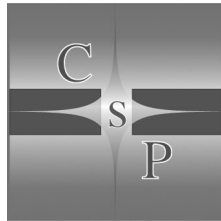


Rhetorical Aspects of Discourses
in Present-Day Society

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Edited by

Lotte Dam, Lise-Lotte Holmgreen
and Jeanne Strunck



Cambridge Scholars Publishing

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PREFACE

This volume is a selection of papers presented at the first conference on 'Rhetoric in Society' held at Aalborg University, Denmark, in November 2006. The editors would like to thank the contributors for making it a highly interesting and relevant collection of essays within the field of rhetoric and discourse.

Aalborg, July 2008

Lotte Dam
Lise-Lotte Holmgreen
Jeanne Strunck

INTRODUCTION

Over centuries, rhetoric has been a discipline that has generated enough scholarly interest to fill many books. However, since the focus of this volume is on rhetoric as a discipline embedded in text and discourse, in this introduction we will limit ourselves to giving an account of the most important landmarks in rhetoric in the twentieth century; approaches that focus upon and acknowledge the wider scope of rhetoric. This will provide the background of the articles of the volume, which will give the reader an impression of the variety of rhetorical approaches and rhetorical analyses existing today. Furthermore, with an understanding of rhetoric beyond the neo-Aristotelian view we will see that the notion of text is perceived not only as ‘speech’ as it was to Aristotle, but as discourse and communication in the broadest possible sense, having an impact on people and society.

Since antiquity, the notion of rhetoric has been associated with Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian. Their theories are fundamental to the ideas of using rhetorical features to, on the one hand, persuade and convince an audience and, on the other, to become eloquent as a speaker. Based on this understanding, the study of rhetoric was for several years regarded by scholars as a meaningless enterprise as it was perceived as a study of linguistic ornamentation. However, at the beginning of the last century scholars regained an interest in the study of rhetoric in recognition of rhetorical skills being important for communication in a modern society. Like speakers in public life, e.g. politicians, who had always acknowledged the role of rhetoric, all sorts of communicators, mediators and scholars became interested in rhetoric as a practical tool for building up texts meant for the public sphere and as an analytical tool for the critique of public argumentation (Perelman 2005).

In 1958, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca published *Traité de l'Argumentation. La Nouvelle Rhétorique* which was a development of Aristotle's studies. Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca studied the argumentation of different sorts of texts which led to further developments within this new approach to rhetoric, also known as New Rhetoric. New Rhetoric advanced the point of view that argumentation always has to be regarded in relation to a public and to the specific culture in which it is embedded. Within the theories concerning the public, Perelman states that a public can be perceived as the speaker himself as well as a large group of

people. What is important to notice is that a physically present audience is not necessarily identical to the imagined public created by the rhetorical text. New Rhetoric states that we have to distinguish between the universal and the particular audience, where the universal audience is the mental image of every competent human being as he may be created by the rhetorical text. The particular audience is, on the other hand, the public imagined by the text and the one which has to be persuaded.

The theories of New Rhetoric were further developed by Black and Bitzer in the 1960s into Rhetorical Criticism, which takes its starting point in ideology, and as such it is a reaction against the neo-Aristotelian view. Rhetorical Criticism focuses on the rhetorical situation and the studies of genre. Black sees a close relation between communication, ideology and the way society functions, and hence he considers it important to study the influence of discourse on the broader context – not only on the physically present public. For this purpose, Black introduces a new concept, that of the Second Persona or the imagined listener. By creating an imagined listener, the rhetor is able to adjust his strategies to his worldview or ideology, and to what he would like his real audience to become (Black 1965).

For Black as well as Bitzer, the most interesting texts to study are texts representing the present society. By introducing the notion of the Rhetorical Situation, Bitzer works on the idea that rhetorical discourses influencing and representing society are caused by rhetorical situations (such as September 11, 2001). To Bitzer rhetorical situations always include problems or needs, and the function of discourse is to initiate actions and changes in society on the basis of these problems or needs. Our possibilities to act or change problems in society are, however, dependent on the constraints set by the situation (Bitzer 1997). In order to study the impact of the rhetorical situation on discourses and thus on our ability to act, Black and Bitzer laid the foundations of rhetorical genre studies. The idea was that through the study of genres, the analyst can uncover the discourse underlying these and thus, the original rhetorical situation. This means that homogeneous situations are likely to result in similar discourses, and hence, more or less similar genres that reveal the same expectations and needs from the public, demanding the same types of responses (Kjeldsen 2006).

Campbell, Jamieson and Miller were inspired by the genre perspective given by Black and Bitzer and further developed the theoretical genre perspective within Rhetorical Criticism. To Campbell and Jamieson, a rhetorical genre consists of a group of responses having the same characteristics in regards to situation, content and stylistics, and these

characteristics are interrelated and form a specific and dynamic configuration (Campbell and Jamieson 1978). To Miller genres are typified rhetorical actions and cultural regulations of people's actions. It is through genres that people can perform joint actions, which means that genres are aspects of social life (Miller 1984, 1994).

In modern society, where mass media play a predominant role, most scholars and communicators agree that every discourse is characterized by the rhetorical tools used and the argumentation implied. Such an understanding demonstrates that rhetoric is perceived in a very broad sense which covers both the Aristotelian and the neo-Aristotelian view, New Rhetoric as well as Rhetorical Criticism, with genre studies forming the common ground of most of them. However, as is indicated above, to fully understand the notion of genre, and hence, rhetoric, the concept of discourse is impossible to ignore.

The notion of discourse is perceived in different ways by different scholars, but they all find that language, speech, communication and rhetoric are somehow related to discourse and the functions of discourse in society. Already in antiquity, Aristotle saw that language or 'speech' influences our behaviour and points of view when used in social relations, i.e. in interaction. Furthermore, in his view language is communicating what is regarded as right or wrong, just or unjust according to the shared perceptions of different groups in society.

The role assigned to language and speech by Aristotle is in many ways similar to the role assigned to discourse in modern society. Discourse is a concept that may refer both to language use and to wider aspects of interaction in society, emphasizing the functional and contextual aspects of language. In a critical perspective, such as Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995; Van Dijk 1997; Wodak 2002), this view is further developed into one that sees discourse as constituted by and constitutive of the social, i.e. as a concept that defines social groups, their membership and roles vis-à-vis other social groups. Implied in this is the belief that discourse determines the (hegemonic) position of groups, and thus, a critical approach will consider ideology, its rhetorical articulation and genre choice important features in constituting this position (Chilton and Schäffner 2002; Holmgreen 2005).

This multi-faceted approach to discourse and genre forms the basis of the structure of this volume, in that it focuses upon institutionalised discourses as represented by different discourse types and genres. Thus, the volume is divided into three separate sections dealing with political, organisational and journalistic discourse, respectively. Within these three sections, the articles discuss various discourse types and their rhetorical

features, contributing to the understanding of rhetoric and discourse having significant influence on human action and interaction in society. Here, it is worth noting that the division of the volume into the three institutionalised discourses is not arbitrary. In an increasingly global world, the fields of politics, business and media are possibly the most important in terms of influencing our views of the world. Hence, the meanings and attitudes conveyed in much of current discourse are shaped by the practices and knowledge of politicians, journalists, commercial and institutional communicators as well as by the recipients, real or imagined.

Presentation of the volume

The first section of the book is entitled *Rhetoric in Political Discourse* and focuses upon political speeches and addresses as well as upon political debates and campaigns. The articles demonstrate a broad variety of analytical methods applied to both written and oral text genres presented in traditional media and on websites. In the first article, Adams studies political debates among candidates running for political office in the US, focusing on the candidates' reference to their families and how this is used as persuasive strategies to create ideological and oppositional identities for the audience and the participants. De Jong and Andeweg study the closing methods employed and the perorative functions fulfilled in political speeches given at ceremonial occasions. On the basis of classical rhetoric and modern advisory literature, the authors have developed a new model for analysing Dutch Home Office departmental speeches. Mavrogenis' article deals with social changes within Greek society. The author studies the pre-electoral campaign slogans of two parties throughout the Third Greek Republic and finds that political slogans contain enlightening information concerning a society gradually progressing from post-dictatorship towards a state of equilibrium. Using a poststructuralist approach mainly based on Derrida, Habermas, Butler and Ceccarelli, Nørholm Just analyses the European Commission's DebateEurope website. The focus is on debate participant identities created and offered in the website's invitation to participate in the debate, and on the way participation becomes constitutive of subject positions. Plug and Snoeck Henkemans' article deals with the use of metaphors in political debates, finding that MPs and ministers apologize for their use of metaphors to reduce the risk of incomprehensibility, at the same time as they profit from a rhetorical advantage. In her article, Rzepecka analyses President Nixon's rhetorical confrontation with the Soviet leadership during his official visit in 1972. The author finds that the rhetorical approach applied may offer a

way of presenting the national leader's decisions and actions which is not affected by emotions, prejudice, or other interpretative biases. The relationship between the prosodic marking of pragmatic foci and their place and function in inspirational political speech is the topic of analysis in Sayenko's article. Sayenko finds that pitch, prominence and tempo reflect the macro-strategy of the political address and mark pragmatically dominant segments of speech when referring to Luther King Jr.'s 'I Have a Dream' address. In analysing the constructions of audience and public on the basis of the theories of Black, Bitzer and Perelman, Strunck discusses the genre of a French political speech given at a press conference. The author also focuses upon rhetorical features such as the use of personal pronouns, rhetorical questions and appeals used by the politician to convince, persuade and construct consensus to specific topics.

Section two, *Rhetoric in Journalistic Discourse*, is concerned with the use of rhetoric in various journalistic texts and genres, involving not only traditional newspaper and media genres but also new media, such as web pages, and brochures. Kirk opens this section by taking a more theoretical approach to the discussion of rhetoric, suggesting that rhetoric offers a useful framework for reconceptualising economics, making it capable of dealing with attention in the so-called attention economy. In his article, Koetsenruijter deals with the notion of a Number Game as introduced by van Dijk, presenting two experimental studies that focus on respondents' judgement of reliability in articles with and without numbers, respectively. Kõnno discusses the different symbolic meanings attributed to a debate over the removal of a monument for the liberators of Tallinn. The analytical focus is on arguments used by Estonian and Russian media, respectively. Ramos and Cavalho present textual and discursive analyses of extracts from two Portuguese newspapers on how they present three events dealing with climate change. Van Belle describes an exploratory study of the different ways in which the position of direct access to reality works, how it determines the way we study media texts and she points to the problem in conceptualising reality as a strategic phenomenon. Drawing on rhetorical psychology, Vine examines aspects of story construction in the newspaper coverage of the trial of Holocaust denier David Irving from January 2000. Taking his starting point in Martin and White's concept of Appraisal, Vestergaard compares the rhetorical strategies of a Danish pro-GM brochure and an anti-GM web page. Wilson and Stapleton end this section with an analysis of the relationship between newspaper reporting of policing change in Northern Ireland and the (re)construction by Nationalist and Unionist groups of their social worlds.

In the third and last section, *Rhetoric in Organisational Discourse*, focus is on the rhetorical aspects of business and organisational discourse. Consequently, the section deals with the rhetorical strategies in communicating a corporate image, corporate branding and corporate reliability as well as with the usefulness of rhetorical analysis in organisational discourse. Using material from a major Danish dairy group, Bülow studies the interplay between corporate rhetorical strategies used for image restoration and psychological theories underlying response. Taking her starting point in Hyland's model of metadiscourse, Holmgreen analyses the rhetorical strategies employed by a large Danish biotech company for conveying a reliable image to and establishing a rapport with its constituents. Norlyk discusses the changes in corporate communication from product branding to corporate branding, focusing on the post-modern job ad. Schönfelder closes this section by taking a slightly more theoretical approach to rhetoric in organisational discourse. On the basis of data from the Norwegian health care sector, he proposes a combination of rhetorical analysis and discourse analytical thinking rooted in post-structuralist ideas to better analyse discursive data generated in organisations.

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PART I:
RHETORIC IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE

CHAPTER ONE

TALKING ABOUT FAMILIES TO CREATE WINNING IDENTITIES

KAREN L. ADAMS

Abstract

This study draws from a corpus of seventy televised political debates among candidates running for all levels of political offices throughout the United States. In these interactive forums reference to candidates' families are used as persuasive strategies to create ideological and oppositional identities for the audience and the debate participants. Mention of these family members is typically limited to the nuclear family or to general references. Contrary to claims by Fox 1997, male as well as female candidates emphasize community ties through family. All candidates use these references to family to enhance their oppositional positions by claiming ethical training, knowledge and evidence for arguments, and ideological identities including hegemonic heterosexual marital status.

Introduction

Any elected politician or candidate for office can expect their family to be part of the discourse surrounding their campaigns and terms in office. These family members may be the focus of tabloid interest (van Zoonen 2000) or they may do testimonials (Kaid and Johnston 2001, 67-9) or be attack "dogs" when defense is needed for the candidate (Jamieson 1992). Campaign strategists intentionally use family members to create ethos for candidates. (See, for example, Bystrom, McKinnon and Chaney 1996, Ross and Sreberny 2000, 95-6, and Wahl-Jorgensen 2000, 67-70.)¹ But the candidates themselves may also refer to and discuss their families for persuasive ends. Previous studies of family representations in political rhetoric in the USA have focused on elections for national offices addressing presence in advertising images, general reference to families,

testimonials and convention speeches by family members (e.g. DeRosa and Bystrom 1996, Fox 1997, Kahn 1996 and Kaid and Johnston 2001).

This study draws from a corpus of televised political debates, which are face-to-face events and show rhetorical strategies in the performance of an electable identity. In the interactive forums here, families are used as persuasive strategies to create ideological and oppositional identities for the audience and the debate participants. The analysis considers the frequency of references to family and the members indexed as well as the persuasive ways they are employed in contentious discourse.

Methods

The data base for this study consists of 70 televised debates among candidates running for political offices throughout the United States. Most appeared on national, statewide and local stations, some on cable networks and some were also rebroadcast on websites. The corpus includes not only presidential and vice-presidential debates and those for the United States Senate and House of Representatives, but also those for state and local offices such as gubernatorial positions, state legislatures, city councils and mayoral offices. Among the candidates are numerous women and third party candidates.

The list of terms searched in the corpus was created by a multistep process. First, a standard set of kinship terms was created. They included when appropriate “relational” prefixes such as, “step”, “ex”, “grand” and “great” and the relational suffix “in-law”. Then more informal and formal terms and possible dialect variations were added by consulting a thesaurus as well as my own native speaker knowledge.² Articles on use of terms of address in English, e.g. Cameron 2003, Hinton 1992, Lakoff 2003, McConnell-Ginet 2003 and Tannen 2003, were also consulted. Using this preliminary set of terms, the debates were searched with the software MONOCONC which allowed for rapid and consistent search processes. As any new terms were found in reading the surrounding text of the item, they were added to the list and used to search the whole corpus. This process turned up metonyms, e.g. “home”/“house” for “family”, and narrower terms of reference, e.g. “newborn” rather than “baby” or “child”.

This focus on terms referencing kin relationships does not cover all possibilities of family reference. For example, it is possible for a candidate to talk about her marital status without mentioning the person to whom she is married, so terms such as “married”, “divorced”, “single” and “widowed” were also searched, e.g. “Steve Owens is married and has four children.” In addition, candidates with well known partners might refer to

them by their first or last name without an accompanying family identifier, e.g. “Barbara” or “Hillary”. So for United States presidential and vice-presidential campaigns, as well as other high profile candidates, the first names of spouses for incumbents or otherwise well known spouses were also run through the search software. Finally, children in particular, but others too, may be referred to by their age or by their grade in school, e.g. “We have a first grader in our house, Hanna, and a two and a half year old, John Micah...”.

In addition to the lexical items themselves, the use of possessive pronouns determines if it is the candidates’ families being talked about. “My” straightforwardly indexes the candidate’s family, but it is not always clear if “our” is first person plural inclusive or exclusive. Moreover, “our” is used to refer to citizens in a state, a region or a country, so someone without children who was running for office could still talk about “our children” to mean those of the community they were campaigning to represent. When in doubt, examples with “our” were omitted from the items in question. The same issues are found with “your” since the candidate speaking may or may not be referring to their opponents’ families. “Your” can also reference the person speaking, e.g. when talking about the difficulty of campaigning, a candidate says, “It’s hard on your family.” i.e. her family that she had just been talking about. When it was not clear that the candidates’ families were referenced, the examples were excluded.

Lastly, the goal of this study was to determine the number of times a candidate brought up one of her/his family members for rhetorical ends rather than the number of times they used a word referring to that family member. Therefore, after a first mention of a relative, if the same term or name was used in the same turn to discuss the same topic, the reference to that family member was counted only once, meaning that subsequent uses of the same or related terms were not counted. However, if the turn ended and a new question was asked by a panelist of the candidate with the topic shifted, then this next referent would be counted. Or if the candidate shifted topics in a single turn and referred to the same family member again in this shifted topic, then this referent would be counted. This means that the number of references in the tables is not simply examples of the number of times a word occurs, but the number of times a relative was discussed in differing topics.

Theoretical issues

In the analysis that follows identity is assumed to be something

...available for use: something that people do which is embedded in some other social activity, and not something they 'are'. This brings into sharp relief the notion that identities are put to local work... (Widdicombe 1998, 191).

This approach is one used in Conversational Analysis (CA) and is useful for the analysis of references to families in these debates as CA focuses "...on whether, when, and how identities are used. ... [and on] the occasioned relevance of identities here and now..." (Widdicombe 1998, 195). It is this theoretical approach to identity that allows us to understand how both a positive and a negative reference to a family member in a single turn can be used for the same rhetorical strategy, or how similar mentioned identities can represent very different political positions.

A "winning" identity in this analysis acknowledges that debates are part of a discourse of contest, but that a candidate can "win" in many ways. As Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz note argument is not just about winning the majority of votes in a political contest (2004, 6). One can also 'win' by bringing a political position to the forefront of discussion or by conducting oneself in an ethical way. But all candidates are running against each other as opponents, and these debates are political arguments. To construct a winning identity a candidate needs to create an ethos or character based on both authority and honesty (Lunsford and Ruszkiewicz 2004, 89) in addition to relying on lines of arguments based on facts and reasons, on values and on emotion. We shall see below that references to family members and membership play out in all these lines of argument.

Trends in referring to family

The frequencies shown here are only suggestive as there are thousands of debates during any election period in the United States. Debate type events have become part of the canonical campaign landscape. Debates are replayed on websites, and communities where debates might not have originally been common now use the format. For example, in 2006 the two candidates for the position of tribal president of the Navajo Nation held a debate on the Arizona State University campus that was replayed on the public TV station. So of the 145 terms employed anyone of them could be used in a debate, but this study gives us some indication of likelihood of use. We might expect that more informal and more regionally restricted forms would be less likely to occur, but such an assumption should be considered a hypothesis to be demonstrated. Obviously, the frequency of the occurrence of family referents is dependent on the real life of the candidates who are debating. If candidates have only daughters and not

sons, or if they all have stepfathers or if they were the only child of a couple this affects what terms appear.

Table 1-1 shows the actual usages for the 70 televised debates, many of which have more than two candidates vying for the seat in question. Table 1-1 includes mentions by a candidate of another family member, of the candidate's own role in her/his family and when an opponent or moderator or panelist is using a term to talk about a candidate's family. The use of particular terms to refer to family members is not equally represented in debates. For example, the terms "mom" and "dad" occurred for the most part in two debates used by one specific speaker in each debate. Also former President George Bush Sr. referred to his wife by her first name "Barbara" with much greater frequency than any other candidate who used first names for family members.

Table 1-1: Number of References to Families in Debates

	Office	Local	State	US Congress	Pres, VP	TOTAL
	# of debates	6 (8.5%)	21 (30%)	34 (48.6%)	9 (12.9%)	70 (100%)
Referent						
Family		4	29	38	19	90
Relative			4	1		5
Home, house, household				4		4
Ancestor				2		2
Generation (-s)				1		1
Heritage					2	2
Mother		1	7	14	5	27
Momma				1		1
Mom			6	7		13
Father			5	13	3	21
Father-in-law				1		1
Dad			6	9	2	17
Parent		3	11	12	2	28
Grandparent				1	1	2

Grandfather				4	7	11
Grandpa			3			3
Grandmother, Great-			2	2, 1	4	9
Grandma			1			1
Wife		4	14	16	8	42
Housewife, homemaker			2			2
Husband			25	17	2	44
Sweetheart				2		2
Spouse			1		1	2
First Name			1 (Ray)		11 (Barbara, Kitty)	12
Married		2	13	8		23
Divorced			2			2
Single				1		1
Bachelor			1			1
Child (-ren)		7	27	38	12	84
Grandchild (-ren)		1	5		6	12
Kid (-s)		1	3	9	2	15
Youngster			1			1
Baby			1		1	2
Newborn				1		1
X year-old, Xst grader				2		2
Son		2	11	12	5	30
Grandson					2	2
Daughter			11	9		20
Granddaughter					6	6
Descendant				1		1
Brother		1	2	1	1	5
Sister			1	1		2
Sister-in-law			1			1

Table 1-1: Number of References to Families in Debates						
Sibling				1		1
Niece				1		1
Nephew			4			4
Uncle, great uncle			1	1,1		3
	Total	26 (4.7%)	201 (36%)	230 (41%)	102 (18.3%)	559 (100%)

Of the 145 terms that were used to search the corpus, we can see that only 52, or slightly over a third (35.8%) were used. Tables 1-2a and 1-2b show us the most frequently used terms, (4 or more examples of use), first by individual referents and then grouped by semantic domains. The most frequently used by far are the general referent terms, “family” and “child/children” and “kid (-s)”. The next most frequently mentioned are “husband” and “wife”, “mother” and “father”, “son”, “parent”, “married” and “daughter”. These terms cover the nuclear family of parents and children referring to the candidates themselves or to their own parents. Much less frequently referred to are the candidates’ siblings or their siblings’ children or their own grandchildren.

Table 1-2a: Most Commonly Used By Word		Table 1-2b: Most Commonly Used by Domain	
Referent		Referent	
Family	90	Child, Kid(-s)	99
Child (-ren)	84	Family	90
Husband	44	Husband	44
Wife, homemaker, etc	44	Wife, etc.	44
Son	30	Mother, etc	41
Parent	28	Father, etc	38
Mother	27	Son	30
Married	23	Parent	28
Father	21	Married	23
Daughter	20	Daughter	20

Table 1-2a: Most Commonly Used By Word		Table 1-2b: Most Commonly Used by Domain	
Dad	17	Grandchild	12
Kid (-s)	15	First Name	12
Mom	13	Grandfather	11
Grandchild (-ren)	12	Grandmother	9
First Name	12	Granddaughter	6
Grandfather	11	Brother	5
Grandmother	9	Relative	5
Granddaughter	6	Nephew	4
Brother	5	Home, house	4
Relative	5		
Nephew	4		
Home, house (-hold)	4		

Interestingly, some of the expressions that refer to family members in Table 1-1 in a gender neutral way are used much less frequently. In the debates as a whole there was no use of “significant other” or “partner” to refer to a family member. Both these terms would be considered in the USA to be more “politically correct”. They originally referred to unmarried or gay couples but have since been extended more generally. “Spouse” was much more common throughout the debates, but not when candidates are talking about their own family members. There is only one use of the term “sibling” and two of “spouse” by candidates in order to discuss their family members. In the use of “sibling” and one of the uses of “spouse” the examples are both plural and refer to multiple siblings and more than one of their children’s partners.³ This would indicate that family members are typically indexed for biological sex if talking about brothers and sisters or husbands and wives.

Rhetorical and pragmatic uses of referents to family

Referring to a family member during a debate may be no more than an accurate representation of a situation. An example of this can be found in a debate between two women candidates for state treasurer in Texas. The following example starts with a question from a panelist, Ms. Ely, and continues with an answer by one of the candidates, Ms. van Hightower.

- (1) Ms. Ely: ...But as a feminist it seems to me we're talking about husbands to an extraordinary amount in this campaign. Do you all feel that you're so identified with them? I mean really speak to that, and speak to it seriously.
 Ms. van Hightower: Is that the question?
 Ms. Ely: Yeah.
 Ms. van Hightower: Oh. Okay. (Laughing) Well maybe I should just say business partner or law partner. You know it just so happens that that is her husband and that wouldn't change a thing as far as I'm concerned. I don't know how to answer that. I don't think that the spouses of politicians should play a role in campaigns. On the other hand, if they participate in some way in the operation of the functioning of the office that is under discussion I think it certainly has to come out because I presume that that relationship will not change, although campaigns are rather hard on marriages.....

This discussion appeals to Grice's category of quantity, maxim 1, "Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purposes of the exchange.)" (Grice 1999,78). To call her opponent's husband a "business partner" or "law partner" would not connote that there was an ongoing normally non-dissolvable relationship between them. Partnerships do not connote family relations, and to the audience who might know her opponent and her family either of the alternatives above would have looked as though the challenger was talking about someone else.

However, the mention of family members is not just for clarity's sake. As noted above these mentions are rhetorical strategies for creating ethos on the basis of identity and for bolstering arguments.⁴ One aspect of character that can be created by such references is that of a class identity. For example, an Arizona Democratic US Congressional candidate framed himself as a representative of "working families", in his opening statement in example (2) below.

- (2) Mr. Owens: Good evening. I'm Steve Owens. My dad was a truck driver; my mom still works at Sears. My wife, Karen, and I have 2 young sons, John and Ben. To keep the American dream alive for working families, we must protect the opportunities that young children need and the dignity and security that older Americans have earned...

Owens also brings up his mother again later in an answer to a question and at the same time mentions the scholarship support he had for his own education. His parents' occupations are specifically working class with his father a truck driver and his mother working at a store known to be targeted to working class families. Owens attended what would be

considered an Ivy League school for college, i.e. East Coast USA and elite, but by adding the scholarship information he avoids an identification of upper middle class background.

Even in the continuation of his opening statement, example (3), Owens begins his challenges of his Republican opponent's stand with a "quasilogical" argument (Johnstone 2002, 212).

- (3) Mr. Owens:That's why I have opposed the Gingrich-Hayworth [his opponent's] plan to slash Medicare to pay for tax cuts for the rich, to cut funding for education and the environment, to raise the cost of student loans, and to make it easier for pensions to be raided.

By taking the above stand on the Gingrich-Hayworth plan, he also claims to protect himself and his family and hence that of the perceived base of his Democratic party who are most likely to align with government funded social support systems. By mentioning his parents' occupations and his own scholarship status he creates an ethos of working class. Such a family reference not only identifies his background but provides legitimacy to his claim that he knows and has experienced working class needs.

In the debates, references to parents are often used to emphasize issues of social status as well as ethical training sometimes related to this social status. This ethical training by parents can be given as reasons not to attack an opposing candidate during the debate, an example of this being the expression, "...my mother always taught me never to...". But such references can be part of a more complex topic such as the following response to a question on affirmative action where we see a candidate arguing against support for "affirmative action". The candidate here is a Republican challenger running against a Democratic incumbent for the United States House of Representatives.

- (4) Ms. Brooks:We have created a reverse discrimination, whether we want to admit it or not. It's wrong. Martin Luther King, I think, would roll over in his grave if he saw that exactly what he wanted [cries from audience] was that man would be judged by the cont--. [response to audience cries] You know, ladies and gentlemen, I'd just like to say something. I know that there are those of you here who do not agree with me. I have respect for the office that Ms. Harman holds, and I have respect for you. But I would like to ask you to have respect for me to be able to state my position on the California Civil Rights Initiative. Thank you. [applause] Martin Luther King, Martin Luther King asked that a man would be judged by the content of his character, rather than the color of his skin. And the exact opposite has happened with what Martin Luther King has

wanted. So, I do believe, and I'm telling you I'm, I'm the daughter of a milkman and a school secretary, and I, I taught in some of the worst ghettos in Brooklyn, New York. Throwing money at the problem is not the solution. What we need to do is pitch in and get a hand in and lend a hand, and we need to make sure that we don't let, um, biasness or prejudice or any type of prejudice or discrimination, in any way, shape, or form, enter. And that's all the California Civil Rights Initiative asked for, is that there would not be preferential treatment and there would be equal opportunity under the law. Thank you.

The candidate here is making a “quasilogical” claim that her working class background and her own teaching experience have taught her an ethical approach in which current governmental affirmative action policies are not to be seen as the best way to achieve equal opportunity. This experience can then be generalized to a criticism of affirmative action policies for all constituents.

Other family members besides parents can be used to indicate class identity. In a city-wide council debate in Arizona, a candidate who is known as a “friend of workers” mentions that his wife answers his phone as she works at home in her art studio. This seemingly minor mention was chosen to create an ethos in opposition to a preceding male candidate who had just spoken on a question about accessibility to constituents. This opponent, Mr. Copple, referred to his female secretary as taking constituents' phone calls when he was not available. So the other candidate, Mr. Cahill, with a deft mention of his wife shows in response to the original question that he is a member of the working class not the bossing class and that his keeping in touch is done in the family way.

Within this turn as Mr. Cahill is responding to the question on accessibility to constituents, he makes a second reference to his wife by referring to a non-supportive comment she made about his style of representing his constituents. Yet the reference to her questioning his behavior still manages to achieve the same rhetorical strategy as the earlier positive reference. When he refers to his wife he says that she expresses concern about the long hours he often spends waiting to take care of things for constituents. He claims that he tells her she is wrong in her perceptions of his waiting around as problematic and that this is what he should do with his time.

- (5) Mr. Cahill: ...Uh, my wife complained about the system. I th--, I told her I thought they were doing great. I couldn't improve on it.