Evoking Discourse Worlds in Political Speeches: A Study of Audience-Addressing Expressions

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Abstract. The main point of departure for the present paper is de Beaugrande and Dressler's claim that every text evokes the creation of a textual world which is constructed mentally and signaled linguistically. The paper synchronizes that conviction with Werth's claim of the existence of another type of 'world' – 'discourse world'. In tackling the issue of how the two types of worlds (co-)exist, the paper relies theoretically on the cognitive principle of profiling.

The investigation presented here focuses on one specific kind of linguistic evidence of the operation of text and discourse worlds – on audience addresses used in political speeches. The paper reports and discusses the results from a study involving 20 respondents. The study verifies the hypothesis of a heightened communicative effect through evoking discourse worlds through direct audience addresses.
Keywords: text world, discourse world, political speech, audience-addressing expression.

Нели Тинчева. ПОРАЖДАНЕ НА ДИСКУРСИВНИ СВЕТОВЕ ОТ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКИТЕ РЕЧИ: ИЗСЛЕДВАНЕ НА ИЗРАЗИ, НАСОЧЕНИ КЪМ СЛУШАТЕЛИТЕ (ПУБЛИКОНАСОЧЕНИ ИЗРАЗИ)

Резюме. Главна отправна точка на настоящия доклад е твърдението на Дьо Богранд и Дреслер, че всеки текст поражда създаването на един текстуален свят, който се конструира умствено и се предава лингвистично. Докладът съгласува това убеждение с твърдението на Уърт за съществуването на един друг вид „свят“ – „дискурсивен свят“. За да обясни как двата вида свят съществуват (съвместно), докладът се осланя теоретично на когнитивния принцип на профилирането.

Настоящото изследване се фокусира върху един специфичен вид лингвистична хипотеза за взаимодействието между текстови свят и дискурсивен свят – базирано на политическите речи и обръщенията, адресирани към публиката. Докладът представя и обсъжда резултатите от изследването, което включва 20 участници. Изследването потвърждава хипотезата за засилен комуникативен ефект, който се наблюдава от пораждането на дискурсивни светове чрез директни обръщения към публиката.
Ключови думи: текстов свят, дискурсивен свят, политически речи, публиконасочени изрази.

I. *Introduction*

The linguistic notion of text worlds has been inspiring fruitful research ever since de Beaugrande and Dressler published their seminal *Introduction to text linguistics* in 1980. A text world, to de Beaugrande and Dressler, associates with textual coherence and emerges from cognitive processes of constructing and organizing mental structures into a whole-text-relating mental network. Almost 20 years after de Beaugrande and Dressler's approach gained prominence, the notion of text worlds loomed significant in another researcher's articles – those of Paul Werth, which, four years after Werth's passing, were edited and published in a single volume by Mick Short (1999, *Text Worlds: Representing Conceptual Space in Discourse*). However, not only does Werth employ the notion of 'text world' (henceforth TW), but he also develops it alongside what he proposes to be 'discourse world' (henceforth DW).

The present paper maintains Werth's view that there exist two distinguishable types of worlds – TWs and DWs. The paper focuses on the less researched type – the one of DWs. It aims to clarify if evoking the construction of a DW in a text can bring about and, consequently, be employed for greater communicative effect. To achieve that, the paper reports on a study providing perceptual evidence from real language users. The investigation focuses on a genre generally accepted as one of considerable communicative and manipulative potential (see e.g. Gamson 2002; Schaffner 1996; Wodak and Koller 2008) – the one of political speeches.

As will be argued later, the present paper, following de Beaugrande and Dressler (*ibid*.), approaches cognitive DW creation as having the potential to be signalled linguistically through a number of linguistic structures) devices. Out of the available set of such linguistic units, the study reported here targets one particular type which is highly specific to the genre of political speeches, namely audience addresses. The phrase 'audience address' is used here to avoid ambiguity with the term 'address', which, in political discourse, can be used to refer to a whole speech (i.e. an 'address' is a political sub-genre in its own right). Thus, here 'audience address' will be used to indicate words and phrases used to speak directly to a political speech's audience or individual members of that audience.

The main research questions the present paper is directed at are:

• Is the communicative effect of a political speech enhanced by evoking DWs through the use of audience addresses in political speeches?

• Is the communicative effect of a political speech consciously dependent on the speaker's evoking a DW through the use of audience addresses?

Auxiliary research questions through which the investigation needs to pass to attain its main objectives are:

• How are audience addresses used in political speeches to evoke DWs?

• What types of audience addresses are used in political speeches to evoke DWs?

The general method adopted in the investigation is cognitive as it coheres well with de Beaugrande and Dressler's notion of text-related worlds (*Introduction to text linguistics*). The research method is experiment. The study is questionnaire-based and quantitative.

II. *Theoretical background*

It should be duly noted at the very outset of the discussion here that the two interpretations of the term 'text world' cited in the Introduction (i.e. de Beaugrande and Dressler's and Werth's) differ considerably. As defined by Werth, a TW is a deictic space delimited through the operation of spatio-temporal parameters (*ibid*. 95). To de Beaugrande and Dressler, spatio-temporal TW characterization is far from obligatory, and, again in contrast to Werth's understanding, their TWs do not relate to classical logician's views of worldbuilding and world existence. De Beaugrande and Dressler's interpretation also coincides with Lakoff and Johnson's embodied realism principles (*Philosophy in the flesh*), which the present study also upholds. Thus, the present investigation adheres closely to de Beaugrande and Dressler's interpretation due to its being unrelated and free from considerations of truth-objectivist requirements (for a full discussion of the differences in the approaches, see Tincheva, *Text Structure: A Window into Discourse, Context and Mind*).

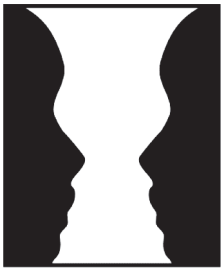
As far as postulating DWs is concerned, Werth sees a DW as 'the situational context surrounding the speech event itself'; while, in his view, a TW contains people and objects as 'characters', a DW contains 'participants' (i.e. speaker and hearer) (Werth 83). Importantly, as Werth demonstrates in his research, it is possible for a DW and its corresponding TW to coincide when participants in a DW come to be constructed as characters in its corresponding TW (*ibid*. 86). In such cases, Werth argues, the two types of worlds overlap to a considerable degree, although a complete overlap between them is not obligatory.

Overall, the general world-building perspective adopted here tries and reconciles (major aspects of) the two major approaches discussed so far. On the one hand, it upholds de Beaugrande and Dressler's world-building, mental-structure-deriving and highly procedural approach. Crucially, the present investigation also sees the role of the linguistic items used the way de Beaugrande and Dressler do – as communicative signals indicating world-building cognitive procedures. Nevertheless, the present study simultaneously draws heavily on Werth's notion of DWs, which is absent from de Beaugrande and Dressler's theoretical framework. Simply put, in terms of cognition-related principles of mental processes of world-building, the present investigation adopts de Beaugrande and Dressler's broader and unrestricted framework; in terms of whether and how the already-built worlds co-exist, the present investigation stays close to Werth's ideas.

A point which requires a mention in even a brief theoretical overview as this one is the presence of more modern-day research on TWs than Werth's. Text World

Theory, which emerged in the works of Emmott (1997) and, most notably, Gavins (2007) follows closely Werth's premises and does so with a view of distancing itself from earlier narrative investigations. Gavins, especially, not only puts forward the name of the approach but also attempts a marriage between Werth's assumptions and Fauconnier and Turner's Mental Space Theory. The main intent behind Gavins endeavors, as defined by her, is injecting the resulting theoretical blend into literary narrative analyses (*Text World Theory: An Introduction*). That fact distances that approach from the investigation presented here. Moreover, for the past decade, under the title of Cognitive Poetics (e.g. Semino (1995); Hidalgo-Downing (2003), Giovanelli (2013)), Text World Theory has been gaining more and more ground, its major objectives pertaining to the realm of literary stylistics and fictional discourse analysis. The present study, however, by centering on political speeches, opts for strictly non-fictional texts.

A last theoretical point to note is that, as I have argued elsewhere (*Text Structure: A Window into Discourse, Context and Mind*), TWs and DWs may be postulated as functioning through the cognitive mechanisms of profiling and profile shifts. In most general and basic terms, the theoretical notion of profiling is taken to have emerged from psychological studies of visual perception (especially Rubin) and gestalt principles (Wertheimer (1938); Koffka (1935)) which analyze the relationship between a figure and its (back)ground. The basic premise there derives from the innate capacity of the human mind to not be able to process information flow in terms of infinite homogeneity. In other words, imposing hierarchical orders is perceived in this theory as practically indispensable with in any human thinking activity: some information bits need to be selected and brought into focus, while others need to be 'pushed' to the background. Thus, the ones that are 'pulled to the fore' will be unavoidably interpreted against, i.e. in relation to, the background other cognitive constructs provide for them. Importantly, profiling should not be viewed as a static phenomenon. It is a dynamic cognitive technique in that what serves as background at one moment could become profiled at the very next one, while the prominent figure at the previous moment can shift into background position. Rubin's vase (see the Figure below) is the textbook example of how figure and background can switch their positions and do that within less than a second:



With respect to the principle of profiling, and following de Beaugrande and Dressler, Lakoff and Johnson, and de Beaugrande, linguistic items and structures are seen here as signals as to which part(s) of the mental picture a participant in the communicative process is to pull) keep to the fore, and which part(s) to push back as ground (*ibid.* 130). A prototypical example would be the use of deictics such as *now* and *here* to signal the cognitive construction of the immediate communicative environment. Every time such linguistic signals are employed, the use triggers the profiling of a DW and the need to suppress the corresponding TW to the background. Any next linguistic item) construction, following the one that profiles the DW, could immediately reverse the figure-ground positions and lead to suppressing the DW to the background and profiling of the TW to the fore. The present study focuses exclusively on the use of audience addresses for such purposes. The rationale behind the choice of these specific linguistic expressions is their deictic potential in evoking the mental construction of the current communicative situation, i.e. evoking the construction and profiling of a DW. A second reason is their heightened significance in the use of the genre of political speeches specifically.

III. ***A typology of audience addresses in political speeches***

This section aims to answer the auxiliary research questions formulated in the Introduction. One of its objectives is to demonstrate how audience addresses are actually used in political speeches to evoke DWs. Another objective is to try and provide a classification of audience addresses used in political speeches and thus facilitate the contextualization of the data presented in the next section, where the main objectives are tackled.

The examples provided here are extracted from a corpus of political speeches which includes 50 speeches delivered publicly by British and American politicians (among them Thatcher, Chamberlain, Raegan, Clinton, Nixon, Churchill, Carter). The speeches were delivered over the span of the last 70 years. They cover a wide range of topics, types of audience and differences in political orientation. The process of sample selection has happened on a random basis to achieve unbiased results.

The present section also aims to build on the results from a prior analysis I conducted on the overall text structure of a sub-corpus of the speeches (*Political Speeches: A Cognitive Perspective on Text and Structure*). In that analysis, two major types of audience addresses are delineated: opening expressions and closing expressions. There, specific linguistic expressions suggesting direct deictic reference are seen as marking the beginning of a speech and) or its ending. That analysis also registers the presence of in-text expressions resembling opening and closing expressions in their deictic function. However, those in-text expressions are seen in that analysis only as demarcating internal text-structural segments.

To illustrate the point here, let me provide examples of opening expressions from the present corpus. Such representative cases would be:

Sample 1:

*'**Good evening**.*

Just moments ago, I spoke with George W. Bush and congratulated him on becoming the 43rd President of the United States, and I promised him that I wouldn't call him back this time.' (Al Gore, 2000 Presidential Concession Speech, delivered on Dec. 13th 2000)

and

Sample 2:

*'**Members of the Dail and Seanad**,*

after all the long and torn history of our two peoples, standing here as the first British prime minister ever to address the joint Houses of the Oireachtas, I feel profoundly both the history in this event, and I feel profoundly the enormity of the honour that you are bestowing upon me. From the bottom of my heart, go raibh mile maith agaibh'. (Tony Blair addressing the Irish Parliament, delivered on Nov. 26th 1998)

An example of closing expressions from the present corpus is:

Sample 3:

'*And so, we leave with high hopes, in good spirit, and with deep humility, and with very much gratefulness in our hearts. I can only say to each and every one of you, we come from many faiths, we pray perhaps to different gods – but really the same God in a sense – but I want to say for each and every one of you, not only will we always remember you, not only will we always be grateful to you but always you will be in our hearts and you will be in our prayers.*

Thank you very much'. (President Nixon's Farewell address, delivered on August 8th 1974)

An example of in-text audience-addressing expressions from the present corpus is:

Sample 4:

'Now your role extends beyond the bounds of the Cold War world. The Gulf War was a vivid reminder that evil will always be with us and that dictators will not suddenly become an extinct species. There, your speedy and courageous action ensured that the enemy was defeated. Today, we face new threats and instabilities. Weapons of mass destruction are now available to regimes who have little respect for human life.

***My friends**, we in Britain are proud to be part of the great Anglo American Alliance – the greatest force for liberty the world has ever known. On this your 50th anniversary, let us learn the lessons from the past so that we may never fail the generations of the future. In the words of Goethe: That which thy fathers bequeathed thee, earn it anew if thou wouldst possess it.'* (Lady Margaret Thatcher, delivered on the Celebration of the 50th Anniversary of the United States Air Force on April 22nd 1997)

As even the few examples here demonstrate, there can be argued to be (at least) two major lines of classifying audience addresses evoking the profiling of DWs. The first line of distinction can indeed be the text-structure-significant position of such linguistic expressions (as suggested in the earlier analysis cited above). In that respect, three major types can be postulated: opening expressions, in-text expressions, and closing expressions.

The second line along which audience addressing linguistic expressions in political speeches can be classified could be a line following their semantic distinctions and specifics. In that respect, three sub-categories of expressions are proposed here: 1) time-specifying performative expressions (e.g. *'Good afternoon'*, *'Good evening'*, *'Good morning'*), 2) expressions specifying audience members (e.g. *'My fellow American'*; *'President Truman'*), and 3) action-specifying performative expressions (e.g. *'Thank you'*; *'God bless us'*). The validity of proposing these three semantically-based categories in addition to the text-structure-based types finds its confirmation in the existence of varying frequencies with which each category is used. The analysis of the corpus registers not simply tendencies concerning frequencies of use of the types but also culture-specific preferences in the use. For instance, the first major type – the one of time-specifying items – proves to be preferred in an overall of 14% of the speeches in the corpus. That preference also turns out to be 7 times more pronounced in British political speeches (12% of the American speeches contain such expressions) than in American political speeches (which account for only 2%).

In a similar fashion, the second type – the one of audience-directed addresses – proves to be operative in 24% of the speeches in the corpus. In that, the American political speeches employing this kind of expressions account for 14% of the corpus, while the British political speeches – for 10%. However, a typology based on semantic distinctions could additionally demarcate two major sub-types within this type: (a) expressions specifying particular social roles (e.g. *'Mr. Speaker', 'Mr. President', 'Members of the Congress'*, etc.), and (b) general ones (e.g. *'Ladies and gentlemen'*). Mixed (gradable) types lying at different proximity from those two extremes are also possible to trace. Furthermore, the corpus reveals the existence of enumerations of audience-specifying expressions, the tendency being for those enumerations to be organized hierarchically in terms of 'higher' rungs of the social ladder to 'lower' ones (e.g. *'President Eisenhower, Vice President Nixon, reverend clergy, fellow citizens'*). Generally, in terms of discourse functions, such speech opening expressions can be argued to aim and establish a non-face-threatening relationship between speaker and audience, for social stereotyping and labelling purposes, or for both simultaneously (e.g. *'My fellow Americans'*). This last point especially proves significant for the respondent's answers obtained in the Study (as reported in the next section).

As far as the third major category – the one of performative expressions – is concerned, it proves to be employed in 28 % of the speeches. Cultural specifics also register here: 26% of the uses of *'Thank you'*, for example, are American, while only 2% of the *'Thank you'*s used come from the British speeches. 16% of the American speeches display a presence of *'God bless you'* and *'God bless America'*. In only 10 % of the British speeches were there similar performatives, the examples being *'God bless you all'* and *'May God be with us all'*.

As to the possible issue of why classify all three sub-types under the same cover heading of 'audience addresses', it must be acknowledged that, indeed, two of the three semantically-based types are not prototypically audience-indicating expressions. However, the cover term seems rather expedient as the time-indicating category can be argued to be elliptically used shorter versions of, for example, *'I wish you good afternoon'*, or *'I wish you good evening'*, while the performative expressions overtly contain direct pronominal audience references in themselves (e.g. *'Thank **you**'*; *'God bless **us**'*).

IV. *The Study*

Respondents

The Study presented here involves 20 respondents. The main goal in the process of respondent selection was to provide as varied and non-homogeneous a population as possible with a view to achieving valid, unbiased by social status results. The respondents were selected for inclusion in accordance with the parameters of education, gender, age and native language) culture, as follows:

- Out of the 20 respondents, 10 respondents are holders of higher education degrees and 10 respondents received no higher education. Out of those with higher education degrees, 5 hold PhD degrees and the other 5 – Master's degrees.
- Out of the 5 respondents with PhD degrees, there are 2 engineers, 2 economists, and 1 philologist. In terms of gender, 4 of the respondents in this group are male, and 1 – female. Their age range is 38 – 63.
- Out of the 5 respondents with Master's degrees, there are 2 engineers, 2 economists, and 1 philologist. In terms of gender, 2 of the respondents in this group are male, and 3 – female. Their age range is 26 – 51.
- Out of the 10 respondents without higher education, 5 are male and 5 – female. Their age range is 23 – 65.
- Out of the 20 respondents, 10 are native speakers of English. Out of them, 5 are British (1 with a PhD, 5 – with MA degrees, 4 – no higher education). The other 5 native speakers are American (2 with PhDs, 3 – with Master's degrees, 5 – no higher education). The non-native speakers represent various European nationalities and cultural backgrounds (2 – German, 2 – Bulgarian, 2 – Polish, 1 – Austrian, 1 – Greek, 1 – Croatian, 1 – Serbian).

The Questionnaire

All the questions in the questionnaire the respondents were asked to fill are targeted at establishing the communicative effect of audience addresses as linguistic signals evoking DWs in political speeches. To aim and achieve that objective, the questionnaire had to be designed so as to isolate these specific linguistic signals as best as possible from all other communicative-effect-relating parameters functioning in parallel. Thus, the respondents were offered only written text versions of the political speeches they had to evaluate: the aim was to exclude other parameters such as personal political preference, politician's accent, dress code preferences, body language, tone of voice, etc. For the same reason, the respondents were not provided with information concerning the title of the speech, the politician who delivered it, its author (if other than the politician), occasion, place and time of delivery, etc.

The Study was structured into 2 main stages in dependence on whether the respondents were sensitized as to the presence or absence of audience-addressing expressions. In Stage 1, the respondents were not informed of the term and notion, nor was their attention explicitly drawn to such expressions in the samples they were presented with. In Stage 2, the respondents were informed of the term and notion, and their attention was explicitly drawn to such expressions in the samples they were presented with.

In Stage 1, **Task 1** presented the respondents with two texts – one in which audience-addressing expressions are used, and one in which there are no such expressions (the first speech being Vaclav Havel's New Year address of 1990 and the second – Harold Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech of February, 3rd 1960). The respondents were asked to decide which of the two speeches they found more communicatively effective.

In Stage 1, **Task 2** the respondents were divided into two groups of 10 people each. Group membership selection happened with a view of the two groups being equally representative in terms of members' age, gender, education and native tongue) culture parameters. Task 2 presented the respondents with two alternative versions of the same speech. The first alternative was President Obama's actual weekly address delivered on August 13th, 2016, which contained audience addresses. The second alternative the respondents were presented with was the same speech with the audience addresses removed from it. Group 1 of the respondents were asked to read first the original text version and then to proceed to the altered version of the text. Group 2 were asked to first read the altered version and then proceed to the original one. Neither of the groups was informed as to which the actually delivered text version was. The aim in both this absence of information and in dividing the respondents into groups was to try and provide unbiased responses in terms of order of processing the two versions of the same text. In Task 2, as in Task 1, the respondents were asked to decide which one of the two texts they found more communicatively effective.

Stage 1, **Task 3** repeated the procedures from Task 2. This time the original version of the political speech the respondents were presented with was President Obama's actual Farewell address delivered on January 14th 2017, which contained only a closing audience address. In the altered version of the original text, there were additionally introduced an opening expression and an in-text address (in both cases *My fellow Americans*). The choice of the specific linguistic structure was designed for it to match the closing expression actually used by President Obama in the original speech. The rest of the procedures in this task repeated the procedures in Task 2.

Stage 2 began with the respondents' being informed of the term and notion of 'audience addresses' and of the fact that such addresses are the main object of analysis of the Study. **Task 4** requested for the respondents to return to the two political speeches employed for purposes of Task 1 and re-evaluate them. An additional open-ended question asked the respondents to also comment freely on their process of performing the re-evaluation. The purpose of conducting this task in this form associates with the second major objective of the present investigation (as formulated in the Introduction) – to test whether the communicative effect of a political speech on audience members is consciously dependent on the members' noticing the speaker's use of audience addresses.

Results and discussion

Table 1 offers the results from the performance of Task 1. It supplies data on numbers of respondents expressing a preference for either of the two speeches (i.e. evaluating either speech as communicatively more efficient). The table correlates respondents' preferences and respondents' educational status, age, gender and native language) culture.

		Speech 1	Speech 2
Education	Higher Education	7	3
	No higher education	5	5
Age	20 – 45 years	6	4
	46 – 70 years	6	4
Gender	Male	5	5
	Female	7	3
Native language) culture	Native	4	6
	Non-native	8	2

Table 1 ***Results from the completion of Task 1***

The data in Table 1 do not confirm the presence of a pronounced preference for either speech as the more efficient one. Although there may be noticed a slight preference for Speech 1 correlated with higher educational status, the differences in the figures could not be interpreted as statistically significant. The only pronounced preference associates with cultural background differences. However, the

very parameter of cultural background could be safely argued to relate easily to the parameter of topic of the speech. Therefore, this tendency for preference along this specific parameter removes the data reported from the object of the present investigation as the investigation does not focus on topic choice and relevance but on the use of audience addresses exclusively. Overall, the results from the performance of Task 1 do not provide any evidence as to the presence of a greater communicative effect of the political speech which includes direct audience addresses.

Table 2 offers the results from the performance of Task 2. It provides data on numbers of respondents expressing a preference for either of the two versions of a speech. As has been described in the previous section, the respondents in Group 1 first read the version including audience addresses (i.e. Version 1) and Group 2 first read the version excluding them (Version 2). The table correlates respondents' preferences and membership in either of the two groups:

	Version 1	Version 2
Group 1	15	5
Group 2	7	13

Table 2 ***Results from the completion of Task 2***

The data in Table 2 reveal the presence of a pronounced preference for the speech version which includes audience addresses. Moreover, the preference is evident in the responses of both groups of respondents which enhances the previous conclusion as it proves sequence of reading the two versions is not crucial to the evaluation of these two specific versions. Another factor supporting the conclusion is the fact that the minority of respondents who express preference for the version without audience addresses do not classify consistently in accordance with any of the social parameters listed above. In other words, there is no objective social factor correlating with choice of either version as a better one. Overall, the results from the performance of Task 2 provide evidence as to the presence of a greater communicative effect of the political speech which includes direct audience addresses.

To verify whether the conclusions from Task 2 could be interpreted as valid and not as resulting from the specifics of one particular political speech, Task 3 repeated the procedures there. For the same reason, a speech by the same politician (and author of the speech) was chosen for this task. Table 3 below offers the results from the performance of Task 3. It provides data on numbers of respondents expressing a preference for either of the two versions of the speech. As described in the previous section, the respondents in Group 1 first read the version including audience addresses (i.e. Version 1) and Group 2 first read the version excluding them (Version 2). The table correlates respondents' preferences and membership in either of the two groups:

	Version 1	Version 2
Group 1	16	4
Group 2	8	12

Table 3 ***Results from the completion of Task 3***

The data in Table 3 confirm the presence of a pronounced preference for the speech version which includes audience addresses. The preference again is evident in the responses of both groups of respondents and proves sequence of reading the two versions is not crucial to the evaluation of the two versions. The minority of respondents who express preference for the version without audience addresses again do not classify consistently in accordance with any of the social parameters listed. The results from the performance of Task 3 also provide evidence as to the presence of a greater communicative effect of the political speech which includes direct audience addresses. They reinforce the results and conclusions from the completion of Task 2.

The last task required the respondents to return to the two original speeches in Task 1 and re-evaluate them from the perspective of the speeches' employment or dis-preference for the use of audience addresses. Table 4 below displays the results from the performance of this task. It supplies data on numbers of respondents expressing a preference for either of the two speeches as communicatively more efficient. The table correlates respondents' preferences and respondents' educational status, age, gender and native language) culture:

		Speech 1	Speech 2
Education	Higher Education	6	4
	No higher education	8	2
Age	20 – 45 years	9	1
	46 – 70 years	7	3
Gender	Male	8	2
	Female	7	3
Native language) culture	Native	6	4
	Non-native	8	2

Table 4 ***Results from the completion of Task 4***

The data in Table 4 strongly suggest the presence of a pronounced preference for the speech containing audience addresses. The minority of respondents who express preference for the version without audience addresses do not classify consistently in accordance with the social parameters listed in the table. The only exception could be argued to be the parameter of education: in comparison to the figures in Table 1, the data in Table 4 show a detectable decrease in the numbers of higher-degree holders' preferring a speech specifically for reasons of it containing

audience addresses. The comments that were provided by the respondents in relation to this fact (as specified in the previous section, Task 4 offered an open-ended question as to each respondent's process of speech evaluation) described personal resistance against any labelling techniques (term as in Bolinger 1980). In other words, in the respondents' comments, there are descriptions of personal dislike for being stereotyped as a, for example, 'fellow citizen' or any other social-strata-bound category. Overall, the results from the performance of Task 4 reinforce the results and conclusions from the completion of the previous tasks.

As a general conclusion to all the data in the four tables, it can be argued that two parallel but divergent tendencies are observable in the perceptions and evaluations of the communicative effect of audience addresses as DW profiling devices in political speeches. The first one is a tendency for the use of audience addresses to be perceived as leading to greater communicative effect. At the same time, and seemingly incoherently with the first tendency, there is a tendency for text receivers not to notice distinctly (at least on first reading) the presence) absence of audience addresses.

A possible explanation of the first tendency could be found in the comments supplied by respondents in performing the last task in the study. Some respondents' comments state directly a modern-day speech should never start, or end, without audience addresses, and, if it did, the respondents could feel disrespected. Combined with the presence of respondents' resignation towards stereotyping and labelling techniques in the use of audience addresses, such opinions could be interpreted as voicing the existence of a narrowing gap in the present-day social-status difference) distance between political speakers and political audiences. Another suggestion pointing in that direction can also be extracted from the comments – the suggestion of respondents' preferring (what we classified in III. above as) time-indicating and performative audience addresses be used and not audience-indicating addresses. If there indeed is such a tendency in general preferences, and if indeed this tendency is characteristic of more modern-day speeches and not older ones, are issues which would have to remain for future investigations. What is of greatest consequence here, however, is the fact that evoking DWs (through audience addresses) proves to be perceived as a communicative technique leading to greater efficiency of a political speech. Generally, evoking DWs in political speeches tends to harmonize with audience members' requirements for being shown respect in the process of communication.

As far as the second major tendency is concerned, the one of respondents' not consciously registering the presence) absence of audience addresses, it could be argued that that is actually confirmation of the manipulative power of this kind of expressions. As conceptual metaphor theorists uphold, those things which are "most alive and most deeply entrenched, efficient, and powerful are those that are so automatic as to be unconscious and effortless" (*Philosophy in the flesh* 129). In

other words, this second tendency may not really run in contradiction to the first one. It may actually complement it by revealing the unconscious, and, thus, greater manipulative potential of evoking DWs in political speeches, especially by doing so through audience addresses.

V. *Conclusion*

The present paper sought to investigate the use of audience addresses in political speeches as linguistic structures evoking and requiring the profiling of DWs. It, first, tabled a classification of audience addresses in political speeches. The classification was suggested along two main axes: a text-structure-based line of distinction and a semantic one.

Second, the paper presented the results from a study on real users' perceptions of audience addresses as DW profiling expressions in political speeches. The results reveal (a) presence of the hypothesized greater communicative effect of such expressions, and (b) tendency for text receivers not to notice distinctly the presence) absence of audience addresses. The latter was argued be indicative of the subconsciously operating manipulative potential of evoking DWs through audience addresses.

Clearly, focusing only on results obtained from a population of 20 respondents, the present investigation could not claim general validity of its results. Building on this basis needs to remain the target of future investigations. Future research on, for instance, which of the types of audience addresses are preferred by audiences, and if audience preferences are context-bound, topic-bound, or dependent on time variations, may also prove fruitful and revealing as to the operation of TWs and DWs.

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