

“Holland is full”
 Identifying temporal and spatial
 reference frames:
 discursive ground for ideologically
 motivated political agendas

Bertie Kaal
VU University Amsterdam, Dept of Language & Communication



LIP Event, Lancaster, 12 March, 2012



From Text To Political Positions
 From Sentiments and Opinions in Texts to
 Political-Party Positions

Dr. Alan Cienki, Dr. André Krouwel
 Prof. Dr. Liesbet Hooghe, Prof. Dr. Piek Vossen


PhDs: Bertie Kaal, Isa Maks, Annemarie van Elfrinkhof



LIP, Lancaster 3/12/12

T2PP – 3 approaches

1. **Political content analysis: What, Who, How?**
 - *Focus on salience: consistency-ambiguity in party positions (Annemarie)*
2. **Critical Discourse Analysis:**
Cognitive- and Corpus Linguistics (CCC): Why?
 - *Discursive markers of argument coherence: Worldviews (Bertie)*
3. **Computational lexical-semantic analysis: How?**
 - *A deontic lexicon for (automated) sentiment analysis (Isa)*



Voting Advice Applications (VAAs) provide a 2-D
 political landscape

LEFT ↔ RIGHT
 Social priorities ↔ Economic priorities

CONSERVATIVE ↔ PROGRESSIVE
 Traditional, Authoritarian, Nationalistic – Green, Alternative, Libertarian

<http://www.euprofiler.eu/>



**A framework for finding ground
 rationales of political agendas**

Critical Discourse Approach

- *Finding distinctive markers of argument coherence. What is presupposed?*

Cognitive affordances of texts

- *Spatial cognition in thought and language: a structure to make sense of the world.*
- *Discovering ‘worldviews’ on which political agendas are based?*

Corpus-linguistic evidence

- *Annotation of Time and Space expressions, modified by Modality markers*
- *Inventory of discourse markers of subjective stance for automated text analysis*

The story of politics

Political discourse constructs causality:

- a) Problem identified (now)
- b) Political action to solve the problem (near future)
- c) Problem solved ... (future)

The catch is that solving a problem for some may create problems for others.

Worldview

Is seated in a selective political space.

Is a coordinating system that warrants political action towards a 'better' future.

- a) A perspective on the existing order
- b) A vision of the 'good society'
- c) Political action to get from (a) to (b)

(cf. Heywood 2007: 11-12)

Critical Discourse Premises

Text constructs meaning over and above its linguistic and conceptual parts: it establishes *possible* dynamics in actor-issue relations.

Text worlds are subjective reconstructions of an imagined world that is in/exclusive: "world-to-word-to-world 'fit'" (Searle & Vanderveken 1985; Werth 1999).

Communicatively, text worlds must have intrinsic coherence to make sense.

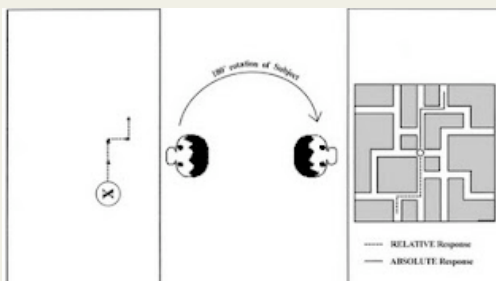
Cohesive rhetorical features

World to word to world 'fit' (Searle & Vanderveken 1985)

- Narrative structure (Herman 2008)
- Coordinate system: a schematic mental map (Levinson 2003)
- Point of view from which a story unfolds: Deictic centre
- Relative to what? (Levinson 1996: egocentric – allocentric)
- Frames foreground, omit and in/exclude (Entman 1993)
- Logical relation: worldview—action (Heywood 2007)
- Metaphor: Time and Space as source domain of evaluative thought: the mind map (Grady 1997, Levinson 2003)

|

Navigating a (mental) map



Levinson 2003, Fig.1

Spatial Cognition in language and thought

- The imagined is anchored in the physical (Searle 2011).
- Primacy of spatial cognition (Levinson 2003) to make sense of non-spatial problems (e.g. social dynamics)

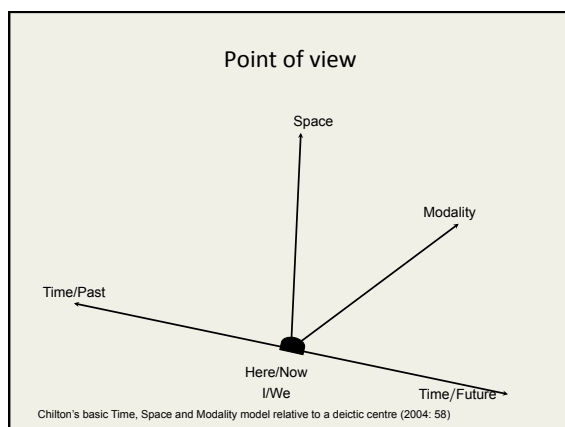
Metaphorical Space and Time

- *Affect* is mapped onto an *objective* spatial map, e.g., in the experiential metaphor category COMFORT IS CLOSENESS
- In the relation TIME IS MOTION ALONG A PATH time projects motion on to space (PATH) to express the dual experience of duration *and* direction.

[Q: If the time-space schema is a primary neurological pathway of the human brain, is it a metaphor?]

Narrative and spatial cognition

- Understanding narrative 'myth' (Lyotard 1979)
- Spatial location frames the narrative domain, projecting objective space onto subjective thought
- Explicit spatial cues give a rationale to causal entailments, and
- They suggest emergent relations between agents, objects, actions and places (scripts) relative to 'point of view'



Time and Space

- Time is often represented as spatial: "the days are nearing", "we leave that behind us".
Function: temporalises spatial dynamics
 - Space: The nation is a geographic space and central to political action.
Function: inclusive/exclusive: "Holland is full"
- Time & Space are markers of subjective attitude, based in a point of view.

Modality

Involves attribution of deontic and epistemic attitude expressing certainty, necessity and desirability.

Establishes a deictic time-space – point of view relation

A syntax-semantic phenomenon expressed in adjectives, superlatives, verbs, etc.

Corpus Linguistic approach

- Data selection and selection of a sub-corpus
- A flexible annotation format for linguistic, discursive and content analysis (KAF)
- A code book for TSM annotation
- Cluster scales of TS and M expressions
- Relative instances/Visual graphics/



Data: Manifestos

Manifestos are the substantive focal point for political communication during election time (Lamond 2010):

- Produced simultaneously at regular intervals (Budge 1994)
- Authoritative: they are composed by an epistemic community and reflect party identity (Van Dijk 2006)
- Communicate a social agenda to a broad audience (Benoit 2006) to gain votes
- Strategic documents in coalition formations
- Parties can be held accountable after elections (media, opposition parties, interest groups)

Data selection for worldview

Dutch manifestos have narrative structure:

1. The scene is set (normative worldview)
2. Action is proposed to solve issue-related problems
3. Goals are not always explicit

Worldviews are made explicit in introductory paragraphs of Dutch manifestos. The scene is set in claims about the present.

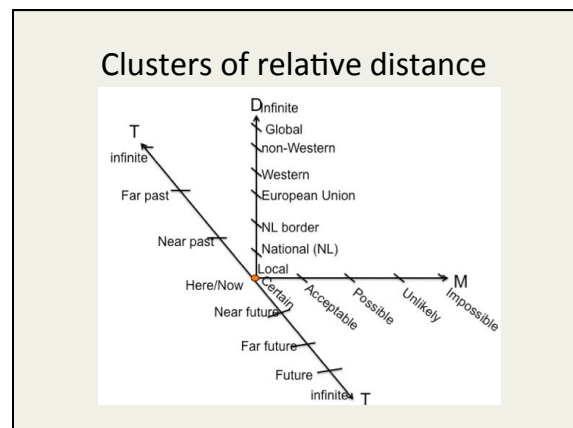
A TSM Codebook

- *Time*: historic events, recent developments, past, present, future (e.g. WWII, now, always)
- *Space*: geographic scope of relevant political space (NL, EU, Western World).
- *Modality*: modifier of epistemic/deontic 'distance' from the deictic here/now (e.g. *must* has stronger urgency than *want*).

Coding Modality

is, must be, deserve	necessary, should be, wish, believe	probable, possible, might, may, prefer	uncertain, might not, perhaps	improbable, may not, unnecessary	impossible, is not, can't be, unacceptable
----------------------	-------------------------------------	--	-------------------------------	----------------------------------	--

Deontic and epistemic words (Chilton 2005; Werth 1999), plus expressions of desirability. (Translation equivalents to Dutch original.)
(Kaal and Maks 2011)



Time-Space scope

"Holland is full." (PVV 2010)

"Globalization is putting our economic position under pressure. To prevent decline we will continue to invest in the infrastructure." (CDA 2010)

"We are a world country. Our economy runs on energy from abroad. ... Our future depends on good neighbours and far friends." (GL 2010)

Time-Space location

"Holland is full" (PVV 2010)

"Globalization is putting our economic position under pressure. To prevent decline we will continue to invest in the infrastructure." (CDA 2010)

"We are a world country. Our economy runs on energy from abroad. ... Our future depends on good neighbours and far friends." (GL 2010)

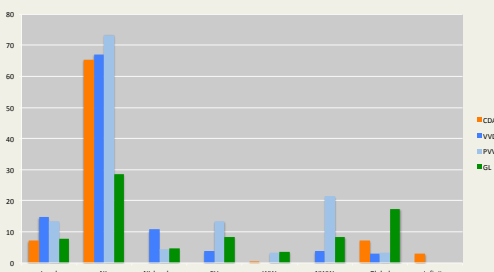
KYOTO Annotation Format

id	Word token	Word type	Pos	Tag1	Tag2	Tag3	Ta	Tag4
w319 8	isgt	isgt	V.verb	0	0	0	0	0
w319 11	bestaan	bestaan	V.verb	0	0	0	0	0
w319 2	ja	ja	N.noun	0	0	0	0	0
w319 6	er	er	A.adv	0	0	0	20	0
w319 4	werd	werd	V.verb	0	0	0	20	0
w319 7	inst	inst	A.adv	0	0	0	20	0
w319 9	gemonerd	gemonerd	V.verb	0	0	0	20	0
w319 10	aan	aan	P.prep	0	0	0	20	0
w319 12	de	de	D.det	0	0	0	19	handhaven
w319 13	ontslagbesche	ontslag_besch.	N.noun	0	0	0	19	handhaven
w320 3	de	de	D.det	0	0	0	21	herenormen
w320 4	solicitatplicht	solicitat_plicht	N.noun	0	0	0	21	herenormen
w320 5	werd	werd	V.verb	0	0	0	17	0
w320 7	afhankelijk	afhankelijk	G.adj	0	0	0	17	0
w320 9	van	van	P.prep	0	0	0	17	0
w320 12	de	de	D.det	0	0	0	17	0
w320 13	individuele	individueel	G.adj	0	0	0	17	0

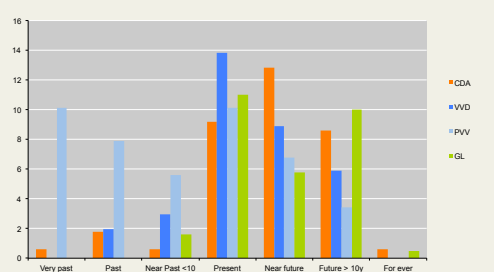
KAF for TSM

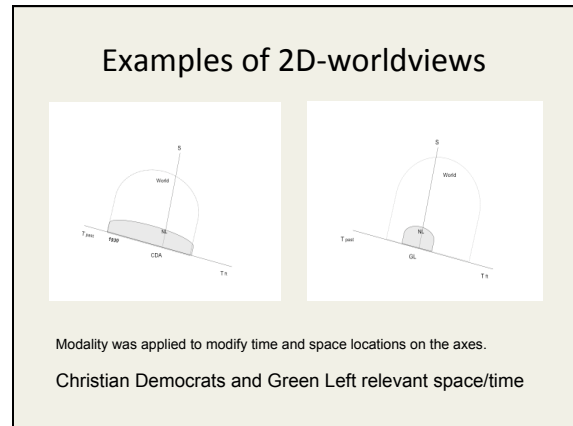
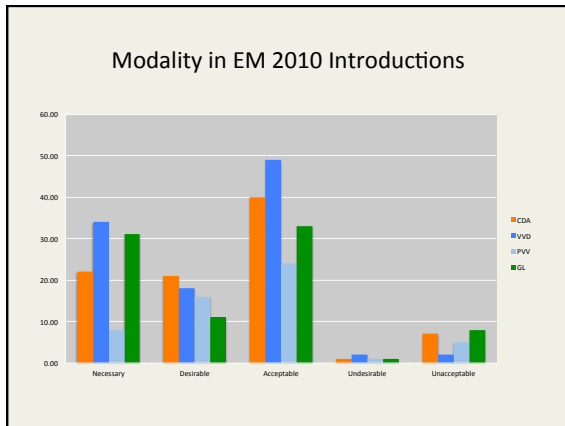
w87.10	hebben	heb	V.verb	0	0	0	0	563	false	87	
w87.15	ervoor	ervoor	P.ppp	0	0	0	0	564	false	87	
w87.13	gezorgd	zorg	V.verb	0	0	0	0	565	false	87	
w87.17	dat	dat	O.com	0	0	0	0	566	false	87	
w87.20	Nederland	Nederland	N.name	0	NL	14	0	0	567	true	87
w87.22	er	er	A.adv	0	0	0	0	568	false	87	
w87.23	op	op	P.pprep	Present	15	0	0	0	569	true	87
w87.25	dit	dit	D.det	Present	15	0	0	0	570	true	87
w87.26	punt	punt	N.noun	Present	15	0	0	0	571	true	87
w87.28	in	in	P.pprep	Present	15	0	0	0	572	true	87
w87.30	de	de	D.det	Present	15	0	0	0	573	true	87
w87.31	crisis	crisis	N.noun	Present	15	0	0	0	574	true	87
w87.33	in	in	P.pprep	0	0	0	0	0	575	false	87
w87.36	economisch	economisch	G.adj	0	0	0	0	0	576	false	87
w87.37	en	en	O.vg	0	0	0	0	0	577	false	87
w87.38	sociaal	sociaal	G.adj	0	0	0	0	0	578	false	87
w87.39	opzicht	opzicht	N.noun	0	0	0	0	0	579	false	87
w87.43	beter	goed	G.adj	0	0	0	0	0	580	false	87
w87.40	voor	voor	O.part	0	0	0	0	0	581	false	87
w87.41	staat	sta_voor	V.verb	0	0	0	0	0	582	false	87
w87.45	dan	dan	O.com	0	0	0	0	0	583	false	87

Space in EM 2010 Introductions



Time in EM 2010 Introductions





Hypotheses: Worldview & Political positions

- Worldviews are the ground for political rationale
- They are indicative of political ideology
- Worldviews are subjective discursive frames that prioritise (foreground/background) and exclude (omit)

TSM and Political dimensions

Time, Space and Modality positions are related to Progressive-Conservative, but not to the Left-Right dimension

LEFT ↔ RIGHT
 Social priorities ↔ Economic priorities

L-R is the domain of issue-related policies.

CONSERVATIVE ↔ PROGRESSIVE
 Traditional, Authoritarian, Nationalistic – Green, Alternative, Libertarian
 Domain of Worldviews: a cultural dimension relating to affect

Progressive-Conservative-Religious

- Progressive attitude has a broader intrinsic "worldview" (Green/Alternative/Libertarian) than Conservative attitude (Traditional/Authoritarian/Nationalistic)

This gives space to 'fit' more complex solutions.

- Religious parties have an extrinsic temporal and spatial worldview (God's realm)

These findings would have influenced KiesKompas party positioning on progressive-Conservative.



References

- Benoit, Kenneth and Michael Laver. 2005. *Party policy in modern democracies*. New York: Routledge.
- Budge, I. 1994. A new spatial theory of party competition. *British Journal of Political Science* 24(4):443-467.
- Chilton, P. 2004. *Analyzing Political Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Chilton, Paul. 2005. Vectors, viewpoints and viewpoint shift: Toward a discourse of space theory. *Annual Review of Cognitive Linguistics* 2: 78-116.
- Cienki, Alan, Bertie Kaal and Isa Maks. 2010. Mapping world view in political texts using Discourse Space Theory: Metaphor as an analytical tool. Presented at RAaM 8, VU Amsterdam. <http://vu-nl.academia.edu/BertieKaal>
- Entman, R.M. 1993. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication* 43, pp. 51-58.
- Grafty, J. E. 1997. Foundations of meaning: Primary metaphors and primary scenes. PhD Dissertation, University of California at Berkeley.
- Herman, D. (Ed.). 2003. *Narrative Theory and the Cognitive Sciences*. CSLI.
- Heywood, Andrew. 2007. *Political Ideologies* (4th ed.). New York: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kaal, Bertie and Isa Maks. 2011. Stylistics in context: Semantic and discursive aspects of subjectivity in political texts. Paper presented at Stylistics Across Disciplines, 16-17 June, 2011, Leiden, The Netherlands.
- Lamoni, I. 2012. Elections as points of discursive contestation. *CADAD* 5(2).
- Levinson, S.C. 1996. Frames of reference and Molyneux's question: Crosslinguistic evidence. In P. Bloom, M.A. Peterson, L. Nadel and M.F. Garrett (Eds), *Language and Space*. Cambridge: CUP, pp. 109-169.
- Levinson, S.C. 2003. *Space in Language and Cognition*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Lyotard, Jean-François. 1984 [1979]. *The Postmodern Condition: A report on knowledge*. Translated by G. Bennington and B. Massumi. Minneapolis: UMP.
- Searle, J. 2011. *Making the Social World*. Oxford: OUP.
- Searle, J. and D. Vanderveken. 1985. *Foundations of Illocutionary Logic*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Van Dijk, T.A. 2006. Ideology and discourse analysis. *Journal of Political Ideologies* 11, pp. 115-140.
- Vossen P., G. Rigau, E. Agirre, A. Soroa, M. Monachini, R. Bartolini. 2010. KYOTO: an Open Platform for Mining Facts. In A. Otrameri et al. (Eds), [Proceedings of Ontolev 2010](#): 6th Workshop on "Ontologies and Lexical Resources", *COLING*, August 21-22, 2010, Beijing, pp. 5-10.
- Werth, P. 1999. *Text Worlds: Representing conceptual space in discourse*. Longman.

