 2012 but <i>without strategy</i> after this decision</p>   |  | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; in this moment/after the decision of international community/in Libya/in 2011, 2012: deictic positioning; but: countering structure;</p> |
| 10 |  <p>[Renzi rotates his arm forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'without strategy']</p> | <p>without strategy: invoked judgement (social esteem: -capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'future'</p>  |

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| 11 | <p>every day <u>A LOT OF</u> men and women, <u>A LOT OF</u> <i>children</i></p>   |   |  |
| 12 |  <p><i>[Renzi's facial expression while pronouncing the word 'children']</i></p>   | <p>a lot of children: invoked appreciation (–reaction) and graduation (force: +quantification, reinforced by repetition)</p>  |  |
| 13 | <p><b>died</b> in this sea to try to <i>achieve</i> the <i>freedom</i></p>  |   |  |
| 14 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his arm in a pointing gesture while pronouncing the word 'this']</i></p>                          | <p>died: monoglossic engagement; achieve: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); freedom: invoked affect (+security)</p>   | <p>every day/this sea: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture: illustrator</p>                             |
| 15 | <p>And <b>this is</b> an <u>INCREDIBLE</u> spot [advertisement], an <u>INCREDIBLE</u> slogan for the people who believe in <i>populism</i></p>  |   |  |
| 16 |  <p><i>[Renzi's facial expression and hand gesture ('open hand supine') while pronouncing the word 'incredible']</i></p> | <p>this is: monoglossic engagement; incredible: invoked appreciation (–reaction), and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification also by repetition and nonverbal language); slogan: judgement (social sanction: –veracity); populism: invoked judgement (social sanction: –propriety)</p> | <p>the people who believe in populism: deictic positioning; hand gesture: emblem meaning 'to offer/to present'</p> |

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| 17 | <p><b>there is</b> in Europe in this moment, <b><u>you can believe</u></b> in France but <b><u>you can believe</u></b> <i>also IN PART</i> in Italy</p>   | <p>there is: monoglossic engagement; you can believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); also in part: invoked judgement (social sanction: –propriety) and graduation (force: –quantification)</p>                            | <p>in this moment/in Europe/in France/in Italy: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 18 | <p>A LOT OF parties, a <i>leaders</i> <b>who said</b> ‘Ah the people of Africa <b>must stay</b> in Africa</p>   |   |  |
| 19 |  <p><i>[Renzi’s facial expression and hand gesture (‘open palm prone’) while pronouncing the word ‘stay’]</i></p> | <p>a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); leaders: judgement (social esteem: +normality); said: monoglossic engagement; must stay: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and invoked appreciation (–reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by nonverbal language)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch to mock the speech of others; hand gesture: emblem meaning ‘to refuse’</p>  |
| 20 | <p><b><u>we can close the sea</u></b>’...<br/><b><u>close the sea</u></b>...</p>  |   |  |
| 21 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises his eyebrows while repeating the words ‘close the sea’]</i></p>                             | <p>can close: heteroglossic engagement (entertain), invoked affect (+security) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and nonverbal language)</p>  | <p>the people of Africa: deictic positioning; close the sea: aside with repetition reinforced by facial expression and lower pitch (voice)</p> |

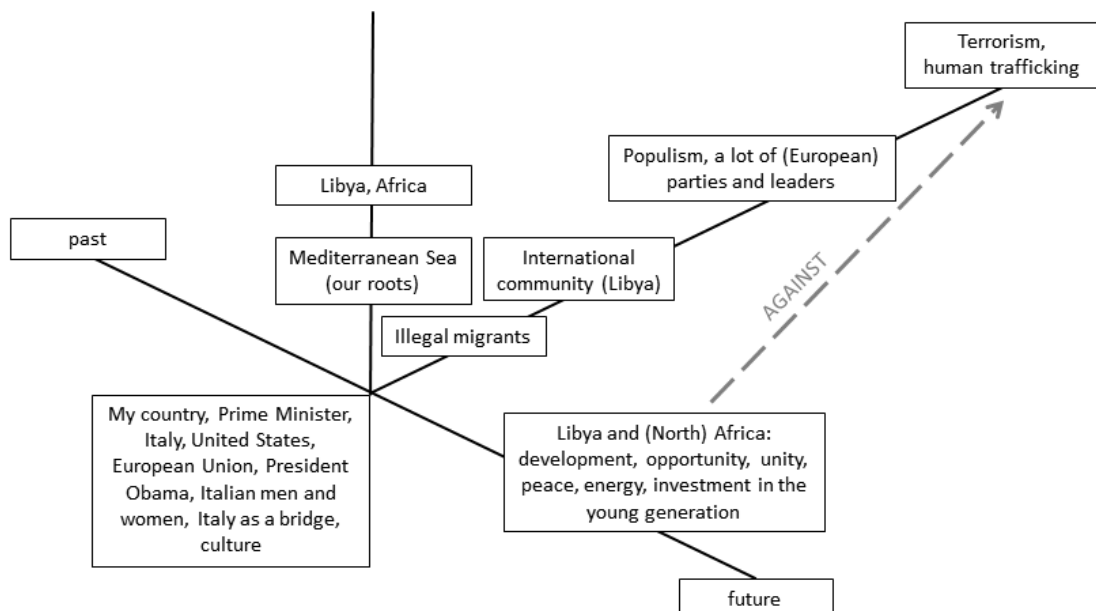
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| 22 | 'we can make laws <i>VERY strong</i> '   |  |   |
| 23 |  <p>[Renzi clenches his right fist forward with a wide gesture while pronouncing the words 'very strong']</p>         | we can make: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); laws: invoked judgement (social esteem: +veracity); very strong: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification, reinforced by hand gesture)  | voice: higher pitch to mimic the speech of others; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong' |
| 24 | <b>But</b> a people who died for the <i>LACK OF food</i> , for the <i>war</i> in Africa <b>don't think</b> about the <i>law</i> in France or in Italy  | but (...) don't think: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); lack of food: invoked appreciation (-valuation) and graduation (force: -quantification); war: affect (-security); laws: invoked judgement (social esteem: +veracity)  | in Africa: deictic positioning  |
| 25 | <b>We can ABSOLUTELY create</b> Africa as a <i>place of development</i> for the next years   | we can create: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification); create/place of development: (invoked) judgement (social esteem: +capacity)  | voice: higher pitch and loudness; for the next years: deictic positioning                                   |
| 26 | <b>we must ensure not only</b> an <i>ideal</i> , a <i>generical idea</i> , of <i>freedom</i> and of <i>democracy</i> in Libya and in the rest of North Africa <b>but</b> a <i>concrete opportunity</i> | must ensure: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and invoked affect (+security); not only an ideal/generical idea: judgement (social sanction: +propriety and social esteem: +normality), invoked appreciation (-valuation); not only... but also: invoked heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); freedom: invoked affect (+security); democracy: invoked judgement (social sanction: +veracity); concrete opportunity: appreciation (+valuation) | (continued) voice: higher pitch; in Libya/in the rest of North Africa: deictic positioning                  |

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| 27 | <i>reduce the risk of terrorism</i><br>and to <i>change</i> the approach   | reduce the risk: affect (+security);<br>terrorism: judgement (social<br>sanction: –propriety) change:<br>invoked judgement (social<br>esteem: +capacity)  |   |
| 28 | <i>90% of illegal migrants</i><br>crossing the Mediterranean<br><b>come</b> from Libya   | 90%: invoked appreciation<br>(–valuation) and graduation<br>(force: +quantification); illegal<br>migrants: judgement (social<br>sanction:<br>–propriety); come: monoglossic<br>engagement   | Libya: deictic<br>positioning   |
| 29 | <b>We want</b> a <i>unite peaceful</i><br>Libya  | we want: monoglossic<br>engagement; unite/peaceful:<br>affect (+security)   |   |
| 30 | <b>we discuss</b> about it<br>tomorrow <i>with</i> President<br>Obama  | we discuss: monoglossic<br>engagement; discuss with:<br>invoked judgement (social<br>esteem: +capacity)   | President Obama:<br>deictic positioning   |
| 31 | <b>we will continue</b> <i>our efforts</i><br>in the <i>correct</i> direction  | we will continue: monoglossic<br>engagement; continue our efforts:<br>invoked judgement (social<br>esteem: +tenacity); correct:<br>invoked judgement (social<br>sanction: +propriety)   |   |
| 32 | the stop <i>human trafficking</i><br><b>is</b> a matter of <i>security</i> , clear,<br><b>is</b> also a matter of <i>justice</i> | is (...) clear: heteroglossic<br>engagement (proclaim: concur);<br>human trafficking: invoked<br>appreciation (–valuation);<br>security: affect (+security); justice:<br>judgement (social sanction:<br>+veracity); is also a matter:<br>monoglossic engagement | clear: Italian calque   |
| 33 | and every day Italian men<br>and women, <b>I'm proud</b> of<br>them, <b>struggle</b> to save<br><i>human lives</i>               | I'm proud: monoglossic<br>engagement; proud: affect<br>(+satisfaction); struggle to save:<br>monoglossic engagement and<br>judgement (social esteem:<br>+tenacity); human lives: invoked<br>appreciation (+valuation)   | every day/Italian men<br>and women: deictic<br>positioning; stereotype<br>of Italians as 'good<br>people' |

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| 34 | <b>I think</b> that[s?] <b>migrants are not number, <u>they are faces</u>, stories, <u>there [they] are people</u></b>   | I think migrants are: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); not number/faces/stories/people: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality)  | migrants/they: deictic positioning  |
| 35 | <b>I think</b> we can absolutely <i>fight against</i> the connection between the <i>human trafficking</i> and <i>terrorist</i> who [which?] <b>is obviously clear and evident</b>  | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); fight against: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); human trafficking: invoked judgement (social sanction: –proprietary); terrorist: invoked judgement (social sanction: –propriety); is obviously clear/evident: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and appreciation (+reaction)                | I think we can absolutely: Italian calque; fight against terrorism: deictic positioning |
| 36 | the idea of Africa as a place in which <i>energy, growth opportunities</i> and <i>investment</i> in the <u>young</u> generation and in <u>young</u> people <b>is CLEAR a possibility</b> to reduce the risk of <i>clash of civilizations</i> | energy/growth opportunities/investment: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); young: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); is clear a possibility: monoglossic engagement, judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (focus: sharpen); reduce the risk: affect (+security); clash of civilizations: invoked affect (–security) | Africa: deictic positioning   |
| 37 | <i>invest</i> in an idea of <i>discussion</i>  | invest: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); discussion: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)  |   |
| 38 | <b>there are <u>A LOT OF Italian people</u> and <u>were A LOT OF Italian people</u></b> in the twenty century (...)  | there are/were: monoglossic engagement; a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification) reinforced by repetition  | twenty century: deictic positioning   |
| 39 | the shape of Italy's boot as a <i>bridge between different cultures</i>  | bridge between cultures: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)   | Italy's boot/bridge: commonplace  |



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| 40 | <i><b>culture is the ONLY solution</b> to fight against terrorism.</i>                                     | culture: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); is the only solution: monoglossic engagement, judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (focus: soften); fight against: affect (+security); terrorism: judgement (social sanction: -propriety); means: monoglossic engagement | fight against terrorism: deictic positioning                |
| 41 | Ma <i><b>culture means</b></i> simply  |  | Ma: Italian for 'but'; culture means simply: Italian calque |
| 42 | <i>not only legacy in the cultural heritage, is a modality of lifestyle, is an idea and... of identity</i> | not only legacy: invoked appreciation (-reaction); is/is: monoglossic engagement; modality of lifestyle: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); idea of identity: judgement (social esteem: +normality) and invoked affect (+satisfaction)  | cultural heritage/lifestyle/identity: opposition            |

### 8.2.4.2 Deictic positioning





8.2.5 Segment 5 – 00:27:49-00:33:38


8.2.5.1 Appraisal analysis and value




|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis   | Value  |
|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | the relation between Italy and the United States <b>is not only a relation focused on the universities, on the students, on the American students</b>   | is not only (...) students: invoked appreciation (–valuation) and incomplete heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur)         | Italy/United States: deictic positioning   |
| 2 | who come in <u>our</u> continent and in <u>our</u> country  |  | come/inclusive ‘our’: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition   |
| 3 | to live ABOVE ALL in the United States  | above all: graduation (force: +intensification)  | United States: deictic positioning reinforced by graduation  |
| 4 | <b>usually</b> in Italy <b>there is</b> the <i>traditional</i> expression ‘fuga di cervelli’  |  |  |
| 5 |  <p>Georgetown University</p> <p>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger to form a horizontal ‘U’ gesture and rotates his hand sideways several times while pronouncing the entire utterance]</p>  <p>[Renzi’s facial expression while pronouncing the entire phrase]</p> | usually (...) there is: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); traditional: invoked appreciation (–reaction) by facial expression | in Italy: deictic positioning; fuga di cervelli: well-known Italian commonplace; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘in relation to/approximately’ |




|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 6  | <u>Italian</u> young people decide to leave <u>Italy</u>   |  | Italian/Italy: deictic positioning  |
| 7  | 'ah <b>this is TERRIBLE</b> '  |  |   |
| 8  |  <p>[Renzi covers his eyes while pronouncing the phrase 'ah this is terrible']</p>      | this is: monoglossic engagement; terrible; appreciation (–reaction) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture)      | voice: lower pitch and loudness to mock the speech of others; joke; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'horror' |
| 9  | <b>We are</b> the peop... <b>we are</b> the country of <i>VERY importance</i> of mother and father   | We are: monoglossic engagement; very importance: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)                              | we: deictic positioning; the country of very importance of mother and father: stereotype of familism              |
| 10 | young girl and young boy   |  | Italian calque  |
| 11 | <b>there is A LOT OF polemics</b> also in the politician debate  | there is: monoglossic engagement; a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification): polemics: appreciation (–reaction)                              | politician debate: deictic positioning  |
| 12 | ' <b>It's incredible!</b> You permit the Italian mind live in the United States'.  |  |   |
| 13 |  <p>[Renzi's facial expression while pronouncing the phrase 'it's incredible...']</p> | It's: monoglossic engagement; incredible: invoked appreciation (–reaction) by facial expression; Italian mind: invoked appreciation (+valuation) | Italian mind: Italian calque; voice: higher pitch and loudness to mock the speech of others                       |


|    |  |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|
| 14 | <p>I think this is a <u>GREAT</u> thing.<br/>It's a <u>GREAT</u> thing.</p>  | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) with invoked countering connotation (implicit 'but'); great: graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); it's: monoglossic engagement</p>  |   |
| 15 | <p>I <b>admire</b> the success and energy of young Italy...<br/>Italians who <i>innovate, create and improve</i> in the United States.</p>                 | <p>I admire: monoglossic engagement with invoked countering connotation reinforced by hand gesture, and appreciation (+reaction); success/energy: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); young Italy: invoked appreciation (+valuation); innovate/create/improve: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>Italy/Italians/United states: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p> |
| 16 |  <p>[Renzi points to himself while pronouncing the phrase 'I admire']</p> |   |   |
| 17 | <p>At the same time I'm very clear</p>   |   | <p>Italian calque</p>   |
| 18 | <p>when [while?] you spend time here, <b>we continue, we try, we will achieve</b> a <i>GREAT</i> result.</p>   | <p>we continue/try/we will achieve: monoglossic engagement; achieve a great result: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification)</p>  | <p>here: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 19 | <p><b>We will <u>change</u></b> our country.<br/><b>We're <u>changing</u></b> our <u>country</u>.</p>  | <p>We will change/we're changing: monoglossic engagement; change: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (+intensification by repetition)</p>  | <p>inclusive 'our' and 'country': deictic positioning reinforced by repetition</p>                    |

|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 20 | if you come back,<br>also for the... for<br>the holiday   |   |  |
| 21 |  <p>[Renzi's facial expression and hand gesture ('open hand supine') while pronouncing the phrase 'for the holiday']</p> |   | joke reinforced by facial expression (smile) meaning 'at least' or 'even'; hand gesture: emblem meaning 'to offer/to present'; holiday: invoked stereotype of Italian as a holiday destination |
| 22 | <b>you will try</b> a <i>different country</i>  | you will try: monoglossic engagement; different: appreciation (+reaction)   |  |
| 23 | a <u>country</u> in which <b>we are ABSOLUTELY convinct</b> [convinced] about the <i>importance</i> of past   | we are absolutely convinct: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: pronounce), affect(+satisfaction) and graduation (force: +intensification); importance: appreciation (+valuation) | importance of past: stereotype   |
| 24 | <b>let me be</b> [pay] a <i>SPECIAL thanks</i> to the United States in this moment  | let me pay: monoglossic engagement; special thanks: invoked affect (+satisfaction) and graduation (focus: +sharpen)   | thanks to the United States/in this moment: deictic positioning  |
| 25 | <b>this is a moment</b> in which <b>we remember</b> seventies years of <i>freedom</i> of Italy from <i>Fascism and Nazism occupation</i>  | this is a moment/we remember: monoglossic engagement; freedom: invoked affect (+security); Fascism and Nazism occupation: judgement: social sanction (-propriety)                 | this is a moment/ Fascism and Nazism occupation: deictic positioning   |

|    |  |   |  |
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| 26 | <p><b>I'm VERY proud</b> for the role of partigiani the people who worked and who <i>make war</i> in Italy</p>   |   |  |
| 27 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest with his open hand while pronouncing the phrase 'I'm very proud']</p>  | <p>I'm very proud: monoglossic engagement, affect (+satisfaction) and graduation (force: +intensification); make war: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>  | <p>I'm very proud: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian iillustrator) meaning 'I/my'; partigiani: Italian word; in Italy: deictic positioning</p> |
| 28 | <p>a <b>SPECIAL</b> thanks to young American people who died for the <i>freedom</i> of a country <b>VERY strange</b></p>   | <p>special thanks: invoked affect (+satisfaction) and graduation (focus: +sharpen); young American people: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); freedom: invoked affect (+security); very strange: appreciation (-valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>young American people: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 29 | <p><b>I think this is a moment</b> in which <b>we must give</b> <b>ABSOLUTELY</b> the importance to <u>this history</u> also about <u>this history</u></p>   |   |  |
| 30 |  <p>[Renzi stretches his arm in a pointing gesture while pronouncing the word 'absolutely']</p>  <p>[Renzi points with his hands in a 'gun shape' while pronouncing the word 'also']</p> | <p>I think this is a moment/we must give: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); we must give absolutely: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture); importance: appreciation (+valuation)</p>                              | <p>this history: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; hand gestures (illustrators)</p>  |

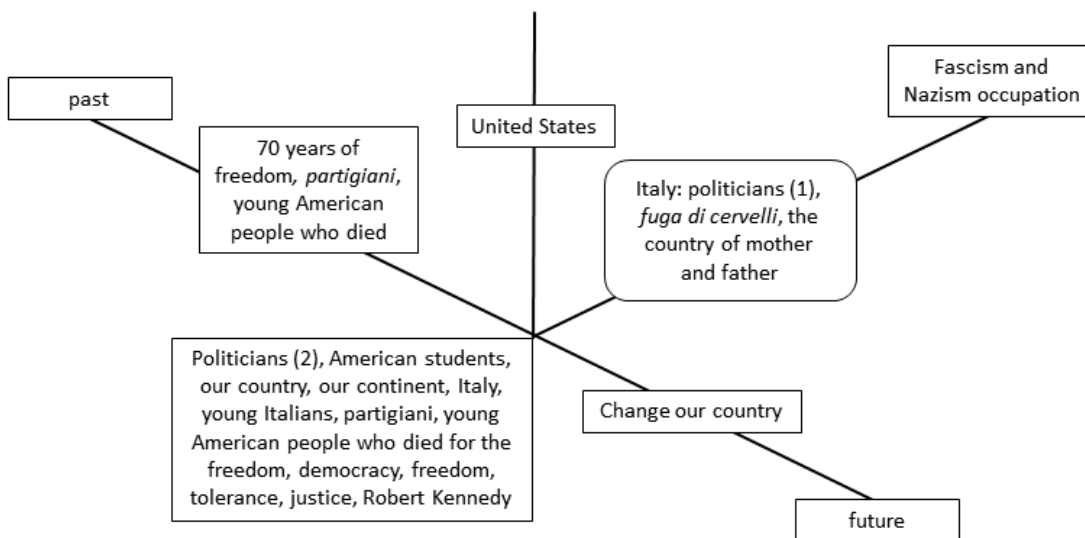
|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 30 | <p><b>But</b> the ideals of <i>democracy, freedom, tolerance, justice</i> is <b>ABSOLUTELY important</b> for us in the relation for... with the United States.</p>  | <p>But (...) is absolutely important: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); democracy/tolerance: judgement (social sanction: +veracity); justice: judgement (social sanction: +propriety); freedom: affect (+security)</p>                          | <p>for us/United States: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 31 | <p>the <i>REAL challenge</i> today is a politics <i>challenge</i></p>   | <p>real challenge: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (focus: sharpen, and force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  | <p>today</p>   |
| 32 | <p>Robert Kennedy</p>   |   | <p>deictic positioning</p>   |
| 33 | <p>I have spoken A LOT about of <u>past</u>, <b>it's usually important</b> to <i>protect</i> the <u>yesterday</u>, <b>but we said</b> remember and <i>preserve</i> only the <u>past</u> is <b>not</b> a job of <u>politician</u>, is a job of <u>museum curators</u>, <b>not</b> of <u>innovator</u>.</p> | <p>a lot: graduation (force:quantification) it's usually important: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and appreciation (+valuation); protect/preserve/ museum curators: affect (+security); but we said/is not/is/not of: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); innovator: judgement (social esteem: + capacity)</p> | <p>past/yesterday/politician/museum curator/innovator: (invoked) opposition reinforced by repetition</p> |
| 34 | <p>If you are a politician <b>you must offer</b> <u>a vision</u>, <u>a vision</u></p>   | <p>you must offer: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); (offer a) vision: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  |  |
| 35 | <p>the <u>past</u> is <b>ABSOLUTELY extraordinary</b> but this <u>past</u> is <b>not sufficient</b></p>   | <p>is absolutely extraordinary (but) is not: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); not sufficient: appreciation (-valuation)</p>   |  |
| 36 | <p>Our <u>future</u> <b>will be better</b> than <u>past</u></p>   | <p>will be: monoglossic engagement; better: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>  | <p>Our: deictic positioning; future-past opposition</p>  |

|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 37 | <b>this is</b> the politics  | this is: monoglossic engagement  |   |
| 38 | Bob Kennedy, a <i>GREAT</i> American leader, <b>said once</b>  | great leader: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); said once: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge)  | American leader: deictic positioning  |
| 39 | 'The future is not a <i>gift</i> . It's an <i>achievement</i> '  | gift: appreciation (+valuation); achievement: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)   | future: deictic positioning   |
| 40 | <b>I think</b> in this <u>moment</u> , in a <u>moment</u> of <i>change</i> , our future <b>is</b> an <i>achievement</i> , <b><i>focused</i></b> on the <i>culture</i> and of <i>identity</i> <b>but <i>focused</i></b> on the <i>quality</i> of singular experience. | I think (...) is: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); change: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); achievement: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); focused (...) but focused: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur), judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); culture: appreciation (+valuation); identity: invoked affect (+satisfaction); quality: appreciation (+valuation) | in this moment: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; singular experience: calque |
| 41 | the <i>politicians</i>   |  |   |
| 42 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the word 'politicians']</p>  | politicians: invoked positive judgement by hand gesture  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my': deictic positioning                          |

|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 43 | <p><b>must realise</b> <i>reforms</i>, <b>must make</b> <i>VERY good</i> laws, <b>must fight</b> against <i>austerity</i> and <b>invest</b> in a politics of <i>growth</i></p>  | <p>must realise/make/fight against/invest: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); realise reforms/make laws/invest: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); fight against: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); very good: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); growth: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); austerity: judgement (social esteem: -normality)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness while pronouncing the phrase 'fight against austerity and invest in a politics of growth', reinforced by hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'</p> |
| 44 |  <p>[Renzi moves his fist upwards and downwards several times to mark the tempo of his speech while pronouncing the phrase 'fight against austerity and invest in a politics of growth']</p> | <p>must realise/make/fight against/invest: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); realise reforms/make laws/invest: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); fight against: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); very good: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); growth: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); austerity: judgement (social esteem: -normality)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness while pronouncing the phrase 'fight against austerity and invest in a politics of growth', reinforced by hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'</p> |
| 45 | <p><b>but at the same time</b> nobody <b>could realise</b> the future as an <i>achievement</i> without the <i>courage</i> and the <i>empowerment</i></p>  | <p>but (...) realise: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); realise the future/achievement: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); courage/empowerment: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   |   |
| 46 | <p>of the single citizen who believed possible</p>  |   | <p>Italian calque</p>   |
| 47 | <p><i>create a particular challenge: realise</i> an Italy in which the <u>future</u> is <i>MORE important</i> than the <u>past</u></p>  | <p>create/challenge/realise: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); particular: appreciation (+valuation); more important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>  | <p>future-past opposition; invoked stereotype</p>   |
| 48 | <p><b>It's not easy</b> but I'm sure <b>it's AMAZING</b>, <b>it's fun</b>, <b>it's a GREAT opportunity</b> for everybody.</p>   | <p>It's not easy (...) it's: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and appreciation (-reaction); amazing: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); fun: appreciation (+valuation); great opportunity: judgement (social esteem: +capacity), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification)</p>  |   |

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| 49 | <b>I'm</b> VERY Italian politician, I <b>spoke</b> A LOT. | I'm/I spoke: monoglossic engagement; very: graduation (force: +intensification); a lot: graduation (force: +quantification) | I: deictic positioning; stereotype of Italians as talkative, reinforced by graduation; irony |
|----|---|---|--|

### 8.2.5.2 Deictic positioning




## 8.2.6 Segment 6 - 00:34:00-00:52:10



### 8.2.6.1 Appraisal analysis and value

|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis  | Value  |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | <b>I think</b> in this moment <u>American leadership</u> is a <i>great model</i> for Europe | I think (...) is: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); leadership: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); great model: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); presidency: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) | American leadership: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; Barack Obama: deictic positioning |
| 2 | <u>American leadership</u> with the <i>presidency</i> of Barack Obama                       |   |  |






|   |  |   |  |
|---|--|---|--|
| 3 | <p><i>great <u>crisis</u>, INCREDIBLE <u>crisis</u>, the MOST TERRIBLE <u>crisis</u> after the Second World War</i></p>  | <p>crisis: appreciation (–reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); great: graduation (force: +quantification); incredible: appreciation (–reaction) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); most terrible: affect (–security) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>after the Second World War: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 4 | <p><i>invest in the <u>new dream</u>, <u>new</u> American <u>dream</u></i></p>   | <p>invest: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); new dream: invoked and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  |  |
| 5 | <p><b>Europe <i>lost this opportunity</i> in my personal opinion</b></p>   |   | <p>Europe: deictic positioning; lost the opportunity: Italian calque; in my personal opinion: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning ‘I/my’</p> |
| 6 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the phrase ‘in my personal opinion’]</i></p> | <p>lost this opportunity: judgement (social esteem: –capacity); Europe lost (...) in my personal opinion: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)</p>  |  |
| 7 | <p>The <i>model of economic development</i> of Europe <b>is</b> a model focused on the <i>austerity</i> and <i>not</i> focused on the ideal of <i>growth</i></p>                 | <p>model of economic development: appreciation (+valuation); is: monoglossic engagement; austerity: judgement (social esteem: –normality); growth: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   | <p>The model of economic development of Europe: deictic positioning</p>  |



|    |  |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|
| 8  | <p>The relation inside European context <b>are not... are good, are NORMAL, are</b> very... <b>we are partner</b> and <b>ally obviously, we discuss A LOT</b></p>                      | <p>are not: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); are: monoglossic engagement; good: appreciation (+valuation); normal: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (focus: soften); we are (...) partner/ally obviously: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and judgement (social esteem: +normality); we discuss: monoglossic engagement, invoked appreciation (-reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>European context: deictic positioning; lower, 'conceding' pitch while pronouncing the words 'good', 'normal'; discuss: Italian calque</p>                              |
| 9  | <p><b>I don't understand</b> why American people in these... in those seven years of <i>crisis invest</i> in a future with <i>growth</i> and Europe <i>lost this opportunity</i>.</p>  | <p>I don't understand: monoglossic engagement; crisis: appreciation (-reaction); invest: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); growth: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); lost this opportunity: judgement (social esteem: -capacity)</p>  | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; American people/Europe: deictic positioning; these/those seven years: deictic positioning; lost this opportunity: Italian calque</p> |
| 10 | <p><b>So for ME, for MY PARTY, for MY GOVERNMENT, the relation</b> about economics with the United States of America <b>are stronger</b> than the past</p>                             | <p>for me (...) the relation are stronger: heteroglossic engagement (entertain), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); me/my party/my government: graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  | <p>me/my party/my government: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'</p>  |
| 11 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest three times while pronouncing the words me/my party/my government]</p> | <p>for me (...) the relation are stronger: heteroglossic engagement (entertain), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); me/my party/my government: graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  | <p>me/my party/my government: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'</p>  |
| 12 | <p>Barack Obama in the economics <b>is ABSOLUTELY a model</b> for his <i>vision</i></p>  | <p>is absolutely a model: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); vision: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  | <p>Barack Obama: deictic positioning</p>  |

|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 13 | and <b>I try</b> with my Minister of Finance (...) to convince European people, European <b>leadership to continue</b> with budget attention, <b>it's clear</b> , <b>but</b> with <i>investment</i> in the future | I try: monoglossic engagement; to continue (...) but: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); investment: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) | my Minister of Finance/European people/European leadership: deictic positioning; it's clear: Italian calque |
| 14 | <i>The FIRST results</i>  | invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification)  |   |
| 15 | I'm sorry but tomorrow morning I have the meeting with the president Obama eh? So...  |   | joke reinforced by hand gesture (emblem); 'eh? So': calque and Italian interjection                         |
| 16 | <br><i>[Renzi pretends to look at his watch after pronouncing the utterance]</i>  |   |   |
| 17 | Let me speak about his point in Italian, if you agree, because very, very brief speech  |   |   |
| 18 | <br><i>[opens his thumb and forefinger in a 'U' sign while pronouncing the utterance]</i>                                      | n.a. <sup>37</sup>  | introduction to speech in Italian; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'little/brief'                      |
| 19 | <i>'Please come back, there's brain drain, I'm worried'</i>   | n.a.  | voice: slight increase in pitch; joke   |
| 20 | is the pancreas still in Italy, maybe?  | n.a.  | joke  |



<sup>37</sup> Appraisal analysis for this answer in Italian is not relevant to the purpose of this study.

|    |   |      |   |
|----|---|------|---|
| 21 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his right hand while pronouncing the phrase 'the main point' and moves it up and down to mark the tempo]</i></p>  | n.a. | hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning, also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence |
| 22 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger; then he moves his hand up and down and sideways to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'what I want to tell you (...) follow a dream']</i></p> | n.a. | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely', also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence         |
| 23 | <i>success does not depend on friends' friends</i>  | n.a. | stereotype of familism  |
| 24 | Good luck   | n.a. | (possibly) Italian calque   |
| 25 | <i>a hostage to the usual 'Persons Known' who live off their power</i>  | n.a. | invoked stereotype; 'Persons Known': Italian stock phrase derived from famous movie                                       |
| 26 | <i>Lose face</i>  | n.a. | stereotype of Italians as dedicated to giving a good impression   |
| 27 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the words 'my promise']</i></p>  | n.a. | my promise: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'                                |
| 28 | my terrible English   |      | joke  |




|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 29 | Giorgio La Pira <b>is</b> also a Saint  | is: monoglossic engagement   | reference to the Italian culture and religion; a Saint: playful tone              |
| 30 | <b>INCREDIBLE</b> personality   | appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)                                     |   |
| 31 | every day was an <i>emotion</i>   | emotion: affect (+happiness)   |   |
| 32 | <b>I don't speak</b> about the <i>past</i>  |  |   |
| 33 |  <p>[Renzi moves his open hand to one side ('open hand prone') in a sweeping movement while pronouncing the word 'the past']</p> | I don't speak: monoglossic engagement; past: invoked appreciation (–valuation) by hand gesture                 | deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (emblem) meaning 'to leave aside'  |
| 34 |  <p>[Renzi chuckles and rotates his half-open hand before pronouncing the words 'ideas very particular']</p>                   | very particular: appreciation (±valuation) mitigated by hand gesture, and graduation (force: +intensification) | (ironic) hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'extravagance'                      |
| 35 | ideas <b>VERY</b> particular  |  |   |
| 36 | Palazzo Vecchio, in Salone dei Cinquecento  |  | reference to Florence's Town Hall   |
| 37 | Tribs (...) <b>It's impossible</b> realise peace (...) tribes   | it's impossible: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem: –capacity)                               | It's impossible to realise peace: Italian calque; tribes: incorrect pronunciation |


|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 38 | when international community decide, and <b>was</b> a <i>correct</i> decide... decision, to remove Gaddafi  |   |  |
| 39 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the word 'correct']</i></p>                           | was: monoglossic engagement   | international community/Gaddafi: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely' |
| 40 | <b>don't care about</b> the next step   |   |  |
| 41 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'without strategy']</i></p> | don't care about: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem: –tenacity)   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'  |
| 42 | <b>we risk</b> every day continuation of <i>civil war</i> but also for the <i>pressure</i> from the centre of Africa in the South Libya, Libya <b>could welcome</b>                                     | we risk: monoglossic engagement and affect (–security); civil war: affect (–security); pressure: invoked appreciation (–valuation); could welcome: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) | centre of Africa/South Libya: deictic positioning  |
| 43 | <b>we must support</b> the try of Bernardino León   | we must support: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)   | Bernardino León: deictic positioning   |
| 44 | <b>I asked</b>  |   |  |
| 45 |  <p><i>[Renzi mimics the Christian act of praying while pronouncing the word 'asked']</i></p>                        | monoglossic engagement  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pray'   |


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| 46 | <p>with <i>MORE determination</i><br/>         ‘please Mr Secretary, <b>you must ABSOLUTELY</b> give a <i>STRONG</i> me... <i>STRONG commitment</i> to Bernardino León’</p>  |  |   |
| 47 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fists and moves them up and down, the movement continues along the utterance, with only one fist]</i></p>                     | <p>more determination: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification, reinforced by hand gesture); you must absolutely: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification); strong commitment: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity), graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘to be sure/strong’</p>   |
| 48 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his arms in a ‘open hand supine’ gesture, and swings the upper part of his body sideways with a facial expression of doubt]</i></p> | <p>it is very difficult: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (–valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>body movement, facial expression and hand gesture: emblem meaning ‘to withdraw’ and expressing doubt and resignation</p> |
| 49 | <p>For the moment <b>it is VERY difficult</b></p>  |  |   |



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| 50 | <p>What <b>we can</b> and we (...) <b>need</b> realise is operation counter <i>terrorism</i> because <b>there is...</b> the <i>risk</i></p>  | <p>we can: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); need: monoglossic engagement; terrorism: invoked judgement (social sanction: –propriety); there is: monoglossic engagement; risk: affect (–security)</p> |  |
| 51 | <p>is the <i>infiltration</i> of ISIS, of Daesh</p>  |   |  |
| 52 |  <p><i>[Renzi entwines his fingers while pronouncing the word 'infiltration']</i></p>   | <p>infiltration: invoked appreciation (–valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>ISIS/Daesh: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'strong connection'</p>                         |
| 53 | <p><b>there are</b> two cities in the hand of Daesh and [<b>we must</b>] <b>continue</b> with the control in the sea because <b>we must avoid</b> in every way to trafficking human people continue</p>  |   |  |
| 54 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger, then he moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'continue in a moment']</i></p>   | <p>there are: monoglossic engagement; we must: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely', also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence</p> |
| 55 |  <p><i>[Renzi symmetrically pinches his thumbs and forefingers in 'ring hand shapes', draws one horizontal line and two vertical lines while pronouncing the phrase 'the way is very simply']</i></p> |   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'perfect'</p>  |





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| 56 |  <p><i>[Renzi mimics the action of paying money; he repeats the gesture three times in different directions while pronouncing the phrase 'two thousand dollars, two thousand five hundred dollars, one thousand five hundred dollars']</i></p> |  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay', repeated several times |
| 57 | organise this <b>INCREDIBLE</b> tragedy   |  |   |
| 58 |  <p><i>[Renzi draws a circle using his pointing fingers while pronouncing the phrase 'organise this incredible tragedy']</i></p>   | incredible tragedy: appreciation (–valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)                               | hand gesture: emblem meaning 'to organise'                            |
| 59 | <b>This is foolish</b>  |  |   |
| 60 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his temples with his fingertips while pronouncing the phrase 'this is foolish']</i></p>  | this is: monoglossic engagement; foolish: appreciation (–valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture) | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to think/foolishness'           |
| 61 | <b>it's impossible</b> (...) bring the place of tribs   | it's impossible: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem: –capacity)   | Italian calque; tribs: incorrect pronunciation                        |



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| 62 | <p><b>We must force</b> the Libyans to make the peace, because <b>this is the only way</b> also for them.</p>   |   |  |
| 63 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his hand downwards and moves it up and down several times in different directions to mark the tempo of his speech. The gesture becomes more marked while pronouncing the word 'force']</i></p> | <p>we must force: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); this is the only way: monoglossic engagement</p>  | <p>make the peace: Italian calque; hand gesture repeated several times: possible variation of the 'grappolo-to-open' Italian emblem indicating the explanation/comment to a core concept</p> |
| 64 | <p>the position of Italian government about it <b>is clear</b>. Minister of Foreign Affairs repeat the same position</p>  | <p>is clear: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (+valuation)</p>   | <p>deictic positioning</p>   |
| 65 | <p>the <i>reactions</i> of Turkish government <i>against</i> the Pope</p>   | <p>reactions against: appreciation (-reaction)</p>  | <p>deictic positioning</p>   |
| 66 | <p>the Pope <b>criticised</b> (...) the Pope <b>give</b> a <i>VERY clear message</i></p>  | <p>criticised/give a message: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); criticised: judgement (social esteem: -capacity); very clear: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>deictic positioning</p>   |



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| 67 | <p>reaction of President Erdogan and my <i>colleague</i> Prime Minister <b>was negative</b> and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Paolo Gentiloni, (...) <b>make a statement of criticism against</b> the position of the Turkish government</p> | <p>was: monoglossic engagement; colleague: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); negative: appreciation (-valuation); make a statement of criticism against: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); criticism: judgement (social esteem: -capacity)</p>            | <p>deictic positioning</p>                           |
| 68 | <p><b>I think</b> it's a <i>goal</i> for everybody</p>  | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); goal: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  | <p>deictic positioning</p>                           |
| 69 |  <p>[Renzi moves his open hand outwards ('open hand prone') in a sweeping movement while pronouncing the phrase 'this for the situation']</p>                  |   | <p>hand gesture: emblem meaning 'to leave aside'</p> |
| 70 | <p><b>I think</b> Turkey is a <i>great</i> country</p>  | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); great: appreciation (+valuation)</p>  | <p>deictic positioning</p>                           |
| 71 | <p><b>I think</b> is a <i>value</i> for everyone if Turkey fa... realise the process of <i>integration</i> in European institutions, Turkey is a <i>VERY important partner</i> of NATO</p>  | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); value: invoked judgement (social sanction: +propriety); integration: appreciation (+reaction); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); partner: judgement (social esteem: +normality)</p> | <p>deictic positioning</p>                           |

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| 72 | <p><b>But it's clear</b> in this moment the process of <i>integration</i> of Turkey in European institutions depend on the government of Ankara</p>  |  |  |
| 73 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his right hand downwards while pronouncing the phrase 'in European institutions' and moves it downwards]</i></p> | <p>but it's clear: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) and appreciation (+valuation); integration: appreciation (+appreciation)</p> | <p>in this moment/European institutions: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p> |
| 74 | <p><b>I spoke</b> officially in Gall...</p>  |  |  |
| 75 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest with his hand while pronouncing the phrase 'I spoke']</i></p>                                      | <p>I spoke: monoglossic engagement reinforced by hand gesture</p>  | <p>Gall[es]: Italian for Wales; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p>  |
| 76 | <p><i>supporting</i> the position of Turkey</p>  |  |  |
| 77 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist and briefly moves it up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'supporting the position']</i></p>  | <p>supporting: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>                             | <p>deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'</p>                                       |

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| 78 | <p><b>but today they must respect</b> some <i>values</i> and some <i>ideals</i></p>  |  |   |
| 79 |  <p>[Renzi rhythmically moves his open hand up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'some values and some ideals']</p>                                 | <p>but they must respect:<br/>heteroglossic engagement<br/>(disclaim: counter); values/ideals:<br/>judgement (social sanction:<br/>+propriety)</p>   | <p>hand gesture:<br/>illustrator</p>  |
| 80 |  <p>[Renzi slightly cups his hand upwards and quickly moves it up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'who is on the base of European community']</p> |  | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the explanation/comment to a core concept</p>  |
| 81 | <p><b>I'm confident and I hope</b></p>   | <p>monoglossic engagement and affect (+happiness)</p>  |   |
| 82 | <p><i>invest</i> in the future but at the same time <i>respecting</i> the <u>common</u> <i>ideals</i> and the <u>common</u> <i>values</i></p>  | <p>invest: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and invoked graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); respecting: appreciation (+reaction); common: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); ideals/values: judgement (social sanction: +propriety)</p> | <p>future: deictic positioning; common: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p> |
| 83 |  <p>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the word 'invest']</p>  |  |   |

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| 84 | <p>In a university of Jesuit from Argentina... fantastic! Your future is very interesting...</p>   |  | <p>joke and allusion to Pope Francis</p>  |
| 85 |  <p>[Renzi closes his fists to indicate his intention to sum up and conclude, while pronouncing the words 'very briefly']</p>           |  | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem to mean 'being concise'</p>   |
| 86 | <p><b>Italy must change</b> the model (...) for a <i>problem of efficiency and quality of organization</i></p>   | <p>Italy must change: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); problem of efficiency (...) organization: appreciation (-valuation); I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); not very interesting: appreciation (-reaction) and graduation (force: -intensification); but this is: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); first priority: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification)</p> | <p>hand gesture: emblem meaning 'to leave aside'; problem of inefficiency and quality of organisation: invoked stereotype of Italian inefficiency reinforced by 'not very interesting for you (...) our country' (meaning it is an Italian problem); you/our country/today: deictic positioning and inclusive 'our', 'us'</p> |
| 87 |  <p>[Renzi moves his hand to one side ('open hand prone') in a sweeping movement while pronouncing the words 'this is the first']</p> |  |   |
| 88 | <p><b>I think</b> it is <i>NOT VERY interesting</i> for you <b>but this is</b> the <i>FIRST</i> priority for us today in our country</p>   |  |   |
| 89 | <p><b>I think</b> I'm not in the same position of the majority of politicians and of stakeholders</p>  | <p>I think: see above</p>  | <p>not in the same position (...) stakeholders: deictic positioning</p>   |

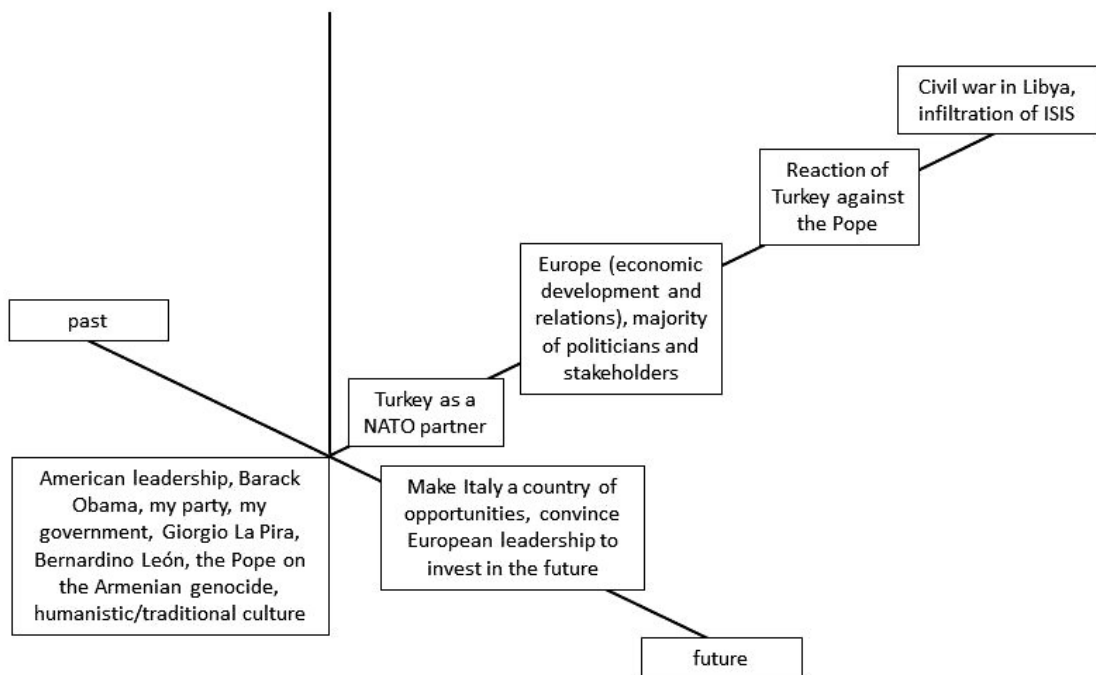
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| 90 | <b>I think</b> we must <i>avoid the risk</i> to invest in an education <b>only technological</b> and focused on <i>scientist</i>  | I think: see above; avoid the risk: invoked affect (+security); only: invoked heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); technological/scientist: invoked appreciation (–valuation); I believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); traditional: invoked appreciation (+valuation); traditional: invoked appreciation (+valuation) |  |
| 91 | <b>I believe</b> in the culture of... <i>traditional</i> culture  |   | hand gesture: hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'           |
| 92 | <br>[Renzi cups his right hand while pronouncing the phrase 'the main point' and moves it up and down while pronouncing utterance] |   |  |
| 93 | <b>I believe</b> in the <i>humanistic</i> culture   | I believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); humanistic: invoked appreciation (+valuation)  | deictic positioning  |
| 94 | <b>I believe</b> in an <i>idea</i> in which <b>is ABSOLUTELY important</b> to ensure to the people the possibility to study the past  | I believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); idea: judgement (social esteem: +normality); is absolutely important: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)   | deictic positioning; invoked stereotype                                  |
| 95 | <br>[Renzi cups his hand and points to his forehead while pronouncing the phrase 'not simply because']                           |   | variation of hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to think/foolishness' |

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| 96  | <b><u>we must create</u></b> in the schools the skills but because <b>I think</b> the school <b><u>must create</u></b> the citizens   |  |   |
| 97  |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves his hand to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'skills, but because I think the school must create the citizens']</p> | we must create/I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); create: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'  |
| 98  |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest with both hands before the words 'my position']</p>  | we must preserve: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); traditional/humanistic: invoked appreciation (+valuation)   | my position: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my' |
| 99  | my position, maybe is not in majority, is <b>we must preserve</b> the <i>traditional</i> and <i>humanistic</i> culture  |  |   |
| 100 | <b><u>The school and the education</u></b> is not <b>SIMPLY</b> an instrument for <i>technological</i> career   | the school and the education: graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); is not simply: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and graduation (focus: sharpen); technological: invoked appreciation (-valuation) |   |
| 101 | <b><u>The school and education</u></b> is <b>FIRST OF ALL</b> a <i>possibility</i> to <i>open the mind and the heart</i> of the people  | first of all: graduation (force: +quantification); possibility to open the mind and the heart: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)  |   |
| 102 | but not with... everybody could work with History of Arts   |  | voice: higher pitch to imitate somebody else's speech                                       |





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| 103 | <b>this is a risk I know, but I prefer</b>  | heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur)   |  |
| 104 | man who <i>cry</i> in front of Leonardo's masterpiece                                       | cry: judgement (social esteem: +normality)  | Leonardo's masterpiece: reference to the Italian culture and invoked stereotype of Italians as emotional |
| 105 | ai  |   | Italian word for 'to'  |
| 106 | who know very well everything of Mathematics <b>but he lost the emotion and the ideals.</b> | but he lost: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); lost (...) ideals: judgement (social esteem: -capacity) | Mathematics: opposition to History of Arts/Leonardo's masterpiece  |




### 8.2.6.2 Deictic positioning








## 8.2.7 Segment 7 – 00:52:20-01:07:31



### 8.2.7.1 Appraisal analysis and value




|   | Transcript   | Appraisal analysis  | Value  |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | <b>I offer you</b> the <i>vision</i>   | I offer you: monoglossic engagement; offer the vision: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) |  |
| 2 | 2012: Mario Monti's government; GDP Italy: -2.3%. 2013: Enrico Letta government: -1.9.   |   |  |
| 3 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his hand and draws imaginary vertical lines in correspondence with the milestones of his speech]</i></p> | -2.3%, -1.9: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity)   | Mario Monti/Enrico Letta: deictic positioning; hand gestures: illustrators           |
| 4 | I th... pref... I look... there is the... the... the... members of cabinet   |   |  |
| 5 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his hand and tilts it sideways while he looks at somebody in the audience]</i></p>                      |   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'approximately'; the members...: playful remark |





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| 6  |  <p>[Renzi touches his palm twice while pronouncing the words 'fact checking']</p>          |  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to publish/to put on paper' |
| 6  | 2014: <i>0.4</i> with my government.   | invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity)   | my government: deictic positioning                                |
| 7  | three years of <i>crisis</i> with a <i>LITTLE</i> improve but the <i>problem</i> is the combination between the <i>lack of reforms</i> and the politics of <i>austerity</i>  | crisis: appreciation (–reaction); little improve: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: –quantification and +intensification by hand gesture); lack of reforms: judgement (social esteem: –capacity); austerity: judgement (social esteem: –normality) | hand gesture: illustrator   |
| 8  |  <p>[Renzi mimics a downward movement while pronouncing the phrase 'a little improve']</p> |  |   |
| 9  | finally after three years we come back to <i>plus</i>  | plus: invoked appreciation (+valuation)  | after three years: deictic positioning                            |
| 10 | <i>Not sufficient, for me, but it's a first step</i>   |  |   |
| 11 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the word 'me']</p>                         | for me: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); not sufficient: appreciation (–valuation); first: appreciation (+valuation)   | for me: deictic positioning                                       |

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| 12 | +0.7 for our prevision   |   |   |
| 13 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the word 'our previsions']</p>   | invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and invoked graduation (force: +quantification by comparison)  | our: deictic positioning reinforce by gesture   |
| 14 | <b>I think is <i>not important</i></b> the zero virg... <b><i>the important</i> is come back to positive growth</b>  |   |   |
| 15 |  <p>[Renzi closes his fist, pinches his thumb and', and moves his hand up and down several times while pronouncing the phrase 'important the zero virg... the important is']</p> | I think is not important: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and valuation (-appreciation); the important is come back: monoglossic engagement, valuation (+appreciation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); positive growth: appreciation (+valuation)  | virg[ola]: Italian for 'point'; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; the important: Italian calque   |
| 16 | Why <b>I'm confident</b> : because <b><i>we change</i></b> the labour market and <b><i>we give a message VERY important</i></b> ;  |   |   |
| 17 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest with both hands while pronouncing the phrase 'why I'm confident']</p>  | I'm confident: monoglossic engagement, affect (+security) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); we change/give a message very important: monoglossic engagement, judgement (social esteem: +capacity), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); we reduce the power: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem: +capacity); red tape of bureaucracy: appreciation (-valuation) | we: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; we reduce (...) bureaucracy: stereotype of Italian inefficiency |
| 18 | because <b><i>we reduce the power</i></b> of red tape of bureaucracy   |   |   |




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| 19 | <p>you know, you're Italian, you know very well the <i>TERRIBLE</i> power of bureaucracy in our country</p>  | <p>terrible power: appreciation (-valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>you/our: deictic positioning; terrible power of bureaucracy: stereotype of Italian inefficiency; voice: lower pitch and loudness to signify 'intimacy' with the hearer</p> |
| 20 | <p><b>I think</b> at the same time <b>we must ABSOLUTELY give</b> a message of <i>positive</i> approach</p>  |   |   |
| 21 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist while pronouncing the phrase 'we must absolutely', then lowers it, clenches his other fist and moves both up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'give a message of positive']</i></p> | <p>I think (...) we must : heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); positive: appreciation (+valuation); graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness to indicate assertiveness reinforced by hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'</p>                                      |
| 22 |  <p><i>[Renzi brings his hand to his temple a briefly rotates it while pronouncing the word 'psychological']</i></p>  |   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to think/foolishness'</p>  |

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| 23 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist and raises it while pronouncing the word 'message']</i></p>                                      |  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong' |
| 24 | gruppo di auto-aiuto  |  | Italian  |
| 25 | <p>You know the... the... the... the... telefilm, the TV series in which everybody thanks for sharing. Everybody share the... the... the... her problem</p>   |  | joke; hand gesture: emblem                               |
| 26 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his hand downwards and moves it in a circle while pronouncing the phrase 'everybody share']</i></p> |  |  |


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| 27 | the message of <i>optimistic</i> is a message for the mind. No.  | <p>optimistic: appreciation (+reaction)</p> | <p>first hand gesture (variation of Italian emblem meaning further/future) and body movement reinforcing the idea of progress; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to think/foolishness'; third hand gesture (emblem) and head movement meaning 'to refuse'</p> |
| 28 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his hands facing inwards, rotates them and briefly raises from his chair while pronouncing the words 'the message of optimistic']</i></p> |   |  |
| 29 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his temples while pronouncing the word 'mind']</i></p>  |   |  |
| 30 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his hand forward ('open hand prone') and briefly shakes his head while pronouncing the word 'no']</i></p>                                   |   |  |

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| 31 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves it up and down to mark the tempo of his utterance while pronouncing the word 'economic message (...) give you']</i></p> |  | <p>variations of the same hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely', also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence</p> |
| 32 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the words 'little example']</i></p>   |  |   |
| 33 | <p>2012, you remember, -2.3: the level of savings in Italy are 3.5 trillion dollars... euro, sorry.</p>   | <p>-2.3/3.5 trillion: invoked judgement (social esteem: -capacity)</p> | <p>2012: deictic positioning; deictic hand gesture: illustrator; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'quantity'</p>                            |
| 34 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his arm and points downwards while pronouncing the word '2012']</i></p>  |  |   |
| 35 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger in a vertical 'U' sign while pronouncing the word 'level']</i></p>  |  |   |





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| 36 |  <p><i>[Renzi open both palms facing downwards and slightly rotates them while pronouncing the word 'similar']</i></p> |  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'approximately'   |
| 37 | it's a good, VERY important good thing for us the new relation between euro and dollar  | good/very important/good thing: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification) | voice: lower pitch and loudness to signify 'intimacy' with the hearer as if it were an aside; playful tone                             |
| 38 | 2012: 3.5. 2014: 3.9  |  |  |
| 39 |  <p><i>[Renzi briefly joins his hands while pronouncing the word 'nine']</i></p>                                      | infused graduation (force: +quantification by invoked comparison, voice pitch and hand gesture)    | voice: higher pitch and more strength; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'unimaginable'   |
| 40 | So in a moment of crisis, you can think, the saving are at the level of decreasing... no.   |  | voice: higher pitch and loudness; you can think: Italian calque;   |
| 41 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches both his eyes while pronouncing the word 'think']</i></p>                                      | crisis: appreciation (–reaction)   | hand gesture (variation of Italian emblem) meaning 'to think/foolishness'; hand gesture (emblem) reinforcing the concept of decreasing |
| 42 | <i>[Renzi moves his open hand, facing inwards, as if following a decreasing curve]</i>  |  |  |

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| 43 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises his open hand, facing downwards, while pronouncing the word 'grew up']</i></p>                            |  | hand gesture: emblem reinforcing the concept of increasing  |
| 44 | Because <b>we lost the confidence</b> . <b>This is a REAL problem.</b>  |  |   |
| 45 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist and moves it up and down in different directions while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>      | we lost the confidence: monoglossic engagement and affect (–security); this is: monoglossic engagement; real problem: appreciation (–reaction) and graduation (focus: sharpen) | voice: higher pitch and loudness; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘to be sure/strong’                                |
| 46 | I don’t speak about <i>public debt</i> , <b>VERY high</b> in Italy, <b>2 TRILLION</b>   | public debt very high: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification); 2 trillion: infused graduation (force: +quantification)           | in Italy: deictic positioning; I don’t speak about: Italian calque; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘to leave aside’ |
| 47 | <i>[Renzi moves his open hand to one side (open hand prone) in a sweeping movement while pronouncing the phrase ‘I don’t speak about’]</i>  |  |   |
| 48 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises his open hand, facing downwards, while pronouncing the phrase ‘very high in Italy, 2 trillion’]</i></p> |  | hand gesture: emblem reinforcing the concept of ‘high’  |
| 49 | Pro capita  |  | hybrid form: pro capite (Italian) and per capita (English)  |




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| 50 | <i>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger to form a horizontal 'U' gesture and rotates his hand sideways several times while pronouncing the phrase 'as average ... in respect of the ... pro capita']</i> |   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'in relation to'   |
| 51 | <i>[Renzi symmetrically moves his open hands sideways on a horizontal level while pronouncing the phrase 'we can [can't?] use this expression for the markets']</i>                                       |   | hand gesture: Italian emblem of negation  |
| 52 | <b>the savings are not important</b> in the statistics.   | the savings are not important: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity); not important: appreciation (–valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture) | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to leave aside'; the savings are not important: deictic positioning |
| 53 | <i>[Renzi moves his open hand to one side twice in a sweeping movement while pronouncing the utterance]</i>   |   |   |
| 54 | <i>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the words 'for me']</i>   |   | deictic hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'  |
| 55 | <i>[Renzi stretches his arm and points downwards in two different directions while pronouncing the phrase 'if in 2012, 2014']</i>   |   | deictic hand gesture: illustrator   |
| 56 | This means <b>there is a problem of confidence</b> in Italy   | there is: monoglossic engagement; problem of confidence: invoked affect (–security)   | in Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: possibly Italian emblem meaning 'idea'                       |
| 57 | <br><i>[Renzi claps the back of one hand on the palm of the other while pronouncing the word 'this']</i>               |   |   |

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| 58 | So I must <i>realise</i> reforms  |  |  |
| 59 |  <p><i>[Renzi points to himself while starting to count]</i></p>   | <p>must realise reforms:<br/>heteroglossic engagement (entertain), judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>           | <p>I: deictic positioning; hand gestures: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my' and emblem meaning 'one'; reforms: invoked stereotype of Italian inefficiency</p>  |
| 60 | <p>jobs act and labour market, fiscal system, public administration, electoral law, constitutional reforms, education system</p>  |  |  |
| 61 |  <p><i>[Renzi counts each reform with his fingers, twisting his chest forward at each number]</i></p>   |  | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; hand gesture: illustrator reinforced by body motion</p>   |
| 62 | <p>if we don't come back to <i>level of confidence</i><br/><b>POSITIVE</b> in Italy, <b>the problem remain</b> the same</p>   | <p>level of confidence positive: affect (+security) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); problem: appreciation (–reaction); remain: monoglossic entertainment</p> | <p>remain the same: incorrect expression</p>   |
| 63 | <p><b>I believe this is the REAL challenge</b> in the Italian politics</p>  |  |  |
| 64 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his hand downwards and moves it several times up and down in different directions to mark the tempo of his speech while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> | <p>I believe this is: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); real challenge: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (focus: sharpen)</p>                   | <p>Italian politics: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the explanation/comment to a core concept, also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence</p> |

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| 65 | In a side <b>there is</b> some parties who believe the future of Italy is <i>TERRIBLE</i> . They (...) <b>bet</b> on the <i>crisis</i>  |  |   |
| 66 |  <p><i>[Renzi mimics the action of paying money while pronouncing the phrase 'bet on the crisis']</i></p>                      | there is/bet: monoglossic engagement; terrible; appreciation (–reaction) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); crisis: appreciation (–reaction) reinforced by hand gesture | in a side: deictic positioning; future: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay'  |
| 67 | in the other side <b>there are</b> a party of politician who believe possible come back to <i>POSITIVE growth</i>   | there are: monoglossic engagement; positive growth: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)  | in the other side: deictic positioning; believe possible: calque  |
| 68 | <b>but</b> France, Germany in this moment <b>are</b> prevision <i>MORE POSITIVE</i>   |  |   |
| 69 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'prevision more positive']</i></p> | but are: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); more positive: infused graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification)  | voice: higher pitch and low loudness to imitate somebody else's speech; France/Germany/in this moment: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'future' |
| 70 | I'm happy for France and Germany  |  | irony   |



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| 71 | <b>I know</b>  |   |  |
| 72 |  <p><i>[Renzi briefly stretches his arm forward towards the audience then touches his chest in a wide movement while pronouncing the phrase 'I know']</i></p> | I know: monoglossic engagement  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'trust me' reinforcing the utterance  |
| 73 | if Italy <i>make the reforms</i> , <b>Italy will be</b> the leader of Europe for the next twenty years   | make the reforms: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); Italy will be: monoglossic engagement; leader: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) | the next twenty years: deictic positioning   |
| 74 | <b>This is not</b> for applause, <b>this is a reality</b>  |   |  |
| 75 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his arm forward, palm open facing outwards (open hand prone), while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>                              | this is not/this is: monoglossic engagement; reality: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) reinforced by repetition                 | hand gesture: emblem meaning 'stop/caution' and body motion reinforcing the utterance; opposition applause/reality |
| 76 | <b><u>This is a reality</u></b>  |   |  |
| 77 | <i>[Renzi moves forwards while remaining seated]</i>   |   |  |

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| 78 | <p>If we <i>realise the reform</i> <u>our</u> pension system <b>is</b> <i>ABSOLUTELY good</i> respect <u>our</u> <i>colleagues</i> and <i>partner</i> of Europe, <u>our</u> quality of engineering <b>is</b> <i>EXTRAORDINARY</i>, <u>our</u> manufacturing are the <i>second in Europe</i> and <i>one of the MOST important OF THE WORLD</i></p> | <p>realise the reform: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); is absolutely good: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); colleagues/partner: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); is extraordinary: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); second in Europe: invoked appreciation (+valuation); one of the most important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); of the world: infused graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>inclusive 'our': deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; absolutely good respect: calque; voice: higher pitch and loudness while pronouncing 'our quality of engineering'; hand gesture: illustrator reinforcing the listing</p> |
| 79 |  <p><i>[Renzi counts while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  |  |   |
| 80 | <p>When <b>Jeff Immelt</b> (...) the <i>leader</i> of GE, visited me last year, he <b>told me</b></p>   | <p>Jeff Immelt told me: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); leader: invoked judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>  | <p>Jeff Immelt/last year: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 81 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his temples while pronouncing the phrase 'I believed']</i></p>   |  | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem for 'thinking/foolishness'</p>  |
| 82 | <p>culture? Masterpieces?<br/>Food? Lifestyle? Holidays?</p>  |  | <p>stereotypes</p>  |

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| 83 | <p>His answer: 'No, engineering. The level of, your quality of your engineering is the <i>BEST AROUND THE WORLD</i>'</p>  |  |  |
| 84 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his thumb outwards while pronouncing the words 'his answer']</i></p>   | <p>best: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); around the world: infused graduation (force: +quantification)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem<sup>38</sup> reinforcing the presence of a third person</p>  |
| 85 | <p><b>I'm confident</b> despite the prevision</p>   |  |  |
| 86 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches the tips of his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the word 'confident']</i></p>  | <p>I'm confident: monoglossic engagement and affect (+security)</p>  | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; confident/prevision opposition reinforced by hand gesture (emblem) meaning 'to leave aside'</p> |
| 86 |  <p><i>[Renzi moves his open hand to a side (open hand prone) in a sweeping movement while pronouncing the phrase 'despite the prevision']</i></p> |  |  |




<sup>38</sup> The use of this gesture has been associated to circumstances in which 'it is not important to establish the precise location or identity of what is pointed at' (Kendon, 2004: 218). Though not necessarily culture-based, this gesture is widely used in Italy; Kendon's description itself is grounded on observations carried out in Italy.






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| 87 | <p><b>I think if Italy realise reforms</b>, if Italy finally <b>decide to invest in the future</b></p>  |   |   |
| 88 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his hand downwards and moves it up and down in different directions several times to mark the tempo of his speech while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); realise reforms/invest in the future: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); decide: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>                        | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the explanation/comment to a core concept, also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence</p> |
| 89 | <p><b>maybe Italy not only come back</b> in the role of <b>leadership, but is also an hope</b> for the rest of Europe</p>   | <p>maybe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); not only come back: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); leadership: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); hope: appreciation (+reaction)</p> |   |
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| 90 | <p>The real role of President of Council is not very powerful. All... every schedule, every meeting not depend of you. You are simply a... an actor in the hands of terrible men and women called 'protocollo'. Are very dangerous, they are very dangerous people.</p> |   |   |
| 91 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his right hand upwards and rotates it while pronouncing the word 'actor']</i></p>   |   | <p>joke; protocollo: Italian expression; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'a naive person/a fool'</p>   |




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| 92 | <p>(...) 'Villa Firenze'. I'm <b>VERY proud</b> for that, but Villa Firenze come from Florence, not from the city. From the woman Florence</p>  |   |  |
| 93 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his right hand and moves it up and down it during the utterance]</i></p>  | <p>very proud: affect (+happiness) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>Villa (...) Florence: joke; Firenze: invoked stereotype of municipalism; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning of something, also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence</p> |
| 94 |  <p><i>[Renzi moves his open hand to aside (open hand prone) in a sweeping movement after pronouncing the word 'so...']</i></p>           |   | <p>hand gesture: emblem expressing the concept of 'refusing'</p>   |
| 95 |  <p><i>[Renzi claps one hand against the other in a sliding movement while pronouncing the word 'I think this']</i></p>                  |   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'idea'</p>   |
| 96 |  <p><i>[After pronouncing the phrase 'continue in this', Renzi cups his hands upwards and moves them back and forth alternately]</i></p> |   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning of something; the hands are moved back and forth to express the concept of 'collaboration'</p>   |

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| 97  |  <p>[Renzi opens his right hand and moves it in a circle while pronouncing the phrase 'involving the people']</p>                         |  | hand gestures: emblem reinforcing the concept of involvement   |
| 98  | <p>This <i>link could happen, could be realised</i> only if we have an... a <i>common ideal</i> and <i>value</i>, not only the <i>same passport</i></p>  | link: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); could happen/be realised: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem: +capacity); common ideal/value: invoked judgement (social sanction: +propriety) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); same passport: invoked appreciation (–valuation) | hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning of something; since the hands are close to each other, it also reinforces the concept of 'link' |
| 99  |  <p>[Renzi cups his hands upwards and gathers them while pronouncing the word 'link']</p>  |  |  |
| 100 | <p><i>obviously, we are VERY happy</i> the Italian people who... who... believe in our country for me <b>it's a reason of happiness</b>, of <i>responsibility</i> and thank you so much for this <i>disponibility</i>.</p> | obviously, we are very happy: heteroglossic entertainment (proclaim: concur), affect (+happiness) and graduation (force: +intensification); it's a reason: monoglossic engagement; happiness: invoked affect (+happiness); responsibility: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity)  | we/our/for me: deictic positioning; disponibility: Italian calque  |

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| 101 | But <b>I think</b> in this moment<br>(...) to you <b>FIRST OF ALL</b>   |   |  |
| 102 |  <p><i>[Renzi intertwinings his fingers, joins his forefingers and brings his hands close to his face, then moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance']</i></p> | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); first of all: graduation (force: +quantification) | hand gesture: emblem meaning 'attention'   |
| 103 |  <p><i>[Renzi points upwards and rotates them symmetrically in a circle while pronouncing the word 'everybody']</i></p>  |   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'everybody'   |
| 104 | what is Italian <i>value</i><br><b>AROUND THE WORLD</b>   |   |  |
| 105 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his hand upwards and moves it up and down to mark the tempo of his utterance]</i></p>   | value: invoked appreciation (+valuation); around the world: infused graduation (force: +quantification)   | hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning of something, also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence |
| 106 | if you speak about Lamborghini it's important to remember to Lamboghini's team the investment in Bologna  |   | if you speak about: Italian calque; Lamborghini/Bologna: reference to Italian context  |



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| 107 | <p>The <i><b>MOST important</b></i> thing <b>is</b> remember to ourselves if we are Italians, <b>we are not simply a catalogue of genius</b> of the past. <b>We are</b> the people who have in DNA the <i>possibility</i> to believe in the future and <b>not only</b> in the past</p>   |  |  |
| 108 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist and moves it up and down to mark the tempo through most of the utterance]</i></p>   | <p>most important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); is//we are: monoglossic engagement; we are not: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); simply a catalogue of genius: invoked appreciation (-valuation); possibility: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); not only: invoked heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur)</p> | <p>a catalogue of genius of the past: stereotype; past/future opposition; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'</p> |
| 109 | <p><b>I think</b> the <i>contribution</i> from you, from abroad</p>  |  |  |
| 110 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest with both hands before the phrase 'I think']</i></p>  <p><i>[Renzi points to the audience/questioner while pronouncing the word 'you']</i></p> | <p>I think (...) is obviously (...) but above all: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); contribution: +capacity</p>   | <p>you/abroad: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gestures (Italian emblem meaning 'I/my' and generic illustrator)</p>             |


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| 111 | <p><b>is obviously</b> the <i>link</i>, the <i>connection</i>, the <i>team working</i>, the <i>ideals</i> and <i>ideas</i> to share with us, <b>but it's</b>, ABOVE ALL</p>   | <p>is obviously (...) but it's: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); link/connection/team working: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); ideals: judgement (social sanction: +propriety); ideas: judgement (social esteem: +normality)</p>  | <p>us: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'strong connection'</p>  |
| 112 |  <p>[Renzi entwines his fingers while pronouncing the words 'link']</p>  |  |   |
| 113 | <p>the <i>idea</i> we can build a <i>different</i> world focused <b>not only</b> in <i>economic values</i> <b>but</b> focused on the <i>quality of cultural values</i></p>  | <p>idea: judgement (social esteem: +normality); we can build: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); different world: appreciation (+valuation); not only: invoked heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); economic values: appreciation (-valuation); quality of cultural values: appreciation (+valuation) and judgement (social sanction: +propriety)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning of something, also used to mark the tempo to reinforce the idea of insistence</p> |
| 114 |  <p>[Renzi cups his hand upwards and moves it up and down to mark the tempo of his utterance while pronouncing the phrase 'but focused on the quality of the cultural values']</p> |  |   |
| 115 | <p>Let me be <i>VERY frank</i>.</p>   | <p>very frank: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   |   |
| 116 | <p><b>there are not</b> a division between <i>economic values</i> and <i>cultural values</i></p>  | <p>there are not: monoglossic engagement; economic/cultural values: judgement (social sanction: +propriety)</p>  |   |
| 117 | <p>EXACTLY in my city, <u>Florence</u>, you know the financial system <i>create</i> the <i>MASTERPIECES</i> of art</p>  | <p>exactly: graduation (focus: sharpen); create: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); masterpieces of art: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>my city, Florence: deictic positioning; Florence: invoked stereotype of municipalism reinforced by repetition</p>                          |

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| 118 | <p>the people here who know the history of <u>Florence</u> <b>knows</b> VERY WELL the <b>INCREDIBLE</b> history of <i>genius, innovation, affrescoes, paintings, buildings, architecture</i> come from a <i>new</i> era of finance.</p>  |   |   |
| 119 |  <p>[Renzi points to the audience and moves his arm in a circular movement while pronouncing the phrase 'the people here']</p>  <p>[Renzi open his hand vertically and moves it backwards while pronouncing the word 'history']</p> | <p>knows: monoglossic engagement; incredible history of genius: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification reinforced by hand gesture), innovation: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); new: appreciation (+valuation)</p> | <p>here: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (illustrator); Florence: invoked stereotype of municipalism reinforced by repetition; incredible (...) architecture: stereotypes reinforced by higher pitch and loudness; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'past'</p> |
| 120 | <p><b><u>invest</u></b> in the <i>culture</i>, <b><u>invest</u></b> in the <i>innovation</i></p>   |   |   |
| 121 |  <p>[Renzi mimics the action of paying money while pronouncing the word 'invest' and repeats it twice]</p>  | <p>invest: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); culture: appreciation (+valuation); innovation: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>                        | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay'</p>  |

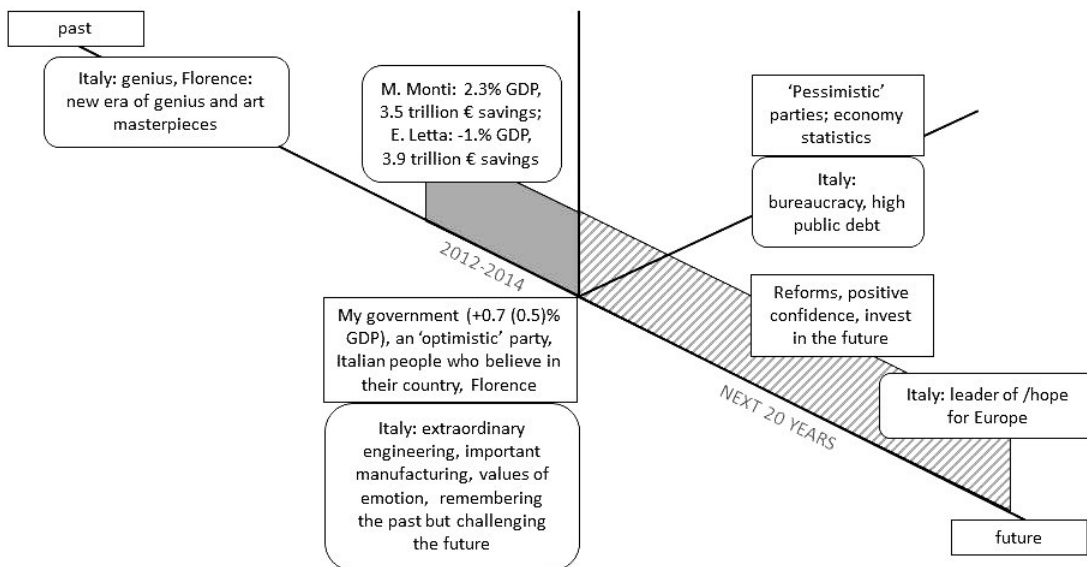
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| 122 | <p><b>there is a <i>link</i></b> between economic <u><i>development</i></u> and mind <u><i>development</i></u></p>   |   |   |
| 123 |  <p><i>[Renzi entwines his fingers while pronouncing the word 'link' and moves his hands to mark the tempo of his speech]</i></p> | <p>there is: monoglossic engagement; link: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); development: judgement (social esteem:+capacity) and graduation (force:+intensification by repetition)</p>  | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'strong connection', used to mark the tempo</p> |
| 124 | <p><b>But</b> in this world the <i>globalisation</i> <b>give</b> a message in which <i>the important</i> is <i>only the money and the value</i></p>  |   |   |
| 125 |  <p><i>[Renzi points upwards while pronouncing the word 'but']</i></p>  | <p>but (...) give: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) reinforced by hand gesture; globalisation: invoked judgement (social esteem: -normality); the important: appreciation (+valuation); only the money and the value: invoked appreciation (-valuation)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: illustrator; the important: calque</p>                                 |
| 126 | <p><b>I think we must ABSOLUTELY <u>work</u> <b>HARD</b>, <u>work</u> <b>STRONGLY</b>, <u>achieve</u> <u>results</u> and <u>achieve</u> the <b>GREAT</b> <u>results</u> in the personal career</b></p>             |   |   |
| 127 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the phrase 'I think']</i></p>   | <p>I think we must: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture); work hard/work strongly/achieve results/achieve the great results: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification also by repetition)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p>                                      |



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| 128 | <p><b>to be Italian means</b><br/>remember ourselves there<br/>are the <i>values of emotion</i><br/>and of <i>ideals</i> who is the<br/><i>value ETERNAL</i> and<br/><i>PERPETUAL</i></p>  | <p>to be Italian means: monoglossic<br/>engagement; values of emotion:<br/>invoked affect (+happiness);<br/>ideals: judgement (social<br/>sanction: +propriety); value<br/>eternal and perpetual: invoked<br/>judgment (social sanction:<br/>+propriety), appreciation<br/>(+valuation) and infused<br/>graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>Italian: deictic<br/>positioning; hand<br/>gesture: Italian<br/>emblem indicating the<br/>explanation/comment<br/>to a core concept, also<br/>used to mark the<br/>tempo to reinforce the<br/>idea of insistence;<br/>values of emotion:<br/>stereotype</p> |
| 129 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his hand with<br/>fingertips facing downward and<br/>moves it up and down to mark the<br/>tempo while pronouncing the phrase<br/>'to be Italian means']</i></p> |  |  |
| 130 | <p><b>This for me</b></p>  |  |  |
| 131 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest with his<br/>fingers intertwined while<br/>pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>   | <p>for me: heteroglossic<br/>engagement (entertain) and<br/>graduation (force: +intensification<br/>by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>for me: deictic<br/>positioning reinforced<br/>by hand gesture</p>  |

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| 132 | <p><b>my request is EXACTLY</b> that:<br/>         help us to remember ourselves to be Italian<br/>         means to be people who <i>try every day to build a different ideal</i> of future remembering the past but <i>challenging</i> on tomorrow.</p>  |   |   |
| 133 |  <p><i>[Renzi closes his fist and moves it up and down to mark the tempo of the utterance. Then he throws it forwards while pronouncing the word 'challenging']</i>.</p> | <p>my request is: monoglossic engagement; exactly: graduation (focus: sharpen); try every day to build: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); different ideal: judgement (social sanction: +propriety); challenging: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>future/past/tomorrow: opposition; Italian: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong', used to mark the tempo</p> |


### 8.2.7.2 Deictic positioning



## 8.3 Appendix 3: Speech n. 2 – Analysis

### 8.3.1 Segment 1 – 00:02:46-00:10:20


#### 8.3.1.1 Appraisal analysis and value


|   | Transcript   | Appraisal analysis  | Value  |
|---|--|---|--|
| 1 | I'm the first but<br>I'm sure I'm not<br>the last Prime<br>Minister who visit<br>the... (...) Harvard  |   |  |
| 2 | <br><i>[Renzi opens his palm ('open palm prone') while pronouncing the word 'last']</i>                        |   | joke; hand gesture:<br>emblem meaning 'to<br>refuse/to deny' <sup>39</sup>                                     |
| 3 | <b>GREAT</b> place of the past but<br>at the same time <b>GREAT</b><br>place for the future of <u>our</u><br>time, of <u>our</u> people  | great: appreciation (+valuation)<br>and graduation (force:<br>+quantification and<br>+intensification by repetition)  | great place: deictic<br>positioning; past/future<br>opposition; inclusive<br>'our' reinforced by<br>repetition |
| 4 | <b>I think</b> universities AROUND<br>THE WORLD are the <i>keys</i> of<br>the future   | I think: heteroglossic engagement<br>(entertain); around the world:<br>infused graduation (force:<br>+quantification); the keys: invoked<br>appreciation (+valuation)   | future: deictic<br>positioning   |
| 5 | a <i>dialogue</i> with the students,<br>with the researchers, with<br>the professors because <b>I</b><br><b>consider ABSOLUTELY</b> a<br><b>PRIORITY</b> to discuss about<br>the future with you | dialogue: invoked judgement<br>(social esteem: +normality); I<br>consider: heteroglossic<br>engagement (entertain);<br>absolutely: graduation (force:<br>+intensification); priority:<br>appreciation (+valuation) and<br>infused graduation (force:<br>+intensification) | students/researchers/<br>professor: deictic<br>positioning; with you:<br>deictic positioning                   |


<sup>39</sup> This gesture belongs to the family called 'open hand prone', which in general indicates the act of denying, refusing, interrupting or negating (Kendon, 2004: 248; see also the analysis of the Georgetown speech, segment 4, section 4.6).

|   |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|
| 6 | This is <u>PARTICULARLY true</u> in United States of America, this is <u>PARTICULARLY true</u> in Harvard   | particularly true: judgement (social sanction:+veracity) and infused graduation (focus: sharpen) reinforced by repetition  | United States of America/Harvard: deictic positioning  |
| 7 | A LOT OF people believe VERY <i>important</i> the political <u>discussion (...)</u> <u>day by day</u> the <u>discussion day by day</u>  |  |  |
| 8 |  <p>[Renzi's facial expression during the brief pause preceding the phrase 'day by day']</p> <p>[Renzi rotates both hands holding his palms open while pronouncing the phrase 'day by day']</p> | a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); discussion day by day: invoked appreciation (-valuation) by facial expression and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition) and hand gesture | 'a lot of people (...)' important': Italian calque; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'recurring' |
| 9 | <b>I think</b> we need a <i>deep strategy</i> for the future  | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and invoked countering structure; strategy: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); deep: appreciation (+valuation)  | for the future: deictic positioning  |

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| 10 | <p>so we need a <b>VERY</b> <i>important</i> role of university</p>  |  |  |
| 11 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his right hand upwards then stretches his arm forward and opens his hand slightly while pronouncing the phrase 'so we need'. Finally, Renzi clenches his fist while pronouncing the word 'very important']</i></p> | <p>we need: monoglossic engagement; very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force:+intensification reinforced by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>first hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning; second hand gesture: emblem reinforcing the idea of strength/importance</p> |
| 12 | <p>For me, so, this is a <b>GREAT</b> day a <b>GREAT</b> honour address in <b>ONE OF THE MOST prestigious</b> universities and academic institutions</p>   | <p>great: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification by repetition); one of the most prestigious: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>for me: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 13 | <p>Harvard is the <b>HEART</b> of the <u>future</u> of the world is not simply the <b>HEART</b> of the <u>future</u> of United States</p>  | <p>heart: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (focus: sharpen, and force: +intensification by repetition)</p>   | <p>Harvard/United States: deictic positioning; future: repetition</p>  |

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|----|--|--|---|
| 14 | because if <b>it's true we need</b> a <b><i>DIFFERENT</i></b> idea of the world, <b>we need</b> a <b><i>DIFFERENT</i></b> approach by students, by researchers, by professor                         | it's true we need: monoglossic engagement and judgement (social esteem:+tenacity); we need: monoglossic engagement; different: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force:+intensification by repetition); particularly this is true: monoglossic engagement and graduation (focus: sharpen), judgement (social sanction: +veracity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); one of the most important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification) | inclusive 'we' reinforced by repetition; students/researchers/professor: deictic positioning; in Boston: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition |
| 15 | <b>PARTICULARLY this is true</b> in <b><u>Boston</u></b>   |  |   |
| 16 | <b><u>Boston</u></b> is <b><i>ONE OF THE MOST important</i></b> capital of political world for A LOT OF reasons  |  |   |
| 17 | for the <i>presence of universities</i> , also because is <i>the home of ONE OF THE MOST brilliant families and experiences</i> in the political 20 century in United States <b>AROUND THE WORLD</b> | presence of universities/home of: invoked appreciation (+valuation); one of the most brilliant (...) experiences: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); around the world: infused graduation (force: +quantification)  | 20 century/United States/around the world: deictic positioning  |
| 18 | When I visited the John Fitzgerald Kennedy Library three times in my life I found something of <i>different</i> , of <i>ispiration</i>   | different: invoked appreciation (+valuation); ispiration: judgement (social esteem: +normality)  | I/John Fitzgerald Kennedy library/three times in my life: deictic positioning; something of: Italian calque   |
| 19 | John Kennedy was a student of this <i>prestigious</i> university   |  |   |
| 20 | Kennedy's family and Kennedy experience <b>give</b> us also today an <i>idea</i>   | prestigious: appreciation (+valuation); give: monoglossic engagement; idea: judgement (social esteem: +normality)  | today: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (illustrator)   |
| 21 | <br>[Renzi points downwards while pronouncing the phrase 'also today']  |  |   |



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|----|--|--|--|
| 22 | a <i>vision</i> , an <i>ideal</i> and a <u>strategy of long term</u> , not only a <i>day-by-day strategy</i>   | vision/strategy of long term: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); ideal: judgement (social sanction: +propriety); day-by-day strategy: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)   |  |
| 23 | This is a particular <i>important</i> for me   | important: appreciation (+valuation)   | Italian calque; for me: deictic positioning  |
| 24 | when I was mayor   |  | deictic positioning  |
| 25 | Florence and not Pisa, my dear Professor, you know... we discussed, we joked about it  |  | joke; stereotype of Italian municipalism   |
| 26 | <b>I decided</b> with my team to dedicate an <u>ANCIENT</u> jail, the <u>ANCIENT</u> jail in the <u>HEART of the city</u> , to Bob Kennedy Foundation, to Bob Kennedy ideals.                | I decided: monoglossic engagement; ancient: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); heart of the city: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (focus : sharpen and force: +intensification by repetition); you can image: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) | I/my/Bob Kennedy Foundation/Bob Kennedy ideals/ Florence: deictic positioning and invoked stereotype of municipalism |
| 27 | <b>You can image</b> , this jail was <u>in the HEART of the city</u> , downtown of Florence  |  |  |
| 28 | Florence is very little city but in downtown there is this <i>ancient</i> jail called Le Murate  |  |  |
| 29 |  <p>[Renzi makes a circle with his thumbs and forefingers while pronouncing the phrase 'very little']</p> | ancient: appreciation (+valuation)   | hand gesture: emblem   |

|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 30 | in this jail we <i>open a place of <u>freedom</u></i> for the <i><u>freedom</u></i> of information, of press, of <i>dialogue</i> , blogger  |   |   |
| 31 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase and moves it up and down to mark the tempo. Towards the end he adds an opening-closing alternation]</p> | open a place: invoked affect (+security); freedom: invoked affect (+security) and graduation (force: +intensification) by repetition; dialogue: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality)   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely' (also used to mark the tempo)      |
| 32 | <i>EXACTLY</i> in the heart of the city and the name is dedicated to <u>Bob Kennedy</u> with the support of <u>Bob Kennedy</u> Foundations.   | exactly in heart of the city: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (focus: sharpen)   | Bob Kennedy: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition                           |
| 33 | Boston is that also for us  | Boston is: monoglossic engagement   | Boston/us: deictic positioning  |
| 34 | But <b>I think</b> (...) we are facing <i>tough <u>times</u>, VERY difficult <u>times</u></i>   | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); tough/ very difficult: appreciation (-reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification also by repetition)  |   |
| 35 | <u>Outside</u> of this campus, <u>outside</u> of this <i>beautiful</i> city, on the other side of Atlantic, Europe <b>was hit HARD</b> by an <i>HORRENDOUS</i> terrorist <u>attack</u>  | beautiful: appreciation (+valuation); horrendous terrorist attack: affect (-security), appreciation (-valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); was hit hard: monoglossic engagement, affect (-security) and graduation (focus: sharpen); attack: affect (-security) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); | Outside/campus/city/ on the other side of the Atlantic/Europe: deictic positioning; |
| 36 | The <u>attack</u> on Brussels <b>was</b> an <u>attack</u> to <u>Europe</u> , <u>Europe</u> as an <i>idea</i> , <u>Europe</u> is the <b>MOST INCREDIBLE</b> political <i>project</i> in the last century   | most incredible: appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification); idea: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); project: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)  | Brussels/Europe: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition                       |






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|----|--|---|--|
| 37 | <p><b>Nobody realised</b> a <i>GREAT project</i> as European <i>father</i> because <b>they give freedom</b> and <i>friendship</i> to countries for century <i>fought each other</i></p>  |   |  |
| 38 |  <p>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger to form a horizontal 'U' gesture and moves his hand sideways twice while pronouncing the phrase 'each other']</p> | <p>nobody realised/they give: monoglossic engagement; great project: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and appreciation (+valuation); father: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); freedom: invoked affect (+security); friendship: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); fought each other: invoked affect (-security)</p> | <p>European father: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem underlining the reciprocity of the action</p>  |
| 39 | <p>And <b>it's VERY important</b> for the <i>FIRST</i> time in the experience of <u>Europe</u>, <u>European</u> <i>ideals</i> permit us to live in <i>prosperity</i>, in <i>peace</i>, in <i>security</i></p>                                |   |  |
| 40 |  <p>[Renzi touches his temples with his fingertips while pronouncing the phrase 'it's very important']</p>  | <p>It's very important: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture); first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); ideals: judgement (social sanction: +propriety); prosperity/peace/security: affect (+security)</p>                | <p>Europe/European: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'amazing'; us: deictic positioning reinforced by second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/us'</p> |
| 41 |  <p>[Renzi slightly cups his hands inwards while pronouncing the word 'us']</p>   |   |  |


|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 42 | <p>But the <u>idea</u> of Europe is today a <u>VERY</u> difficult <u>idea</u></p>   |   |   |
| 43 |  <p><i>[Renzi closes his fist, slightly bangs it on the lectern while pronouncing the word 'but', then moves it up and down to mark the tempo of his phrase 'the idea of Europe is']</i></p> | <p>but the idea (...) is: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); very difficult idea: judgement (social esteem: +capacity), appreciation (-valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification also by repetition and hand gesture)</p> | <p>Europe/today: deictic positioning; hand gesture (illustrator) used to mark the tempo</p>             |
| 44 | <p>And <i>terrorists</i> understood <u>VERY WELL</u> this point and they <b>attacked</b> our <i>capital</i>, Brussels</p>   |   |   |
| 45 |  <p><i>[Renzi points forward and moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo in two different directions while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  | <p>terrorists: judgement (social sanction: -propriety); very well: graduation: force: +intensification) reinforced by hand gesture; attack: affect (-security); capital: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality)</p>                    | <p>they/our capital/Brussels: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'attention'</p> |

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|----|--|---|--|
| 46 | not only with... in the physical places but in the <i>ideal</i> places   |   |  |
| 47 |  <p>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger in a 'U' sign while pronouncing the phrase 'physical places']</p>     | ideal: judgement (social sanction: +propriety) and graduation (force: +intensification by second hand gesture)  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'small/less important'; hand gesture: emblem meaning 'entire/general' |
| 48 |  <p>[Renzi open his hands and moves them in a vertical circle before pronouncing the phrase 'ideal places']</p> |   |  |
| 49 | The <u>attack</u> of Brussels is an <b>INCREDIBLE attack to ideals of Europe and unity of Europe, the project of Europe</b>  |   |  |
| 50 | not only <u>Europe is under attack</u> because if we think only about <u>Europe we are not correct</u> with ourself  | Attack (...) incredible attack to ideals (...) unity (...) project: affect (-security) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification also by repetition) attributed to resources of judgement: ideals (social sanction: +propriety), unity (social esteem: +normality) and project (social esteem: +capacity); is under attack: monoglossic engagement and affect (-security); we are not correct: judgement (social sanction: -veracity); freedom of faith: invoked affect (+security); are under siege: monoglossic engagement and affect (-security) | Europe: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition   |
| 51 | the <u>attacks</u> in Pakistan remember to the world Christian religion as well as <b>freedom of faith are under siege</b>   |   |  |

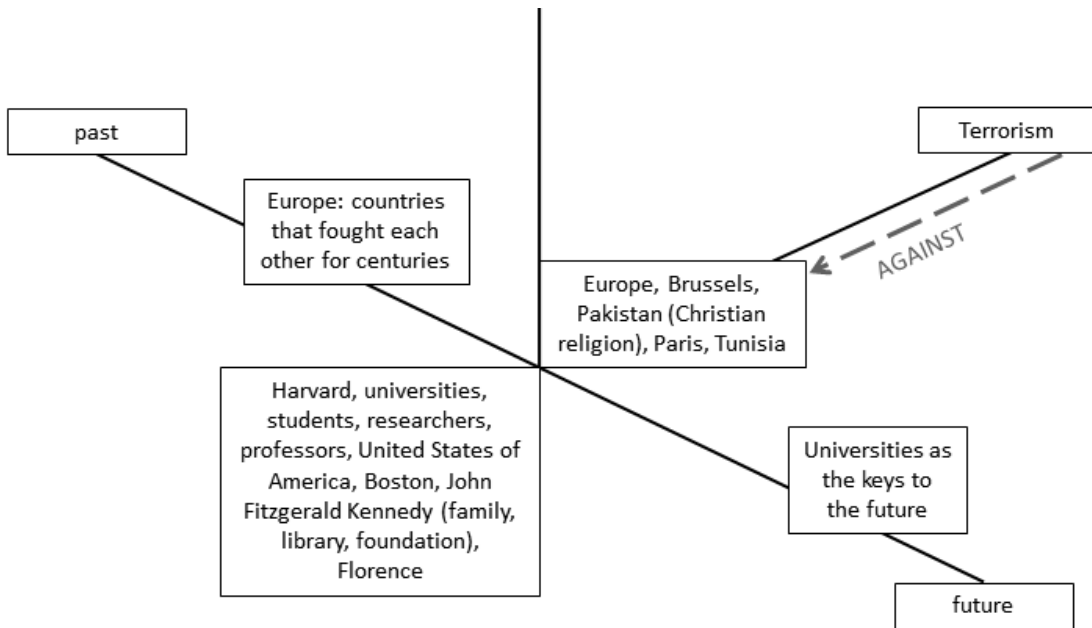
|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 52 | <p>A <u>LITTLE</u> garden, a <u>LITTLE</u> park with A LOT OF children killed in <u>TERRIBLE</u> way</p>  |   |   |
| 53 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</p>                      | <p>little garden/park: graduation (force: –quantification and +intensification by repetition) and invoked appreciation (+valuation); a lot of children: invoked appreciation (–reaction), graduation (force: +intensification also by facial expression); killed in terrible way: affect (–security) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘precisely’ (also used to mark the tempo)</p>   |
| 54 |  <p>[Renzi's facial expression while saying the word ‘children’]</p>   |   |   |
| 55 | <p><b>but the approach of terrorists, in my personal view, is an approach very strategic</b></p>  |   |   |
| 56 |  <p>[Renzi points forward then slightly closes his thumb and moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</p> | <p>in my personal view: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); but (...) is an approach: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); terrorists: judgement (social sanction: –propriety); strategic: appreciation (+valuation)</p>  | <p>my: deictic positioning; hand gesture (illustrator) that slightly turns into a ‘ring hand shape’ (Italian emblem), used to mark the tempo and underline key words; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘I/my’</p> |
| 57 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the phrase ‘in my personal view’]</p>   |   |   |

|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 58 | <p><b><u>They</u> consider Europe in crisis, <u>they</u> hit places, location of normal life day by day</b></p>   |   |   |
| 59 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his forehead with his fingertip while pronouncing the word 'consider']</i></p>   | <p>they consider: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); crisis: appreciation (-reaction); hit: affect (-security); places (...) day by day: social esteem (+normality)</p> | <p>they: deictic positioning reinforce by repetition; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to think/foolishness'; hand gesture (illustrator) that slightly turns into a 'ring hand shape' (Italian emblem), used to mark the tempo and underline key words</p> |
| 60 |  <p><i>[Renzi points forward then slightly closes his thumb and forefinger and moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'hit places, location of normal life day by day']</i></p> |   |   |
| 61 | <p>the <u>targets</u> of those attacks are <u>targets</u> of day by day life</p>  |   |   |
| 62 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the utterance and moves it up and down to mark the tempo]</i></p>   | <p>attack: affect (-security); target: invoked day by day life: social esteem (+normality)</p>  | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>   |

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|----|--|--|--|
| 63 | What is the point?   |  |  |
| 64 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the utterance and moves it up and down to mark the tempo]</i></p>              |  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'   |
| 65 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest while pronouncing the phrase 'for me, in my personal view']</i></p>   | for me, in my personal view we are in crisis: heteroglossic engagement (entertain), appreciation (–reaction); and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); without a vision and without a strategy: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); terrorists: judgement (social sanction: –propriety); change our lives: invoked judgement (social sanction: –propriety) | me/my/our: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future' |
| 66 | <p><b>For me, in my personal view, we are in crisis</b> because for the <i>FIRST</i> time, after A LOT OF period, without a vision and without a strategy, terrorists try to change our lives.</p>                               |  |  |
| 67 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hands forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'without a vision and without a strategy']</i></p> |  |  |



|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 68 | <p><b>They want <i>kill</i> <u>us</u>.</b> In alternative, <b>they try to force <u>us</u></b> to live in the <i>terror</i></p>  |   |  |
| 69 |  <p><i>[Renzi's facial expression while pronouncing the phrase 'kill us'. While pronouncing the whole utterance he also points forward and moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo in different directions]</i></p> | <p>they want: monoglossic engagement; kill: affect (-security) and graduation (force: +intensification by facial expression); they try: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity); force: affect (-security); terror: judgement (social sanction: -propriety)</p> | <p>they/us: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; in alternative: Italian calque: hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'attention'</p> |

### 8.3.1.2 Deictic positioning



### 8.3.2 Segment 2 – 00:10:21-00:16:35

#### 8.3.2.1 Appraisal analysis and value




|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis  | Value  |
|---|---|---|--|
| 1 | <i>for the <u>FIRST</u> time, for <u>my</u> generation and the generation of <u>my</u> children,</i>  |   |  |
| 2 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at his chest with his open palms while pronouncing the phrase 'my generation']</i></p>  | <p>for the first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition)</p>   | <p>my: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition and hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'</p> |
| 3 | <i>for the <u>FIRST</u> time, <u>tomorrow</u> is a <i>problem</i>, <u>tomorrow</u> is a <i>threaten</i>, a <i>menace</i></i>  |   |  |
| 4 |  <p><i>[While pronouncing the utterance, Renzi repeatedly opens and closes his forefinger in a pointing gesture that also marks the tempo of his speech]</i></p> | <p>for the first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition);<br/>           problem: appreciation (–reaction);<br/>           threaten/menace: affect (–security)</p> | <p>tomorrow: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; hand gesture (illustrator)</p>                |



|   |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|
| 5 | <p><b><u>If you think about my grandfather, my grandfather</u></b><br/>was in the <i>war against</i> French people or Greek people</p>  |  |  |
| 6 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at his chest with his open palms while pronouncing the phrase 'my grandfather']</i></p> | <p>if you think about: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) reinforced by repetition; war against: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); knew: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge) reinforced by repetition; for the first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); peace: affect (+security)</p> | <p>my father/grandfather: deictic positioning (and invoked past/future opposition) reinforced by repetition and hand gesture (Italian emblem) meaning 'I/my'; against French people/Greek people/Europe: deictic positioning</p> |
| 7 | <p><b><u>If you think about my father, my father knew</u></b>, the generation of <b><u>my father knew</u></b> for the <i>FIRST time</i> the experience of <i>peace</i> of Europe</p>          |  |  |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 8  | <p><b>but</b> both, <u>my father</u> and <u>my grandfather</u>, <b>think</b> future could... as a <i>possibility</i></p>   |   |  |
| 9  |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger to form a horizontal 'U' and moves it sideways several times while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>                  | <p>think: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge and countering structure); possibility: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>my father/grandfather: deictic positioning (and invoked past/future opposition) reinforced by repetition; hand gestures (Italian emblems) meaning, respectively: two elements, 'thinking/foolishness', 'further/future'</p> |
| 10 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his forehead with his fingertip while pronouncing the word 'think']</i></p>  |   |  |
| 11 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open and moves it back and forth while pronouncing the phrase 'future could... as a possibility']</i></p> |   |  |

|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 12 | Future as a <i>optimistic</i> way  |  |   |
| 13 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hands forward holding his palms open while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>                           | <p>optimistic: appreciation (+valuation)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p>  |
| 14 | <p><u>My generation and the next generation</u> are surrounded by fear.</p>  |  |   |
| 15 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at himself with his open palms while pronouncing the phrase 'my generation']</i></p>                        |  | <p>my: deictic positioning (and invoked past/future opposition) reinforced by hand gesture; next generation: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition, hand gesture and invoked past/future opposition;</p> |
| 16 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly rotates his hands forward holding his palms open while pronouncing the phrase 'next generation']</i></p> | <p>are surrounded: monoglossic engagement, invoked affect (–security) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); fear: affect (–security)</p> | <p>first hand gesture: Italian illustrator meaning 'I/my'; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'; third hand gesture: emblem meaning surrounding'</p>                                    |
| 17 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his arms and makes a circular, 'embracing' movement while pronouncing the word 'surrounded']</i></p>        |  |   |

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| 18 |  <p><i>[Renzi quickly bangs the back of his hand on the lectern to introduce and underline the word 'this']</i></p>                |   |  |
| 19 | <p><b><u>This is THE POINT: we need a VERY strong reaction. Political <u>reaction</u>.</u></b></p>  | <p>this is the point/we need: monoglossic engagement reinforced by repetition; the point: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); very strong reaction: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification also by repetition and hand gesture)</p> | <p>this: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (deictic illustrator); hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'strong'</p> |
| 20 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist and briefly moves it up and down in different direction while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>   |   |  |
| 21 | <p><b><u>This is the role</u> of politics today and <b><u>this is the role</u></b> of Europe, finally</b></p>   |   |  |
| 22 |  <p><i>[Renzi points with both forefingers and moves them up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> | <p>this is the role: monoglossic engagement; the role: invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture)</p>   | <p>this: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (deictic illustrator); today/Europe: deictic positioning</p>             |

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| 23 | <p><i>Preserve the GREAT dream<br/>(...) the FATHER of ideal...<br/>European ideals, but at the<br/>same time build a different<br/>strategy for the next<br/>generation</i></p>                                       |  |   |
| 24 |  <p><i>[Renzi points and moves his arm up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'preserve the great dream']</i></p> | <p>preserve: affect (+security);<br/>dream: affect (+inclination) and appreciation (+valuation); the father of ideal: judgement (social sanction: +propriety) and graduation (focus: sharpen); build: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); different strategy: invoked appreciation (+valuation), invoked judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p> | <p>European ideals: deictic positioning;<br/>next generation: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture and invoked past/future opposition; first two hand gestures (illustrators) reinforcing the utterances; third hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p> |
| 25 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens both hands and turns on one side while pronouncing the phrase 'but, at the same time']</i></p>                   |  |   |
| 26 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'different strategy']</i></p>             |  |   |


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| 27 | <p><b><u>This is THE POINT</u></b> of Europe today</p>  |   |  |
| 28 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his right hand upwards while pronouncing the phrase 'this is the point' and moves it up and down to mark the tempo]</i></p> | <p>this is the point: monoglossic engagement reinforced by repetition; the point: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>Europe today: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p>   |
| 29 | <p>And <i>I'm not happy</i> about the quality of discussion, because after the <i>attacks</i> A LOT OF <i>colleagues</i> react with <b>STRONG determination</b>.</p>  | <p>I'm not happy: affect (–happiness) and graduation (force: +intensification by kinesics); attacks: affect (–security); a lot of colleagues: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by voice pitch and loudness); strong determination: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>a lot of colleagues: deictic positioning: higher pitch and loudness while pronouncing the phrase 'a lot of colleagues'</p>  |
| 30 | <p><i>[Renzi shakes his head while pronouncing the utterance 'I'm not happy']</i></p>   |   |  |
| 31 | <p>Okay, <b>we must fight against</b> enemies</p>   |   | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness while pronouncing the utterance to imitate politicians' public speaking; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'strong/being sure of one's own opinion'</p> |
| 32 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist and stretches it forward while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  | <p>we must fight against: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); enemy: judgement (social esteem: –normality)</p>   |  |




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| 33 | <b>Yes, <u>it's correct</u>.</b>   | it's correct: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: +endorse) reinforced by repetition   |  |
| 34 | <b>We must tax the <u>terrorist</u> in Syria, in all the countries. In the <u>Middle East</u>, in North <u>Africa</u>.</b>   | we must tax: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); terrorist: judgement (social sanction: –propriety) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); a lot of problems: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); but not only/this is not only: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) reinforced by repetition; answer: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition) | higher pitch and loudness while pronouncing the phrase 'we must tax (...) in North Africa' and 'so it's correct (...)' answer'; future/Syria/ all the countries/the Middle East/North Africa/Sub-Saharan Africa/ Afghanistan/ Pakistan: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition |
| 35 | <b><u>It's correct</u>, we have <u>A LOT OF problems</u> in <u>Middle East</u>, in <u>Africa</u>. <u>Africa</u> is a <i>great challenge</i> for the future and we have <u>A LOT OF problems</u> in the presence of <u>terrorist</u> in Sub-Saharan <u>Africa</u>, <b>but not only</b> in <u>Africa</u>. In Afghanistan, in Pakistan.</b> |  |  |
| 36 | So <b><u>it's correct</u></b> , there is this <u>problem</u> , <b>but this is not only <u>answer</u>.</b>  |  |  |
| 37 | If the only <u>answer</u> in front of this <i>attack</i> to European <i>ideal</i> is okay, our <u>answer</u> is <i>bombing</i> in Syria or other sites, <b>I think we lose</b> [unclear] the <b>INCREDIBLE QUALITY</b> of <u>challenge</u>   | answer: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); attack/bombing: affect (–security); ideal: judgement (social sanction: +propriety); I think we lose: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); incredible quality of challenge: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification also by repetition); different: invoked appreciation (+valuation); create: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)  | Syria/other sites: deictic positioning; European ideal: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (illustrator)   |
| 38 | <br>[Renzi points with both forefingers while pronouncing the phrase 'European ideal']  |  |  |
| 39 | The <u>challenge</u> is <i>different</i> , is <i>create</i> a political <u>answer</u> .  |  |  |



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| 40 | <p>my <i>DEAR friends</i> of Harvard University. The <i>terrorists</i> who <i>killed</i> people in Paris or in Brussels didn't come from Syria, or from Libya or from Tunisia or from Afghanistan. They grew up in Europe.</p> | <p>dear friends: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality and infused graduation (force: +intensification); terrorist/killed: judgement (social sanction: –propriety)</p>   | <p>my dear friends of Harvard University/Paris/Brussels/Syria/Libya/Tunisia/Afghanistan/Europe: deictic positioning</p>                                    |
| 41 | <p><b><u>This is THE POINT.</u></b></p>  |   |  |
| 42 | <p>And if European politics <i>don't understand</i> the <i>GREAT problem</i> of this element, <b>this means</b> we are <i>without future.</i></p>  |   |  |
| 43 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves it up and down to mark the tempo of his utterance]</p>                                 | <p>this is the point: monoglossic engagement reinforced by repetition (see above); the point: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture); don't understand: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity); great problem: invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification); this means: monoglossic engagement; without future: invoked affect (–security) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p> | <p>European politics: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely'</p> |
| 44 |  <p>[Renzi opens his hand, palm downwards, and draws a horizontal line while pronouncing the word 'without']</p>                            |   |  |
| 45 | <p><b>We must see</b> the reality.</p>   | <p>we must see: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)</p>  |  |
| 46 | <p>The people who <i>destroy</i> <u>our</u> lives in Paris or in Brussels grew up in the suburbs, in the banlieues, of <u>our</u> cities.</p>  | <p>destroy: judgement (social sanction: –propriety)</p>   | <p>Paris/Brussels/suburbs/banlieues: deictic positioning; inclusive 'our': deictic positioning reinforced by repetition</p>                                |



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| 47 | <b>It's an European</b> the man who <i>killed in TERRIBLE way</i> in Syria, Jihadi John grew up in UK.   |   |  |
| 48 | <b>It's an European</b> the man who organise the <i>killer</i> in Paris.   | it's an European: monoglossic engagement reinforced by repetition; killed/killer/destroyed the lives: judgement (social sanction: –propriety); terrible way: affect (–security) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); near: graduation (force: +quantification) | Syria/UK/Paris/last January/airport Brussels/station near to European institutions: deictic positioning; inclusive 'our': deictic positioning reinforced by repetition |
| 49 | <b>It's an European</b> (...) the brothers who <i>destroyed the lives</i> of Charlie Hebdo newspaper in last January.  |   |  |
| 50 | <b>It's an European</b> the team who <i>destroy</i> airport in Brussels and (...) station NEAR to European institutions.   |   |  |
| 51 | So, what is the answer by Italian government, <i>the FIRST point I want share</i> with you and with the students.  |   |  |
| 52 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves it up and down in different directions to mark the tempo of his utterance]</i></p> | the first point: appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by hand gesture); I want share: monoglossic engagement   | Italian government/I/you/students: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning   |

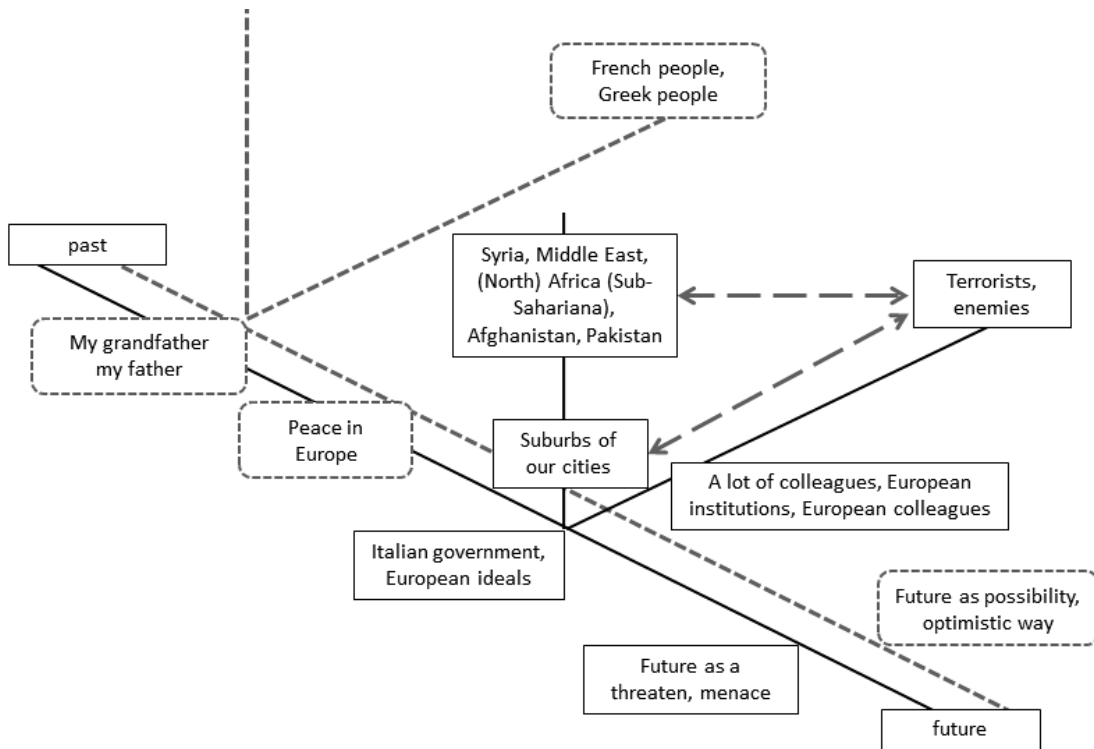
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| 53 | <p><b>I think</b> the <i>reaction</i> by European institutions must be in both directions.</p>  |   |  |
| 54 |  <p>[Renzi raises the forefingers and middle fingers of both hands and slightly rotates them while pronouncing the phrase 'both directions']</p> | <p>I think (...) must be: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); reaction: judgement (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  | <p>European institutions: deictic positioning; hand gesture (illustrator) underlining 'both'</p> |
| 55 | <p>First, an <i>investment VERY important</i> in cyber technology, in <i>security, sharing information</i> between <i>secret services</i> and <i>intelligence</i>, give finally a European <i>model of defence system</i>.</p>    | <p>investment: judgement (social esteem: +capacity), appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); security/sharing information/secret services/intelligence/defence system: (invoked) affect (+security); model: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p> | <p>higher pitch and loudness</p>   |
| 56 | <p><b>This is VERY important.</b></p>   | <p>very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   |  |
| 57 | <p><b>We need</b> also an <i>answer</i> in this field, but at the same time <b>we need</b> an <i>INCREDIBLE investment</i> in a different way.</p>  | <p>We need: monoglossic engagement reinforced by repetition; incredible investment: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>inclusive 'we': deictic positioning</p>   |

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| 58 | <p><b>The position of Italian government is that:</b></p>   |   |   |
| 59 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest with both hands while pronouncing the phrase 'the position of Italian government']</p>                    |   |   |
| 60 | <p>for every euro invested in <i>security</i>, we need an euro to invest in <i>education</i>;</p>   |   |   |
| 61 | <p>for every euro invest in <i>police</i> <b>we must invest</b> one euro in the <i>urbanistic model</i> of cities in Europe. For every euro (...)</p>   | <p>the position is: monoglossic engagement; security/police: (invoked) affect (+security); urbanistic model/education/theatre/sport/museum/culture: invoked appreciation (+valuation);</p>  | <p>inclusive 'we'/in Europe: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; second hand gesture: illustrator</p> |
| 62 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves it up and down in different directions to mark the tempo of his utterance]</p> | <p>we must invest: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) reinforced by repetition; is exactly; monoglossic engagement and graduation (focus: sharpen); target: affect (-security); terrorists: judgement (social sanction: -propriety)</p> |   |
| 63 | <p><b>we must invest</b> one euro in <i>theatre</i>, in <i>sport</i>, in <i>museum</i>, because <b>is EXACTLY</b> our <i>culture</i> the <i>target of terrorists</i>.</p>   |   |   |
| 64 |  <p>[Renzi points while pronouncing the word 'target']</p>   |   |   |

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| 65 | <b>I know</b> , this position for the moment is not majority   | I know: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur)  |  |
| 66 | but it's a <i>VERY important</i> position by Italian government. <b>I hope my colleagues</b> , my European <u>colleagues</u> accept this approach  | very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification). I hope: monoglossic engagement; colleagues: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition) | Italian government/my European colleagues: deictic positioning; hand gesture: emblem, possibly a variation of the Italian 'precision grip' <sup>40</sup> meaning 'precisely' |
| 67 | <br>[Renzi pinches his thumb and middle finger and moves it up and down to mark the tempo of his utterance]         |  |  |
| 68 | we are not in condition to <i>fight against the enemy</i> .  |  |  |
| 69 | The <u>enemy</u> is not only abroad. The <u>enemy</u> is inside <u>our</u> cities, inside <u>our</u> borders.  | fight against: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); enemy: judgement (social esteem: -normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); borders: invoked affect (+security)  | abroad/inside our cities: deictic positioning; inclusive 'we'/'our': deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; hand gesture: illustrator                                 |
| 70 | <br>[Renzi clenches his fist and slightly bangs it on the lectern a few times to mark the tempo of his utterance] |  |  |

<sup>40</sup> See Operational Notes, section 3.2.4.




### 8.3.2.2 Deictic positioning




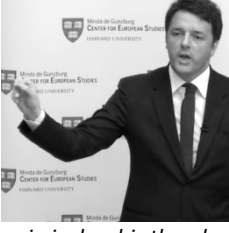


### 8.3.3 Segment 3 – 00:16:35-00:22:38

#### 8.3.3.1 Appraisal analysis and value

|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis  | Value   |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | This is the <i>first</i> thing <i>VERY important</i>  | first: invoked appreciation (+valuation); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)  |   |
| 2 | <b>I believe</b> this is a <i>VERY great</i> point of discussion in the next months in the European debate  | I believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very great: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)   | next months/European debate: deictic positioning                                    |
| 3 | when, Nine-eleven, your city <i>was hit</i> by <i>terrorists</i> , was clear: this <u>attack</u> was a <i>foreign attacks</i> against the United States the country of <i>freedom</i> . | was hit: invoked affect (–security); terrorist: judgement (social sanction: –propriety); attack: affect (–security) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); foreign: invoked judgement (social esteem: –normality); freedom: invoked affect (+security) | Nine-eleven/your city/United States: deictic positioning; was clear: Italian calque |

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| 4 | Now the situation is <i>different</i> .   | is: monoglossic engagement;<br>different: invoked appreciation<br>(–valuation)  | now: deictic positioning  |
| 5 | <b>We have a <i>problem</i> with <u>our</u> citizen, <u>our</u> education model, <u>our</u> urbanistic development.</b>   |   |   |
| 6 | <br>[Renzi points to himself and marks the tempo of his utterance]   | we have: monoglossic engagement and gradation (force: +intensification) by hand gesture; problem: appreciation (–reaction)                    | our: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition and hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'); second hand gesture: emblem reinforcing the idea of a well-defined area |
| 7 | <br>[Renzi draws a circle while pronouncing the phrase 'urbanistic development']                                |   |   |
| 8 | <br>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger in a 'U' sign while pronouncing the phrase 'just one consideration'] |   |   |
| 9 | a friend of Salah, Salah is the guy... the <i>killer</i> who <i>destroy</i> ... who belong to the team who participate and organised the <i>attacks</i> in Paris in November 2015.                | friend: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality);<br>killer/destroy: judgement (social sanction: –propriety); attack: affect (–security) | Paris/November 2015: deictic positioning  |




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| 10 | <p>one <i>friend</i> of... of Salah (...)<br/>used a <b>VERY TERRIBLE</b><br/>expression</p>   |  |  |
| 11 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'used a very terrible expression (...) Molenbeek']</i></p> | <p>friend: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); very terrible: appreciation (-reaction) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>  |
| 12 | <p>Molenbeek is this quarter of Brussels in which Salah was <b>protected IN THE SILENCE</b></p>  |  |  |
| 13 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'in which']</i></p>  | <p>was protected in the silence: affect (+security), infused graduation (force: +intensification) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>Molenbeek/Brussels: deictic positioning; is this: Italian calque; first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'silence'</p> |
| 14 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his nose with his forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'in the silence']</i></p>   |  |  |
| 15 | <p>So after the <i>good</i> operation and ... ehm... when Salah <b>was in jail</b>, this <i>friend</i> of him <b>told</b> to the... to journalist</p>  |  |  |
| 16 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'in jail']</i></p>  | <p>good: appreciation (+valuation); was in jail: invoked affect: +security and graduation (focus: sharpen by hand gesture); friend: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality); told: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>  |

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| 17 | <p>'ah only <u>you</u> foreigners <u>you</u> can image Salah could escape from Molenbeek, because this is <u>our</u> city,'</p>   |  |  |
| 18 |  <p><i>[Renzi points forward to indicate the audience while uttering the word 'you' then rotates his hand and forearm while pronouncing the word 'foreigners']</i></p> | <p>foreigners: invoked judgement (social esteem: –normality); can image/could: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); escape: invoked affect (+security) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p> | <p>you (foreigners): deictic positioning reinforced by repetition and first hand gesture; Molenbeek/our/this: deictic positioning; first hand gesture (illustrator); second hand gesture: Italian emblem, possibly a variation of the gesture meaning 'future/further'; third hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to think/foolishness'; fourth hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to escape'</p> |
| 19 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his temples with his fingertips while pronouncing the phrase 'can image']</i></p>  |  |  |
| 20 |  <p><i>[Renzi swings his palm open inwards while pronouncing the word 'escape']</i></p>  |  |  |





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| 21 | <b>Attention</b>  |   |  |
| 22 |  <p>[Renzi briefly points while pronouncing the utterance]</p>   | attention: invoked monoglossic engagement and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)  | Italian calque; hand gesture (illustrator); hand gesture: emblem meaning 'attention' |
| 23 | the <i>VERY</i> particular expression is 'only you, foreigners'. Who is the foreigners in our city?   |   |  |
| 24 |  <p>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger in a 'U' sign while pronouncing the utterance]</p>   | very particular: invoked appreciation (-valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)   | you/our/foreigner: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'small' |
| 25 | <b>This is THE POINT</b> of... for a <i>good</i> debate (...) in our continent.   | this is: monoglossic engagement; the point: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); good: appreciation (+valuation)   | our: deictic positioning   |
| 26 | So I <b>believe ABSOLUTELY important</b>  | I believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); absolutely: graduation (force: +intensification)   |  |
| 27 | <b>I'm sure</b> <u>you don't even think about death</u> if you have a <i>place to go</i> . <u>You don't even think about death</u> if you have a <i>book to read, a movie to see</i> . <u>You don't even think about death</u> if you have a <i>project, goal, a perspective</i> . <u>You don't even think about death</u> if you still have <i>curiosity, creativity</i> . | I'm sure: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); death: affect (-security); place to go: invoked appreciation (+valuation); book to read/movie to see: invoked appreciation (+reaction); project/goal/perspective/creativity: judgement (social esteem: +capacity); curiosity: affect (+inclination) |  |

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| 28 | <p>the new day will bring <i>something to learn about, something new to discover, a future to navigate, you are a citizen.</i></p>   | <p>something to learn about/something new to discover/future to navigate: invoked appreciation (+reaction); you are: monoglossic engagement; citizen: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality)</p>   | <p>new day/future: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 29 | <p><b>The risk in this time is</b> lose our idea of <u>citizenship</u>... become only <u>number</u>. <b>We are citizens, not numbers.</b></p>  | <p>the risk is/we are: monoglossic engagement; risk: affect (-security); citizen/citizenship: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); number: invoked judgement (social esteem: -normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); we must be: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); leader: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); follower (social esteem: -tenacity)</p> | <p>in this time: deictic positioning; hand gestures: Italian emblems indicating a core concept and its explanation; in the time: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; we: deictic positioning</p> |
| 30 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger, then opens his hand in a cup gesture several times while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> | <p>the risk is/we are: monoglossic engagement; risk: affect (-security); citizen/citizenship: invoked judgement (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); number: invoked judgement (social esteem: -normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); we must be: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); leader: judgement (social esteem: +tenacity); follower (social esteem: -tenacity)</p> | <p>in this time: deictic positioning; hand gestures: Italian emblems indicating a core concept and its explanation; in the time: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; we: deictic positioning</p> |
| 31 | <p><u>In the time</u> of big data, <b>we must be citizens</b>. <u>In the time</u> in which social media are <b>VERY important, it's time</b> to be leader, not only follower</p>   | <p>I think/must show: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very concrete: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>this is a moment: deictic positioning; something of: Italian calque</p>   |
| 32 | <p><b>I think</b> this is a moment in which government <b>must show</b> something of <b>VERY concrete</b>.</p>   | <p>I think/must show: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very concrete: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>this is a moment: deictic positioning; something of: Italian calque</p>   |

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|----|---|--|---|
| 33 | <p>If you think about the situation in Europe in this moment (...) <b>show</b> in every country a <i>problem</i> for the governments.</p>   |  |   |
| 34 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves his hand to trace a downward facing curve while pronouncing the word 'governments']</i></p>           | <p>show: monoglossic engagement;<br/>problem: appreciation (–reaction)</p> | <p>in Europe/in this moment/in every country: deictic positioning;<br/>governments: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'precisely')</p> |
| 35 | <p>Obviously I'm really happy because I'm the last one to go to elections, so before me there are a lot of colleagues of the elections.</p>   |  |   |
| 36 |  <p><i>[Renzi makes a pointing gesture and moves it to trace a downward facing curve while pronouncing the phrase 'the last one to go to elections']</i></p> |  | <p>ironic remark; I: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: illustrator; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p>   |
| 37 |  <p><i>[Renzi rapidly points to himself while pronouncing the phrase 'before me']</i></p>  |  |   |
| 38 | <p>If you think</p>   |  | <p>Italian calque</p>   |

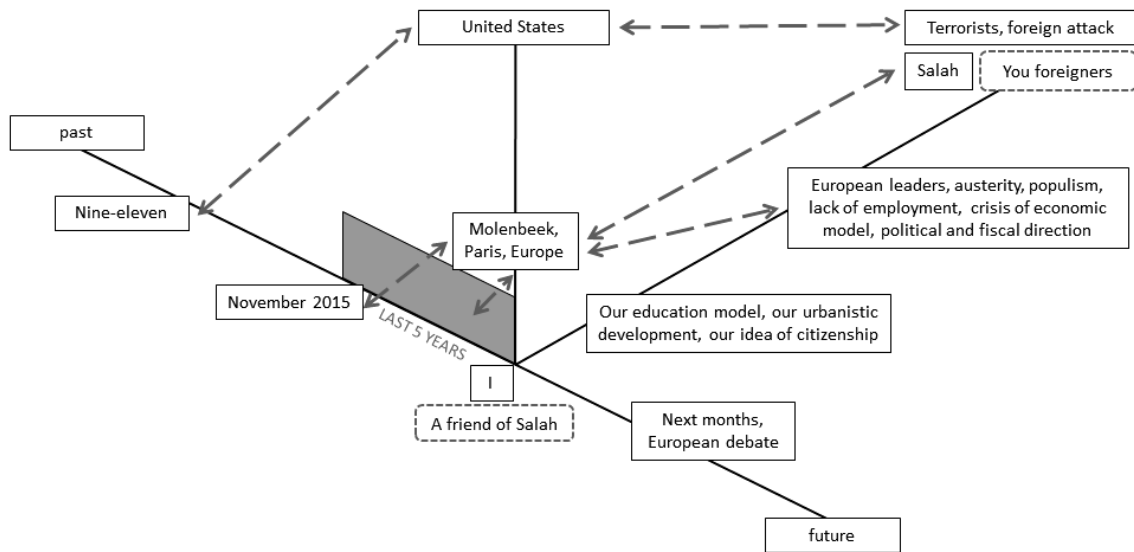
|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 39 |  <p><i>[Renzi uses his left hand count up to three while pronouncing the phrase 'Ireland, Spain, Portugal']</i></p>    |   |  |
| 40 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his fingers to indicate number three while pronouncing the phrase 'three governments']</i></p> |   | hand gestures (Italian emblems) indicating numbers   |
| 41 | <p>the <i>problem</i> for the government <b>are VERY big</b></p>  | <p>problem: appreciation (–reaction);<br/>are: monoglossic engagement;<br/>very big: graduation (force:<br/>+intensification and<br/>+quantification)</p> |  |
| 42 | <p><b>My personal position is</b><br/>that for two reasons:</p>   |   |  |
| 43 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at himself while pronouncing the phrase 'my personal opinion']</i></p>                          | <p>My personal position is:<br/>heteroglossic engagement<br/>(entertain)</p>  | <p>my: deictic positioning;<br/>first hand gesture:<br/>Italian emblem<br/>meaning 'I/my'; second<br/>hand gesture: Italian<br/>emblem meaning 'two'</p> |
| 44 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his fingers to indicate number two while pronouncing the phrase 'two reasons']</i></p>       |   |  |

|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 45 | <p>first, because European leaders <b>choose</b> a <i>wrong</i> direction in economy</p>   |  |   |
| 46 |  <p>[Renzi clutches his forefinger while pronouncing the word 'first']</p>  |  |   |
| 47 | <p>They <b>decide</b> to invest A LOT in <u><i>austerity, austerity, austerity</i></u></p>   |  |   |
| 48 | <p>And they <b>lost the opportunity</b> to <i>give hope</i> to the <i>new</i> generation</p>   |  |   |
| 49 |  <p>[Renzi moves his hand in a downward facing curve while pronouncing the phrase 'give hope to the new generation']</p> | <p>choose/decide/lost: monoglossic engagement; wrong: social sanction (-propriety); a lot: graduation (force: +quantification); austerity: judgement (social esteem: -normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); lost the opportunity: judgement (social esteem: -capacity); give hope/new generation: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; European leaders/new generation: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: variation of Italian emblem meaning 'one'; second hand gesture: variation of Italian emblem meaning 'future'</p> |
| 50 | <p>If is <i>dream</i> for a country is <u><i>austerity, austerity, austerity</i></u> nobody could <i>fall in love</i> with the politics</p>  | <p>dream: affect (+inclination); austerity: judgement (social esteem: -normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); fall in love: appreciation (+reaction)</p>   |   |

|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 51 | <p>But <b>nobody</b> could give <u>answer</u>, <i>concrete answer</i> to the <i>problems</i> of the new generation.</p>  |  |   |
| 52 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups both hands, brings them together and moves them up and down to mark the tempo of his utterance]</i></p>  | <p>nobody could: monoglossic engagement; new: appreciation (+reaction); answer/concrete answer: judgement (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>                              | <p>new generation: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p>  |
| 53 | <p>in some of our countries, the <i>problem of populism</i> is <b>not created</b> by <u>terrorists</u>, not only by <u>terrorists</u></p>  |  |   |
| 54 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his nose with his forefinger while pronouncing the word 'created,' then, to mark the tempo, he moves it sideways and adds the other pointing hand]</i></p> | <p>problem of populism: invoked judgement (social esteem: –normality); is not created: monoglossic engagement; terrorist: judgement (social sanction: –propriety) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p> | <p>our countries: deictic positioning; hand gesture: probably a variation of the Italian emblem meaning 'attention' that turns into an illustrator; voice: higher pitch and loudness starting from 'not only'</p> |

|    |  |  |  |
|----|--|--|--|
| 55 | <p>but before <b>is created</b> by the <i>lack of employment</i>, by the <i>crisis of economic model</i> (...) <b>I think</b> the European approach (...) <b>was a <i>mistake</i></b>, in the last five years</p>          |  |  |
| 56 |  <p><i>[Renzi continues to mark the tempo with a variation of the previous pointing gesture while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>      | <p>is created: monoglossic engagement; I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain): was a mistake: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgement (social esteem: –capacity)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; European approach/in the last five years: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘attention’</p> |
| 57 | <p><b>There is a <i>problem</i></b> in direction in the political and fiscal direction in Europe</p>   |  |  |
| 58 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and move his hand up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> | <p>there is: monoglossic engagement</p>  | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; Europe: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘precisely’</p>                                   |

### 8.3.3.2 Deictic positioning






### 8.3.4 Segment 4 – 00:22:40-00:28:30

#### 8.3.4.1 Appraisal analysis and value


|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis   | Value                               |
|---|---|--|-------------------------------------|
| 1 | <b>we need</b> a system, institutional system able to <i>give power to winner</i>                 | we need: monoglossic engagement; give power/winner: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)  | inclusive 'we': deictic positioning |
| 2 | <b>I know</b> for American citizen this is <i>NOT VERY problematic</i> because it's <i>normal</i> | I know: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); not very problematic: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (-intensification); normal: appreciation (+reaction) |                                     |









|   |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|
| 3 | the winner wins   |  |  |
| 4 |  <p data-bbox="311 488 614 548"><i>[Renzi's facial expression while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>   |  |  |
| 5 | And you think 'Oh... you are in Harvard and the only thing you can say is the winner wins'  |  |  |
| 6 |  <p data-bbox="295 981 630 1064"><i>[Renzi's facial expression n palms while pronouncing the phrase 'and you think: oh...']</i></p>  |  |  |
| 7 | (...)in Europe is not   |  |  |
| 8 |  <p data-bbox="279 1630 646 1769"><i>[Renzi's facial expression and hand gesture while pronouncing the utterance: he draws a horizontal line in two opposite directions with his palms facing downwards]</i></p> |  |  |
| 9 | this the(...)process  |  | <p data-bbox="1109 896 1380 1120">ironic remarks enhanced by facial expressions and hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely')</p> |

|    |  |  |  |
|----|--|--|--|
| 10 | I can speak because I am Italian   |  |  |
| 11 |  <p><i>[Renzi's hand gesture (he points to himself) and facial expression while pronouncing the utterance; he also shakes his head while and after pronouncing the phrase 'I am Italian']</i></p> |  | voice: higher pitch and loudness; invoked stereotype of Italian inefficiency; invoked irony reinforced by facial expression and hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'I/my')                         |
| 12 | And I am the <i>leader</i> , the Prime Minister of the government <i>number 63 on 70 years</i>   |  |  |
| 13 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves his hand up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'I am the leader, the Prime Minister of the government number 63']</i></p>           | leader: invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity); number 63 on 70 years: invoked appreciation (-reaction) | I/70 years: deictic positioning; 'number 63 on 70 years': invoked irony reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem, ring hand shape) meaning 'precisely' and by his ironic plea 'don't smile please' |
| 14 | Don't smile, please  |  |  |
| 15 |  <p><i>[Renzi's facial expression while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  |  |  |


|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 16 | <p>the <i>VERY strong decision</i> of my government to <i>invest</i> in reforms project</p>   |  |   |
| 17 |  <p>[Renzi bangs his fist on the lectern while pronouncing the word 'invest']</p>  | <p>very strong decision: invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification); invest/reforms project: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture)</p>       | <p>my government: deictic positioning; hand gesture: deictic illustrator</p>  |
| 18 | <p>is not <i>SIMPLY</i> because we show to European people '(...) but because we need <i>stability</i> and the <i>possibility</i> to give power</p>   | <p>simply: graduation (focus: soften); we show: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity); stability: invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity); possibility to give power: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; European people: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 19 | <p>if the winner in the election is <i>not able</i> to change things, this is a <i>VERY good assist</i> for populists</p>   |  |   |
| 20 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the utterance and moves it up and down in different direction to mark the tempo until he finally stretches his arm and points sideways while pronouncing the word 'populists']</p> | <p>is not able to change: invoked judgment (social esteem: -capacity); very good assist: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification); populists: invoked judgment (social esteem: -normality)</p>         | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; populists: deictic positioning invoked by hand gesture</p> |

|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 21 | Economic <i>direction</i> and, at the same time, a <i>vetocracy</i> , the power in the hands of <i>the people who give the veto</i> and <i>don't realise reforms</i> , <i>don't achieve the reforms</i> .   |   |   |
| 22 |  <p>[Renzi uses his hands to count up to two while pronouncing the phrase 'Economic direction and, at the same time']</p> | invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); vetocracy/people who give the veto: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity); don't realise reforms/don't achieve the reforms: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition) | hand gestures (Italian emblems) indicating numbers; people who give the veto: deictic positioning |
| 23 | If you think about the situation for example in Spain, today we <i>risk</i> a new election after three months the last election   | risk: affect (–security)  | Spain/we/today/after three months: deictic positioning  |
| 24 | <b>I don't know obviously</b> if... the... the... the... Mariano Rajoy or Pedro Sanchez <i>other guys</i> could create government   | I don't know obviously: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); other guys: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality)   | Mariano Rajoy/Pedro Sanchez: deictic positioning  |



|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 25 | <p>good luck, <b>I don't enter obviously</b> in the... Spain model</p>   |  |   |
| 26 |  <p><i>[Renzi points to himself while pronouncing the word 'I']</i></p>   |  |   |
| 27 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his hands, palm downwards (open hands prone), and draws a horizontal line in two opposite directions; then he moves them far from his body while pronouncing the phrase 'don't enter obviously in the...']</i></p> | <p>I don't enter obviously:<br/>heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gestures)</p>  | <p>I: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'); second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely'; Spain model: deictic positioning reinforced by third hand gesture (illustrator)</p> |
| 28 | <p><b>But I can remember</b> when I become Prime Minister. <u>My</u> friends and <u>my</u> team</p>  |  |   |
| 29 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at himself while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  | <p>I can remember: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); my friends/my team: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p> | <p>I/my friends/my team/me: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'I/my') and repetition</p>   |



|    |   |  |  |
|----|---|--|--|
| 30 | ‘Okay, <b>we must change</b> electoral law in Italy.’   |  |  |
| 31 |  <p>[Renzi points with his forefinger in the air and moves his finger up and down while pronouncing the utterance]</p> | we must change: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) reinforced by hand gesture  | voice: higher pitch and loudness; we/in Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘attention’     |
| 32 | <b>Italy is EXACTLY</b> a <i>SYMBOL</i> of this <i>lack of...</i> ehm... <i>stability</i> in the past and <b>A LOT OF THEM...</b> give me this message ‘Please Matteo, copy the Spanish system’         | Italy is exactly: monoglossic engagement and graduation (focus: sharpen); symbol of this lack of stability: judgment (social esteem: –tenacity) and graduation (focus: sharpen); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification) | voice: higher pitch and loudness; them/Matteo: deictic positioning   |
| 33 | Today, we show, Spanish system with other system around Europe <b>is not able to ensure stability</b> for the future  |  |  |
| 34 |  <p>[Renzi rotates both hands holding his palms open while pronouncing the phrase ‘other systems’]</p>               | is not able to ensure stability: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: –tenacity)  | Today/we/Spanish system/other system/Europe/ future: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘further’ |
| 35 | So these two points, economy and institutional <b>reforms push up</b>   |  |  |
| 36 |  <p>[Renzi mimics the action of pushing while pronouncing the phrase ‘push up’]</p>                                  | reforms: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); push up: monoglossic engagement  | hand gesture: illustrator  |

|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 37 | my country   |  | my: deictic positioning   |
| 38 | First: <b>Italy lost the opportunity</b> to discuss (...) economic <b>strategy</b> was in a <b>terrible moment</b> for Italy.  | lost the opportunity: judgment (social esteem: –capacity); Italy lost: monoglossic engagement; invoked judgment (social esteem:+capacity); terrible moment : appreciation (–reaction)  | lost the opportunity: Italian calque; for Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating number one                                      |
| 39 |  <p>[Renzi raises his thumb indicating number one while pronouncing the word 'first']</p>   |  |   |
| 40 | <b>Italy was</b> in <b>VERY hard</b> times four years ago, three years ago, five years ago and so <b>we come back</b> to the period of <b>VERY great recession</b>   | Italy was/we come back: monoglossic engagement; very hard: appreciation (–reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification); very great recession: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification) | Italy/four years ago/three years ago/five years ago/we: deictic positioning   |
| 41 | From 2012, 2014 <b>we had</b> three years of <b>recession</b>  |  |   |
| 42 |  <p>[Renzi raises three fingers to indicate number three and brushes against his fingertips with the other hand while pronouncing the phrase 'three years']</p> | we had: monoglossic engagement; recession: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity)   | from 2012, 2014/three years: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating number three completed with a second gesture meaning 'whole/entire' |
| 43 | <b>But</b> now, after the jobs act, the <b>reform</b> of labour market (...) we <b>create</b> a system <b>MORE simple</b>  | but... we create: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); reform: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); more simple: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification)      | now: deictic positioning  |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 44 | I use the <u>same</u> slogan and the <u>same</u> brand of Barack Obama   | same: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)  | Barack Obama: deictic positioning  |
| 45 | I ask the permission to President Obama, he told me 'don't worry, Matteo, is open source, don't worry  |   | joke; voice: lower pitch and loudness; President Obama: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely'   |
| 46 |  <p>[Renzi opens his hand, palm downwards, and draws a horizontal line while pronouncing the phrase 'don't worry Matteo (...) don't worry']</p> |   |  |
| 47 | also because worst was impossible in Italy   |   | joke   |
| 48 | So <b>we give</b> a <i>simplification</i> and <u>now</u> the labour market <b>is okay</b>  | we give/is: monoglossic engagement; simplification/okay: appreciation (+reaction)   |  |
| 49 | <u>And now</u> the <i>reduction of taxation</i> <b>is... began</b> , for the <b>FIRST TIME</b>   | reduction of taxation: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); is began: monoglossic engagement; for the first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +quantification) | now: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition and invoked past-present opposition; for the first time: deictic positioning; 'and now we reduce': higher voice pitch and loudness |
| 50 | <u>And now</u> we <b>reduce</b> the <i>level of political impact</i> in the economy  | we reduce: monoglossic engagement; reduce the level (...) impact: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)   |  |



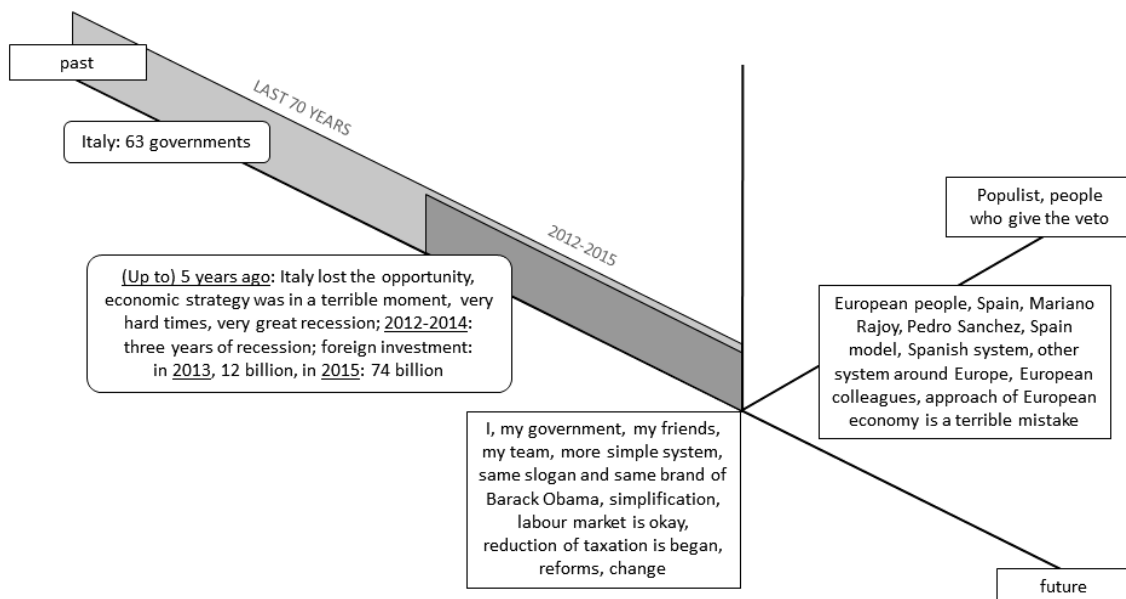
|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 51 | 2013 direct foreign investment in Italy: <i>12 billion of euro</i> ; 2015, two years after, after the <i>reforms</i> : we changed <i>74 billion</i>                   | 12 billion of euro: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity); reforms: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); 74 billion: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) | 2013/in Italy/ 2015/two years after/ after the reforms: deictic positioning |
| 52 | it's <i>VERY great change</i>   | it's: monoglossic engagement; very great change: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification and +quantification)              |   |
| 53 | So <i>we achieved</i> the result of <i>reforms</i> in... in our side  |  |   |
| 54 |  <p>[Renzi points to himself while pronouncing the phrase 'of reforms']</p>         | we achieved: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); reforms: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)  | our side: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'  |
| 55 | Homework is <i>okay</i>   |  |   |
| 56 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the word 'okay']</p> | is: monoglossic engagement; okay: appreciation (+reaction)   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'                            |

|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 57 | <p><b>But now <i>we are in condition</i> to give our position to European colleagues</b></p>  |  |   |
| 58 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger in a ring shape and keeps the other fingers straight while pronouncing the utterance; he also moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo]</i></p> | <p>but now we are in condition to: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); colleagues: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality)</p> | <p>we/our position/European colleagues: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p> |
| 59 | <p>This approach of European economy <b>it's</b> a <b>TERRIBLE</b> mistake for European citizens</p>  |  |   |
| 60 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his arm in a pointing gesture and moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  | <p>it's: monoglossic engagement; terrible mistake: invoked judgment (social esteem: -capacity) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)</p>                                  | <p>European economy/European citizens: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'attention'</p>  |
| 61 | <p><b>It's good ONLY</b> for <b>ONE, TWO, THREE</b> countries</p>   | <p>it's: monoglossic engagement; good: appreciation (+valuation); only: infused graduation (-intensification); one, two, three: infused graduation (force: -quantification)</p>      |   |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 62 | <p><b>But</b> also for that countries<br/> <b>could be</b> a <i>problem</i> in<br/> perspective</p>  |   |  |
| 63 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hands forward in a pointing gesture while pronouncing the phrase 'could be a problem in perspective']</i></p> | <p>but could be: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur);<br/> problem: appreciation (–reaction)</p>                                      | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p> |
| 64 | <p>because if you're <i>applause</i><br/> the role of <i>MORE</i> dynamic<br/> economy</p>   |   |  |
| 65 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'more dynamic']</i></p>                      | <p>applause: invoked appreciation (+reaction); more dynamic: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force (+intensification)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p> |
| 66 | <p>as in Lisboa project of 2000</p>  |   |  |
| 67 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand backward holding his palm open while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>                                |   | <p>deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'past/previous'</p>  |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 68 |  <p>[Renzi claps his right hand supine on his left hand palm twice while pronouncing the word 'the... the... the goal']</p> |   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'idea'                      |
| 69 | <b>we are finished</b>   | we are: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (-valuation)  | inclusive 'we': deictic positioning                              |
| 70 | First, Italy <i>realised reforms</i> , and now <i>is in condition to give a message of RADICAL change</i> .  | Is in condition to: we are: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); realised reforms: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); give a message: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); radical change: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (focus: sharpen) | past/present opposition;<br>first/Italy/now: deictic positioning |



### 8.3.4.2 Deictic positioning









### 8.3.5 Segment 5 – 00:28:33–00:32:56

#### 8.3.5.1 Appraisal analysis and value

|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis   | Value   |
|---|---|--|---|
| 1 | Italy finally <b>invest</b> in the structural <i>reforms</i> .  |  |   |
| 2 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his hand upwards while pronouncing the phrase 'structural reforms']</i></p>  | invest: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); reforms: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) | Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the explanation/comment to a core concept |
| 3 | I'm <b>VERY glad</b> because next week (...) next two weeks   |  |   |
| 4 |   <p><i>[Renzi rotates his forefinger forward several times while pronouncing the phrase 'next week... not next... next two weeks']</i></p> | very glad: affect (+happiness) and graduation (force: +intensification)  | I/next week: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'                       |
| 5 | <b>we conclude</b> for the sec... for the... six... six time the <i>process of change</i> of Senate.  | we conclude the process of change: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: +capacity)                    | we: deictic positioning   |

|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 6  | A constitutional <i>reform</i> <b>VERY important</b> : we <i>reduce the power</i> of region, we <i>give more power</i> to central state (...) the Senators <i>decide to cancel their role</i>                                       | reform: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); reduce the power/give more power: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); decide to cancel their role: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality) | we: deictic positioning  |
| 7  | <b>Is the FIRST TIME IN WESTERN DEMOCRACY</b>   |   |  |
| 8  |  <p>[Renzi points upwards and moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'the first time in western democracy']</p> | is: monoglossic engagement; the first time in western democracy: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by hand gesture)   | the first time: deictic positioning; Italian emblem meaning 'one'                  |
| 9  | a part of Parliament decide (...) to... <i>transform the power, to reduce the power</i>   |   |  |
| 10 |  <p>[Renzi rotates both hands holding his palms open while pronouncing the word 'transform']</p>   | transform/reduce the power: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'change'                                      |
| 11 | in the future <b>this means</b> we stop with the expression bicameralismo paritario   | this means: monoglossic engagement  | in the future/we: deictic positioning; bicameralismo paritario: Italian expression |

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| 12 | means two chambers  |   |  |
| 13 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his fingers to indicate number two while pronouncing the phrase 'two chambers']</i></p>  |   |  |
| 14 | who make the same thing   |   |  |
| 15 |   <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves his hand up and down and his body forward to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> | <p>make the same thing: invoked judgment (social esteem: -normality)</p>  | <p>first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'two'; second hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p> |
| 16 | <p>and so <b>this means A LOT OF problems</b> in the time in the law making and <b>this is a revolution</b> for Italy, but <b>I think</b> also for the system</p>   | <p>this means/this is: monoglossic engagement; a lot of problems: judgment (social esteem: -capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification); revolution: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)</p> | <p>in the time/for Italy/I: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'future'</p>                       |


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| 17 |  <p>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the word 'time']</p>   |  |  |
| 18 | New electoral law with <i>VERY important</i> philosophy   | new: appreciation (+reaction); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); |  |
| 19 | so from the next election in 2018, finally, the winner <b>will be able</b> to make a government   |  |  |
| 20 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and slightly moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'will be able to make a government']</p> | will be able: engagement and invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)   | finally: (possibly) Italian calque; from the next election/2018: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning |
| 21 | for five years with <i>stability</i>  |  |  |
| 22 |  <p>[Renzi opens his palm and fingers to indicate number five while pronouncing the phrase 'five years']</p>   | stability: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)   | hand gesture: emblem meaning 'five'  |
| 23 | And at the same time the <i>reduction of role of politicians</i> in the economy.  | reduction of role of politicians: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)  |  |



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| 24 |  <p><i>[Renzi points with his forefinger in the air and moves his finger up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'not because market is the solution']</i></p> |   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'attention'   |
| 25 | <b><i>I think</i></b> we need values   |   |  |
| 26 |  <p><i>[Renzi continues the previous pointing gesture with both hands in front of his chest while pronouncing the phrase 'we need values']</i></p>              | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); values: judgment (social sanction: +propriety)   | I/we: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'attention'                                |
| 27 | but because in the past the <i>presence and the impact of political role</i> in the economy <b>was</b> a <b>TERRIBLE</b> problem for Italian economy   | presence and impact of political role: invoked appreciation (-reaction); was: monoglossic engagement; terrible problem: appreciation (-reaction) and infused graduation (force: +intensification) | in the past: deictic positioning and invoked past-present opposition; Italian economy: deictic positioning |
| 28 | Italian quality of job is <b>INCREDIBLE</b>  | incredible: appreciation (+reaction) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)   | Italian quality: deictic positioning   |

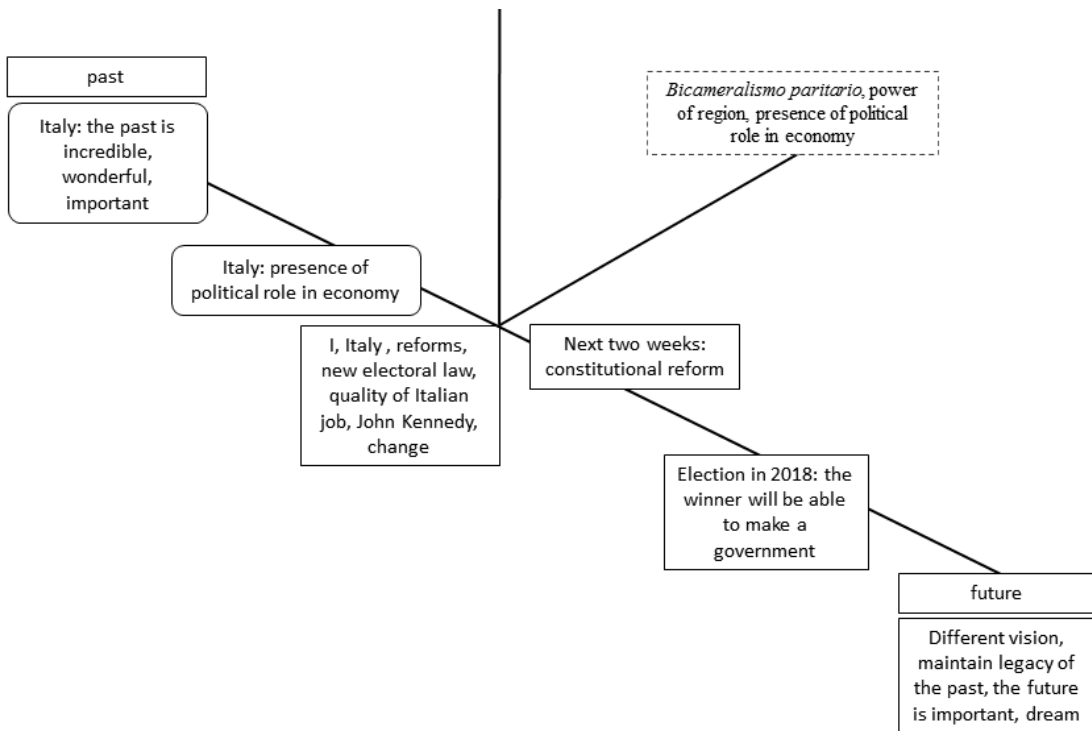
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|----|--|--|--|
| 29 | <p><b>We must</b> finally <i><u>open</u></i> the <i>mind</i>, <i><u>open</u></i> the doors and <i>invest</i> in a <i><u>different vision</u></i> of the future</p> | <p>we must open: heteroglossic engagement (entertain), judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); mind: affect (+inclination); invest: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); different vision: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition);</p> |  |
| 30 | <p><b>I think</b> if we finally <i>are able to change approach, to change approach</i> and finally we <i>invest</i> in a <i><u>different vision</u></i></p>        | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); are able to change approach: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>  | <p>we/future: deictic positioning; we: deictic positioning</p>                                     |
| 31 | <p><b>my personal position is</b> <i>we'll be able to maintain legacy</i> of our past</p>  | <p>my personal position is: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); we'll be able to maintain: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); legacy: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p>  | <p>our past: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 32 | <p>John Kennedy said 'change is the law of life. And those who look only the past or present are certain miss the future'</p>                                      |  | <p>John Kennedy: deictic positioning; past/future opposition invoked by means of the quotation</p> |
| 33 | <p>For Italy <b>this is not easy</b>, because the past in my country <b>is INCREDIBLE, is WONDERFUL.</b></p>   | <p>this is not/is/is: monoglossic engagement; not easy: appreciation (-reaction); incredible: appreciation (+reaction) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); wonderful: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>Italy/past/my country: deictic positioning; stereotype</p>                                      |

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| 34 | <p><b>Everyone loves</b> the past in Italy because is <i>beautiful</i>, because is <i>important</i>, because it give <b>A LOT OF message</b> to ourself today</p>  |   |   |
| 35 |  <p>[Renzi points at his chest with his hand while pronouncing the word 'ourself']</p>  | <p>everyone loves: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (+reaction); beautiful/important: appreciation (+valuation); give a lot of message: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +quantification)</p> | <p>stereotype; past/Italy/today: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'; second hand gesture: illustrator</p> |
| 36 |  <p>[Renzi touches the lectern with his fingertips while pronouncing the word 'now', then continues moving his hand up and down and touches the lectern several times to mark the tempo of the following two utterances]</p> |   |   |
| 37 | <p><b>But now it's time</b> in Italy of a <i>new generation</i> who believe <i>important</i> also the <u>future</u></p>  | <p>but it's time: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); new generation: appreciation (+reaction); important: appreciation (+valuation)</p>  | <p>now/Italy/our past: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (see unit 36); future: deictic</p>                                      |
| 38 | <p><b>We love</b> our past, <b>but we belong</b> to the <u>future</u></p>  | <p>we love: monoglossic engagement and appreciation (+reaction); but we belong: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter)</p>  | <p>positioning reinforced by repetition; who believe important: Italian calque; past/future opposition</p>                                    |
| 39 | <p><u>change</u> is the law of life, <u>change</u> in Europe</p>   | <p>change: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); is: monoglossic engagement</p>   | <p>Europe: deictic positioning</p>  |

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| 40 | one euro for <i>security</i> and one euro in <i>education</i>  |   |  |
| 42 |  <p>[Renzi raises his forefinger to indicate number one while pronouncing the phrase 'one euro for security'; then he repeats it further away from his body while pronouncing the phrase 'one euro in education']</p> | security: (invoked) affect (+security); education: invoked appreciation (+valuation)  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'one'       |
| 43 | <u>change</u> for Italy, with the structural <i>reform</i>   | change: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); reform: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)   | Italy: deictic positioning                       |
| 44 | <u>change</u> in the political and economy way in a moment in which we have A LOT OF <u>dreams</u>   | a lot of dreams: affect (+inclination) and graduation (force: +quantification also by repetition)   | inclusive 'we': deictic positioning              |
| 45 | The risk for <u>my</u> generation, the <u>generation</u> of <u>my</u> children is the <u>dream</u> become <u>nightmare</u>   | the risk is: monoglossic engagement and affect (-security); dream: affect (+inclination) and graduation (force: +quantification by repetition); nightmare: affect (-inclination) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition) | my: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition |

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| 46 | <p><b>I consider</b> a <i>PRIORITY</i> for me and my team <i>create</i> a <i>possibility</i> and a <i>opportunity</i> for the <i>new generation</i> to live <i>dream</i> and not only <i>nightmare</i></p> | <p>I consider: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); priority: priority: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); create a possibility/opportunity: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); new generation: appreciation (+reaction); dream: affect (+inclination) and graduation (force: +quantification by repetition); nightmare: affect (-inclination) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p> | <p>me/my tem: deictic positioning</p> |
|----|--|---|---------------------------------------|


### 8.3.5.2 Deictic positioning



### 8.3.6 Segment 6 – 00:33:15–00:42:20

#### 8.3.6.1 Appraisal analysis and value

|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis   | Value  |
|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | Alberto Alesina (...) a <i>VERY brilliant</i> mind, Italian mind.   | very brilliant mind: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)  | Alberto Alesina (...) Italian mind: deictic positioning        |
| 2 | Ma eh (...) <b>my personal position is</b> that: Italy's <i>debt</i> is <i>TOO high</i> , too... <i>TOO MUCH big</i>  | my personal position is: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); debt is too high, too... too much big: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification also by repetition)  | Ma eh: Italian interjection; Italy's debt: deictic positioning |
| 3 | We... in this moment the... the... <i>the... level of debt is 133%</i> .  | the level of debt is 133%: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity)  | we/in this moment: deictic positioning                         |
| 4 | <i>For the FIRST TIME</i> in 2015 <b>we stopped the growth</b> , <b>but the problem is</b> the relation between GDP and <i>debt</i>   | for the first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); we stopped the growth: monoglossic engagement, invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); but... is: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); problem/debt: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) | 2015/we: deictic positioning; hand gesture: illustrator        |
| 5 |  <p>[Renzi raises both hands prone then raises his right hand further to mimic the act of growing while pronouncing the phrase 'stopped the growth']</p> |  |  |

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| 6  | <p>because in the last three years, with the <i>recession</i>, <b>the GDP was</b> the... our <i>FIRST problem</i>.</p>  | <p>recession: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity); the GDP was: monoglossic engagement; first problem: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and infused graduation (force: +quantification)</p>  | <p>the last here years/our: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 7  | <p>With the government of Mario Monti GDP in 2012 <b>had</b> -2.3%. With the government of Enrico Letta in 2013 the level of GDP <b>was</b> -1.9 and the first year of my government <i>0.4 minus</i></p>   |   |  |
| 8  |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and moves it to mimic the act of writing the number ‘-2.3%’; then he hints at the same gesture once again while pronouncing ‘-1.9’ but stops immediately]</p> | <p>was/had: monoglossic engagement; -2.3%, -1.9: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity); 0.4 minus: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  | <p>Mario Monti/2012/ Enrico Letta/2013/ first year of my government: deictic positioning; hand gestures: emblems</p> |
| 9  | <p>So if we have the <i>GDP negative</i>, <b>it’s impossible to reduce the debt</b></p>   | <p>GDP negative: appreciation (–valuation); it’s impossible to reduce the debt: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: –capacity)</p>  |  |
| 10 | <p><i>To give a possibility to growth</i>, <b>we must reduce OBVIOUSLY</b> the sp... ehm... we... we <b>must</b> finally <i>give a signal</i> in the spending review</p>  | <p>to give a possibility to growth: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); we must reduce obviously/give a signal: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); obviously: graduation (focus: sharpen); spending review: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p> | <p>we: deictic positioning</p>   |




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| 11 | <b>but also the spending review it's a problem for the growth</b>   |   |   |
| 12 |  <p><i>[Renzi moves his thumb and forefinger close without making them touch while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  | <p>spending review: invoked appreciation (+valuation); but also it's a problem for the growth: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) and invoked judgment (social esteem: -capacity)</p>                   | <p>hand gesture: (possibly) Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>                          |
| 13 | <b><u>we reduce our expenditure</u> of 25 BILLION EURO in the last two years with my government</b>   |   |   |
| 14 | so <b><u>we reduce the expenditure</u></b>  |   |   |
| 15 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises both hands prone one slightly above the other and draws them closer to mimic the act of reducing while pronouncing the word 'reduce']</i></p> | <p>reduce our expenditure: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); 25 billion euro: (infused) graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition and hand gesture)</p> | <p>we/our/last two years/ my government: deictic positioning; hand gesture: illustrator</p> |
| 16 | <b>but this for the GDP it's ONE MORE problem</b>   |   |   |
| 17 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'one more']</i></p>  | <p>heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter), invoked judgment (social esteem: -capacity) and infused graduation (force: +quantification)</p>  | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p>                                |



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| 18 | <p>So the combination (...) I think we must combine together <i>spending review, reduction of taxation FOR THE FIRST TIME IN ITALY, WITH A LOT OF interventions</i></p>   |  |   |
| 19 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his hands twice as if to intertwine his fingers while pronouncing the words 'combination' and 'combine together']</i></p> | <p>I think we must combine together: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); spending review: invoked appreciation (+valuation); reduction of taxation: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); for the first time in Italy: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; hand gestures: Italian emblems meaning 'strong connection'</p> |
| 20 |  <p><i>[Renzi uses both hands to count up to two while pronouncing the phrase 'spending review, reduction of taxation']</i></p>              |  |   |



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| 21 | I save yourself to a list of interventions   |  | Italian calque  |
| 22 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'the first was one.... one hundred dollars, eighty euros']</i></p>                                |  | <p>first hand gesture:<br/>Italian emblem<br/>meaning 'precisely';<br/>second hand gesture:<br/>illustrator</p> |
| 23 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises his prone hand while pronouncing the phrase 'for the people who stayed under one hundred fifty... one thousand-fifty hundred euros every month']</i></p> |  |   |



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| 24 | <p>because the quality of salary of the middle class <i>is a GREAT problem I think</i> not only in Italy</p>  |  |  |
| 25 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his hands, palm downwards, and draws a horizontal line in two opposite directions while pronouncing the phrase 'great problem']</i></p>  |  |  |
| 26 |  <p><i>[Renzi touches his chest with his hand while pronouncing the phrase 'I think']</i></p>   | <p>is: monoglossic engagement;<br/> great problem: appreciation<br/> (–reaction) and graduation (force:<br/> +quantification and<br/> +intensification by hand gesture);<br/> I think: heteroglossic engagement<br/> (entertain) and graduation (force:<br/> +intensification by hand gesture)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; I: deictic positioning reinforced by second hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'); first and third hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely'</p> |
| 27 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his hand palm downwards (open hand prone), and draws a short horizontal line while pronouncing the phrase 'not only in Italy']</i></p> |  |  |

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| 28 | <p><b>I think this is <i>the MOST IMPORTANT</i> problem in the debate in the United States in this moment, <b>but this is</b> a consideration</b></p>   |  |  |
| 29 |  <p><i>[Renzi stretches his hand forward and briefly shakes his head while pronouncing the word 'I think this is the most important problem in the debate']</i></p>  | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); most important problem: appreciation (–reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification); but this is: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter)</p>   | <p>in the United states in this moment: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘stop/caution’; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘to leave aside’</p> |
| 30 |  <p><i>[Renzi moves his open hand to one side in a sweeping movement while pronouncing the phrase 'but this is a consideration']</i></p>  |  |  |
| 31 | <p><i>reduction of taxation, spending review, opening the mind and the doors to market in A LOT OF fields</i></p>   |  |  |
| 32 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises both hands prone one slightly above the other and draws them closer to mimic the act of reducing; he repeats it twice while pronouncing the phrase 'reduction of taxation' and 'spending review']</i></p> | <p>reduction of taxation: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); spending review: invoked appreciation (+valuation); opening the mind and the doors: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning ‘small’</p>  |

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| 33 | <b>I ABSOLUTELY agree with you</b>   | heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge) and graduation (force: +intensification)   | I: deictic positioning                           |
| 34 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'public utilities, in the cities, in the government, the local government']</i></p> |  | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely' |
| 35 | <b>but at the same time we need something to push the growth</b>   |  |  |
| 36 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist while pronouncing the phrase 'push the growth']</i></p>  | but (...) we need: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); something to push the growth: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) |  |
| 37 | <b>Public and private investments... public and also private</b>   |  |  |
| 38 |  <p><i>[Renzi uses his hands to count up to two while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  | investments: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)   | hand gesture: Italian emblems indicating numbers |

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| 39 | <p>the <i>possibility</i> to choose some little fields in which <b>Italy could...</b> Italy <b>become leader</b></p>  |  |   |
| 40 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger almost closing his hand in a purse hand gesture while pronouncing the utterance]</p> | <p>possibility: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); leader: judgment (social esteem: +tenacity); Italy could become: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p>   |
| 41 | <p><b>we are not superpower</b> in the military field, <b>but we can be superpower</b> in the <i>healthcare and relation with innovation</i></p>  | <p>we are not superpower: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgment (social esteem: -capacity); but we can be superpower: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) and invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); healthcare/relation with innovation: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>inclusive 'we': deictic positioning; voice: higher pitch and loudness; inclusive 'we': deictic positioning</p> |
| 42 | <p><b>we signed an agreement</b> <i>VERY important</i> with IBM (...), <b>we dedicate</b> to Expo site, Expo place, post-Expo place, to <i>innovation and technologies</i></p>                                    | <p>we signed an agreement/we dedicate: monoglossic engagement; innovation and technologies: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  | <p>we/Expo: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 43 | <p><b>We can be leader</b> in the <i>cultural and innovation technology</i></p>   | <p>we can be leader: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); cultural and innovation technology: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   | <p>inclusive 'we': deictic positioning</p>  |




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| 44 | <b>I believe, not increase taxation</b> in Italy   |  |  |
| 45 |  <p>[Renzi uses his hands to count while pronouncing the utterance]</p>   | I believe: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); not increase taxation: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)  | voice: higher pitch and loudness; in Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating numbers |
| 46 | also because is impossible: the people kill us, and I think the people... eh... the people it's corr... choose the correct way, this... it's impossible  |  | joke   |
| 47 | <b>Reduction of taxation</b> is a <b>PRIORITY</b> . I'm democrat, I consider a <b>PRIORITY</b> for the left the <b>reduce the gap of inequality</b>  |  |  |
| 48 |  <p>[Renzi touches his chest with his hands while pronouncing the phrase 'I'm democrat, I consider a priority']</p> | reduction of taxation: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); priority: appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification also by repetition); democrat: invoked judgment (social sanction: +veracity); reduce the gap of inequality: (social esteem: +capacity) | I: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; hand gestures: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'                    |
| 49 | <b>I think it's impossible</b> to <b>increase the taxation</b> today in Italy  | I think it's impossible: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); impossible to increase taxation: invoked judgment (social esteem: -capacity)  | today in Italy: deictic positioning  |

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| 50 | <p><i>reduction of taxation, spending review, opening markets</i></p>   |  |   |
| 51 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises his open hand, facing downwards, and moves it to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>  | <p>reduction of taxation/opening markets: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); spending review: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p>  | <p>hand gesture: emblem reinforcing the concept of 'reduction'</p>  |
| 52 | <p><b>but flexibility means</b> respect to parameters of... decided by Germany five years ago, use <i>intelligence</i> to <u>reduce the debt</u></p>  |  |   |
| 53 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his hands, then raises one of them and moves it to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'flexibility means (...) use intelligence']</i></p> | <p>but flexibility means: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); intelligence: appreciation (+valuation); reduce the debt: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p> | <p>Germany/five years ago: deictic positioning; intelligence: possible calque; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p> |





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| 54 | <p>because if you <u>reduce the debt</u> in the level of fiscal compact, economy is died<br/>[dead]</p>  |  |  |
| 55 |  <p>[Renzi opens his hands, palm downwards, and draws a horizontal line in two opposite directions while pronouncing the phrase 'economy is died']</p>              | <p>reduce the debt (...) fiscal compact: judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); died: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely'</p>       |
| 56 | <p>Ah, okay, operation is good but the patient is dead.</p>  |  |  |
| 57 |  <p>[Renzi opens his hands, palm downwards (open hands prone), and draws a horizontal line in two opposite directions while pronouncing the phrase 'is dead']</p> |  | <p>joke; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely'</p> |
| 58 | <p><b>No. We must give a VERY GOOD reduction of debt, but with intelligence</b></p>  |  |  |
| 59 |  <p>[Renzi mimics a downward movement while pronouncing the phrase 'a very good reduction of debt']</p>   | <p>no: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); we must give: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very good reduction of debt: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture); intelligence: appreciation (+valuation)</p> | <p>hand gesture: illustrator; intelligence: possible calque</p>        |



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| 60 | also because the debt in Italy<br><b>is sustainable</b>   | the debt is: monoglossic<br>engagement; sustainable:<br>invoked judgment (social esteem:<br>+capacity)  |   |
| 61 | <b><u>We must reduce, we must<br/>reduce, we must reduce</u></b>  |   |   |
| 62 | <br><i>[Renzi raises his open hand, facing<br/>downwards, and moves it down in<br/>steps corresponding to the word<br/>'reduce']</i> | we must reduce: heteroglossic<br>engagement (entertain), judgment<br>(social esteem: +capacity) and<br>graduation (force: +intensification<br>by repetition and hand gesture) | voice: higher pitch and<br>loudness; hand<br>gesture: emblem<br>reinforcing the concept<br>of 'reduction' |
| 63 | At the same time <b>we must<br/>encourage investment</b>  | we must encourage investment:<br>heteroglossic engagement<br>(entertain) and judgment (social<br>esteem: +capacity)   |   |
| 64 | <br><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and<br/>forefinger while pronouncing the<br/>phrase 'just one date']</i>                           |   | hand gesture: Italian<br>emblem meaning<br>'precisely'  |
| 65 | with economy,<br>Italian economy, I<br>destroy your day,<br>I understand  |   | joke  |

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| 66 | 2012 the level of private saving in Italy <b>are</b> <i>four times</i>   |   |  |
| 67 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger of both hands while pronouncing the phrase 'the level of private saving in Italy']</i></p>       | <p>are: monoglossic engagement;<br/>four times: invoked appreciation (+valuation)</p> | <p>2012/in Italy: deictic positioning; first hand gestures: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; second hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating number four</p> |
| 68 |  <p><i>[Renzi uses his hands to indicate number four while pronouncing the phrase 'four times']</i></p>                                       |   |  |
| 69 | the level of banks money, the money in the banks eh... in... in Italy  |   |  |
| 70 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger (ring hand shape) while pronouncing the phrase 'the level of private saving in Italy']</i></p> |   | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; in Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>                                       |

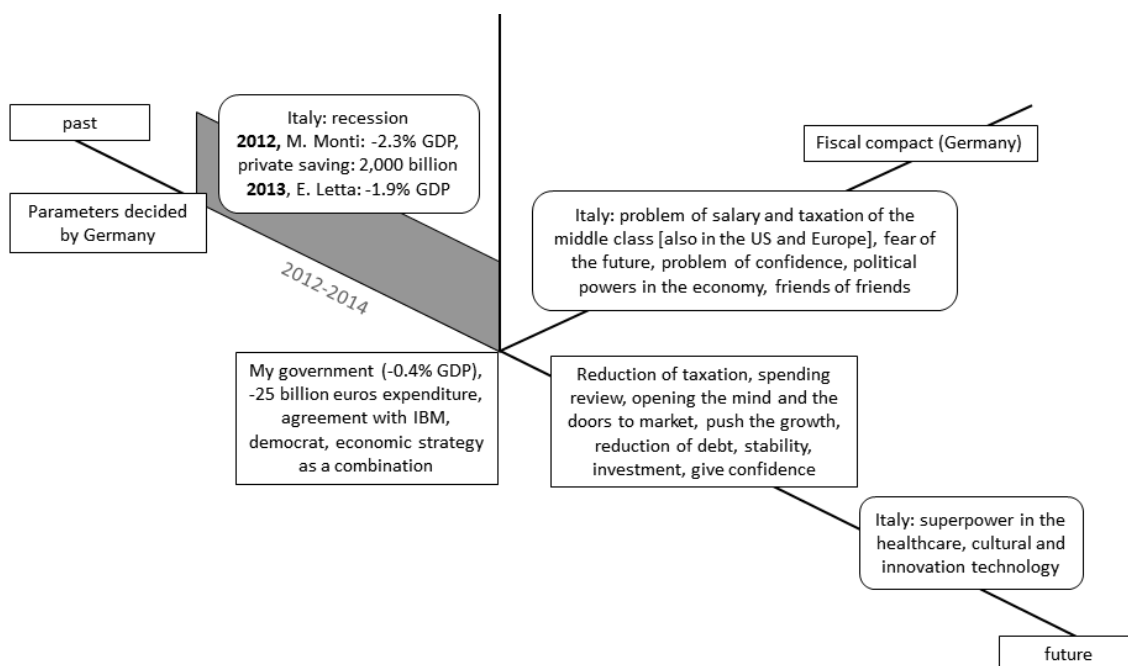
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| 71 |  <p><i>[Renzi uses his hands to indicate number two and number four while pronouncing the phrases 'two thousand billion' and 'four thousand billions']</i></p> |   | hand gestures: Italian emblems indicating numbers  |
| 72 |  <p><i>[Renzi briefly pinches his thumb and forefinger of both hands while pronouncing the word 'symbol']</i></p>  |   | hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'   |
| 73 | <p>Italian people <b>have</b> A LOT OF money. <b>There is the fear of the future. There is the problem of confidence.</b></p>   | <p>have/there is: monoglossic engagement; a lot of money: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); fear of the future/problem of confidence: affect (-security)</p> | <p>Italian people: deictic positioning; invoked present-future opposition</p>  |
| 74 | <p>Our government with the <b>stability try</b> to give confidence to the people to come back to <i>invest</i> in Italy</p>   |   | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; our government/in Italy: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'</p> |
| 75 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his hands upwards while pronouncing the words 'our government']</i></p>   | <p>try: monoglossic engagement; stability/give confidence/invest: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   |  |

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| 76 |  <p>[Renzi clenches his fists while pronouncing the phrase 'try to give confidence to the people to come back to invest in Italy']</p> |   |   |
| 77 | <p><b>But to <u>invest</u> in Italy we must <u>invest</u> without <i>political powers in the economy</i>, without the <i>traditional friends of friends</i></b></p>   | <p>but we must: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); invest: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); political powers in the economy/traditional friends of friends: invoked judgment (social sanction: –propriety)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; in Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay'; traditional friends of friends: stereotype of familism</p> |
| 78 |  <p>[Renzi mimics the action of paying money while pronouncing the phrase 'But to invest in Italy we must invest']</p>                |   |   |
| 79 | <p>open to the market and to the model of <i>freedom</i> this <i>possibility</i></p>  | <p>freedom/possibility: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   | <p>possible Italian calque; voice higher pitch and loudness</p>   |

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| 80 | <p><b><u>I think</u></b> our economic strategy is <i>VERY complicated</i> [complex?] to explain to great professor as you</p>   |  |  |
| 81 | <p>because <b>is</b> a <i>combination</i>, <b>is not</b> a <i>traditional right approach</i>, <b>is not</b> a <i>traditional Keynesian approach</i> <i>taxation</i> and <i>investment</i></p>                       | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); very complicated [complex?]: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); combination/not a traditional right approach/not a Keynesian approach (...)</p>  |  |
| 82 |  <p>[Renzi briefly mimics the action of paying money with both hands while pronouncing the words 'taxation' and 'investment']</p> | <p>investment: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); reduce the taxation: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); priority: appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>joke; complicated: possible Italian calque; USA, Italy, Europe: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture; first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay'; second hand gesture: illustrator</p> |
| 83 | <p><b><u>I think</u></b> we must <i>reduce the taxation</i> because the <b>PRIORITY</b> for the middle class, in USA as in Italy, and Europe</p>  |  |  |
| 84 |  <p>[Renzi points downwards in different directions while pronouncing the words 'middle class', 'USA', 'Italy' and 'Europe']</p> |  |  |

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| 85 | <p><i>encourage and push public <u>investment</u> private <u>investment</u> to <u>grow up</u> the GDP because without a <u>growth</u> of GDP it's impossible to reduce the debt.</i></p>                                |  |   |
| 86 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fist and briefly moves it up and down while pronouncing the phrase 'encourage and push']</i></p>            | <p>encourage/push: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); investment judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); grow up/growth: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); impossible to reduce the debt: judgment (social esteem: -capacity)</p> | <p>first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong'; second hand gesture: illustrator</p> |
| 87 |  <p><i>[Renzi raises his open hand, facing upwards, and moves it up twice while pronouncing the words 'grow up' and 'growth']</i></p> |  |   |

### 8.3.6.2 Deictic positioning








### 8.3.7 Segment 7 – 00:42:24-00: 50:27

#### 8.3.7.1 Appraisal analysis and value

|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis   | Value                                    |
|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | <b>This is a <i>good</i> question, because your question is about the future of Europe.</b> | this is: monoglossic engagement;<br>good: appreciation (+valuation)                                  | future of Europe:<br>deictic positioning |
| 2 | <b>I'm <u>REALLY</u>... I'm <u>REALLY</u>...<br/><i>worried</i></b>                         | really worried: affect: –happiness<br>and graduation (force:<br>+intensification also by repetition) | I: deictic positioning                   |






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| 3 | <p>during a meeting in European Council some <i>colleagues</i> explain us the <b>IMPORTANCE</b> of walls, for Europe</p>   |  |  |
| 4 |  <p>[Renzi slightly cups his hand downwards while pronouncing the word 'wall']</p>                                    | <p>colleagues:<br/>invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality); importance of walls: invoked appreciation (–reaction) and infused graduation (force: +quantification)</p>   | <p>European Council/Europe: deictic positioning; hand gesture: possible variation of Italian emblem indicating the explanation/comment to a core concept</p> |
| 5 | <p>after the <i>crisis of refugees</i>, of course</p>  | <p>crisis: appreciation (–reaction); refugees: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality)</p>  |  |
| 6 | <p>But <b><i>I'm REALLY</i></b> worried because <b>I think</b> the sense of <i>identity</i> for my generation of Europe is the Berlin walls destroyed by the people who need <i>freedom</i>.</p>       |  |  |
| 7 |  <p>[Renzi points at his chest with his hand twice while pronouncing the phrases 'I think' and 'my generation']</p> | <p>I'm really worried: monoglossic engagement, affect (–happiness) and graduation (force: +intensification); I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); identity: invoked affect (+satisfaction); walls destroyed: invoked appreciation (+reaction); freedom: invoked affect (+security)</p> | <p>I/my generation/Europe: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p>  |



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| 8  |  <p>[Renzi touches his temples with his fingertips while pronouncing the word 'thinking']</p>                         |   |  |
| 9  | Thinking, twenty-five years after  |   |  |
| 10 |  <p>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'twenty-five years after']</p> | <p>some colleagues: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); not only one: graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by hand gesture); sense of identity: invoked affect (+satisfaction); construction of new walls: invoked appreciation (-reaction)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'thinking'; twenty-five years after/Europe: deictic positioning reinforced by hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'future'); third hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'one'</p> |
| 11 | <u>SOME colleagues</u> , NOT ONLY ONE  |   |  |
| 12 |  <p>[Renzi raises his forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'not only one']</p>                                   |   |  |
| 13 | <u>SOME colleagues</u> image the sense of identity of Europe in the construction of new walls  |   |  |
| 14 | REALLY <b>terrorise me</b> .   | really terrorise me: monoglossic engagement, affect (-security) and graduation (force: +intensification)  |  |

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| 15 | <p>So, <b>your question is a <i>big question</i></b> because the <i>sense of solidarity</i> in face to refugees for me was a <i>surprise</i> in 2015</p>  |   |  |
| 16 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his hands and draws a circle in the air while pronouncing the phrase 'big question', then he moves them back and forth a few times while pronouncing the phrase 'because the sense of solidarity']</i></p> | <p>your question is a big question: monoglossic engagement; big: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by hand gesture); sense of solidarity: valuation (+appreciation); surprise: affect (+happiness)</p> | <p>2015: deictic positioning; hand gestures: illustrator</p>   |
| 17 | <p>in 2014 <b>Italy was <i>alone</i></b> in this <i>battle</i>.</p>   |   |  |
| 18 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger in a ring shape, keeps the other fingers straight and moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>                                   | <p>Italy was alone: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity); battle: judgment (social esteem: +tenacity)</p>   | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; 2014/Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>   |
| 19 | <p>When in Lampedusa, 2013, <b><u>A LOT OF people died</u></b> in front of coasts of Sicily, <b><u>A LOT OF people cried</u></b> but <b><i>nobody helped</i></b> us,</p>  | <p>died/cried/nobody helped: monoglossic engagement; a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); nobody helped: judgment (social esteem: –tenacity)</p>  | <p>Lampedusa/2013/in front of the coast of Sicily: deictic positioning; invoked: stereotype of Italians as 'good people'</p> |

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| 20 | <p>and when in April 2015, EXACTLY one year ago, LESS THAN one year because is in twenty April, twenty-second (...) eleven month ago, NEAR TO Libyan coasts, A LOT OF migrants <b>died</b> in the sea, MORE THAN seventy... seven hundred people</p>   |  |   |
| 21 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger almost closing his hand and moves it to mark the tempo of the utterance]</i></p>                                       | <p>exactly: graduation (focus: +sharpen); less than: graduation (force: –quantification); near to/ a lot of/more than: graduation (force: +quantification); died: monoglossic engagement</p> | <p>April 2015/(less than) one year ago/twenty April/twenty-second/eleven month ago/near to Libyan coasts: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p> |
| 22 | <p>I remember ONLY TWO countries <b>ask</b> a... meeting... extraordinary meeting of European Council: Malta and Italy</p>   |  |   |
| 23 |  <p><i>[Renzi uses his hands to indicate number two, then counts up to two while pronouncing the phrase 'two countries' and 'Malta and Italy' respectively]</i></p> | <p>only two: graduation (force: –quantification and +intensification by hand gesture); ask: monoglossic engagement</p>   | <p>European Council/Malta/Italy: deictic positioning; hand gestures: Italian emblems indicating numbers</p>   |
| 24 | <p>in the last year everything <b>is changed</b></p>   | <p>everything is changed: monoglossic engagement and invoked appreciation (+reaction)</p>  | <p>in the last year: deictic positioning</p>  |



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| 25 | <p>this <i>problem</i>, the <i>problem</i> of <i>solidarity</i> of <i>refugees crisis</i> <b>become</b> an European <i>problem</i>, in Germany, in Austria, in Sweden, in A LOT OF countries</p>  | <p>problem of solidarity: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); refugees crisis: appreciation (-reaction); become: monoglossic engagement; a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification)</p>                          | <p>Germany/Austria/<br/>Sweden: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 26 | <p>My answer is that: first, to be an... to maintain <i>human</i> being. This means we <i>invest</i>, the Italian government, <u>TWENTY MILLION</u></p>   |  |   |
| 27 |  <p>[Renzi points at his chest with both hands while pronouncing the phrase 'my answer is that']</p>   |  |   |
| 28 |  <p>[Renzi uses his hands to indicate number one and holds it while pronouncing the utterance]</p>   | <p>invest: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); human: appreciation (+reaction); twenty million: (infused) graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); give a tomb: invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity)</p> | <p>my answer/we/<br/>the Italian government/<br/>Mediterranean: deictic positioning; to maintain human being: Italian calque; first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'; second hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating numbers; third hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p> |
| 29 | <p><u>TWENTY MILLION</u> of euro to come back on the Mediterranean and bring the ship under the sea and <i>give a tomb</i> to these people</p>  |  |   |
| 30 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger in a ring shape, then holds it horizontally and moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'twenty million of euro to come back']</p> |  |   |



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| 31 | <p><b>It's not concrete</b> thing because... they're died, but <b>our <u>culture</u></b>, you know because <b>I think</b> you're Italian,</p>  |   |   |
| 32 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at his chest with both hands while pronouncing the phrase 'our culture']</i></p>   | <p>it's not concrete: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and invoked appreciation (-valuation); culture: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture); I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)</p>                      | <p>inclusive 'our' /Italian: deictic positioning; reference to the Italian culture; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p> |
| 33 | <p>and <b>I think</b> the <u>culture</u> of American people and the <u>culture</u> of every civilization <b>think</b> it's <i>important</i> to give to the man and the woman died <i>a place to stay</i> for ever</p>  |   |   |
| 34 |  <p><i>[Renzi slightly cups his right hand far from his body then closes his fingertips while pronouncing the phrase 'think it's important to give to the man and the woman died']</i>.</p> | <p>I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); culture: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); think: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); important (appreciation: +valuation); a place to stay: (appreciation: +reaction)</p> | <p>American people: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating a core concept and its explanation</p>             |



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| 35 | <p><b>It's a <u>value</u>. It's a <u>value</u></b> in the... ehm... Omero, in the... the... the... Iliade and Odissea and Eneide in the <i>our culture</i></p>   |   |  |
| 36 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at his chest with his hands while pronouncing the phrase 'in our culture']</i></p>                                     | <p>It's a value: monoglossic engagement, judgment (social sanction: +propriety) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); culture: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>                         | <p>Omero/Iliade/Odissea/Eneide: Italian; in the our culture: Italian calque; inclusive 'our': deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'</p> |
| 37 | <p>and I <i>invest money to give this right</i> to these poor people.</p>  |   |  |
| 38 |  <p><i>[Renzi mimics the gesture of paying money and moves his hand up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> | <p>invest money: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); give this right: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   | <p>I: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay'</p>   |
| 39 | <p><b>But</b> at the same time I ask to my colleagues, <b>FINALLY</b>, if the <i>decision of solidarity</i></p>  |   |  |
| 40 |  <p><i>[Renzi briefly cups his right hand upwards while pronouncing the word 'finally']</i></p>   | <p>but (...) I ask: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter); my colleagues: judgment (social esteem: +normality); finally: graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by hand gesture); decision of solidarity: appreciation (+valuation)</p> | <p>voice: higher pitch and loudness; my colleague: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning</p>                               |



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| 41 | <p>it's <i>ONLY</i> a <i>strategy for the newspaper or for social media</i> or for... to... to give a <i>post on Facebook</i>, or if it's <b>REALLY</b> a <u><i>different approach</i></u></p>   |  |   |
| 42 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the word 'different']</i></p>  | <p>only a strategy for the newspaper/for social media/give a post on Facebook: appreciation (–valuation) and graduation (force: –quantification); really: graduation (focus: sharpen); different: invoked appreciation (+valuation), invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition and hand gesture)</p> | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p>  |
| 43 | <p>If this is <b>REALLY</b> a <u><i>different approach</i></u>, we need <b>ABSOLUTELY</b> a <i>different vision</i> about Africa.</p>  |  |   |
| 44 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger almost closing his hand in a punch and moves it to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'if this is really a different approach, we need absolutely']</i></p> | <p>really: graduation (focus: sharpen); different approach/vision: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); we need absolutely: monoglossic engagement and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>we: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: possible variation of 'purse hand' indicating the core meaning; second hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating number one</p> |
| 45 |  <p><i>[Renzi uses his hands to indicate number one while pronouncing the phrase 'a different vision']</i></p>  |  |   |
| 46 | <p>Africa in the last ten years <i>was in the hands</i> of Chinese people (...) but <b>this is true</b></p>  | <p>this is true: monoglossic engagement; was in the hands: monoglossic engagement and invoked appreciation (–reaction)</p>   | <p>Africa/last ten years/Chinese people: deictic positioning</p>  |




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| 47 | European people <b>don't think about</b> Africa.   | don't think about: monoglossic engagement and invoked judgment (social sanction: -propriety)   | voice: higher pitch and loudness; European people/Africa: deictic positioning  |
| 48 | I show Italy, <b>Italy is a <u>bridge</u>, natural <u>bridge</u></b> in the relation between Europe and Africa,  |  |  |
| 49 |  <p><i>[Renzi cups his hand downwards and moves it diagonally several times while pronouncing the phrase 'I show Italy, Italy is a bridge, natural bridge in the relation between Europe and Africa']</i></p> | Italy is: monoglossic engagement; a (natural) bridge: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture) | Italy/Europe/Africa: deictic positioning; Italy is a bridge: cliché reinforced by repetition   |
| 50 | and <b>I propose</b> , to my company, to the companies of Italian people, obviously  |  |  |
| 51 |  <p><i>[Renzi clenches his fists while pronouncing the phrase 'I propose']</i></p>  | I propose: monoglossic engagement and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)   | I/my/Italian people: deictic positioning reinforced by second hand gesture (Italian emblem meaning 'I/my'); first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'being sure/strong' |
| 52 |  <p><i>[Renzi points at himself with both hands while pronouncing the phrase 'to my company, to the companies of Italian people']</i></p>   |  |  |

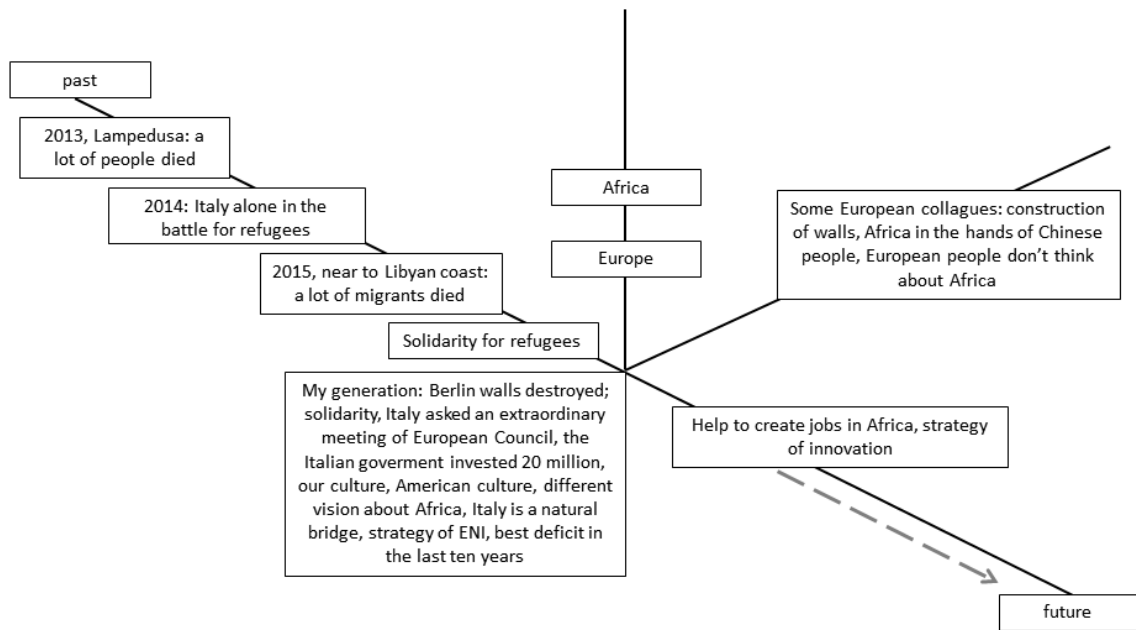
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| 53 | to <i>invest</i> in Africa  |  |  |
| 54 |  <p><i>[Renzi mimics the action of paying money while pronouncing the word 'invest']</i></p>   | Invest: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture) | Africa: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay'   |
| 55 | The <i>strategy</i> of energy for ENI now <b>is not</b> in the direction Russia-west, is in the direction north-south, the direction of S... Africa   |  |  |
| 56 |  <p><i>[Renzi almost pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'the strategy of energy for ENI']</i></p>                                  |  |  |
| 57 |  <p><i>[Renzi points on one side with both hands, than shifts them to the other side, far from his body, while pronouncing the phrase 'Russia-west']</i></p> | strategy: invoked judgment (+capacity); is not: monoglossic engagement                               | now/direction Russia-West/direction north-south/direction of Africa: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: possible variation of Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'; second hand gesture: illustrator; third hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely' also used as an illustrator |
| 58 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger and draws a vertical line while pronouncing the phrase 'north-south, the direction of S... Africa']</i></p>   |  |  |

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| 59 | <p><b>This is a RADICAL change of <u>our</u> energy and its politics... policy with <u>our</u> government</b></p>   | <p>this is: monoglossic engagement; radical change: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>  | <p>our: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 60 | <p>But at the same time <b>we must help</b> these people to <i>create jobs</i> in... in Africa, to <i>give a strategy of innovation</i> in this continent</p>   |   |  |
| 61 |  <p><i>[Renzi mimics the act of paying money while pronouncing the phrase 'but at the same time we must help these people to create jobs (...), to give a strategy of innovation']</i></p> | <p>we must help: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); create jobs; create jobs/give a strategy of innovation: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p>   | <p>we/Africa/ this continent: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to pay'</p> |
| 62 | <p>and <b>this is the ONLY way</b> to show European leaders as <i>able to give an answer NOT ONLY</i> in the <i>short</i> term, but in <i>medium</i> and <i>long</i> term</p>   | <p>this is the only way: monoglossic engagement and graduation (force: –quantification); able to give an answer: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); not only: graduation (force: –quantification); short: invoked appreciation (–valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); medium/long: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)</p> |  |
| 63 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger in a 'U' sign and repeats it several times while pronouncing the words 'short term', 'medium' and 'long term']</i></p>                      |   | <p>European leaders: deictic positioning</p>   |

|    |  |   |  |
|----|--|---|--|
| 64 | <p><b>Obviously this is possible</b><br/> <u>ONLY</u> if we <i>invest</i> in an <i>ideal</i>, because if the debate is <u>ONLY</u> about the <i>deficit</i>, the level of <i>deficit</i>, <b>I'm ready to discuss</b> about <u>deficit</u></p>   | <p>obviously this is possible: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur); only: graduation (force: –quantification and +intensification by repetition); invest: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); deficit: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); ideal: judgment (social esteem: +propriety); I'm ready to discuss: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>we: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'precisely'</p>                           |
| 65 |  <p>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger while pronouncing the phrase 'obviously this is possible only if we invest']</p>  |   |  |
| 66 | <p><b>I reduce the deficit</b> in the last ten years because for Italy this year <b>is the BEST deficit, is 2.3%, the BEST IN THE LAST TEN YEARS</b></p>   | <p>I reduce the deficit: monoglossic engagement and judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture); best deficit: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); is: monoglossic engagement; 2.3%: invoked appreciation (+valuation); best in the last ten years: graduation (force: +intensification and +quantification)</p>  | <p>I/last ten years/Italy/this year: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'small'</p> |
| 67 |  <p>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger in a vertical 'U' sign and moves it several times to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'I reduce the deficit in the last ten years because for Italy this year is the best deficit, is 2.3%']</p> |   |  |
| 68 | <p>France <b>is</b> over 4%, Spain <b>is</b> over 5%, UK <b>is</b> 5% of deficit.</p>  | <p>is: monoglossic engagement; over 4%/(over) 5%: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity)</p>   | <p>France/Spain/UK: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 69 | <p><b>I'm Italian, I speak A LOT.</b></p>  | <p>monoglossic engagement and graduation (force: +quantification)</p>   | <p>humour; I: deictic positioning; stereotype of Italians as talkative</p>                                 |


|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 70 | <p>Ah, you're not a woman, eh? You can change, you can go to Casablanca, but I think is not a good idea</p>  |  |   |
| 71 |  <p>[Renzi winks at his interlocutor at the end of his utterance]</p> |  | <p>joke reinforced by facial expression of complicity</p> |



### 8.3.7.2 Deictic positioning





8.3.8 Segment 8 – 00: 50:28: 00:59:12.


8.3.8.1 Appraisal analysis and value


|   | Transcript  | Appraisal analysis   | Value  |
|---|---|--|--|
| 1 | <b>This is advertising</b> for Harvard and <i>I appreciated VERY MUCH.</i>  | this is: monoglossic engagement; advertising: invoked appreciation (+valuation); I appreciated very much: affect (+happiness) and graduation (force: +quantification)  | Harvard: deictic positioning   |
| 2 | <b>I think REALLY</b> Villa I Tatti is <i>wonderful</i> place, one of the <b>MOST INCREDIBLE</b> view of Florence   | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); really: graduation (force: +intensification); wonderful: appreciation (+valuation) and infused graduation (force: +intensification); most incredible; appreciation (+reaction) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification) | I/Villa I Tatti/Florence: deictic positioning  |
| 3 | <b>I don't speak about</b> all the <i>cooperation</i> between Florence and the United States of America because <b>THE FIRST</b> was Amerigo Vespucci.                    | I don't speak: monoglossic engagement; cooperation: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); the first: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification)  | ironic remark; I don't speak: calque; Florence/ United States of America/Amerigo Vespucci: deictic positioning |
| 4 | <u>Amerigo</u> <i>give the name to</i> <u>America</u> .   | give the name: appreciation (+valuation)   | Amerigo/America: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition (see unit 7)                                     |
| 5 | He was a mistake eh?  |  |  |
| 6 |  <p><i>[Renzi points with at his interlocutor while pronouncing the utterance]</i></p> |  | Eh?: Italian interjection; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'attention'                                    |



|    |   |  |  |
|----|---|--|--|
| 7  | the name of <u>America</u> come from <u>Amerigo</u>   |  | America/Amerigo:<br>deictic positioning<br>reinforced by repetition<br>(see unit 4)  |
| 8  | It's a good thing<br>the name is<br>Amerigo because its<br>[if] the name is<br>Vespucci, you can<br>image [imagine]<br>United States of<br>Vespuccia  |  |  |
| 9  |  <p><i>[Renzi quickly touches his forehead with his forefinger while pronouncing the word 'image']</i></p>   |  | joke; first hand gesture: probably a variation of the Italian emblem meaning 'thinking'; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'a writing' |
| 10 |  <p><i>[Renzi opens his thumb and forefinger in a 'U' sign a draws a horizontal line in the air while pronouncing the phrase 'United States of Vespuccia']</i></p> |  |  |



|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 11 | <p>I think 'my dear<br/>Vespuccian people'<br/>I think is not<br/>good</p>   |  |   |
| 12 |  <p><i>[Renzi closes his eyes and briefly<br/>shakes his head in mock disapproval<br/>while pronouncing the phrase 'I<br/>think']</i></p> |  | <p>continuation of<br/>previous joke; voice:<br/>higher pitch and<br/>loudness; hand<br/>gesture: possibly an<br/>Anglo-Saxon emblem<br/>meaning 'to dismiss'</p> |
| 13 |  <p><i>[Renzi bends his hand forward in a<br/>sweeping movement while<br/>pronouncing the utterance]</i></p>                             |  |   |
| 14 | <p><b><u>THE FIRST</u> was<br/>ABSOLUTELY... <u>THE FIRST</u></b><br/><i>relation</i> between Florence<br/>and the United States are<br/>Amerigo</p>   | <p>the first: invoked appreciation<br/>(+valuation) and graduation<br/>(force: +quantification and<br/>+intensification by repetition); was<br/>absolutely: monoglossic<br/>engagement and graduation<br/>(force: +intensification); relation:<br/>invoked judgment (social esteem:<br/>+capacity)</p> | <p>Florence/United<br/>states/Amerigo: deictic<br/>positioning</p>  |
| 15 | <p><i>I'm REALLY happy</i> to give<br/>this <i>signal of attention</i> to<br/>Harvard and Villa I Tatti</p>  | <p>I'm really happy: affect<br/>(+happiness) and graduation<br/>(focus: sharpen); signal of<br/>attention: valuation (+reaction)</p>   | <p>signal of attention:<br/>possible calque;<br/>I/Harvard/Villa I Tatti:<br/>deictic positioning</p>   |






|    |  |   |   |
|----|--|---|---|
| 16 | In general <b>we have</b> A LOT OF American universities in Florence and <b>I think</b> this is <i>VERY important</i> for the <i>HIGH quality of... sense of (...) citizenship</i>                         | we have: monoglossic engagement; a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification); I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); high quality: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); sense of citizenship: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality) unfortunate: invoked affect (-happiness) | in general: calque; we/American universities/Florence/I: deictic positioning my city: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition; hand gesture: variation of the Italian emblem meaning 'past/previous'; we/my city/unfortunate: invoked stereotype of municipalism |
| 17 | in <u>my</u> count... in <u>my</u> city, <u>my</u> former <u>city</u> .  |   |   |
| 18 |  <p>[Renzi opens his hand, raises it and makes a brief movement backwards while pronouncing the phrase 'former city']</p> |   |   |
| 19 | former, <i>unfortunate</i> .   |   |   |
| 20 | don't make advertising for Pisa, eh? It's impossible to have Villa I Tatti a Pisa  |   | joke and stereotype of municipalism; make advertising: calque; a: Italian for 'in'  |
| 21 | In the politics <b>I think</b> it's <i>easiER</i> than in the rest   | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); easier: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification)  | I: deictic positioning  |
| 22 | and <b>I choose</b> <u>A LOT OF</u> womens for <u>A LOT OF</u> <i>responsabilities</i> in my cabinet but also in the companies   | I choose: monoglossic engagement; a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); responsibilities: judgment (social esteem: +tenacity)   | I/my cabinet/companies: deictic positioning; responsibilities: calque   |



|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 23 | It's a woman the <i>President of ENI</i> , the <i>President of (...)</i> <i>ENEL</i> , the <i>President of Poste</i> and <i>CEO of A LOT OF</i> companies, the direct... technical... <i>technicians</i> <i>director of A LOT OF</i> offices. | President of ENI/President of ENEL/President of Poste/CEO/technicians director: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition) | Poste: Italian noun  |
| 24 | So <i>ministers, managers, technicians... good.</i>   | ministers/managers/technicians: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); good: appreciation: +valuation   | good: calque   |
| 25 | <b>The <u>problem</u></b> is the life, day by day.  | the problem is/this is: monoglossic engagement; problem: appreciation (-reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)  | in Italy: deictic positioning  |
| 26 | <b>This is the <u>problem</u></b> of gender gap in Italy  |   |  |
| 27 | FIRST, in the mind and in the cultural debate   | first: graduation (force: +intensification)   | mind/cultural debate: deictic positioning  |
| 28 | with the <i>think tank</i> we <b>prepare and we present</b> next month a book called <i>Maternity is a Master</i>   | we prepare/present: monoglossic engagement; think tank: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)   | we/next month: deictic positioning   |
| 29 | Because <b>in the Italian mind</b> if you decide to have a chil... a child, in the mind 'oh, <b>this is the f... end of my career</b> '.  | in the Italian mind (...) this is the end of my career: heteroglossic engagement (attribute: acknowledge); end of my career: appreciation (-reaction)   | allusion to the Italian culture and deictic positioning; f...: possible beginning of the Italian word 'fine' ('end'); first hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'thought'; second hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'nothing/absolutely' |
| 30 |  <p>[Renzi touches his temples with his fingertips then slightly rotates the cupped hand while pronouncing the phrase 'in the mind']</p>                   |   |  |

|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 31 |  <p>[Renzi keeps his hand open, palm downwards, and swipes a horizontal line while twice pronouncing the phrase 'oh, this is the f... end of my career']</p> |  |   |
| 32 | <p>And <b>this</b> is a <i>GREAT cultural mistake</i>. Maternity is a <b>Master</b>.</p>  | <p>this is/is a Master: monoglossic engagement; great cultural mistake: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification); Master: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>   |   |
| 33 | <p>At the same time <b>we must give CONCRETE possibilities</b>: co-working, <i>opportunities</i> for the women, <i>opportunities for the HIGH-LEVEL schools</i> in the first year of life</p>   | <p>we must (...) concrete possibilities: heteroglossic engagement (entertain), invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification also by hand gesture); opportunities (...) schools: judgment (social esteem: +capacity), appreciation (+valuation) and invoked graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>for the women: calque: first hand gesture: mix of two Italian emblems indicating, respectively, the core meaning and 'to be sure/strong'; second hand gesture: variation of Italian emblem meaning 'strong connection'</p> |
| 34 |  <p>[Renzi cups his left hand upwards and clenches his right fist while pronouncing the phrase 'we must give concrete possibilities']</p>                  |  |   |

|    |   |  |   |
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| 35 |  <p>[Renzi joins his hands on one another in a sliding movement, palm open, while pronouncing the word 'co-working']</p>     |  |   |
| 36 | <p>So, <b>it's</b> a cultural <i>challenge</i> in Italy</p>   | <p>it's: monoglossic engagement; challenge: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>  | <p>reference to the Italian culture; in Italy: deictic positioning</p>  |
| 37 | <p><b>I'm THE FIRST</b> who choose <u>A LOT OF</u> womens for the cabinet, <b>I'm choose A LOT OF</b> women for the... <i>management</i>, for the technic... technicians</p>                                  | <p>I'm the first: monoglossic engagement, judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification); I'm choose: monoglossic engagement; a lot of: graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); management: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>I: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 38 | <p>I present my advisor for diplomacy: she's a woman who chose to <i>dedicate a part of life</i> to children, <b>FOR THE FIRST TIME</b> in the <i>VERY difficult career</i> of ambassadors in... in Italy</p> | <p>dedicate a part of life: invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity); for the first time: invoked appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +quantification); very difficult: appreciation (-reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>  | <p>reference to the Italian culture; I present: calque; I/my/in Italy: deictic positioning; hand gesture: illustrator</p> |
| 39 |  <p>[Renzi points to one side of the room while pronouncing the phrase 'a woman who choose']</p>                           |  |   |


|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 40 | <p><b>but (...) there is a problem:</b><br/> <b>we can give</b> not only the<br/> <i>choice</i> of single person</p>  |   |  |
| 41 |  <p><i>[Renzi pinches his thumb and forefinger almost closing his hand in a purse hand gesture and moves it to mark the tempo while pronouncing the phrase 'the choice of single person']</i></p>  | <p>but there is: heteroglossic engagement (disclaim: counter) and appreciation (–reaction); we can give not only the choice: heteroglossic engagement (entertain) and judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>                                   |  |
| 42 | <p><b>but create a climate, a context to encourage women.</b></p>   |   |  |
| 43 |   <p><i>[Renzi mimics a circle using his thumbs and forefingers, then cups his hands and draws the shape of two spheres in air while pronouncing the words 'create', 'climate', 'context']</i></p> | <p>[not only] but create: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); climate/context: appreciation (+reaction); encourage: judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p>                                    | <p>hand gesture: emblem meaning 'entire/surrounding'</p> |
| 44 | <p>I'm <b>VERY</b> ... I'm <b>VERY</b> <i>frank</i> with you, <b>we have a GREAT problem</b> in Italy</p>   | <p>I'm very frank: monoglossic engagement, affect (+security) and graduation (force: +intensification); we have: monoglossic engagement; great problem: invoked judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +quantification)</p> | <p>I/in Italy: deictic positioning</p>                   |



|    |   |  |   |
|----|---|--|---|
| 45 | <b>we have two Italies</b>  |  |   |
| 46 |  <p>[Renzi raises both hands facing downward, and keeps one higher than the other while pronouncing the utterance]</p> | we have: monoglossic engagement; two Italies: invoked appreciation (–reaction) and graduation (force: +intensification by hand gesture)  | reference to the differences between North and South; hand gesture: emblem meaning ‘higher than’  |
| 47 | North Italy: the average of <u>unemployment</u> and women <u>unemployment</u> is at the same level of Germany, of north Europe  | is: monoglossic engagement; unemployment: judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition); the same (...) Europe: invoked appreciation (+valuation) | North Italy: deictic positioning  |
| 48 | In the south Eu... in the south Italy, the level is similar to Greece. Too... not good performance  | is: monoglossic engagement; similar to Greece: invoked appreciation (+valuation); not too good performance: judgment (social esteem: –capacity) and invoked appreciation (–valuation)          | South Italy: deictic positioning  |
| 49 | <u>this is true</u> for women and <u>this is true</u> for economy   | this is true: monoglossic engagement, appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)   |   |
| 50 | <b>We com... must combine together</b> double thing, both thing   |  | we: deictic positioning; first hand gesture: Italian emblem indicating the core meaning; second hand gesture: : variation of Italian emblem meaning ‘strong connection’ |
| 51 |  <p>[Renzi briefly cups his hand while pronouncing the word ‘we’]</p>  | we must combine together: heteroglossic engagement (entertain)   |   |

|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 52 |  <p>[Renzi joins his hands on one another in a sliding movement several times while pronouncing the phrase 'combine together double thing, both thing' ]</p> |   |  |
| 53 | <p>the <b>VERY</b> important presence in the political life but at the same time day-by-day... eh... experience</p>   |   |  |
| 54 |  <p>[Renzi briefly clenches his fists while pronouncing the phrase 'day by day experience']</p>   | <p>very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'being sure' that may also mean 'concrete'</p>                       |
| 55 | <p>and <b>I use</b> your question also to <i>give a special good luck</i> to Hillary Clinton also if this is <i>not VERY elegant</i> as Prime Minister</p>  | <p>I use: monoglossic engagement; special good luck: appreciation (+reaction); not very elegant: appreciation (-valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>I/Hilary Clinton: deictic positioning; not very elegant: invoked stereotype of the cult of appearance</p> |
| 56 | <p>but <b>I am</b> also Secretary, <u>leader</u> of <u>my party</u>, so I speak as <u>leader</u> of <u>my party</u>, a Democrat party in Italy</p>  | <p>I am: monoglossic engagement; leader: invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity) and graduation (force: +intensification by repetition)</p>                         | <p>I/in Italy: deictic positioning; my party: deictic positioning reinforced by repetition</p>               |

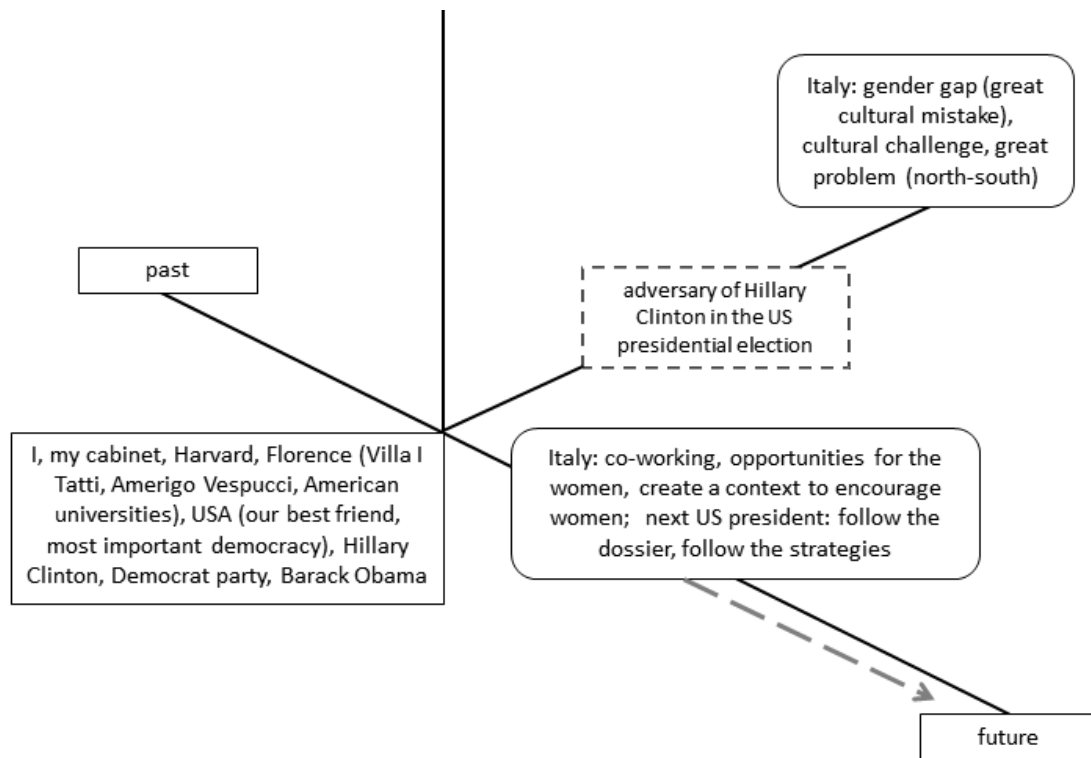
|    |  |  |   |
|----|--|--|---|
| 57 | <p>we follow your electoral campaign with <u>GREAT</u> attention, with <u>GREAT</u> curiosity</p>  |  |   |
| 58 |  <p>[Renzi's expression after pronouncing the phrase 'great attention']</p> | <p>we follow: monoglossic engagement; great attention/curiosity: appreciation (+reaction) and graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition)</p>   | <p>ironic remark reinforced by facial expression indicating doubt; we/your: deictic positioning</p> |
| 59 | <p>different experiences in a lot of countries, also in Italy, very special in the past, ehm...</p>  |  |   |
| 60 | <p><b>obviously we respect our BEST friend</b> United States of America and the people's decision</p>  | <p>obviously we respect: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and judgment (social esteem: +capacity); best friend: invoked judgment (social esteem: +normality) and graduation (force: +intensification)</p>   | <p>we/our/United States of America: deictic positioning</p>   |
| 61 | <p>the <b>MOST important democracy</b> AROUND THE WORLD is for us a <i>model</i> and a <b>VERY important point of reference</b></p>                          | <p>most important democracy: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification); around the world: infused graduation (force: +intensification); model: appreciation (+valuation); a very important point of reference: appreciation (+valuation) and (infused) graduation (force: +intensification)</p> | <p>around the world: deictic positioning</p>  |



|    |   |   |   |
|----|---|---|---|
| 62 | <b>I think</b> , as Secretary and <i>leader</i> of Democrat party, Hillary Clinton is the <i>MOST able</i> , for me, to follow the dossier, to follow the <i>strategies</i> for the future.     | I think: heteroglossic engagement (entertain); leader/strategy: invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity); most able: judgment (social esteem: +capacity) and graduation (force: +intensification)  | I/Hillary Clinton/me/future: deictic positioning                                    |
| 63 | <b>I'm MORE safe</b> if I think in the White House after the <u>GREAT</u> experience of a <u>GREAT</u> leader as Barack Obama   | I'm more safe: monoglossic engagement, affect (+security) and graduation (force: +intensification); great: graduation (force: +quantification and +intensification by repetition); leader: invoked judgment (social esteem: +tenacity)  | I/White House/Barack Obama: deictic positioning                                     |
| 64 | I prefer a woman this time  |   | irony   |
| 65 | <i>able to lead</i> the <i>free world</i> in the <i>correct</i> direction   | able to lead: judgment (social esteem: +capacity); free world: invoked affect (+security); correct: appreciation (+valuation)<br>this is: monoglossic engagement; very important: very important: appreciation (+valuation) and graduation (force: +intensification);<br>obviously we will respect: heteroglossic engagement (proclaim: concur) and judgment (social esteem: +capacity) | we: deictic positioning<br>hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'to be sure/strong' |
| 66 | <b>This is VERY important</b>   |   |   |
| 67 | <b>Obviously we will respect</b> every result   |   |   |
| 68 |  <p>[Renzi clenches his fist and moves it up and down to mark the tempo while pronouncing the utterance]</p> |   |   |

|    |   |   |  |
|----|---|---|--|
| 69 | <p><b>We will <i>host</i></b> in G7 next time<br/>in Italy in May 2017 the<br/>President of United States<br/>elected by the people of<br/>United States</p>                                    |   |  |
| 70 |  <p><i>[Renzi rotates his hand forward holding his palm open while pronouncing the phrase 'next time']</i></p> | <p>we will host; monoglossic engagement and invoked judgment (social esteem: +capacity)</p> | <p>we/G7/Italy/May 2017/<br/>President/United States: deictic positioning; hand gesture: Italian emblem meaning 'further/future'</p> |
| 71 | <p>If will be a woman I<br/>will be more happy</p>  |   |  |
| 72 |  <p><i>[Renzi's facial expression at the end of his utterance]</i></p>  |   | <p>irony reinforced by facial expression; if it will be a woman: calque</p>  |

### 8.3.8.2 Deictic positioning





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