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Celebrating the April Revolution in the Portuguese Parliament: discursive habits, constructing the past and rhetorical manipulation

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the political language and the ideological construction of the national past at the annual commemoration of the April 25 Revolution in the Portuguese parliament. The language of politics during these state commemorations is complex. The speakers of the ceremony are expected not engage in the everyday politics; they are expected to celebrate and remember together the overthrow of the previous regime that occurred on April 25 1974. Nonetheless, behind apparent acts of unity and communion there is political controversy about the nature of the event and its celebration. Mostly this controversy cannot be expressed openly. In order to register the ideological and controversial aspects of these commemorations, the thesis looks at both the overt and the hidden language of the commemorative speeches from left and right political parties. Specifically, the official parliamentary transcripts of the commemorative speeches from left and right political party are analysed at different levels using different methodologies: broad quantitative content analyses of large numbers of speeches and fine critical discursive analysis of specific parts of particular speeches. A broad quantitative content analysis of whole speeches reveals the patterns of themes and terms mentioned in the speakers' accounts of the past. By looking at the presence and absence of explicit themes and terms, the analysis suggests that accounts of the past in the parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution differ along political and ideological lines. This is also apparent in the customary ways of greeting the audience right at the start of the speeches. This analysis combines a quantitative content analysis of the formal greetings over time with an analysis of the rhetorical meanings of particular terms. The analysis of greetings also shows the sexism of the customary and also the development of ritual forms. In order to examine the complexity of this sort of speech, it is necessary to move to in-depth qualitative analysis of parts of specific speeches. The analysis of the beginnings of two speeches given at the 2004 commemoration, namely, from the speaker of the far-right Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party (CDS-PP) and from the far-left Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), shows that both speakers presented controversial versions of the past but did not

do so in direct ways. The speaker from the CDS-PP uses a number of rhetorical devices including omissions and distortion in order to conceal his meanings, while appearing to celebrate a Revolution to which his party was ambivalent. On the other hand, the speaker from the PCP also uses manipulative devices but he does not do so in order to hide the ideology of his message but to make it clearer. The thesis argues for the importance of analysing hidden ideological messages as well as for distinguishing between a speaker manipulating the presentation of their ideology and a speaker manipulating the evidence in order to present their ideology clearer.

Keywords: Portuguese politics, political commemoration, Revolution of April 1974, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis, political language

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1. Introduction

On April 25 1977, the deputy Acácio Barreiros, from the União Democrática Popular (UDP) – a small Maoist party – opened his speech in the Portuguese parliament as follows:

Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime Minister, Mr Ministers, Mr Guests, Mr Deputies,
Working People of Portugal: Here we enthusiastically salute the April 25!
Three years ago, under the noble initiative of the Captains of April and under the greatest effort of Portuguese workers, fascism fell with all its roll of miseries and sufferings for the people, with its torture and its concentration camps, its criminal and murdering war.
(Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Minsitros, Srs. Convidados, Srs. Deputados, Povo Trabalhador de Portugal: Aqui saudamos entusiasticamente o 25 de Abril! Há três anos atrás, debaixo da nobre iniciativa dos capitães de Abril e sob o gigantesco impulso dos trabalhadores portugueses, o fascismo caiu com todo o seu rol de misérias e sofrimentos para o Povo, com as suas torturas e os seus campos de concentração, a sua guerra criminosa e assassina.)¹

This was the first speech in the Portuguese parliament to commemorate the Portuguese Revolution, which overthrew the regimes of Salazar and Caetano. The previous fascist regime had ended three years earlier on exactly the same day. Senhor Barreiros was the first speaker. The memories of the revolution and of the previous regime were still very much alive.

This was the start of what has become an annual celebration in the Portuguese parliament. Much has changed since the day that Senhor Barreiros spoke. For example, Portugal is now part of the European Union, democracy has been firmly established and there are no longer any Maoists in the parliament. We can ask what sort of annual custom did Senhor Barreiros inaugurate and in what forms does it continue today?

¹*Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 100, 1977. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

The topic of this dissertation is the political language and the construction of the national past at the commemorations of the April Revolution of 1974 in the Portuguese parliament. Specifically, we examine how the speakers at the continuing annual parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution celebrate and remember this specific moment of the nation's history. Since the political parties have an important role during these celebrations, we study in particular how political speakers construct ideological versions of the national past on an occasion whose celebratory feature seems to involve the cessation of ordinary political controversy. Apart from this general research question, no further questions are formulated at the outset. As we will see, this thesis favours the sort of methodological approaches which are open-minded and which develop categories of analysis by doing the analysis, rather than by formulating categories of analysis in advance. Consequently, most analytical chapter advances specific research questions, which are formulated as the analysis of the data progresses. As discussed later on, this way of doing analysis by proceeding from the data, rather than from pre-defined categories of analysis, has both its strength and limitations.

As will be seen the language of politics during the commemoration of April 25 can work at different levels – overt slogans, themes and words, and also more complicated language, even hidden meanings. This thesis looks at both the overt and hidden language and it uses different methodologies to do this. As we will see, some questions depend upon looking at the overt meanings of large numbers of speeches, and even at the customary ways speakers use to greet the audience. Other questions demand that we look in detail at the specific words that specific speakers might use. In this respect, this thesis also examines how some speakers are not straightforward in the way that they celebrate the event. What they do not say can be just as important as what they do say. With the passage of time, speakers will not necessarily use the uninhibited language that Senhor Barreiros used in his moment of initial celebration. Also, the events of the Revolution have now become part of history, rather than being recent memory. So, as this thesis examines the celebrations today, it is looking at the construction of history and the relations between history and politics.

Chapter Two gives an historical overview of the object of the commemorations – the Revolution of April 25 1974 that overthrew the previous regime. This chapter relies on the historical accounts given by historians and political scientists. In order to

understand the significance of the April Revolution four different periods of modern Portuguese history are covered in this first chapter – the First Republic (1910-1926), the military dictatorship (1926-1933), the fascist regimes of Salazar and Caetano (1933-1974) and finally the Revolution of April 25 in 1974. Because History is debated, we also show how historical accounts among historians can differ from each other. The purpose of showing such debates was mainly to show that History is far from a consensual matter and also that historians and political scientists themselves view their debates as political. We will see how important this is later, when politicians discuss the past during the celebrations of April 25.

In **Chapter Three** we describe the general customs of the commemorations of the April Revolution in the parliament and also how social scientists have approached national/collective commemorative events. Thus, we start this chapter by giving a brief description of the commemorations in the national parliament – when it started, when it did not occur, who speaks, its general customs, etc. We then turn to social sciences and how collective/national commemorative events have been studied. Three features of studies in social sciences about this topic are underlined: national commemorations as ritual events, as constructions of history, and as controversial moments. In looking at the studies that stress the constructive and controversial aspects of accounts of the past, we review in detail three discursive approaches to collective memory studies: Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse-Historical Analysis and Rhetorical/Discursive Social Psychology. The description of these three approaches introduces the theoretical-methodological approaches that are used later in the thesis.

With **Chapter Four** we move into describing the data source of this research and the methods used to analyse the commemorative speeches. As we shall see, the official parliamentary transcripts of the commemorative speeches were analysed at different levels: analysis of broad trends and customs across large samples of data, as well as detailed analyses of parts of specific speeches. The analysis of political language at different levels required the use of different methodologies – quantitative analysis, as well as qualitative in-depth textual analysis. The strength and limitations of each approach are discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, the latter approach of data analysis was combined with an analysis of the video record of the ceremony for the analysis of meta-linguistic cues revealed to be significant, principally for the analysis of manipulation.

The first analytical chapter of the thesis, **Chapter Five**, examines whole commemorative speeches in order to detect broad trends across left and right political parties in the way they describe the previous regime and the revolutionary period. To do this we carried a broad quantitative content analysis of a large sample of commemorative speeches across four political parties – namely, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) from the far left, the Socialist Party (PS) from the centre left, the Social Democratic Party (PSD) from the centre right, and the Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party (CDS-PP), from the far right. By looking at the presences and absences of explicit themes and terms, we identified clear differences between the left and right political parties in the way they present the previous regime. For the revolutionary period, the results of this analysis were less clear. In this way, the first analytical chapter shows, in broad terms, that accounts of the past in the parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution are potentially debatable along political and ideological lines.

Chapter Six continues with a broad analysis, this time to examine a specific part of the commemorative speeches: the beginnings of the speeches and how the speakers address the audience right at the start. In this chapter we look at potential differences across political parties and also at potential differences across time. To do this we combined the method of Content Analysis with the analysis of the meaning of particular terms and its development across time. This kind of analysis enables us to reconstruct the customs of addressing the audience and also to detect their political aspects. We also carried on with this analysis to investigate representations of gender. Hence three distinct periods of gender bias in addressing the audience right at the start of the speeches are identified.

With **Chapter Seven** we shift to qualitative in-depth analysis of the beginning of one specific speech at the 2004 commemoration – namely, the beginning of Anacoreta Correia's speech from the far-right Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party (CDS-PP). Here we follow the assumptions of the discursive approaches to memory studies discussed in Chapter Three. That is, we look in detail at what is said and how, as well as at the ideological significance of what is not said. By analysing in great detail parts of the speech from the CDS-PP it was possible to expose the ideological and controversial aspects of the speaker's account of the past. To do this we examine not only the official parliamentary transcripts of particular speeches but also the video record of the

ceremony. By looking at the video record it is possible to include in the analysis meta-linguistic information that reveals to be crucial when examining in detail the ambiguities of this speech and its reception in the parliament. This first detailed analysis of presences and absences reveals that the speaker from the CDS-PP presents a highly controversial, ideological version of the past, a version which is sympathetic to the fascist regime, and also that the speaker seeks to change the object of the commemoration. Yet by means of rhetorical devices he manipulates the ideology of his own political party, implying that his political party has an ideology which is different of what it actually has. As discussed later in the chapter, the speaker uses rhetoric in ways that fits with Norman Fairclough's (1998a) and Teun van Dijk's (2006, 2008) definition of rhetorical manipulation.

In **Chapter Eight** we continue with qualitative in-depth analysis but this time to examine the rhetoric of the left-wing Portuguese Communist Party's speaker at the 2004 commemoration. Again the analysis reveals that the speaker does not talk openly: he presents an ideological version of the past but presents it as if factual; and, he criticises the government and its way of celebrating the Revolution. When the speaker presents his version of the past, he also manipulates historical evidence. Nonetheless, the purpose of this speaker's manipulation is quite distinct from that of the speaker of Chapter Seven. The former manipulates to make the ideology of his own political party simpler – not to hide it, as was the case of the speaker from the far right. To account for this difference, a distinction between two forms of manipulation is proposed: 'manipulating the presentation of ideology' that mislead the audience in order to suggest that own political party's ideology is different from what it actually is; and, 'manipulating evidence' to make the ideology of own political party clearer.

2. History of the Revolution and its origins

2.1 Introduction

In 1926 a right-wing military coup defeated the Portuguese First Republic, which was established in 1910. The military coup of 1926 imposed a military dictatorship, which continued until 1933 when a new Constitution was proclaimed. This new Constitution inaugurated the fascist regime of Oliveira Salazar (1933-1968) and later Marcello Caetano (1968-1974) – or the Estado Novo (New State) as it was then officially called. Almost fifty years after the military coup of 1926 – and after thirteen years of colonial war in Angola, Guinea Bissau and Mozambique – the fascist regime was overthrown on April 25 1974 by a military coup led by Captains of the Armed Forces. The Captains of April 25 proposed a revolutionary programme which included the immediate end of the colonial war, the independence of the colonies, the establishment of a democratic regime and profound economic changes. After the April Revolution the country went through a post revolutionary period that lasted until November 25 1975. On April 2 1976 a democratically elected parliament – the Assembleia Constituinte (Constituent Assembly) – voted the Constitution that formally established the current parliamentary democracy. Only the Democratic and Social Centre (CDS), a far right political party, voted against the Constitution. Few days later, on 25 April 1976, a general election took place. This general election constituted the first Constitutional government after the Revolution of April 25.

In order to understand the celebrations of the 1974 Revolution in the Portuguese Parliament, the present chapter presents a brief description of these periods of modern Portuguese history. Hence special attention is given to the Estado Novo, the fascist regimes of Salazar and Caetano that the April Revolution defeated. The last period of the fascist regime is described in more detail. To understand the history of the Estado Novo and the establishment of democracy, it was also necessary to go back to the First

Republic of 1910-1926 and the military dictatorship of 1926-1933. As we shall see, the historical accounts about the collapse of the First Republic, which definitively dethroned the Monarchy in Portugal, and the rise of the military dictatorship that followed, are important periods for understanding the rise of the Portuguese fascist regime. In this respect, brief descriptions of these former two periods are also presented here.

This chapter also describes debates that occur among social scientists, namely, historians and political scientists. The purpose of these sections is not to solve the contrasting historical accounts given by these social scientists but to show that History is far from a consensual matter. As will be seen, at its simplest the accounts differ in their definition/categorization of these periods of history which sometimes also involve concentrating upon different aspects of the periods themselves. Such debates among historians and political scientists cannot be divorced from political considerations for the debates about Portuguese history also continue in current Portuguese politics. In this respect, the debates among social scientists, especially the debates about the previous regime, the April Revolution and the following revolutionary period, are important for the current research for, as we shall see later, they affect the way these recent past events are reported and celebrated in the Portuguese Parliament.

2.2 The Portuguese First Republic (1910-1926)

2.2.1 Historical background

In Portugal the republican opposition to the monarchy emerged at the end of the 1870s, especially in the cities of Porto and Lisbon. According to historians this movement against the monarchy resulted from different factors – such as industrial, commercial and State bureaucracy development, and economic crisis (Ramos, 2000, 2004; Ramos *et al.*, 2009; Rosas, 1989a, 2003). The republicans grouped people from different social groups – including members of the middle class and the urban working class – and in 1896 they formed a political party – the Partido Republicano Português (or

PRP) (Portuguese Republican Party) (Rosas, 2003). Inspired by the republican French mode, the PRP had a bold political and ideological project: to transform Portugal from a conservative constitutional monarchy into a modern and democratic country. By and large it defended (1) a revolutionary establishment of a parliamentary and democratic regime where all men citizens could direct or indirectly participate in the government; (2) a secular State constituted of educated and rational citizens – only possible by the implementation of educational reforms that would free the citizens from the dominance of the Catholic Church and the monarchy; and (3) colonialism. The first republican attempt to overthrow the monarchy occurred in 1891 in the city of Porto. Only on October 5 1910, after two days of fighting in Lisbon between the republicans and the monarchist forces, members of the PRP proclaimed the establishment of a republican regime. This moment inaugurated the definitive abolishment of the monarchy in Portugal and the first attempt to establish a parliamentary democracy.

The Republican Constitution was approved in August 1911 by an elected Assembly – but contrary to the republican's proposal, universal suffrage was not adopted. During the sixteen years that made up the First Republic, only a small part of the population could vote: men, and progressively women, who were educated and who paid taxes could vote. The First Republic comprised two distinct periods: a first period until 1919 and then a second period from 1919 to 1926 (Rosas, 2003). During the first period, the republicans in government established the legal separation between the Catholic Church and the State and executed important reforms of education – compulsory primary education of three years for all children between seven and fourteen years old. Apart from these policies the republicans of this period were quite conservative; the republicans in power did not react to the economic deprivation of the majority of the population. However, from 1919 onwards, and especially from 1923 to 1925, there emerged within the republicans a left-wing, which developed and implemented progressive social and economic reforms – such as, the legislation of eight working hours per day, social housing and legalization of the trade unions.

During the First Republic there was political and social instability. Strikes and persecutions by the government to the workers movement were recurrent. Principally in the aftermath of attempts to overthrow the regime by political opponents, the government persecuted the political opposition and practiced censorship (Ramos, 2004; Rosas, 2003). The government fell several times. There were forty five governments,

eight general elections and eight presidential elections. There were several monarchist rebellions – as in 1911, 1912 and 1919 – rebellions of privileged groups allied with the military – as in 1924-1925 – and two dictatorial periods. In 1926 the first republic regime was definitively overthrown by a right-wing military alliance.

2.2.2 Debates among social scientists

But who is to blame for the collapse of the monarchy and the establishment of the First Republic? That is, what caused the collapse of the Monarchy? What sort of regime was the Republic? How democratic was it? Why did it collapse? There is no general agreement among social scientists but controversy (Wheeler, 1978). To illustrate this, two different positions about the cause of the collapse of the Monarchy can be given.

Rui Ramos (2004) provides an account of the end of the monarchy that gives primacy to political conspiracy against the King. According to Ramos the collapse of the monarchy, and the establishment of the First Republic in Portugal at the beginning of the 20th century, are due to a political crisis created by the King Manuel II in 1910. For this author the nomination in June 1910 by the King of a liberal politician from the left-wing to lead the Government, as well as the results of the general election of August 1910, led the conservatives and liberals from the right-wing – who were the political support of the monarchy – and the revolutionaries of the Republican Party (PRP) to political conspiracy against the King. Specifically, according to this author, the supporters of the monarchy saw in this choice by the King an indication of weakness and treason of the regime: after the assassination of the King Carlos in 1908 by members from the radical left, the choice of a liberal from the left to form the Government was unfortunate. On the other hand, the radical leaders of the PRP and the majority of its members also disapproved of the close relations between Teixeira de Sousa and some moderate members of the PRP. These radicals understood this alliance as indicating that the revolutionary project to defeat the monarchy had failed. In addition, the results of the general election of August 1910 showed that the choice of the king was controversial: the government maintained its number of MPs but the right-wing had substantial victories in the North of the country and the republicans in the South. Thus, for Ramos

(2004), this political situation led to political conspiracies against King D. Manuel II from both political sides – i.e. from the supporters of the monarchy, who wanted another king, and from the revolutionaries of the PRP, who wanted to establish the Republic through a revolution and who did so on October 5 1910.

Fernando Rosas (1989a, 2003) gives a different interpretation of what caused the establishment of the Portuguese First Republic and the definitive overthrow of the constitutional monarchy. According to this historian, it is too simple to explain such events by political conspiracies against the king. Instead, the collapse of the liberal monarchy came from a general dissatisfaction, especially felt within the urban population with regard to their economic conditions and also the political regime – such as its repressive reaction towards its opponents. From 1890 onwards, with the development of industry and commerce and with the economic crisis, new social and political groups emerged – the industrial proletariat, the employees of commerce, civil servants, the Socialist Party (PS) and the Republican Party (PRP). These new social groups were deprived and excluded from the political system, and together with part of the intellectual elite, they were in support of the republican movement, especially with those who proposed the establishment of a republic by a revolutionary overthrow of the monarchy. The constitutional monarchy reacted to the radicals by several restrictive measures – such as restricting the right to political participation and reducing the freedom of the press. Also, the traditional supporters of the monarchy were dissatisfied with the regime. Faced with the economic crisis, the conservative political elite and their allies in the privileged groups were demanding more intervention by the State in order to protect their economic interests. It was, according to Rosas, this general dissatisfaction that explains the collapse of the regime.

Also Rosas and Ramos differ in their accounts about the failure of the First Republic. Broadly, Rosas (2003) argues that the reasons for the collapse of the First Republic are related to political instability and social disturbance of this period, increased by economic and financial crises (see also Valentim, 1993). In Ramos's (2004; Ramos *et al.*, 2009) version, the reasons for the collapse of the First Republic were caused by the republicans being in power. More precisely, the partition between the State and the Catholic Church, the 'non-democratic' nature of the regime – in Ramos's,

a revolutionary regime dominated by the PRP – and divergences between republicans led to the military coup that defeated on May 28 1926 the First Republic.

2.3 The military dictatorship and the fascist regimes of Salazar and Caetano

2.3.1. The military dictatorship (1926-1933)

On 28 May 1926 a military coup led by General Gomes da Costa, Admiral Mendes Cabeçadas, Commandant Filomeno da Câmara and General Óscar Carmona overthrew the First Republic and established a military dictatorship. Divergent political forces supported this military coup. The republican right-wing, figures from the republican left-wing and the different factions from the authoritarian and anti-liberal right-wing – namely, Catholics, monarchists and fascists from the Integralismo Lusitano (Lusitan Integralism) and the Centro Católico (Catholic Centre) – were in favour of the military defeat of the republican government (Baiôa, 1994; Pinto, 1999; Rosas, 2003). The republican government did not resist the coup. President Bernardino Machado and the head of the Government, António Maria da Silva, resigned and handed over the power to Admiral Cabeçadas.

The period of the military dictatorship lasted from May 1926 to 1933. This period was also marked by political instability and further revolutionary attempts (Baiôa, 1994; Ramos, 2000; Rosas, 2003). The leaders of the military coup contested each other for power; Gomes da Costa, who took the lead of the State from Cabeçadas on 17 of June 1926, was replaced by Óscar Carmona on 9 July 1926 (Baiôa, 1994; Ramos *et al.*, 2009). All differed about what political model to implement: whether it should be a new republican regime, a traditional monarchy or a dictatorship. Cabeçadas and his republican supporters defended the regeneration of the republic, whereas Gomes da Costa, who was close to the radical right-wing, was more in favour of a dictatorship (Baiôa, 1994).

It was under the leadership of General Carmona that the future of the next political regime was decided. On 25 of March 1928 Carmona, chief of the military dictatorship since July 1926, was elected President of the Republic, in direct elections but without opposition. After the President's election, the military leaders of the dictatorship invited for the second time António de Oliveira Salazar, Professor of political economy and leader of the Centro Católico, to take part in the Government as Minister of Finance. In 1930 Salazar founded a legal organization, the União Nacional (or UN) (National Union) – which grouped together all forces that were in support of the military coup of 1926. The aim of the UN was to neutralise disagreements between the various factions and to build united support for the dictatorship (Baiôa, 1994; Pinto, 1999).

In 1932 Salazar was appointed to form a government. His government integrated the different fractions of the right-wing: Catholics, monarchists, fascists and right-wing republicans (Baiôa, 1994; Pinto, 2000). In that year, the government published a Constitution. The text of the Constitution was written by Salazar and his followers. This Constitution was approved on March 19 1933 in an election – with the missing votes counting as approving votes. This moment inaugurates the creation of a new fascist regime, the Estado Novo (New State), which lasted until April 25 1974.

2.3.2 The Estado Novo (1933-1974)

The new Constitution of 1933 maintained some aspects of the republican Constitution of 1911 (Ramos *et al.*, 2009). It preserved the political organization of the First Republic. The President of the Republic was elected by direct voting every seven years. And the President of the Republic nominated the head of the Government. The Parliament was constituted of two chambers: the representatives elected by direct voting every four years, and the corporations. The political activity of the MPs was limited to approving the laws written by the government and to judging of their constitutionality, whereas the corporations were only consultative organisms (Pinto, 1999).

The corporations, modelled on Italian fascism, were a new aspect of the Constitution. The new regime established the formation of local and socio-professional associations, that is, the corporations – namely, syndicates (associations of urban

employees from industry and services), *casas do povo* (associations of peasants) and *grêmios* (associations of patrons) – which were supervised by the state. These corporations functioned as spaces in which professional interests (such as wages, the production and distribution of goods, their prices, etc.) were discussed and negotiated, as well as organisms of social support (for example, pensions or financial support for illness and invalidity and medical assistance) and of political activity for local elections (Rosas, 2003). There were no other ways of negotiating professional relations – free syndicates were forbidden. And strikes or lock outs were illegal.

Personal and political liberties were strongly curtailed. The regime forbade political dissent: censorship and telephone tapping were practised regularly. With the exception of the National Union (UN), that grouped the supporters of the regime, no other political party was authorised. Political opponents were imprisoned and tortured. The police of the state – *Polícia de Vigilância e de Defesa do Estado* (or PVDE) (State Defence and Surveillance Police), *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* (or PIDE) (International and State Defense Police) – spied on potential dissidents inside and outside the country.

The opposition could run for the elections but the electoral process was only free in appearance. For instance, during the presidential elections, there was censorship, control of political rallies, persecution and imprisonment of members of the opposition, and electoral fraud. On the day of the elections the electoral registers of members of the opposition were mostly eliminated, missing votes were replaced and were counted as supporting the candidate of the regime (Ferreira, 2006). Also only a small part of the population was authorised to vote: men over 21 years old, who could read and write and who were taxpayers. Only a very small fraction of the women could vote – those who were the head of the family and had a university degree.

The state founded an intricate system of propaganda. This system promoted a nationalism based on catholic and traditionalist values, as well as imperialism (Alves, 1997; Rosas, 2001). In addition there were a number of organisations which were loyal to the regime. For instance, the *Legião Portuguesa* (or LP) (Portuguese Legion), which was modelled on Italian fascism, was an anti-communist militia and the *Mocidade Portuguesa* (or MP) (Portuguese Youth) was for the students of primary and secondary school ages. This organization provided paramilitary and ideological training for these

young people (Rosas, 2001). It should be said that compulsory education was only for children aged between seven and twelve.

In December 1968 President Américo Tomás nominated Marcelo Caetano to replace Salazar as leader of the government. This nomination occurred after Salazar underwent an operation for a cranial hematoma and it was clear that he could not continue as head of government – Salazar died in July 1970.

During the First Republic, Caetano joined extreme right wing and Catholics groups². Specifically, as an undergraduate student, he became a member of the catholic, monarchist, anti-liberal and corporative political group Integralismo Lusitano. He wrote in far right newspapers against the Republic and in defence of a dictatorship. In 1926 Caetano founded the journal *Ordem Nova* (New Order) (Martins, 2008). He also supported the military coup of 28 May 1926, as well as the dictatorship that followed.

Caetano collaborated with Salazar and the *Estado Novo* from the very beginning. He started in 1929 to work with Salazar in the Ministry of Finance and in 1932 he participated in the elaboration of the Constitution of 1933, which formally established the new fascist regime. After the foundation of the *Estado Novo*, Caetano became an important figure of the regime, especially from the 1940's onwards. He was appointed head of the youth organization *Mocidade Portuguesa* (1940-44) and Minister of Colonies (1944-1947). In 1947 he became President of the National Union and in 1949 President of the Corporative Chamber. In 1952 he was appointed by the President of the Republic as State Advisor. And in 1955 he was nominated Minister of the Presidency – the second figure of the government.

Despite Caetano's commitment to Salazar and the regime, he was at times in disagreement with Salazar and his policies. Significantly in 1946 Caetano created an informal political group – called *Marcelismo* (from his first name) – which gathered critical supporters of the regime from the government, the institutions of the regime and the economic and military elite (Carvalho, 2004; Rosas, 2004). This group represented a reformist trend inside the *Estado Novo*; its purpose was to push the regime towards modernizing industry and opening up the regime to some economic liberalism (Rosas, 2003, 2004). As Minister of Presidency, Caetano defended some lessening of censorship

² The biographical details of Caetano are taken from Rosas (2004) and Carvalho (2004).

and opening up the economy to foreign countries (Carvalho, 2004). For the Presidential election of 1958 Caetano did not support Salazar's candidate. After this disagreement, Salazar removed Caetano as Minister of Presidency. Following Salazar's decision, Caetano resigned his positions of President of the National Union and State Advisor. In 1962 he presented to Salazar a federal plan for resolving the colonial war. This was based on allowing the colonies some autonomy but not independence. Salazar rejected the plan. In that year Caetano withdrew from active politics.

In September 1968 Caetano returned to active politics, this time as the President of government. As mentioned previously, this occurred only when it was clear that Salazar was definitively disabled. In his speech to the nation, on 27 September, Caetano talked of continuity with Salazar's regime, continuity within the administration and politics, but simultaneously of change, adaptation and reforms – the so-called 'continuity and evolution' (Carvalho, 2004).

Caetano's first political measures (1968-1969) were a change towards some liberalism and modernization. Specific policies included: reducing censorship and the powers of the political police; opening up the ruling political party to some political pluralism and allowing two opponents of the regime to return from exile; increasing the autonomy of the syndicates; improving labour relations; developing the educational system; widening social security and pensions to the rural poor and other poor workers; and, promoting some measure of economic development (Carvalho, 2004; Corkill, 2004; Rosas, 2004). As for the colonial war, which had started in 1961, Caetano defended a solution that was opposed to that of the extreme right-wing faction of the regime. He proposed the continuation of colonial war and simultaneously to prepare the colonies for a 'participated and progressive autonomy' (Rosas, 2004, p. 20; Carvalho, 2004).

According to historians, most critics of Salazar saw in Caetano's discourse and policies of 1968-1969 an evolution. Moderate Catholics, liberals and even groups inside the Army supported Caetano's programme. Furthermore, for some liberals and even some in the left opposition, Caetano's initial 'change' indicated a transition towards democracy (Rosas, 2004). Nevertheless and despite his initial liberalism, Caetano remained strongly opposed to democracy. Under his government there was still only one political party, the National Union which in 1970 was renamed Acção Nacional Popular

(Popular National Action). The other political parties continued to be banned and there was no universal suffrage. The central institutional pillars of the fascist regime were maintained: the Corporative Chamber; the political police – PIDE retitled Direcção Geral de Segurança (or DGS) (General Directorate of Security); and, the censorship – from then called Exame Prévio (Examining in Advance). In an interview of 1973 Caetano reasserted his strong opposition to the formation of political parties, direct and universal suffrage, the right to free association and freedom of information (Carvalho, 2004). For Caetano, only associations such as the ruling party Popular National Action could guarantee national representation; direct and universal suffrage would only be possible if the people were sufficiently ‘knowledgeable’; and free information could only exist in a context free from war and rebellions (Carvalho, 2004).

With the general election of 1969 it became clear to the opposition that Caetano did not aim at establishing a democratic regime. For the first time during the regime, the opposition decided to run in a general election. In accord with the electoral law, the organizations presented to the election were legalized. Four lists of candidates were then presented to the electorate: the list of the ruling National Union; the Comissão Eleitoral de Unidade Democrática (or CEUD) (Electoral Commission of Democratic Unity), created from the Acção Socialista Portuguesa (or ASP) (Portuguese Socialist Action), the predecessor of the Socialist Party (or PS); the Comissão Democrática Eleitoral (or CDE) (Democratic Electoral Commission) from the Portuguese Communist Party and its supporters, such as moderate Catholics and independents from the left; and the Comissão Eleitoral Monárquica (or CEM) (Electoral Commission Monarchic) from the monarchists. Caetano won the election but the electoral process was far from transparent or free. There were persecutions, censorship and imprisonment of the opposition during the campaign; names were removed from the electoral registers; and, on the Election Day, some votes were not counted properly, there were subtle intimidations, duplications of votes, etc. For the first time the suffrage was widened to women but only to a minority, to those with a university degree. In total only 28% of the population could vote in the election but only 15% effectively did; abstention counted for another 42% of the electorate. Furthermore, after the election, some members of the CEUD were imprisoned; and, others were sent into exile (Ramos *et al.*, 2009; Rosas, 2003).

The ruling National Union party widened its base; apart from Caetano’s supporters the lists of candidates of the National Union included independent and liberal

candidates. These members constituted what was later called the Ala Liberal (Liberal Fraction) of the government (Fernandes, 2001). Their aim was the transition of the regime towards a democracy without a revolution. For instance, they were proposing to legalise the other political parties, to establish the right to free information and defence.

With the preparations for the constitutional revision of 1971 it became clear to the members of the Ala Liberal that Caetano did not intend to accept their proposals. In 1972, following the constitutional revision, the majority of deputies from this group resigned their positions. Also several of Caetano's supporters left the government and, after the Presidential Elections of 1972, some were forced to leave (Rosas, 2004). Thus Caetano became more and more isolated; the reformist trend inside the government and the Assembly vanished.

During 1973 and 1974 the situation deteriorated both politically and economically. The international petrol crisis affected the Portuguese economy, causing shortages and consequent devaluation of the Portuguese currency. There were a series of strikes and a general feeling of civil unrest to which the government, especially through the action of the political police, responded with repressive measures. Also the situation of the colonial war was deteriorating as a result of the costs brought by the war and of general fatigue felt by the militaries that were fighting in the African colonies. Marcelo broke away from the President, General Costa Gomes, and the vice-president of the Armed Forces, General Spínola, in March 1974. The opposition, the Portuguese Communist Party and socialists united in their fight against the colonial war and more generally against the regime. Previous supporters of Caetano's programme of liberalism increasingly began to side with the opposition, believing that real change could not be obtained through the existing Constitution but only by overthrowing it. Thus, it was becoming clear that the regime was in a state of collapse (Rosas, 2003, 2004).

2.3.3 Debates among social scientists

Social scientists disagree about how to characterize the Estado Novo of Salazar. The disagreement is about whether to define it as authoritarian, or as fascist and totalitarian regime. The majority of international social scientists characterize the regime of Salazar as an authoritarian dictatorship, whereas Portuguese social scientists tend to disagree

more with each other (Pinto, 1990). These different characterisations of Salazar's regime are grounded in different historical narratives. We can see this in the differences between Manuel Braga da Cruz's and Fernando Rosas's descriptions of Salazar's regime.

Cruz (1982), in an article about how to characterise the politics of Salazar, describes the regime as an authoritarian dictatorship. He denies that the regime was totalitarian and, because of this, he also denies that it was fascist. The reason why the regime was not totalitarian was, according to Cruz, because the regime was based on a Constitution and any changes, which were introduced by the regime, were themselves constitutional. Cruz distinguishes between the Portuguese regime and other fascist regimes. He argues that fascist regimes were more aggressive in their nationalism than the Estado Novo, and that fascist regimes showed no respect for the existing Constitution. Cruz admitted that the regime changed the Constitution to consolidate its power, but he argued that it always supported its power in terms of a legal Constitution (see also Ramos *et al.*, 2009).

In contrast, Rosas (2001) argues that the practice of the regime was totalitarian and thereby that it was fascist. As such, he concentrates on the way the regime implemented its policies and its values and he did not give importance to the Constitution as such. Rosas describes how the regime organized its own militias and developed an intricate system of propaganda to enforce its totalitarian power. According to Rosas, the Estado Novo "resembled other European fascist or fascistic regimes" in the way that it "specially created organs of the state" for effecting its totalitarian project; like other fascist regimes, the Estado Nova sought to bring about a fascist revolution by creating a new type of man and woman, conforming "to the national ideal of the regime" (Rosas, 2001, p. 1032).

In this way, Cruz and Rosas construct different historical accounts, concentrating on different aspects of the regime. Cruz gives an account of the legal Constitution and how the regime sought to maintain its power through legal means, even changing the Constitution to suit its purposes. Rosas, on the other hand, does not deny this, but largely ignores this aspect of the regime. For him, the importance rests in its values and its totalitarian policies. In telling this aspect of the story, he draws parallels with overtly fascist regimes. Cruz, by contrast, makes distinctions between Estado Novo and other fascist regimes which, according to his account, showed no respect for national constitutions. He also distinguished between Estado Novo and other fascist regimes

because the Estado Novo was, he claims, based on Catholic values. As such, he concentrated on the traditional moral values of the regime. Rosas, by contrast, emphasises the extent to which the regime was aiming to create 'new' national personalities – and this was something similar to other fascist regimes.

Rosas's and Cruz's historical accounts reflect a crucial question which has been highly debated among national and non-national social scientists: this is whether the Estado Novo should be properly called 'fascist' (e.g., Cruz, 1982; Gallagher, 1983; Lucena, 1979; Pinto, 1999; Rosas, 1989b; Schmitter, 1979; Raby, 1988). Certainly, there are some differences between Salazar's politics and those of the paradigmatically fascist regimes of Hitler and Mussolini. Salazar did not embrace the monomaniacal anti-Semitism of Hitler, but then neither did Mussolini. Also, the Salazarist regime often, but not always, presented itself as protecting traditional, authoritarian virtues, rather than instituting a new form of so-called radical politics. However, there is no single agreed upon definition of fascism. In common with most political concepts 'fascism' is an essentially contested concept (Gallie, 1964). For example, Billig (1978, pp. 6-7) claimed that fascism contains four features: (a) nationalism and/or racism; (b) anti-Marxism and anti-communism; (c) statism and the maintenance of capitalism; and, (d) the previous three ideological elements will be expressed in ways that threaten democracy and personal freedom. According to this definition, Salazar's Estado Novo would certainly meet the criterion of 'fascist'. Such definition of Salazar's Estado Novo accepts that Salazarism differed in some respects from the regimes of Mussolini and Hitler, but that it was nevertheless still fascist. In a similar vein, Lucena (1979), a Portuguese political scientist, argued that Salazarism represented 'a form of fascism without a fascist movement' (p. 48).

What we can say about these debates is that those who wish to refer to the past have different accounts and definitions available to them. And this, we shall see, is important when politicians formulate their different accounts of the past, while at the same time engaging in the politics of the present.

The period from 1968 to 1974 is also a matter of discussion in Portuguese historiography. Historians tend to disagree about whether the Marcelismo was the continuation of the previous period of Salazar or whether there was an effective project

of reforms that was aiming at a progressive transition of the regime to a liberal democracy of the occidental type. Rita Almeida de Carvalho (2004) explains that this debate tends to focus on two related aspects of Caetano's policies: the politico-economic reforms and the colonial war.

According to Carvalho (2004) the continuation between Caetano and Salazar is recognized by most historians not only by stressing that Caetano never defended a democracy but the continuity of the regime and also that he was in favour of the continuation of the colonial war. For this dominant perspective the reformist project of Caetano contemplated few measures of modernization and liberalization, whose primary motivation was to maintain the regime and the colonial war. On the opposite side, Rosas (2004) argues that until 1970 Caetano's reformist programme expressed a true attempt at modernization, and therefore an evolution, that would have led to the end of the regime and indirectly to a progressive transition to democracy. According to this historian, the reason for its failure is to be found in the absence of a policy that was aimed at the immediate ending of the colonial war.

Thus, the historians that study this period of the Estado Novo dispute about how to categorize it; the disagreement is whether to characterize this period of the Estado Novo as the continuation of Salazar or as an evolution – a failed attempt of transition to democracy.

2.4 April Revolution of 1974 and the establishment of Democracy

In November 1973 members of the the Movimento das Forças Armadas (or MFA) (Armed Forces' Movement), the military forces, started to talk about overthrowing the regime (Rezola, 2004, 2008). The MFA was formed of middle-range militaries, mostly captains, whose initial goals were focussed on the organization and financing of the army. Rapidly, the principal concern of this group became the colonial war. Thirteen years of war had created a general feeling of exhaustion and of defeat within the captains and their troops who were fighting in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau. Regardless of clear signs of deterioration that the war was provoking both economically

and militarily, the position of the government remained the same: to continue with the colonial war. With the exceptions of the generals that were leading the military war in the colonies – Generals Costa Gomes, Spínola and Kaúlza – the majority of the superior officials of the three branches of the Armed Forces supported entirely the government's war policy. The MFA, on the other hand, defended the immediate ending of the colonial war and the right of autonomy for the colonies. It was because of the colonial war that the MFA started to conspire against the government and to plan a coup d'état. The MFA had three basic aims that reflected its connections with the anti-colonial student movement and the left opposition to the regime (Rosas, 2003, 2005; Rezola, 2004, 2008). Hence the FMA, in collaboration with General Spínola in the beginning of April 1974, elaborated a political programme which necessitated the overthrow of the regime. The policy stipulated:

‘the dismantling of the organs and institutions of the overthrown regime, amnesty for all political prisoners, the re-establishment of basic freedoms, the launch of new economic and social policy that would take into account the need to defend the interests of the working class, the convocation “within 12 months of a national constituent assembly, elected by direct and secret universal suffrage”, and, finally, it determined the “launch of a colonial policy that would lead to peace.’ (Rezola, 2008, p. 6).

On April 25 1974 the MFA overthrew the fascist regime that had ruled the country for forty eight years. The coup had been planned by Major Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho. The main military operations took place in Lisbon under the leadership of the majors Vitor Alves and Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and captains Vasco Lourenço and Salgueiro Maia. The FMA occupied the stations of television and radio, the main military location, the airport and the ministries. Under the pressure of Captain Salgueiro Maia, Marcelo Caetano resigned and handed over the power to General Spínola. The next day, Caetano and the President fled to exile in Brazil.

A revolutionary period followed the MFA coup of April 25, which lasted until November 25 1975. During this period the program of the MFA was broadly realized but not without conflict. The colonial war was interrupted and the political process of decolonization started right away (Rosas, 2003). Two political projects for the colonies

were debated: the federalist project of General Spínola – who aimed at implementing Caetano’s initial plan – and the MFA’s project of total independence – which was supported by the political parties from the left. In September 1974, the MFA’s project triumphed with the formal approval of General Spínola (Pinto, 2008; Rosas, 2003). The MFA was then institutionalised and together with the provisional government directly influenced the political and economic transformations that took place during this period. Important political transformations occurred. The political elite of the previous regime was renovated, many civil servants and military officers were removed from their posts, the repressive institutions were dissolved – for example, censorship, the political police, the Legião Portuguesa were extinguished and some of their members were imprisoned (Pinto, 2008). Also the single party was closed down, free political parties were founded and the first free general elections for the Assembleia Constituinte (Constituent Assembly) – in charge of elaborating the Constitution – occurred as scheduled by the FMA on April 25 1975 (Rosas, 2003). Profound social-economic changes were settled. The right to strike, the formation of free syndicates, the minimum wage, the reduction of working hours, a free National Health System, etc., were also included in the new Constitution. Nationalisation of companies – from several sectors such as industry, banking and insurance – and expropriation of lands were also decreed by the FMA – reconstituted in March 1975 as Conselho da Revolução (Revolutionary Council). Many of these transformations followed the demands and actions made by popular movements, especially by worker movements (Pinto, 2008; Rosas, 2003).

From September 1974 to November 1975 divisions within the MFA between radicals and moderates intensified the revolutionary process. In August 1975 there were three groups within the FMA: the Communists – formed by an alliance between members of the MFA and of the provisional government, and the Portuguese Communist Party (or PCP); the Comando Operacional do Continente (or COPCON) (Operational Command of the Continent) – which was led by Otelo Saraiva de Carvalho and supported by far left groups; and, the moderate group Grupo dos Nove (Group of Nine) – politically closed to the Socialist Party (or PS) from the centre left (Rosas, 2003). These groups differed from each other in their political project. The more radical political project came from the COPCON, which defended an armed revolution by the people. The Communist’s project was to create a democracy, supported by communist armed forces and the people. And finally, the moderate’s project of the Grupo dos Nove

was to found a ‘parliamentarian and pluralist democracy’ (Rosas, 2003, p. 146). During this period there was a general feeling of instability, especially through the action of political groups. Far left groups started to act against the centre left political party and the Catholic Church; whereas far right groups, led from exile in Spain, attacked several personalities and political parties of the left. On November 25 1975 the moderates within the FMA, the Grupo dos Nove, defeated – with the approval of the President of the Republic – the COPCON and some members of the PCP who had taken air bases and the television station. After this military operation the moderate group Grupo dos Nove and the PCP agreed to restrain the revolution.

On April 2 1976 the Constitution – which included the achievements of the revolutionary period – was voted and approved by the Constituent Assembly; only the Democratic and Social Centre political party (or CDS), from the far right, voted against the constitutional text. This moment inaugurates the establishment of the Portuguese democracy. Shortly after this moment the first general election took place on April 25 1976. Five political parties were elected for the Parliament: the CDS, from the far right, was elected with 16% of votes; the Partido Popular Democrático (or PPD) (Popular Democratic Party) from the centre right with 24%; the PS from the centre left, with 35%; the PCP, from the far left, with 14%; and, the União Democrática Popular (or UDP) (Popular Democratic Union), also from the far left, with 2%. The political party that formed the first government was then from the Socialist Party (PS) of the centre left.

2.5 Debates among social scientists about the April Revolution and the establishment of democracy

For Rosas (2003) the April Revolution falls into the category of ‘great revolutions’, that is, the defeat of an established regime by spontaneous masses of people, namely, of poor people. In his own words:

‘Historically, the great revolutions are not, never were, cerebral operations of the military, clearly delineated in their principal directions, stages, planning, etc...

There are subversive confusions in action and great telluric movements of mass that aim at overthrowing the established order and that explode, most of the time, without any political direction. Where surely there are political parties and movements that theorize, foresee, operate, before and after, but where the social wave of shock exceeds them greatly. Being explosions that result from conditions and factors historically accumulated, the revolutions constitute processes structurally spontaneous in their opening, in their dynamics. But which demonstrate a mysterious collective intelligence, a twofold, and almost always correct, diffuse intuition: the intuition of the moment (the understanding of force correlations, “we can win and they do not have power to defeat us”) and the intuition of its own power (the conscience of simple people, of the weakest, of the working world, that, at that moment, it is possible to change the world with its hands, that the future is accessible, that it is worth intervening, that everything is possible).’ (Rosas, 2003, p. 137)

Accordingly, Rosas (2003, 2005) provides an account of the April Revolution that emphasises the accomplishments of the popular movements – ‘the people’. Without denying the role that the military and politicians had in that event, it is, nevertheless, in Rosas’s version, a story of mass movements and their initiative. Thus, the radical transformations in terms of economic, social and political relations that took place between April 1974 and November 1975 are mostly depicted as the result of demands and actions of spontaneous popular movements. Rosas calls these movements revolutionary movements. In consequence, the author makes a distinction between the day of the military coup and the following revolutionary period – from April 26 1974 to November 25 1975. Because of the absence of popular uprising on April 25 1974, the military overthrow of Caetano’s fascist regime is not presented as a ‘great revolution’ but as a coup d’état. It is only after, namely from April 26 1974 onwards, that Rosas talks of ‘great revolution’.

Rosas (2003, 2005) not only asserts a distinction between these two moments of the April Revolution but he also contrasts his version of the events to another version that he identifies as the work of Álvaro Cunhal, who was the communist party’s leader. According to Rosas (2003), the communist version does not distinguish between April 25 and the following revolutionary situation. Rosas states that, in the communist

account, the day of the coup is depicted as a ‘national uprising’ (p. 131) – that is, a revolution that was supported by the entire nation: ‘There was not an ‘insurrectional situation’, a ‘revolutionary situation’ of which the MFA was the armed expression’. This version of April 25 as a ‘national uprising’ was, Rosas argues, constructed after the events had occurred and was politically motivated.

Similarly, Ramos *et al.* (2009) show that the status of what happened on April 25 1974 is debatable. According to Ramos the disagreement is whether to present it as a ‘popular revolution’ or, as he defends, a military revolt:

‘In the low area of Lisbon, on that Thursday, everything seemed surreal: “the tanks had a gigantic air in the narrow streets”. In forty years the city had not seen a military revolt. Nobody understood what was happening: “What do they support?” In later times, it would be said of April 25, retrospectively, that it was a “popular revolution”. There is no doubt that the coup, after the initial uncertainty, was well received by almost everybody – but, on the actual day, the majority of the people of Lisbon confined themselves to buying newspapers and to queuing up in the petrol stations, supermarkets and banks. On the 25 it was not “the people” who determined the events, but the failure of the regime. However, the first demonstrators soon helped to create the environment of euphoria that all would share in the following days. (Ramos et al., 2009, p. 713)

As can be seen in the above quotation, Ramos does not name the author of the alternative version of a ‘popular revolution’. Nevertheless, subsequently the author does attribute explicitly this version to the far-left and, particularly, to the Portuguese Communist Party.

In sum, both Rosas and Ramos’s historical accounts show that the status of April 25 1974 is debated in Portuguese historiography. They both contrast their own account of April 25 1974 with yet another political version, which is presented as inaccurate. April 25 1974 is classified among Rosas and Ramos as a military coup in disagreement with an alternative communist version which, according to them, presents April 25 1974 in retrospect either as a “national revolution” or “popular revolution”.

But there is more. Not only April 25 1974 but also the following period from April 26 1974 to November 25 1975, as well as the influence of the revolutionary process for the establishment of democracy in Portugal are matter of debate in Portuguese historiography. For example, Rosas (2004, 2005), as already seen above, argues that between April 26 1974 and November 25 1975 there was a 'great revolution'. Consequently, he depicts the radical transformations that occurred during that period – such as the destruction of the central institutional pillars of the fascist regime, the legal ascription of democratic rights to Portuguese people, the adoption of social justice policies by the government, as well as the nationalization of sectors of the economy and the agrarian reform decreed by the Revolutionary Council, etc. – essentially as the direct outcome of a revolutionary movement, which he views in terms of the people's spontaneous desires and actions in the streets, schools, working places, etc. In this respect, Rosas talks of revolutionary transformations in terms of revolutionary achievements, that is, achievements made by 'the people'.

Ramos (2009), on the other hand, gives a very different account of this period. Specifically he talks about the period from April 26 1975 to November 25 1975 essentially in terms of political conflicts and agreements made between the Armed Forces Movement (AFM) and the political parties. The author does not deny the existence of popular movements during this period but he systematically downgrades their significance. For example, unlike Rosas, Ramos does not depict the street demonstrations, the conflicts in the work places, the assembly of people in schools or outside the prisons, the occupation of lands and houses, etc., that occurred immediately after April 25, as part of a revolutionary movement that challenged the status quo. In his version, these actions did not lead to radical transformations but to a political conflict – the conflict of September 1974 between the President and the AFM. Also, the author describes the following period, from September 1974 to November 1975, in terms of radical policies planned and executed by those in power. In his account, Ramos does not ignore the involvement of popular movements in the revolutionary process but he denies its spontaneity and magnitude. For instance, Ramos writes about this period, quoting another social scientist to support his own position:

‘Little was spontaneous: “law almost always preceded the local actions and the social movements.” It was essentially, despite some local movements, a revolution directed by the powerful, through legislation and with caution.’ (Ramos *et al.*, 2009, p.730)

Thus, for Ramos the revolution only started in September 1974 and lasted until November 1975. He describes the revolution as a period of radical transformation, including the nationalization of several sectors of the economy, the expropriation of property and agrarian reform. He argues that these transformations were planned and legally executed by a radical minority in power, namely the radical fraction of the MFA in alliance with the Portuguese Communist Party. According to Ramos, these were the revolutionaries of the revolution of 1974/1975. Hence, the actions of popular movements during this period are depicted either as manipulated by, what he calls, organized minorities of the far left, or were exaggerated by the media, which he describes as being influenced by the State and the revolutionaries. Thus, there is a sense of authoritarianism that stands out from Ramos’s account of the revolutionary period.

On the other hand, Ramos does not deny that there were genuinely popular aspects of the 1974/1975 government. These were the social policies. However, he claims, these social policies were not revolutionary but were continuing the policies of Caetano’s government, rather than being inherently revolutionary. Therefore, Ramos sees the so-called genuinely popular features of the revolutionary period not as a break with the previous regime, but, in fact, as an evolution from that pre-democratic regime.

Ramos and Rosas also disagree about the significance of the events of November 25 1975, when the socialists and the Communist Party within the Armed Forces Movement decided that the revolutionary period was at an end. The question is whether or not this can be conceived as a counter-revolutionary decision, acting against the processes of the revolutionary period.

According to Rosas, November 25 restrained the revolutionary process but did not reverse it. This is to be found, he argues, in the Constitution of April 2 1976. This Constitution formally established the parliamentary democracy in Portugal and it incorporated the important achievements of the revolution. This means, according to

Rosas (2003), that the democracy was fundamentally revolutionary in its nature. He writes:

‘That distinctive aspect, that genetic mark of Portuguese democracy resides in the fact that, as already referred, it was the product of a revolution. This means that the achievements of public freedom and fundamental rights, of social rights, of advances in the domains of health, education, as well as the destruction of a great part of the structures and of the more hateful policies of the old regime (the political police, censorship, denouncement, the militias, the unique party...), were in large extent, the product of citizen’s initiative and fight, reached in the street, enterprise, school, before they shaped the laws and the Constitution. In its essential aspect the Portuguese democracy is not granted but achieved; it is the product of a revolutionary rupture that followed from the historical incapacity of the regime to reform itself (...).’ (p.155)

Ramos, on the other hand, suggests that the events of November 25 and the subsequent Constitution were counter-revolutionary, and not a continuation of the revolutionary movement. He does not depict the changes that followed November 25 as an agreement made between the military and the political force, but he views them as highly popular movements directed against the communists. Furthermore, he sees the establishment of democracy as a consequence of the events of November 25, rather than as a consequence of the events of April 25. He makes a parallel between these events and the foundation of democracy after the defeat of fascism in 1945 and also with the end of communism in Eastern Europe:

‘Just as during the ‘liberations’ of 1944-1945, the fall of a dictatorship with fascist traces was followed by the advance of a communist party, although much weaker than that of its fellow Italian and French; but as with the “decolonization” of 1989 in Eastern Europe, the popular refusal of Communism opened a future for pluralist democracy and European integration, despite of the barriers – military guardianship and limitation of the private initiative - that was necessary to exceed in the following years.’ (Ramos *et al.*, 2009, p.745)

In formulating their respective views of the past, Ramos and Rosas are not merely creating alternative histories. Specifically, they view their debate about the past as a political debate. This is clear in Rosas's comments about democracy and its revolutionary nature. He writes:

‘It is a democracy that, despite everything, gets out of the revolutionary process and not, as intended by the conservative revision of the history of the period, made against it. The Revolution of 1975/75 constitutes, thus, the specific and genetic mark of Portuguese democracy, the principal factor that makes democracy possible and that defines its initial profile. To cut this support to it, precisely, is the essential theoretical intent of such historiographical revisionism, pregnant of evident political effects for the present days.’ (Rosas, 2003, p. 137/8)

2.6 Concluding remarks

Continuing political differences, relating to the politics of today, are reflected in debates about whether current democracy represents a revolutionary rejection of fascism or whether it reflects a popular evolution from the past. History is not just contested but historians and political scientists themselves can see the debate as political. They tend to view their own histories as ‘neutral’, while calling those of their opponents as ‘left-wing’ or ‘right-wing’. In particular, social scientists, labelled by their opponents ‘marxist’, ‘ortodox’, ‘communist’, etc., stress the fascist nature of the previous regime, as well as the revolutionary nature of April 25, because they see the latter as being the outcome of actions by those without power (e.g. Rosas, 2003). The political scientists, whom the ‘communist’ political scientist call ‘right-wing’, dispute this and point to the importance of November 25 not April 25 as the key moment for establishing democracy. They deny that April 25 was the result of popular action (e.g. Ramos *et al.*, 2009). Ramos even sees the social reforms of the so-called revolutionary period as continuing Caetano, and, thus, the social policies as being an evolutionary development, rather than revolutionary break, from the previous regime, which he defines as a conservative dictatorship.

Similar themes, as will be seen in the analytical chapters of the current work, are found in the rhetoric of politicians officially celebrating the April 25 in the national parliament – as whether April 25 1974 was a revolutionary or evolutionary moment, when the decisive revolutionary moment occurred and what are the relations between the events of the April 25 and November 25. We will see these disputes continuing in the historical accounts that politicians give in moments which officially demand communal celebration not political dispute.

Finally, researchers of political discourse need to be aware that a choice of definition for a historical period can itself be political, rather than being merely academic. This is significant for researchers of political discourse, particularly for critical discourse analysts. If critical discourse analysts are to be properly critical – in the sense used by the Frankfurt School (see Chapter Three) – they need to be aware of such political distinctions when they mention a past regime or period such as Salazarism and should seek to use in their own writing analytic categories that are radically critical. If they do not in the case of fascism, then they risk siding with the supporters of extreme right-wing parties, who wish to present their past ideological heritage as non-fascist.

3. Background to Collective Commemorations

3.1 Introduction

Michael Billig (1995) in his *Banal Nationalism* argues that nation-states are historical constructions that ‘daily reproduce themselves as nations and their citizens as nationals’ through ‘a whole complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices’ that ‘pass mostly unnoticed to the citizens’ (p. 6; see also Billig, 2009a). According to the author, national flags outside or inside buildings, symbols on coins, or routine deictic words that are so often used in the media and that point to the nation or nationals as a whole community – such as ‘we’, ‘our’, ‘here’ and the definite article ‘the’ as in ‘the nation’, ‘the president’, ‘the society’, ‘the people’, etc. – are instances of routine ‘reminders of nationhood’ (Billig, 2005, p. 93). This daily unnoticed way of reproducing nationalism, Billig calls *banal nationalism*, and he uses a metonym of an unnoticed national flag to express his idea: ‘The metonymic image of banal nationalism is not a flag which is being consciously waved with fervent passion; it is the flag hanging unnoticed on the public building.’ (Billig, 2005, p. 8). According to the author ‘banal nationalism’ reproduces itself in a way that resembles what Freud called ‘preconscious’ in so far as deictic little words of nationalism and national symbols pass mostly unnoticed to the national citizens ‘for they are not the discursive focus of attention’ (Billig, 2009b, p.171). In this respect, Billig (2009b) suggests that such banal reminders of nationhood ‘can function to create the nation-state as the “natural” place in which ordinary life is enacted’ (p. 171, see also this article for a distinction between conscious, preconscious and unconscious discursive acts).

Nationalism in established nation-states also reproduces itself in a more explicit way, or to use Billig’s words, in a more ‘noticed’, ‘conscious’ way (Billig, 2005, p. 40). These are special moments of a nation-state in which the nation and its citizens become ‘the discursive objects of focus’ (Billig, 2009b, p. 171). Such special moments can often be those of national celebrations, where the nation officially celebrates an Independence

Day, a royal wedding or an anniversary of the ending of a war. It is a moment that Billig describes as ‘flag-waving’ (Billig, 1995, p.40; see also Billig, 2009a).

The present work examines one moment of Portuguese ‘flag-waving’, to use Billig’s (1995, 2009a) terminology. The annual celebration of the April Revolution in the Portuguese parliament is such an event; it is a moment in which the national parliament is brought together on a national holiday to celebrate and to remember a specific moment of its history. As will be seen in the following chapters, the main focus of this thesis is to examine how political speakers construct ideological accounts of the national past for this celebratory occasion. In order to do this, some background information about the parliamentary commemoration of April 25, as well as a literature review on collective, national commemorations is needed. Hence, the aim of the present chapter is two-fold. It gives a summary of the parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution – when it started, when it did not occur, who speaks, its general customs, etc. It also provides a review of studies in social sciences that have examined collective/national commemorative events. Three features of studies in this topic are underlined here, namely, national commemorations as ritual events, as constructions of history, and as controversial moments. This chapter ends by reviewing in some detail three discursive approaches to collective memory studies. These discursive approaches are important for the present thesis, as will be seen later in the analytical chapters.

3.2 Celebrations of the April Revolution in the national parliament

Since 1975 the 25 of April has been a public holiday – so-called Dia da Liberdade (Freedom Day). Each year, on its anniversary day the April Revolution is widely celebrated. Almost every locality has its official program for commemorating the event. For the occasion, fireworks, marches, bicycle tours, races, concerts, inaugurations, exhibitions, and solemn ceremonies such as hoisting the Portuguese flag outside town halls, etc., are organised. As well as this newspapers dedicate special articles and issues to the occasion; TV and radio programs about the Revolution are broadcasted on that

day. Also the political elite – the Government, the President of the Republic, the Parliament – officially celebrates the Revolution. One example of such celebrations is the ceremonial commemoration in the national parliament.

The first parliamentary commemoration of April 25 took place two years after the Revolution, on April 25 1977³. This solemn ceremony occurred in the national parliament and brought together the political parties of the parliament, the government, the Prime-minister and the President of the Parliament in an act of national union to formally remember and celebrate the revolution of April 25 1974. Aside from the formal members of the parliament, many personalities were invited to join this special ceremony: the Captains of April and the members of the Revolution Council, the President of the Republic and his committee, the Presidents of the Constitutional Court and of the High Justice Court, the State secretaries, the cardinal patriarch of Lisbon, to name just a few. The ceremony took place in the session room of the parliament, which was decorated for the occasion with red carnations, the symbol of the April Revolution. The entire session was conducted by the President of the parliament.

The ceremony started at around 5 pm. The guests and the members of the parliament began to arrive earlier so they could greet each other, took their seat in the session room and answered to the register of attendance. After that moment the President of the parliament, Vasco da Gama, formally declared the session opened. He immediately declared it to be interrupted in order to receive – together with the Prime-Minister and political representatives – the President of the Republic, Lieutenant Colonel Ramalho Eanes, and his committee at the entrance of the parliament. The ceremony began when the President of the Republic took his seat in the room. Then the orchestra of the *Guarda Nacional Republicana* (National Republican Guard – GNR) performed the national anthem and only after that moment did the President of the parliament officially declared the session re-opened. The commemorative session progressed with speeches delivered by representatives of the five political parties in parliament. Each political party had designated one representative to give a speech of approximately 10 minutes. The order of the party's speeches was not random; according to the results of the last general election, the first speaker was from the political party with the fewest seats in parliament (Popular Democratic Union from the far left – União Democrática

³The description of this commemorative session was taken from the official parliamentary report – *Diário da Assembleia da República*, Número 100, April 26 1977.

Popular, UDP) and the last one from the political party that formed government (Socialist Party from the centre-left – Partido Socialista, PS). Aside from the political representatives, the speakers included the President of the parliament and the President of the Republic. After the last speech from the President of the Republic, the orchestra of the GNR re-performed the national anthem. At this moment, the entire parliament stood up and accompanied the orchestra singing the national anthem. This last moment was followed by general applause from the audience and it was after this moment that the President of the parliament declared the commemorative session closed.

After the 1977 celebration the national parliament commemorates the April Revolution almost every year on its anniversary day. Between 1977 and 2008, the parliament did not assemble to commemorate April 25 only on two occasions: in 1983 and in 1993. In 1983, the day of the celebration was on the day of a general election and the law forbids any parliamentary session on the day of a general election. In 1993, a few days before the commemoration the right-wing government prohibited the journalists from circulating freely in some parts of the parliament. Consequently, the journalists decided to boycott the parliament and thereby not to broadcast the parliamentary celebration of the April Revolution. Following this disagreement, the President of the Republic, Mário Soares, decided not to participate in the parliamentary celebration. His decision was supported by the left-wing political parties of the parliament, and consequently the ceremony did not take place (Soutelo, 2009).

The parliamentary celebrations of the April Revolution repeat in general the formal procedures of the 1977 ceremony⁴. Only on two occasions have the commemorations differed from the other ones. This happened in 1989 and 1992. In 1989 only three speakers gave commemorative speeches: the President of the Assembly, a special guest of the ceremony – the President of the Assembly of Guinea Bissau – and the President of the Republic. In 1992 the President of the Republic decided to celebrate simultaneously the April Revolution and the 1492 journey of Christopher Columbus. The ceremony took place close to the Torre de Belém, a monument which symbolizes the Portuguese discoveries, and for the occasion only the President of the parliament and the President of the Republic delivered commemorative speeches (Soutelo, 2009).

⁴The rituals of the parliamentary commemorations of the April Revolution were taken from official records of the parliament that can be accessed in the official website – www.parlamento.pt.

Thus, apart from 1989 and 1992, the parliamentary celebrations of the April Revolution occur usually with elected representatives having an important role. It can then be argued that the representative speakers of the commemorations are expected not to engage in usual political business. The celebratory aspect of the occasion involves the cessation of ordinary political controversy and division, and the remembrance of a national past event in an apparent act of unity and communion. Yet the present thesis aims to show that this is not so simple; behind acts of union there is political disagreement between the representatives about the nature of the April Revolution and its commemoration. Furthermore, as will be seen in the following chapters, political disagreement is not to be expressed overtly and consequently finds covert means of expression.

Therefore, the annual celebration is a complex event, which has three features which need to be taken into account in any analysis. First, it is a ritualized event which seeks to bring together the nation in an act of celebration. Second, although within the parliament there is a cessation of normal political argument, nevertheless the event and the way the revolution is celebrated can be an object of political controversy; as such the celebration can be seen to have a political aspect. Third, the object of the celebration is a historical event and, thus, the celebration involves a construction of history which itself can be debated and become a matter of argumentation. Consequently, it is necessary to adopt a perspective for analysing the event that takes these three features into consideration. As will be seen, some accounts of national celebrations tend to focus on the first aspect – that of national unity – rather than the political and controversy elements.

3.3 Studies of collective celebrations

3.3.1 Celebrations as ritual events

Some studies on public and national commemorations have given particular emphasis to the ceremonial rituals and their functions. By focussing on the functions of rituals analysts can give the impression that national rituals create moments of national unity.

This way of understanding rituals can underplay the role of disagreement. Two such examples can be given in this section.

Edwards Shils and Michael Young (1975/1956) writing about the 1953 Coronation of Elizabeth II argued that the ceremony constituted a series of solemn rituals which re-affirmed the commonplace values of British society, such as mercy, charity, loyalty, justice, etc. In line with Durkheim's work on religious ceremony, the authors approached the 1953 coronation ceremony in terms of its sociological function, that is, as a moment that by re-affirming the commonplace values of the society brought the entire society together into an act of 'national communion'. Shils (2006) writes about this classic study in his 'Fragment of a Sociological Autobiography'; the study, he wrote, emphasised the British nation coming together during the coronation in a special moment of shared sacral communion.

A similar assumption that national commemorations involve shared extraordinary experiences can also be found in the more recent social psychological work of Nico H. Frijda (1997). Like Shils and Young, Frijda approaches collective commemorations, including national commemorations of past events such as the commemoration of the end of World War II or the commemoration of a natural disaster, in terms of their rituals. Frijda defines ritual as 'an occasion that is defined by the social community or by tradition to perform some action that in general is also defined by the community or tradition, that in principle is performed publicly, and that is held to serve a moral or emotional goal.' (Frijda, 1997, p. 110-111). According to this author, the rituals of public commemoration create fixed moments of order and coherence. Specifically, order and coherence are to be found in the formal actions that commemorators are expected to follow; also commemorators are expected to show coherence in their words and in their acts of affection with respect to those whose memory is being commemorated and to show bondedness towards fellow commemorators. Following from this, Frijda (1997) suggests that commemoration rituals fulfil several socio-psychological functions: they compel individuals to elaborate an account (a less personal account, according to the author) of a hurtful past, which otherwise could be avoided; they enable the establishing or re-affirming of unified bonds with respect to the individuals own past, as well as forming and enhancing connectedness and unity with their fellow group members. The rituals accomplish a unity between celebrants based on the sharing of common emotions.

In arguing thus, Frijda is emphasising the social psychological bonds and motivations of commemorators.

Despite the outward difference between the two approaches, there are several parallels that can be drawn. As noted, both approaches give prominence to the ceremonial rituals of public commemorations and to their functions. They both describe the rituals of the commemoration in terms of coherence, order and unity. They depict the commemorators as being united in that they engage in the same ritual actions, share the same sort of psychological motives and feel similar bonds of unity with their national group during the ceremony. However, in talking about unity and coherence Shils and Young stress how the coronation brought unity and coherence to a society which was divided by individual interests. Frijda writes about the act of commemoration bringing coherence and unity to individuals who might be emotionally and psychologically divided. It should be noted that Frijda, unlike Shils and Young, is not writing about society, or the nation, as a whole. For the most part Frijda is talking about the remembrance of the Holocaust in post-war society and he tends to concentrate on rituals of public/national commemorations which the survivors of the Holocaust themselves participated in. Thus, Frijda is talking about the feelings and emotions of the survivors and their links with fellow-survivors. He is not assuming that during these rituals survivors and the wider society are all connected by similar feelings. But the idea of unity within the society is not entirely discarded; those not involved in the Holocaust are depicted as agreeing with the commemorators and with what is being commemorated. In Frijda own words:

‘...it is fairly evident that most of those who participate in commemoration rituals are not emotionally engaged in the remembered event. Their reasons to participate are more formal. That is the usual case with rituals. (...) That does not make rituals into empty formalities. Many of the others are caught by the emotional significance that the ritual and the commemorated event have for those engaged few. As with religious rituals, a minority carries the values that the ritual embodies, and the majority allows the minority to carry those values by at least agreeing with them, and by being willing to go along with them in the ritual.’
(Frijda, 1991, p. 116)

The celebration of the April 1974 in the Portuguese parliament, as a national event, differs from the sort of event that Frijda is describing. The Portuguese parliamentary celebration commemorates a victory rather than a tragedy. It is a national event in the sense that it commemorates something that occurred to the whole nation, rather than to a minority within the nation. In consequence, there is no reason for supposing that the emotional dynamics of unity, that Frijda was describing, should mark these annual events. The 1953 coronation, which Shils and Young analysed, resembles the Portuguese commemoration in that it was a celebration and was a national event affecting the nation as a whole. However, unlike the Portuguese celebration it was not an annual event taking place within a parliament: it was an extraordinary and unusual event. As such, its particular timing can have extra emotional significance. Shils and Young stressed the timing of the 1953 coronation, occurring not long after the end of World War II and taking place within the sacred building of a cathedral. One might expect that an annual, national event, occurring in the political setting of a parliament, would be a less intense event, both psychologically and sociologically.

It should be pointed out that Shils and Young and Frijda in underlining the social function of the commemorations that they were studying – that is, their cohesive nature, did not discuss potential arguments and disagreements about the celebrations. There is evidence that even in events which appear to be unifying, there is no such unity. This can be seen in relation to Shils and Young's study of the British Coronation. Billig (1990, 1991, 1992) have pointed out that Shils and Young's study is incomplete for it provides an image of the nation in unified mood of togetherness. Specifically Philip Ziegler (1978, especially in Chapter Five) suggests that not everybody approached the event in the same way. Although the large majority of the British population was royalist – in 1953 only 9% of the population was in favour of a republic – and considered the Coronation to represent the national 'rebirth' (p. 97), the popular mood four months before the ceremony was not one of united excitement. As Ziegler points out, in February 1953 the event and its preparation were not approved by everyone; a national poll indicated that 'only 44% of the population at that date definitely intended to participate in the Coronation' (p. 98) and that '56% felt either enthusiastic or moderately approving against 20% who disapproved' (p. 98). According to the author, there is evidence indicating that one month before the ceremony resistance and disapproval had almost disappeared. Yet data collected on Coronation day, namely from the *Mass*

Observation Day-Survey, suggests that ambiguity, silence and even resistance from cynics and sceptics of the monarchy could still be heard (Ziegler, 1978). For instance, we could hear in London a middle-aged Labour voter from Hampstead saying: ‘... I was astonished at the intensity of my feelings. I was annoyed – really, it’s against my principles to feel like that.’ (p. 113). Or a woman of forty-eight commenting: ‘I found the day a little depressing in that such a large number of my fellow citizens appeared to be taking part in something the significance of which escaped me.’ (p. 114). Or we could read written across a window ‘Down with the Monarchy.’ (p. 114). Also Billig argues that British attitudes in support of the Royal Family are not straightforward. For example, the author (Billig, 1992) shows that members of ordinary families tend to remember episodes of royal celebrations, such as the Royal weddings or the Coronation of 1953. Moreover, disagreements about the significance of such events could be heard. As family members were talking about these events, potential disagreements about the significance of these events were common.

All this suggests that the idea of unity in national/collective commemorations, whether at one moment or across time, can be an exaggeration. In respect of the Portuguese parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution it can be expected that the celebration would involve different attitudes and sense of involvement.

3.3.2 Celebrations as construction of history

In order to examine the parliamentary celebrations of 1974, it is important to understand exactly what sort of celebration they are. In essence, the celebrations of 1974 represent a celebration of the past. As such, they involve a collective representation of history. So, in this respect, they are a ‘collective remembering’ as the term is understood by Maurice Halbwachs (1950). According to Halbwachs groups can collectively remember episodes and events of the past, in which none of their individual members participated. A similar claim is made by discursive psychologists (e.g. Billig, 1992; Billig and Edwards, 1994; Middleton and Edwards, 1990) for whom remembering concerns not only events in which the individual participated but also what the individual heard from others.

A ritual celebration can provide the social context for a group collectively remembering its past. In this regard, the group socially constructs its past. There is no need to assume that all collective celebrations are similar. As Halbwachs (1950) argues, a group can construct its past in order to fulfil present functions, such as strengthening its present identity and unity. In this, social remembering may not be a simple process, for it can also involve a form of collective forgetting: some parts of the past are incorporated into the group's self-history and other parts are discarded or forgotten (e.g. Schwartz, 1990). Halbwachs's notion of collective memory is an important concept for understanding rituals like the Portuguese commemoration of April 1974, which involve a social construction of history and which involve more than just the individuals who have personal memories of taking part in the events that are being celebrated (see Misztal, 2003, for a recent review of studies examining collective remembering).

Barry Schwartz (1986, 1990), using Halbwachs' notion of 'collective memory', has examined the public commemoration of the past in both the United States and Israel. He has examined how Abraham Lincoln is remembered collectively in the United States and he has discussed the rituals, practised by the Israeli army commemorating the Masada suicide. Schwartz stresses that such rituals, although commemorating the past, serve present purposes. In particular, they are means of achieving collective unity by taking elements from the past and reconstituting them in the present. This process of reconstituting the past inevitably involves selection and forgetting. Schwartz stresses that this reconstitution has its limits. It is not that the present totally reconstitutes the past but that it raids the past to extract elements that are useful for the present, that is, that conform to society's immediate values.

Michael Schudson (1990, 1992) takes a similar position but adds a crucial extra dimension. Using the example of American President Richard Nixon and his presidential abuse of power, he argues that the past is reconstituted in order to make an argument in the present (Schudson, 1992). Thus, the version of the past might appear neutral but in terms of present politics and arguments it is not necessarily so. In this respect, there are, according to Schudson, multiple versions of the past and these can be in direct competition with each other.

Both Schudson and Schwartz are sociologists who are primarily interested in the social functions of commemorations and how constructed histories enable participants to

fulfil these functions. They are not so interested in the details through which these versions of the past are themselves constructed.

Recently studies on official celebrations of national past events have examined how versions of national past events are themselves constructed (e.g. Ensink and Sauer, 2003; Heer, Manoschek, Pollak and Wodak, 2008; Tileagă, 2008, 2009, 2010; Wodak and De Cillia, 2007; Wodak, De Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart, 1999). For instance, Ruth Wodak and Rudolf De Cillia (2007) examine in detail the Austrian Chancellor's speech given at the 2005 commemoration of the 1945 Austrian Declaration of Independence and show how the speaker constructed a historical narrative of Austria that aimed at national harmony. Thus, the Chancellor, Dr. Wolfgang Schüssel from the conservative People's Party (ÖVP), avoided difficult topics related to Austria's Nazi past – such as the involvement of Austrians in the Nazi regime and its crimes. Specifically, he depicted Austria's Nazi past and its victims in broad ways – that is, as (1) part of an 'undifferentiated "horror"' (p. 334, see also p. 329), a 'natural disaster' (p. 334) or a 'fateful' event (p. 334, see also p. 331), (2) without naming the perpetrators (p. 334, see also p. 332), and (3) with an 'undifferentiated, an all-encompassing "community of victims"' (p. 334, see also p. 332). He also expressed a rupture with this national past period – for instance, the 'Austria' of 27 April 1945 is described as a 'new' country (p. 335, see also p. 328). According to the authors of this study the Chancellor's historical narrative reproduces the current hegemonic stance in Austria towards the Nazi regime, which somehow mitigates the involvement of Austrians in the Nazi regime and its crimes, and does not distinguish between the victims (see also Wodak and Richardson, 2009 for post-war official commemorations in Austrian⁵). This hegemonic version of the Austrian's Nazi past, as the authors observe, conflicts with the version of the Nazi regime held by a few politicians from the Social Democratic Party (SPÖ) and the Green Party, who refer to perpetrators and 'present a more fragmented and conflicting picture' (Wodak and De Cillia, 2007, p. 335) of this national period.

But there is more. By looking in detail at the construction of the Chancellor's speech, Wodak and De Cillia (2007) also find that the speaker did not totally avoid political controversy. He explicitly distanced himself from revisionist interpretations and Holocaust denials that, according to Wodak and De Cillia, he was ascribing to the

⁵See also Ensink and Sauer, 2003, for the constructions of difficult versions of the Polish past in the 1994 official commemoration of the Warsaw Uprising.

members of the other governmental coalition party, the FPÖ. As the authors observe, political controversy continued in the days that followed the ceremony as members of the FPÖ uttered revisionist interpretations of Austria's Nazi past and even Holocaust denials that were aimed at challenging the Chancellor 's version of the national past'⁶.

3.3.3 Celebrations as controversial moments

Political controversy in official celebrations of national past events is not unusual, especially in commemorations of controversial past events. On such ceremonial occasions, political disagreement can be avoided, as well as expressed overtly. This can also be seen in the official commemorations of the 1989 December Revolution in post-communist Romania (Tileagă, 2008, 2009, 2010).

Cristian Tileagă (2008, 2010) has examined how President Ion Iliescu from the centre-left Social Democratic Party (PSD), the main leader of the 1989 Revolution, discusses publically the revolution that violently overthrew the totalitarian communist regime of Nicolae Ceaușescu. For instance, Tileagă (2008) analyses in detail two speeches delivered by the then President during two parliamentary commemorations of the 1989 Revolution, in 2000 and 2003, and the news interview of the President immediately after his parliamentary speech in 2003. The author shows that the President's parliamentary speeches were overtly argumentative; the President repeatedly depicted the 1989 December events as being in fact a revolution and, simultaneously, he criticised the opposite interpretations of the events as being non-factual and politically motivated. In so speaking, the President did not use the parliamentary celebrations of the 1989 Revolution to create a special moment of political unity by avoiding political controversy. Quite the contrary, the President was explicitly re-creating an enduring widespread and political controversy about the nature of the 1989 December events – that is, whether to call those events an 'unfinished revolution' (Tileagă, 2008, p. 362), a 'quasi-revolution' (p. 362) or a 'pure' revolution (p. 363; see also, Tileagă, 2010). According to Tileagă (2008) the President was using the celebrations for political and personal current purposes. He was, argues the author, using the commemorations: (1) 'to

⁶see Richardson and Wodak, 2009, Wodak, 2001b, for the history of the FPÖ.

produce a dominant version of the Romanian “revolution” as “authentic”, foundational and a turning point in the nation’s history’ (p. 364); (2) to respond ‘to accusations, levelled against him personally and his political team, of subverting and perverting the objectives and the “real” ethos of the Romanian “revolution” (p. 364); and (3) ‘as a political instrument, to critique the democratic political opposition.’ (p. 365). In this respect, Tileagă’s studies of President Ion Iliescu’s commemorative speeches illustrate how commemorative addresses from political representatives can also be used:

‘as opportunities to respond to criticism, to build positions of political legitimacy and representativeness, to ‘authorise’ a preferred version of specific events and history.’ (Tileagă, 2008, p. 363)

But again, despite the apparent controversial elements of the President’s commemorative speeches, not everything could be said. As Tileagă’s (2008) study suggests, the President touched upon, but did not discuss openly, a very controversial topic of the Romanian Revolution – namely, who, after the execution of the defeated dictator (and his wife), killed 1104 innocent people? This side of the 1989 events brings problems to President Ion Iliescu, who at several moments had to ‘constantly and fiercely denied any suggestion of involvement, stake or (direct) responsibility in relation to the 1989 events.’ (Tileagă, 2010, p. 366), and who had been accused of not establishing ‘transparent democratic accountability for the horrifying bloodshed and killing of innocent people in December 1989’ (Tileagă, 2010, p. 366). Tileagă (2010) shows that after his parliamentary and commemorative speech in 2003, the President was overtly confronted in a news interview with the question of who perpetrated the killings. The President’s answer was quite striking, as Tileagă’s detail analysis demonstrates: the President repeatedly changed the topic of discussion towards what he depicted as the essential problem – namely, the controversy that he had presented earlier in his parliamentary speech – and when he addressed this issue he said that it was a question without answer (see Tileagă, 2010, for more details).

Despite the obvious differences between the research of Tileagă’s and the present one on the parliamentary celebrations of the 1974 Portuguese Revolution, similarities can be drawn. Both events relate the overthrow of a totalitarian, unpopular regime and its annual celebration in the national parliament. Also, as Tileagă shows the President

overtly discusses whether the overthrow of the totalitarian communist regime was a revolution or not; and this is a controversial issue. As will be shown, similar discussions occurred in 2004 regarding the 1974 Portuguese overthrow of the fascist regime. In the Romanian case, some of the issues relating to the victims of the revolution were not discussed. Also, the President, it seems, did not overtly criticise the previous regime. In the Portuguese case, it will be seen how some speakers also avoided delicate and controversial issues but it is also expected that some speakers will criticise the previous regime – those who do not have to engage in strategies of rhetorical avoidance. Wodak and De Cillia's analyses of the Austrian celebrations also report comparable controversies and avoidances (see also Ensink and Sauer, 2003, for how commemorative speakers present different versions of a difficult national past event in Poland).

All this raises the issue about whether such speeches can repress, as well as celebrate, memories. As Billig (1999a) has argued, remembering is a form of forgetting. Not everything can be remembered from the past; some things are to be omitted, either from individual and collective memory. But, in order to show this, it is necessary to look in detail at the discursive construction of such speeches, to examine exactly what speakers overtly say, implicitly suggest and also what they omit.

3.4 Three discursive approaches to collective memory studies

Versions of the past are constructed discursively; they are accounts of the past. Like Tileagă (2008, 2009, 2010) and Wodak and De Cillia (2007), one might wish to see how these accounts are presented in particular celebrations and what sort of terminology they use. Therefore there is a place for discursive analysis. It can be asked what theoretical approaches and methodologies would be suitable to study the processes of constructing discursively versions of the past? Three different approaches can be mentioned especially in relation to circumstances where the celebrations of the past are complex and the versions of the past might be contested. These approaches are: Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse–Historical Analysis and Discursive Social Psychology.

One research field of discourse analysis that has worked with complex political texts and speeches is Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). This research field emerged in the beginnings of the 1990s with the works of Norman Fairclough, Roger Fowler, Teun van Dijk and Ruth Wodak (Billig, 2003a). Critical discourse analysts approach language as a social practice, affected by the contexts of differential power relations (e.g. Fairclough, 1998b/1992, 2001; van Dijk, 1988, 2001; Wodak, 2001a, 2006). In this sense, Critical Discourse Analysis is primarily interested in the relations between language and power. Specifically, it aims at revealing how relations of dominance, power abuse and discrimination are linguistically (re)produced. In order to do so, most critical discourse analysts have focused their attention on the properties of the texts (either written or spoken) of those in power – the media, managers, politicians, etc. – that enact discrimination and power abuse.

Often CDA has shown that such properties can be extremely subtle, revealed in the use of particular grammatical forms, intonation, utterances. Furthermore, critical analysts do not examine the linguistic construction of texts for its own sake, but always in relation to the social context in which the texts appear and particularly in relations to the contexts of differential social power. For instance, Fowler (1991), in his classic examination of newspaper headlines, demonstrated how the use of passive verbs, rather than active ones, could be highly ideological (see also Fairclough, 1998b/1992).

CDA research is a critical approach in the sense used by the Frankfurt School; it reveals how power relations are sustained by the powerful and thereby it provides the means for emancipation from domination (Wodak, 2006). Billig (2003a) argues that three features of CDA research bear its critical label. First, it is a ‘radical critique of the social relations’ (Billig, 2003a, p. 38). As van Dijk (2001) also puts it:

‘CDA is a – critical – perspective on doing scholarship: it is, so to speak, discourse analysis ‘with an attitude’. It focuses on social problems, and especially on the role of discourse in the production and reproduction of power abuse and discrimination. Whether possible, it does so from a perspective that is consistent with the best interest of dominated groups. It takes the experiences and opinions of members of such groups seriously, and supports their struggle against inequality.’ (2001, p. 96)

Second, CDA is critical of mainstream approaches of language – such as traditional linguistics and conversational analysis (CA) – for not connecting their findings to ‘existing patterns of domination and inequality’ (Billig, 2003a, p. 38). And third, CDA research views the mainstream approaches to studying language as ideological, or non-neutral, and that they have ‘the function of maintaining existing power relations’ (Billig, 2003a, p. 39). For example, Billig (1999b) argues that, contrary to its claims, CA bears ideological assumptions: it implicitly conveys an image of informal interactions as mostly pleasant and equal.

In this way, Critical Discourse Analysis is a highly political form of discursive analysis. It is doubly so when the texts which are being analysed are political texts. In such a case, the material is political, and the analyst views their understanding of the materials also to be political. Thus, CDA seeks to provide a political, or at least a non-neutral, understanding of political materials. In the present case, the materials will be political – for they concern the speeches which politicians give in the Portuguese parliament. The perspective of CDA enjoins us to look in detail at the linguistic subtleties of such materials if we wish to understand their ideological nature. However, the analysis itself is expected to be political for it is not based on trying to find a neutral perspective from which to examine politically charged materials. In this regard, we can expect the analysis of politicians’ constructions of the past during the annual celebration of the Portuguese Revolution to be doubly political.

The second approach to language studies is Discourse–Historical Analysis (DHA) (e.g. Wodak, 2001a, 2001b, 2006). According to DHA, critical discursive analysis of politicians’ constructions of the past, and in particular of their constructions of controversial pasts, ought to be also historical. In other words, if one wishes to understand the ideological subtleties of political discourse, its hidden and implicit meaning, one also needs to work out the historical feature of the discourse.

DHA is a form of Critical Discourse Analysis which emerged in the beginning of the 1990s in Austria. It was initially developed to study a specific social problem: contemporary anti-Semitic prejudice as it was publically expressed in the 1986 Austrian presidential campaign of Kurt Waldheim (see Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2001b, 2006). Kurt Waldheim is a controversial figure of Austrian politics; he adhered to the National Socialism but had denied his involvement. The authors analysed a variety of

data from different media genres and political discourses and with different degrees of formality. Also they specifically analysed the data in terms of historical knowledge. The findings evidenced that significant historical facts about the historical period of National Socialism were systematically distorted or left out from the texts under analysis. Furthermore, anti-Semitic utterances were expressed in a vague form, through allusions or key words that were central to the Nazi rhetoric of the National Socialist period. Wodak calls this linguistic form of ideological allusion ‘coded-language’. Over the years DHA has been used to study the contemporary expression of racial and anti-Semitic prejudice, especially in political discourses from the British and Austrian far-right (e.g. Richardson and Wodak, 2009; Wodak, 2007, 2011), and the discursive construction of national identity in nations with controversial and contested national pasts (e.g. Wodak and De Cillia, 2007).

As such DHA is a form of CDA which works extensively with the historical feature of discourse. In Wodak’s (2001b) words:

‘In investigating historical, organizational, and political topics and texts, the discourse-historical approach attempts to integrate a large quantity of historical knowledge about the sources and the background of the social and political fields in which discursive ‘events’ are embedded. Further, it analyses the historical dimension of discourse actions by exploring the ways in which particular genres of discourses are subject to diachronic change. At this point we integrate social theories to be able to explain the so-called context.’ (p. 65; see also Reisigl and Wodak, 2001, Chapter Two).

In this way, DHA instructs us to look at the properties of the texts under analysis that entail an ideological meaning and also at the contexts in which they appear; in addition, DHA tells us to examine other related texts in which similar arguments and specific terms are used. As such DHA combines synchronic, diachronic and contextual analysis. By combining a synchronic and diachronic analysis, it is possible to clarify strategic political purposes. For example, John Richardson and Ruth Wodak (2009) have examined the propaganda of far-right parties in both Britain and Austria. They have examined whether slogans are being used for present strategic purposes, in order to gather votes while concealing their underlying ideological purposes and heritages. In

order to perform such an analysis, it is necessary for the analyst to use sophisticated and critical methods. They need to examine the present propaganda and its rhetoric in depth; and these texts must be compared to other texts which the party has produced for other purposes, such as texts that are privately circulated among followers, and, most importantly, comparing present texts with those produced by the party when there were less taboos about appearing racist or anti-semitic.

The third approach to language studies that is examined here is Discursive Psychology (DP) or Discursive Social Psychology (DSP). DP emerged in the United Kingdom in the late 1980s as part of a general movement of critical psychology. This movement has reacted against mainstream cognitive psychology, especially laboratory based research from the United States (Billig, 2009b). Unlike cognitive psychologists who are concerned with inner cognitive processes of individual thinking, critical psychologists do not view people as constructing their views of the world from their own individual minds. In Billig's words, we receive ideas from others and therefore:

‘our ideas, even before they enter our minds and become ours, have a long, social history. In this way, our minds – or rather, our ways of thinking – are constructed by the social processes of history.’ (Billig, 2008a, p. 2).

In consequence, critical psychologists have rejected searching for inner processes in order to study how people think. In place of inner cognitive processes, they have proposed ‘to re-orientate the discipline of psychology around the study of discourse’ (Billig, 2009b, p. 158, translated from the French version; see also Billig, 2008a, for the roots of critical psychology's ideas, and more recently Billig, in press). This re-orientation has a profound consequence for it means that discursive psychology differs from cognitive psychology not just methodologically but also conceptually (Billig, 2009b). The methodologies that discursive psychologists use arise from their view of the mind. Discursive psychologists maintain that thinking is directly related to language use. This was one of the main themes of Jonathan Potter and Margaret Wetherell's *Discourse and Social Psychology* (1987). According to the authors, if one wishes to study processes of thinking one should be studying processes of language. Here Potter and Wetherell – and later Derek Edwards and Jonathan Potter (1992a) – make a very important point about the nature of language. When we use language, we are not using

words to express an inner psychological state or cognitive structure or attitudinal structure: we are using language as a form of social interaction. This means that we are performing actions socially through the use of language. For example, we use language when we are making a request, an order, criticizing others, justifying ourselves, etc. (e.g. Billig, 1996/1987; Edwards and Potter, 1992; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Moreover, in criticising, justifying etc., we are typically performing acts that involve constructing versions of the social world (Edwards, 2005; Edwards and Potter, 1992a; Potter, 1996; Potter and Edwards, 2001; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). For example, when we justify ourselves, we might blame another instead and in so doing we are accounting for actions (theirs and ours) in ways that depict these acts as blame-worthy or not. This is why psychologists should study how people actually use language in the social world and why they should pay attention to the things that people do with language.

This view of language implies a very different stance towards the traditional topics of psychology. Conventionally, when psychologists study 'attitudes', or 'prejudice' or 'memory', they look to discover internal cognitive structures, which they can label as prejudices, attitudes or memories. Discursive psychologists argue that something important is neglected by this procedure: in what circumstances and how people actually use the concepts of 'prejudice', 'memory' or 'attitude' when they are talking to each other (e.g. Billig, 1996/1987; Edwards and Potter, 1992a; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). For discursive psychologists, such concepts are not technical concepts, as used by expert analysts; rather, they are ordinary language concepts, whose use psychologists should study, rather like an anthropologist studying practices in the field (Billig, 2009b). In consequence, discursive psychologists have conducted a number of studies looking at the way that people use terms such as 'prejudice', 'attitude' or 'memory' in social interaction. The discursive psychologists are not seeking to discover the 'real' object that is being referred to when people use these concepts. They are seeking to discover the variety of social actions that people take by means of talking about such matters.

In this sense, Billig, who has developed a rhetorical approach to discursive social psychology, argues that when people say that they have an 'attitude' – a 'view', an 'opinion', a 'belief' as Billig puts it – they are typically taking a stance in a matter that they know to be controversial (see Billig, 1996/1987, 1991, Chapters Seven and Eight). That means that the expression of an attitude is more than something personal to the individual attitude-holder for it has a social meaning. As such it locates the individual in

a wider debate; the person who claims to have an attitude knows that there are others who hold opposing opinions and his/her opinion is taken in relation to those other opinions. In this sense, holding an attitude is argumentative (Billig, 1996/1987, 1991). As Billig puts it:

‘Every attitude in *favour* of a position is also, implicitly but more often explicitly, also a stance *against* the counter-position. Because attitudes are stances on matters of controversy, we can expect that attitude holders to justify their position and to criticize the counter-position.’ (Billig, 1991, p. 143)

This can be seen in Billig’s study of a British family talking about the Royal Family. In one instance, a mother and son were discussing Prince Charles’s views about architecture (Billig, 1991, Chapter Eight). The mother and son were disagreeing about what the Prince was expressing in his views. According to the mother, the Prince was merely expressing his own views; the son disagreed and claimed that the Prince was pushing his views on others (Billig, 1991, p. 175-176). Moreover, mother and son were developing their views in reacting to each other. This illustrates something that Potter and Wetherell (1987) also emphasize. We do not have fixed views on a topic which are always expressed as an unvarying ‘attitude’. Instead, there is variability in what we say about a topic, depending on who we are talking to and what we are doing in the course of the interaction. Billig (1991, Chapter Seven) offers the example of the late eighteenth century British cartoonist, James Gillray, to illustrate the variability of attitudes. Before the French Revolution, Gillray had gained a reputation as a radical on account of his cartoons mocking the British Royal Family. After the French Revolution, his tone seemed to change, as he produced anti-Jacobin cartoons. This change, so argues the author, is not to be described as a simple ‘change of attitude’, nor does it represent a contradiction. According to Billig there are two reasons to think this way. First, *a stance*, whether radical or conservative, only has meaning in relation to its context. As the context changes, so do the expressions of position. Thus, after the French Revolution and the execution of the French monarch, anti-monarchism took on a different meaning than previously. Second, when Gillray mocked the British monarchy before the French Revolution, even he would not have known how far he would have taken his anti-royalism. He only discovered the limits of his anti-royalism after the French revolution.

In this sense, an ‘attitude’ is not pre-set but represents argumentative possibilities (Billig, 1991). This sort of variability is not just to be seen across historical time but can occur in the course of a same interaction (Billig, 1991; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). For example, Billig (1991, Chapter Eight) reports a moment of a British family conversation when a father, who was forcefully arguing against the monarchy and its privileges, used a more conservative position after his son had accused him of being a communist, which the father strongly denied. Again, this example illustrates the variability of attitudes in which the attitudes of the father, who is usually described by his family members as having strong views about the Royal Family, do not necessarily indicate, as Billig proposes, a contradiction or a mere strategic move to repel an undesired categorization. For Billig (1991, Chapter Eight), the father was echoing, in his own terms and in relation to the views of the other members of his family, the wider pattern of ideas – or ideology – about monarchy which is not uniform but dilemmatic, that is, it includes both ‘radical and non-radical discourse’ (Billig, 1991, p. 189; see also Billig, 1990, 1992; and Billig *et al.*, 1988, for ideological dilemmas of modern societies). More precisely, in Billig’s words:

‘The point is that the father is drawing upon ideological common-places, and, if there is variability between these common-places, then this reflects the dilemmatic quality of a wider ideology, which contains both radical and non-radical discourse. The father’s firm rejection of communism indicates his unwillingness to step outside the ideological heritage, and another strong view may be indicated here. In the face of the challenge, coming not from actual communism but from the accusation of communism, the father retreats defensively into the protected, lush heartlands of his ideology.’ (Billig, 1991, p. 189)

Similarly, discursive psychologists have shown that the use of the term ‘prejudice’ can be complex – it is often used as a disclaimer, as people deny that they have a ‘prejudice’, when expressing a view that might be heard by others as being prejudiced. More precisely, politicians from the right-wing and also ordinary people commonly use phrases such as ‘I am not prejudiced but ...’, ‘I am not Front National myself, but ...’, and their variants, before formulating sentiments and views against immigrants or blacks (e.g. Billig, 1991, Chapters Four and Six; Billig *et al.*, 1988, Chapter Seven; Cochrane

and Billig, 1984; Potter and Wetherell, 1987). According to discursive psychologists, such phrases represent a ‘common preface’ or ‘an advance justification’ against the criticism of being prejudiced (Billig, 1991, p. 130; see also Billig, 1996/1987, more generally about advance justification or *prolepsis* in rhetorical theory). As such, the denial of prejudice reflects an awareness of how others might react to the views being expressed. For Billig (1991, Chapter Six) the denial of being racist or prejudiced can reflect more than a rhetorical move to avoid criticism from others; it can also reflect the internalization of the contemporary social and general norm of tolerance (see also Billig *et al.*, 1988, Chapter Seven). Thus, the speakers are not just trying to persuade others of their lack of prejudice but also persuade themselves and their fellows that their views conform to ‘the moral evaluation attached to the notion of “prejudice”’ (Billig *et al.*, 1988, p. 101). As Billig puts it:

‘The social norms cannot merely exist as constraints existing outside individuals. For the social norms to function as social pressures, they must be internalized, and thereby form part of the individual’s cognitive beliefs. Thus the conflict behind ‘I’m not prejudiced but ...’ is merely the conflict between the individual and extraneous social customs (or perhaps, other people), but a conflict within individuals, who have two contrasting ideological themes upon which to draw.’ (Billig, 1991, p. 127)

The internalization of the social norm against prejudice, as Billig has argued, is revealed in the situations where speakers, talking to people similar to themselves, deny their views and feelings against immigrants and non-whites as prejudiced. Furthermore, the denial of prejudice is followed with views and feelings against blacks that are presented as resulting from external (‘real’) factors to the speakers themselves. Thus, in the same sentence, just after having denied their own prejudice with the common-sense phrase ‘I am not prejudice but ...’, speakers justify political measures such as ‘repatriation’, restriction of immigration of non-whites, or express reluctance towards mixed-romantic relationships and marriage, with, for example, perceptions about: unemployment, behaviour from blacks, reactions from peers and family members, or from an undefined ‘other’ (Cochrane and Billig, 1984; Billig, 1991; Billig *et al.*, 1988, Chapter Seven; see also Potter and Wetherell, 1988; and van Dijk, 1988, for an analysis which similarly sees the denial of prejudice as an aspect of the phenomena of

contemporary prejudice). In this regard, two points can be stressed from discursive psychology studies about modern racism. First, the denial of prejudice is part of the ideological expression of modern racism, which is dilemmatic or ‘two-sided’ (Billig *et al.*, 1988, p. 109) in as much as it ‘simultaneously deplores, denies and protects prejudice’ (p. 114). In this sense, it can also act as a form of self-deceit (see Billig, 1992, 1997a, for examples of modern self-deceit). And second, as Billig has argued, modern racism is part of an argument in which the denial of prejudice appears to be ‘a defence against *any* criticism of being irrational’ (Billig, 1991, p. 131, *italic added*) and also a contrast with the type of racism which is criticised for being ‘irrationally bigoted’, that is, ‘irrationality and hostility against individuals based upon the colour of their skin or the provenance of their passport’ (p. 133; see also Billig *et al.*, 1988, Chapter Seven).

For present purposes, the discursive studies on ‘memory’ are most relevant to the examination of commemoration. Discursive psychologists study how people construct versions of the past and, as they do so, what social actions they perform with these accounts of the past (e.g. Billig, 1992; Billig and Edwards, 1994; Edwards, 1997; Edwards and Potter, 1992a, 1992b; Edwards, Middleton and Potter, 1992; Edwards, Potter and Middleton, 1992; Middleton and Edwards, 1990). This means that discursive psychologists look in detail at what speakers are saying and doing when they are talking about past events and also at when speakers are using words such as ‘memory’, ‘remembering’ or ‘forgetting’. Unlike traditional psychologists, discursive psychologists do not generally focus on whether what is remembered is accurate or not – and generally also they are not asking the question whether the speakers ‘really’ believe in these versions or not (see Billig, 2009b; Edwards, 1997, Chapter Ten; Edwards and Potter, 1992a, for this argument). Instead, they study how speakers might convey that they are reporting what ‘really’ happened when they are likely to say that they ‘remember’ something and how they throw doubts on others’ versions; in this way, discursive psychologists study how speakers accomplish these things rhetorically, that is, as part of activities such as ‘assigning blame, denying responsibility, justifying interpretations’ (Edwards and Potter, 1992a, p. 199). This can be seen in Edwards and Potter’s (1992a) study of the British press coverage of Lawsongate – a public controversy about what the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Nigel Lawson ‘really’ said about controversial issues, such as pension policy change for the elderly, in a meeting he had with ten journalists from the Sunday newspapers (see also Edwards and Potter, 1992b; Potter and

Edwards, 1990). The authors of the study show that accounts of what happened in that meeting were contextually occasioned, that is, they were formulated after Lawson had criticised the journalists' reports about proposed governmental policy for the elderly. Furthermore, Edwards and Potter (1992a) note that all parties to the dispute, when giving accounts of what had happened in that meeting, related their accounts to notions of what counts as an accurate, valid report and what counts as an inaccurate report. For example, when Lawson accused in Parliament the journalists of having invented stories about future governmental policies, the journalists claimed their versions to be accurate by providing vivid descriptions of the meeting or by appealing to independent sources and to common knowledge, etc. Also, the journalists depicted Lawson's counter-version as inaccurate – i.e. as denying the truth – and they did so by making claims about his psychological disposition. Specifically, according to the journalists, Lawson only denied 'the truth' because of his 'self-confidence and arrogance' that 'led him to think he could contradict blatant truths, and escape the consequences.' (Edwards and Potter, 1992b, p. 208). In this respect, Edwards and Potter (1992a, 1992b; Potter and Edwards, 1990) provide evidence that often accounts of the past, especially those involving actions by the speaker, are socially occasioned and also that notions of 'accuracy' and 'error' occur in discourse about remembering (see Gilbert and Mulkay, 1984; Potter, 1996, more generally about the notions of 'accurate' and 'error' accounting in scientific and ordinary discourse).

Also discursive psychologists have provided evidence that people usually use the terms 'memory' or 'remember' to perform actions. Another example can be given, Billig and Edwards (1994) report a young woman uttering the statement 'I will always remember it', when talking about the royal wedding of Prince Charles with Princess Diana. With such an assertion, so argue the authors, the young woman was not only speaking about a past event but was also making a prediction about the future and thereby was wishing to stress the importance of the event that was being described as being remembered. Furthermore, the context of her utterance was argumentative; she was disagreeing with her parents about some aspects of the ceremony. Therefore, what was remembered was related to the current family interaction. Thus, in a public commemoration, a speaker might use a term such as 'the nation will always remember x'. They are not making a prediction about the recalling powers of the individual

members of the nation: they are performing a commemorative act here and now through the language of ‘remembering’ and ‘forgetting’.

Furthermore, when talking about the Royal Family, speakers were not just voicing their personal memories; they were also expressing, mostly without awareness, common sense views of their times about nationhood, family and royalty (Billig, 1990, 1992, 1997b). As such, they were voicing ideological views, which, according to some discursive psychologists, are dilemmatic (e.g. Billig *et al.*, 1988). For example, Billig (1990) reports several moments of a family conversation about the Royal Family. At one moment of the interaction, when the family members were discussing the difference of wealth between the royals and the poor, the father, a firm supporter of the royalty and its traditions, simultaneously criticized and justified royal ceremonies. Specifically, he criticized the expense of such events as ‘waste’ (p. 67), but he also defended the jobs that these events were creating for non-royal people. In this regard, as the author notes, the father was simultaneously drawing upon the contrary themes of egalitarianism and inequality when talking about the Royal Family. In so doing, he was reproducing commonplace themes about royalty, that is, themes that are ‘commonly or socially shared (the places of the community)’ (Billig, 1990, p. 69) and ‘commonly cited in discourse of this topic (frequently visited places)’ (p. 69).

Connecting the study of ideology with the examination of discourse has been a key part of critical discourse analysis, as seen above, as well as being part of the approach of those discursive psychologists who have looked at ‘ideological dilemmas’ (Billig *et al.*, 1988). In this respect, the three approaches, which have been discussed in this section, are not entirely separated but they do overlap in certain aspects. Moreover, it is possible to take the insights and methods from each approach to examine issues conventionally associated with the other approaches. This means that it should be possible to study issues directly related to the expression of ideology – such as, concealment of belief, political manipulation, habits of language, common-sense discourse, etc. – by examining the details of political discourse according to the three approaches. This, it is hoped, will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

4. A methodology for studying the parliamentary celebration of the April Revolution

4.1 Introduction

This thesis examines the commemorative speeches at the parliamentary celebration of the April Revolution. In this chapter a description of the data source, as well as a brief summary of the methods used to analyse the data are described. As we will see, different methods were followed to analyse the speeches. The reason for this is that different methods enable us to address different research problems. Thus, in this thesis we start by examining the trends and customs of the commemorative speeches. In order to do this we applied the conventions of the method of quantitative content analysis to whole political speeches. This method enables us to get a broad view of the data and particularly to look at historical trends across time. Then we move to investigating the complexity of specific speeches. We used methodological approaches that allowed us to look at the rhetorical properties of discourse and its ambiguity. Specifically, we followed the assumptions of the kind of discursive approaches that were discussed in the previous chapter – namely, Critical Discourse Analysis, Discourse-Historical Analysis and Rhetorical and Discursive Social Psychology. In this way, we can see how speakers at particular moments create ideological versions of history, and how their versions can be controversial both historically and in terms of present politics.

4.2 Data source

The data for this study relies essentially on the official Parliamentary records of the commemorative sessions of the April Revolution in the Portuguese Parliament. These

records are available to the public in the official publication, the *Diários da Assembleia da República*⁷ (*Diaries of the Assembly of the Republic*). These publications, which are composed of two series, aim at providing a complete and reliable record of all activities of the Parliament. The first series reports all parliamentary debates and uses a format resembling that of a newspaper. The second series uses a similar format and contains the texts produced by and for the Parliament – such as the texts of the decrees, the deliberations of the plenary sessions, the proposals for laws and referendums, petitions, the messages from the President to the Parliament, the policies of the Government, etc. The first official Parliament publication dates from June 4 1976 and reports the first parliamentary debate of June 3 after the first general election of April 25 1976.

The official Parliamentary records of the commemorations of the April Revolution are available in the first series of the *Diários da Assembleia da República* and they can be accessed online from the official website of the Parliament⁸. These records of the parliamentary sessions provide an official record of the ceremony for each year's commemorations and this is since April 25 1977 – for the first parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution. Each official record starts by indicating who the President of the Parliament is and who are the secretaries of the session. It then gives information about what time the session started, the deputies who attended the ceremony and those who did not attend it. It also gives a list of the guests and a summary of the formal procedures of the ceremony. Most significantly, the record provides a transcript of what was said and by whom.

The analytical chapters rely mainly on the official parliamentary transcripts of the commemorative speeches. These official transcripts are elaborated on by the secretaries of the Parliament and are claimed to be an accurate written record of what was said there and also of the reactions from the audience. The custom of these sessions is that the President of the Parliament, the President of the Republic and one deputy from each political party read a speech previously written for the ceremony. The official transcript of each speech relies thus on a written version of the speeches. However, it is not just a record of previously written texts. It also records what happens at the commemoration – indications of applause and other expressions from the audience are also provided.

⁷All information about the official Parliament publications was obtained from the official Parliament website.

⁸ [www. http://debates.parlamento.pt/?pid=r3](http://debates.parlamento.pt/?pid=r3)

It should be stressed that the official record is not a transcript of the proceedings of the sort that an academic linguist or micro-sociologist might make, when recording exactly what a speaker might say. The official record produces ‘tidy’ versions, which tend to eliminate hesitations, grammatical errors, and other ‘micro-failures’. However, it is possible for the analyst to go beyond this official record, in order to examine the micro-features of what was actually said. The parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution is broadcast on television and the recordings of these broadcasts are available⁹. For Chapters Seven and Eight, these broadcasts were also used for analytical purposes. Specifically, the television record was used to augment the official transcripts. The broadcasts provide information that is not present in the official textual record. By examining the broadcasts, it is possible to analyse meta-linguistic factors such as intonation shifts, direction of gaze, word stresses, pauses, gestures, etc. As will be seen, this sort of information can be essential when it comes to examining in detail the ambiguities of particular speeches and their reception in Parliament, rather than examining the general, intended meanings of the speeches.

4.3 Methods

In this study different methods are used to analyse the data. The first analytical chapter, Chapter Five, aims at providing a broad view of the content of the commemorative speeches, especially across politics and over time. As such, a content analysis of the commemorative speeches of four political parties across fifteen years of commemoration was conducted. The method of content analysis is essentially a quantitative analysis which enables us to look at broad trends but not of the sort of rhetorical details, which have been discussed at the end of the previous chapter. In particular, content analysis can be helpful for examining different uses of particular terminology and themes by different political parties over time, for it relies on counting major terms or themes of a large volume of material (Deacon *et al.*, 1999). Furthermore, content analysis stands for a top-down treatment of data, which starts with pre-

⁹The television record of the ceremony analysed in Chapters Seven and Eight was made available by the Parliament.

established questions that are inspired by the literature or other sources. That is, the researcher formulates in advance research questions and subsequently determines what categories or themes should be examined in the data in order to answer these questions. Only then the analysis of the data set can progress by counting systematically the absences and presences of the pre-defined terminologies or categories.

Content analysis is a well-established method across the social sciences and is particularly being used in media and political research (Deacon *et al.*, 1999; Deacon, Golding and Billig, 1998, 2001, 2002; Deacon, Wring and Golding, 2006, 2007). This method has also been used in political psychology as a preliminary tool before detailed analytic study (Billig, 1978; Tileagă, 2004). By using content analysis, the researcher hopes to obtain a broad, but comparatively superficial, view of the data set in question. This enables the researcher to place detailed analyses of particular examples within a wider context.

In some respects, the method of content analysis resembles the newer methodology of corpus linguistics, which linguists have been developing (Mautner, 2009). Like content analysis, corpus linguistics is a method of extracting quantitative information from large sets of textual data by means of computer software. The major strength of corpus linguistics is that the researchers do not need to count the words they are studying. The computer programme registers itself the occurrences of the words and phrases of the data set in question (word frequencies) and it provides statistical significances of two words occurring together (Mautner, 2009). Corpus linguistics has been particularly useful for linguists who are examining how the words and phrases, which they are studying, are used in a wide data sample. The current research project is not seeking to analyse particular terms in themselves. We are interested at this stage in the broad ideological and historical patterns in the speeches, rather than in their detailed linguistic features. Therefore, the present study uses content analysis as a preliminary research step. Specifically, it investigates whether the parties of the right and left use different themes and terms with differing frequencies when they refer to the fascist regime, the revolution and the post revolutionary period. Such information provides a broad background for the detailed analysis of rhetoric to be conducted in the later chapters.

Chapter Five do not go into analytical detail of specific speeches; rather it looks at patterns across speeches. However, there are analytic limitations, as well as strengths in

using this sort of methodology. In particular, content analysis of whole speeches typically ignores the rhetorical complexity of individual occurrences. To see the complexity of what is going on in the parliamentary celebration, and the way that the politicians may subtly convey or even hide meanings, we need to move from a quantitative analysis of a large number of speeches to a more detail analysis of parts of the speeches and even to more complex discursive analyses of specific parts. In this respect, Chapters Six to Eight undertake a more complex analysis which follows from the sort of qualitative approach that Discursive Psychology and Conversational Analysis attempt to take. This involves a data-driven approach, which starts with a step by step analysis of particular pieces of data. Conversational analysts call their approach ‘unmotivated looking’ or ‘unmotivated examination’ (ten Have, 1999, p. 102-103) for they examine extracts of data without trying to impose theoretical categories in advance. Instead, they try to observe without preconceptions what is there. Similarly, Potter and Edwards (2001) talk of ‘empirical analysis’: ‘It (Discourse Social Psychology) takes the analysis of materials to be the central making claims and developing analysis.’ (p. 106). As a result, research questions in this approach are claimed to be ‘generated from an open-minded assessment of the data’ (Wooffitt, 2005, p. 72), rather than theorised in advance. Billig’s (2007) recent analysis of television newsreaders’ coverage of politicians during the 2005 British General Election campaign offers a case in point. By looking at the discursive details of routine episodes of this coverage, and specifically at the way newsreaders presented politicians’ words and behaviour, the author shows how the newsreaders were displaying a sense of suspicion, which fits a more general ideological pattern. This finding was derived from the contents of the data, rather than from an a priori position, taken before the data was examined.

Potter (1996) also argues that this kind of approach to data analysis should go hand in hand with ‘methodological relativism’ – a concept that the author borrows from the sociology of scientific knowledge (see p. 25-26). In addition to a step by step analysis of the data, the analyst should not take sides in participants’ debates but should examine how participants discursively construct reality. However, this methodological principle may be seen to be at odds with those critical discourse analysts, who, while also working on the details of discourse, take the side of the dominated and, thereby, focus their analysis in revealing how relations of dominance and discrimination are rhetorically reproduced by those in power (see Chapter Three). In this respect, it is possible to

analyse the details of particular extracts of discourse, keeping an open mind about how the details might be operating in the particular instance, while still retaining a critical perspective about the wider political patterns of dominance.

In accordance with the methodological principles of discursive psychology, Chapters Six to Eight proceed from a bottom-up approach: they look at what the speeches contain and progress the analysis by working on what it is found, rather than imposing theoretical categories on the whole. In accord with a bottom-up analysis, these analyses tend to start with the beginnings of the speeches rather than being based on a fixed idea where the ideological messages of the speech might be located. The analysis begins with the speeches' beginnings, in order to see whether ideological and political meanings can be found there and, if they can, what sort of meanings might be located there.

Chapter Six provides details about the historical development of the sort of speeches delivered during the parliamentary celebration. In particular, it uses quantitative content analysis to examine how the rhetorical and ideological custom of the commemorative speeches, namely the formal openings of this sort of speech, and its development over time. Additionally, a quantitative content analysis of the use of gendered forms of addresses was conducted. This was done to investigate the changes across time in the way that the politicians have been addressing the members of the audience right at the beginning of the speeches. In this study, the meaning of particular terms was also analysed. It is by looking at the details of the formal opening of these speeches that we find that ideology is presented right at the start of the speeches, even when speakers are merely engaged in making formal greetings.

On the other hand, Chapters Seven and Eight take the analysis further by examining in-depth how two speakers start their speech proper. Although these analytical chapters follow the methodological principles of discursive psychology, they do not entirely accept the principle of methodological relativity for a critical analysis, while still attempting to look open-mindedly at the details of discourse, should still reserve the right to criticise analytically the phenomena that it might uncover by means of its detailed analysis. In this respect, Chapter Seven is devoted to a detailed analysis of the far right's rhetoric at a recent commemoration. It examines in great depth the way that Anacoreta Correia, the speaker of the Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party (or

CDS-PP) at the 2004 commemoration, started his speech proper – immediately after having conventionally addressed the audience with a list of formal forms of addresses.

Also, in order to analyse particular examples in depth, it is necessary not just to use the original transcripts of particular speeches. In addition, the television record of the 2004 ceremony was also used for analytic purposes. The television record was used to check the original transcripts and specially to see *how* Correia was speaking. The television record enables analysts to note intonation shifts, direction of gaze, word stresses, pauses, gestures, etc. These meta-linguistic aspects of the data can be important, for example, in understanding how speakers elicit applause and react to applause. In this chapter by following the sort of discursive approaches discussed previously, it is possible to see the complexities of such discourse. That is, behind an apparent celebration there can be contradictory and hidden meanings. To discover these meanings, one cannot just count the frequency of a particular word, but one needs to explore the depths of rhetorical meaning within a particular episode or within a particular version of history.

Chapter Eight continues to use the discursive methods of Chapter Seven and seeks to contrast the detailed analysis of Correia's opening speech with the opening of the speaker of the far left Portuguese Communist Party (or PCP), Bernardino Soares, at the same year's commemoration. A close examination of this speech's opening rethoric and its meta-linguistic aspects shows that the speaker is giving a particular account of the past, ostensibly openly quoting named sources but as he is doing this he is concealing aspects of the previous versions of the past. Only detailed textual analysis can demonstrate this. In this chapter, and by comparison with the previous one, it is argued that the rhetoric of concealment is not just a linguistic matter: there can be concealment to hide the ideology of the party and concealment of pieces of historical evidence in order to make the ideology of the party clearer. These two sorts of concealment differ. To show this requires both linguistic and historical understanding. All this, it is hoped, will be shown in the following analytical chapters, as we move from quantitative content analysis of whole speeches to qualitative in-depth textual analysis of parts of particular speeches.

5. Content Analysis

5.1 Introduction

As illustrated previously, History as produced by social scientists and historians is contested (Chapters Two and Three). In the Portuguese context, disagreements among social scientists and historians about how to characterise a political moment of the national past, what aspects and actors of these moments are to be remembered, are frequent. Moreover, such disagreements vary across ideological lines, that is, accounts of the national past from academics are not merely academic but are also political. Social scientists and historians themselves acknowledge this, as they often describe the opposite account as ideological, while presenting their own ideological version of the same events as if they were factual. This first analytical chapter looks at this issue in relation to the annual parliamentary celebration of the April Revolution. Specifically, it aims at exposing the political nature of what is said at this ceremony about the fascist regime, the Revolution and the post-revolutionary period. To do this a quantitative content analysis of the general trends, in terms of specific terminologies, of what is said there about these past periods was conducted. For this purpose sixty parliamentary commemorative speeches across four political parties over fifteen years of commemorations were thus analysed.

The method of content analysis was developed in the early 1920s to analyse statistically the content of American newspapers. From the 1930s onwards the conventions of the method were widely applied to political materials (Berelson, 1954, for the history of the method). As seen in the previous chapter, content analysis relies on counting in a systematic way major features of a large volume of material. In this way quantitative content analysis can provide an excellent introduction to the patterns of terms and themes to be found in political material. As we should see, it can provide interesting results. However, it does not remove the need for more detailed textual analysis.

5.2 Sampling

The present study examines the commemorative speeches from the speakers of four political parties – namely, from the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), the Socialist Party (PS), the Social Democratic Party (PSD) and the Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party (CDS-PP). The speeches of these four political parties were analysed over fifteen years of celebrations of the April Revolution in Parliament. Three aspects determined the selection of these political parties for this first study.

First, in terms of political ideology, these four political parties represent a full political spectrum from the far left to the far right. The Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) is the oldest political party of the Portuguese political system; it was founded in 1921 during the First Republic. The PCP is a far left party, with a Marxist-Leninist ideology. During the previous regime and until the 1960s it constituted the only organised clandestine opposition to the regime. After the Revolution the PCP was legalised. In the European parliament the party is associated with the United European Left/Nordic Green Left (UEL/NGL) (Freire, 2005). On the other hand, the Socialist Party (PS) is considered a political party from the centre left. It was officially founded in April 1973 in exile in Germany by militants of the *Acção Socialista Portuguesa* (ASP). Since its creation it has been a member of the Socialist International – a world-wide organization consisting of social democratic, socialist and labour parties (Freire, 2005; Jalali, 2007). In the European Parliament, the PS has been associated with the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats. The third political party, the Social Democratic Party (PSD), is, despite its label, a liberal party from the centre right. It was officially created in May 1974 as the Democratic Popular Party (PPD) by a liberal and Catholic elite, which included the liberals that during the previous regime had participated in the National Assembly of 1969 – the *Ala Liberal* (Liberal Wing) (see Chapter Two). This was the case of the founder members of the party who, disappointed with Marcelo Caetano, had resigned from the National Assembly before 1973 (Jalali, 2007). In the European Parliament the PSD until the 1990s belonged to the European Liberal Democratic and Reformist Group (ELDR), and since then it has been associated with the conservative European People's Party (EPP) (Freire, 2005). Finally, the Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party (CDS-PP) was founded in July 1974 by a

conservative, catholic elite, some of whom had participated in the previous regime of Salazar and Caetano. At that time it was called the Social Democratic Centre (or CDS). In 1991 under a new leadership the CDS was labelled Social Democratic Centre-Popular Party (or the CDS-PP). According to its new leader, Manuel Monteiro, this change was supposed to indicate ‘a “democratic rupture” with the past of the CDS and a new start as a modern, populist, political party supporting liberal capitalism and opposing the “federalism” of the UE (Robinson, 1996, p. 969, my own translation). In terms of political ideology, observers have classified this political party in different ways. Some have seen it as a right-wing conservative and catholic party (ex.: Freire, 2005; Jalali, 2007; Robinson, 1996), while others have described it as a far-right party (see Costa, 2007, for an account of why it is best described as far right). In the present work the CDS-PP is classified as a political party from the far right in the light of its continuing Salazar heritage. This aspect of the CDS-PP is examined later in Chapter Seven. In the European Parliament, the CDS-PP was expelled from the European People’s Party in 1992 because of its anti-European stance. It was then associated with the conservative Union for Europe of the Nations Group (UPE). After 1997 the CDS-PP changed its position with regards to the UE and in 2004 it returned to the EPP (Freire, 2005).

These four political parties, which have been selected for analysis, have been represented in the Portuguese Parliament continuously since 1975. That is, all four political parties have been in parliament since the first general election for the Constituent Assembly that elaborated and approved the Portuguese Constitution on April 2 1976 (see Table 1). It should be noted that the far right in parliament, the CDS, voted against the Constitution (Robinson, 1996).

Another important factor relating to these four political parties is that they continuously represent the main parties of the Portuguese political system. As can be seen below, these political parties (PCP, PS, PSD and CDS/CDS-PP) have successively obtained more than 90% of the parliamentary seats across all the general elections since 1976 (Table 1). Each government since 1976 has contained either the PS or the PSD, either as single-party or as part of a coalition – namely, the coalition between PS and CDS in 1977-1978, the coalition between PSD, CDS and PPM (Monarchist Popular Party) in 1979-1983, the coalition between PS and PSD in 1983-1985, and the coalition between PSD and CDS-PP in 2002-2005 (Freire, 2005). The PCP from the far left has never been part of government. With the exceptions of the general elections of 1995 and

2002, the PCP (in coalition with the MDP/CDE until 1985 and the PEV, the Green Party, since 1987 until now) occupies the third political party with more seats in parliament, followed by the far right. In 1987 both the PCP and the CDS-PP lost substantial electorate support that they have not won back. In the general election of 1983 the CDS won 12.6% of votes (the equivalent of 30 seats in parliament out of 250 seats) and the PCP (in coalition with the MDP/CDE) 18.7% (the equivalent of 44 seats in parliament). However, in 2002 the CDS-PP won only 8,7% of votes (the equivalent of 14 seats out of 230 seats) and the PCP (in pre-coalition with the PEV, the Green Party) won 6,9% (the equivalent of 12 seats) (Freire, 2005).

Finally, for the present analysis fifteen celebrations were selected from the time period between 1977 and 2005. The year 1977 marked the first parliamentary celebration of the event. From then two criteria were used to select the years to examine. First, each commemoration following a general election was included. Second, every fifth commemoration since the April Revolution was also included (for details, see Table 1). In total sixty parliamentary speeches were analysed.

Table 1
Distribution of the sample by Legislations and Governments*

Legislations	Governments (frequency of the main political parties in the Parliament)*	Sample: each year following a general election	Sample: every fifth commemoration
1974-75: without elected Assembly	Provisory Governments		
1975-76: 'Constituent' Assembly	Provisory Governments (CDS, PCP, PPD, PS (94,0))		
1976-79: I (A) Parliament (Election: 25 April 1976)	Minority government PS (I) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (99,6))	1977 (1st parliamentary celebration)	
	Post-electoral coalition PS-CDS (II) (23.01.78 - 28.07.78)	1978	
	Presidential initiative (III) (28.08.78 - 15.09.78)		
	Presidential initiative (IV) (21.11.78 a 11.06.79)		1979 (5 th anniversary)
	Presidential initiative (V) (31.07.79 - 27.12.79)		
1979-80: I (B) Parliament (Election: 2 nd December 1979)	Pre-electoral coalition AD (VI) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (96,4))	1980	
1980-1983: II Parliament (Election: 5 th October 1980)	Pre-electoral coalition AD (VII e VIII) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (93,2))	1981	
1983-85: III Parliament (Election: 25 April 1983)	Post-electoral coalition PS-PSD (IX) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (98,8))	1984	1984 (10 th anniversary)
1985-87: IV Parliament (Election: 5 th October 1985)	Minority government PSD (X) (CDS, PCP, PRD, PSD, PS (98,8))	1986	
1987-91: V Parliament (Election: 19 th July 1987)	Majority government PSD (XI) (CDS, PCP, PRD, PSD, PS (99,2))	1988	
1991-95: VI Parliament (Election: 6 th October 1991)	Majority government PSD (XII) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (98,7))		1994 (20 th anniversary)
1995-99: VII Parliament (Election: 1 st October 1995)	Minority government PS (XIII) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (99,1))	1996	1999 (25 anniversary)
1999-02: VIII Parliament (Election: 10 th October 1999)	Minority government PS (XIV) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (98,3))	2000	
2002-05: IX Parliament (Election: 17th March 2002)	Post-electoral coalition PSD-CDS (XV e XVI) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (93,7))	2002	2004 (30 th anniversary)
2005- : X Parliament (Election: 20 th February 2005)	Majority government PS (XVII) (CDS, PCP, PSD, PS (88,6))	2005	

*Adapted from Freire (2001)

5.3 Coding

A coding manual was prepared in order to register: the *length* of each speech; the *frequency* of terminologies used to describe the previous regime and the revolutionary period (that is, the revolution and the following revolutionary period); and also the *frequency* of specific themes and social groups/individuals mentioned for each historical period. Thus, for each speech (the unit of analysis) the first category registers the ‘total number of words’ and the second category rates what terms are employed to describe the previous regime and the revolutionary period. This second category is composed of three basic categories: ‘terminology’, ‘themes’ and ‘social groups/ individuals’.

These basic three categories were elaborated into a number of sub-categories, which were principally derived from two sources. Most of the sub-categories derived from the literature review of the history of these past periods, mainly from social scientists (see Chapter Two); in addition further sub-categories were derived from a careful, preliminary reading of the speeches themselves. For example, sub-categories such as ‘fascism’ and ‘dictatorship’ were derived from the literature review, while sub-categories such as ‘history’ and ‘persecutions’ came through the preliminary reading of the speeches. The elaboration of these sub-categories sought to provide a broad view of what is typically mentioned when politicians from different political parties describe both the previous and the revolutionary periods (see Table 2 and Table 3). In this respect, the first category, labelled ‘terminology’, was created in order to record the frequency of terms used by the speakers when they referred to each period. Since, speakers from different political parties seemed to use terms that carry different connotations, the first sub-category was also created in order to register positive and negative terminologies. Thus, the category ‘terminology’ for the previous regime was composed of three sub-categories: ‘fascism’, ‘dictatorship’ and ‘neutral terminology’. The first sub-category ‘fascism’ carries a more negative connotation than does the second sub-category ‘dictatorship’. The sub-category ‘neutral terminology’ grouped terms, such as a date or terms that were often used to refer to the previous regime and that do not carry any positive or negative connotation. A list of the terms included in each sub-category is presented below (Table 2).

Table 2
Terminology used to describe the previous regime

<i>Fascism:</i> fascism, totalitarianism
<i>Dictatorship:</i> dictatorship
<i>Neutral terminology:</i> a date, old regime, past, previous regime, ‘Salazarismo’, etc.

For the revolutionary period, the category ‘terminology’ also aimed at registering the frequency of different terminologies used to refer to this period. For this period, negative terminologies – such as ‘fascism’, ‘dictatorship’ – were also counted. Positive terms used to refer to this period were also registered, namely, the positive descriptions such as ‘authentic moment’ and ‘historical moment’ which are included under the sub-category ‘History’. With the other sub-categories the aim was to examine whether the political parties differed from each other in referring to this period as a ‘revolution’, in mentioning different moments of this period – as ‘revolutionary period’ after April 25 or ‘November 25’ – and in using neutral terms, such as a date or other neutral terms as ‘new regime’. A list of the the terms included in each sub-category is presented below (see Table 3).

Table 3
Terminology used to describe the revolutionary period

<i>Fascism/dictatorship:</i> dictatorship, fascism, totalitarianism
<i>Revolution:</i> revolution, overthrown
<i>Revolutionary period after April 25:</i> summer of 1975, revolutionary process, PREC, post-revolution
<i>November 25:</i> November 25, counter-revolution
<i>History:</i> authentic moment, historical moment, national moment
<i>Neutral terminology:</i> a date, dawn of April, end of ‘Estado Novo’, new regime, new time, etc.

With the category ‘themes’, the aim was to register the frequency of ‘themes’ mentioned when the speakers were describing the previous regime and the revolutionary period. For the previous regime, the sub-categories of ‘themes’ included ‘censorship’, ‘persecution’, ‘colonialism’, ‘other negative’ aspects and ‘fight’ against the previous regime. A list of the terms and concepts for each sub-category is presented in Table 4.

Table 4
Themes mentioned during the previous regime

<i>Censorship:</i> censorship
<i>Persecution:</i> oppression, persecution, torture, political violence, ‘Caxias’, ‘Tarrafal’, etc.
<i>Colonialism:</i> colonialism, colonial war, colonial torture
<i>Other Negatives:</i> injustice, inequality, privileges, misery
<i>Fight:</i> fight against the previous regime

In relation to the revolutionary period, the category ‘themes’ included ‘negative aspects’, ‘fight’, ‘decolonization’, ‘democracy’, ‘progress’, ‘freedom’, ‘equality’, ‘fairness’, ‘unity’. A list of the terms and concepts included in each sub-category is presented below (see Table 5).

Table 5
Themes mentioned during the revolutionary period

<i>Negative aspects:</i> censorship, oppression, persecution, injustice, inequality, exploitation, privileges, misery
<i>Fight:</i> fight during the revolution
<i>Decolonization:</i> decolonization
<i>Democracy:</i> democracy
<i>Progress:</i> development, change, progress, evolution
<i>Freedom:</i> freedom, liberation
<i>Equality:</i> redistribution, equality
<i>Fairness:</i> fairness
<i>Unity:</i> unity, solidarity, cooperation, conviviality, fraternity

Finally, the category ‘social groups/individuals’ was created in order to register which groups and individuals are more commonly referred to when the speakers are describing the previous regime and the revolutionary period. For the previous regime, this category included references to the ‘supporters’ of the regime, the ‘opposition’ – with ‘communists’ coded separately from ‘opposition’ – ‘poor people’, ‘social movements’, ‘women’ and the ‘Portuguese/Nation’. A list of terms included in each sub-category is presented below (see Table 6).

Table 6**Social groups/individuals mentioned during the previous regime**

<i>Opposition to the previous regime:</i>	anti-fascists; democrats, democratic forces; democratic movement
<i>Supporters of the previous regime:</i>	anti-democrats; Caetano; Salazar; fascists; PIDE/DGS; reactionaries; totalitarians
<i>Communists:</i>	communists
<i>Poor people:</i>	farmers; popular masses; proletarian
<i>Movements:</i>	student movement; popular movement; worker movement
<i>Women:</i>	women
<i>Portuguese/Nation:</i>	Portugal, own country, Portuguese; patriots

The category ‘social groups/individuals’ for the revolutionary period included references to ‘supporters of the revolution, with ‘communists’ included as a separate indicator, ‘supporters of the previous regime’, ‘revolutionaries’, ‘poor people’, social movements, women and ‘Portuguese/Nation’ (see Table 7).

Table 7**Social groups/individuals mentioned during the revolutionary period**

<i>Supporters of the revolution:</i>	anti-fascists; democrats, democratic forces; democratic movement
<i>Supporters of the previous regime:</i>	anti-democrats; Caetano; Salazar; fascists; PIDE/DGS
<i>Communists:</i>	communists
<i>Revolutionaries:</i>	Revolutionaries, Captains of April, Revolutionary council
<i>Poor people:</i>	farmers; popular masses; proletarian
<i>Movements:</i>	student movement; popular movement; worker movement
<i>Women:</i>	women
<i>Portuguese/Nation:</i>	Portugal, own country, Portuguese; patriots

The coding of the content was conducted taking the speech as the basic unit. Each speech was analysed to see for each time period how many times it mentioned what are here coded as ‘terminologies’, ‘themes’ or ‘social groups/individuals’. For each speech, a total number of references was computed for each sub-category of the basic categories ‘terminology’, ‘theme’ and ‘social group/individuals’.

5.4 Analysis

5.4.1 Number of words across political party

In order to compare the overall number of words in the speeches by the political parties, a One-Way ANOVA was run with political parties as a nominal variable (1- PCP speeches; 2- PS speeches; 3- PSD speeches; 4- CDS-PP speeches), and the total number of words for their speeches overall as the dependent variable. The results show no statistical differences in the length of the speeches across political parties (Table 8).

Table 8
Number of words across political party for fifteen years of commemorations

	N	Mean words (Std. Deviation)	Minimum words per speech	Maximum words per speech
<i>PCP</i>	15	1344,40 (384,91)	912,00	2191,00
<i>PS</i>	15	1730 (523,28)	949,00	2657,00
<i>PSD</i>	15	1640,47 (400,12)	1037,00	2383,00
<i>CDS-PP</i>	15	1539,40 (265,01)	1013,00	1917,00
<i>Total</i>	60	1563,57 (419,15)	912,00	2657,00

Test: $F(3,56)=2,521$, $p=.067$. Mean differences between PCP and PS=-38,6, $p<.10$.

5.4.2 Analysis of the sub-categories for the previous regime across political party

The subsequent analyses aim at testing differences between political parties in the way their speakers describe the previous regime. This meant testing for differences between the political parties in the sub-categories for each basic category of ‘terminology’, ‘themes’ and ‘social groups/individuals’. Exploratory analyses of the data indicated that the distribution of each variable that constitute the sub-categories across political parties was not normal or not homogeneous in variance. Consequently, standard ANOVAs could not be used. Instead, the Kruskal-Wallis Test, a non-parametric test, equivalent of One-

way Anova, was used. Non-parametric, or free- distribution, tests are used when the principles of normality or homogeneity are not met (Field, 2009; Pestana and Gageiro, 1988). The non-parametric Kruskal-Wallis tests for differences between three or more unrelated group scores. This test ranks the scores from lowest to highest. It then sums the ranks for each group and compares the means of the ranks between the groups (Field, 2009, p. 560). It should be stressed that one can use non-parametric statistical tests with very small sample sizes; in contrast with parametric tests, problems can arise if the sample sizes are too large, as the ranking escalates excessively (Howitt and Cramer, 2005, p. 177).

Additionally, when the Kruskal-Wallis Test shows differences between mean ranks across the political parties – at level of significance $p < .05$ – additional analyses were followed in order to identify which groups differ. For this purpose, the Mann-Whitney Test, a non-parametric test, which is an equivalent of the independent *t*-test, was used. With the Mann-Whitney Test differences between two mean ranks are tested. Following Field (2009), we used a Bonferroni correction and thus for each Mann-Whitney Test the critical value for significance used was $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

Kruskal-Wallis Tests were run with political party as the grouping variable and the sub-categories (or variables) of the three basic categories as dependent variables. With regard to the previous regime, the results of Kruskal-Wallis Tests for the first category indicate differences across political parties for the terminologies ‘fascism’ ($H(3)=36,91$, $p < .00$) and ‘dictatorship’ ($H(3)=28,87$, $p < .00$) (see Table 9), but there were no differences in their use of ‘neutral terminology’ ($H(3)=2,68$, n.s.) (see Table 9). Specifically, the results of Mann-Whitney Tests for the terminology ‘fascism’ showed a right-wing versus left-wing distinction. Thus, PCP (Mean rank=48,93) and PS (Mean rank=34,20), both left-wing parties, used the term ‘fascism’ significantly more to describe the previous regime than the right-wing parties did (Mean rank= 19,43 for the PSD as compared with Mean rank=19,43 for the CDS-PP). The difference between the two left-wing parties (PCP and PS) is not statistically different, nor is the difference between the two right-wing parties.

For the terminology ‘dictatorship’ another pattern of results was found. The political party from the centre-left – PS – used significantly the term ‘dictatorship’ more to

describe the previous regime, than any other political party did. Also, the PSD from the centre right used the term ‘dictatorship’ more to describe the previous regime than the CDS-PP from the far right did (Mean rank=29,50 for the PSD as compared with Mean rank=18 for the CDS-PP), but it used the term the same amount as the PCP (Mean rank=26,23).

Table 9
Statistics for ‘terminology’ used to describe the previous regime
across political party

		PCP	PS	PSD	CDS-PP	Total
	N of political speeches	15	15	15	15	60
<i>Fascism</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>40</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	63
	% of total references	63,5%	33,3%	1,6%	1,6%	100%
	Mean Rank*	48,93a	34,20a	19,43b	19,43b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=36,91, p<.00				
<i>Dictatorship</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>10</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>1</u>	59
	% of total references	16,9%	64,4%	16,9%	1,7%	100%
	Mean Rank*	26,23ac	48,27b	29,50a	18,00c	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=28,87, p<.00				
<i>Neutral terminology</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>14</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>11</u>	56
	% of total references	25	39,3	16,1	19,6	100
	Mean Rank	29,67	36,17	27,67	28,50	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=2,68, n.s.				

* - Mann-Whitney tests were run to compare each group against the others. The results of the tests are indicated by small letters. Same letters mean no statistical differences between mean ranks and different letters evidence statistical differences between means rank at level of significance p<.01.

For the category ‘themes’, the results of Kruskal-Wallis Tests indicated differences across political parties for ‘censorship’ (H(3)=9,19, p<.05), ‘persecution’ (H(3)=18,05, p<.00), ‘colonialism’ (H(3)=16,76, p<.01) and ‘fight’ (H(3)=23,36, p<.00). There were no differences for ‘other negatives’ themes (H(3)=6,17, n.s.) (see Table 10). Specifically, the results showed that the PCP from the far left mentioned the censorship during the previous regime more than the CDS-PP from the far right did (Mean rank=35,90 for PCP as compared with Mean rank=24,33 for CDS-PP). The mean ranks between the other parties (PS and PSD) were not statistically different. For the theme ‘persecution’ the results showed a distinction between the left-wing and the right-wing parties. That is, the two parties from the left mentioned more persecution during the previous regime than the two parties from the right (Mean rank=41,23 for the PCP and Mean rank=36,07 for the PS as compared with Mean rank=22,13 for the PSD and Mean rank=21,67 for the CDS-PP). For the theme ‘colonialism’ a similar pattern was found.

The PCP and the PS referred to ‘colonialism’ more during the previous regime than the two political parties from the right-wing did (Mean rank=38,50 for the PCP and Mean rank= 36,50 for the PS as compared with Mean rank=24,50 for the PSD and Mean rank=22,50 for the CDS-PP). Finally, with regards to the last theme, the results showed that the PCP from the far left mentioned ‘fight’ against the previous regime more than both political parties from the right-wing (Mean rank=44,90 for PCP as compared with Mean rank=44,90 for the PSD and Mean rank=18,43 for the CDS-PP). The results also showed that the PS from the centre left mentioned this theme more than the CDS-PP from the far right (Mean rank=33,60 for the PS as compared with Mean rank=18,43 for the CDS-PP). There were no differences between this political party and the far left (Mean rank=33,60 for the PS as compared with Mean rank=44,90 for the PCP) nor with the centre right (Mean rank=33,60 for the PS as compared with Mean rank=25,07 for the PSD).

Table 10
Statistics for ‘themes’ mentioned during the previous regime across political party

		PCP	PS	PSD	CDS-PP	Total
	N	15	15	15	15	60
<i>Censorship</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	25
	% of total references	36%	52%	8%	4%	100%
	Mean Rank*	35,90a	35,60ab	26,17ab	24,33b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=9,19, p<.05				
<i>Persecution</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>55</u>	<u>49</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	117
	% of total references	47%	41,9%	6,8%	4,3%	100
	Mean Rank*	41,23a	36,97a	22,13b	21,67b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=18,05, p<.00				
<i>Colonialism</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	16
	% of total references	50%	43,8%	6,3%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	38,50a	36,50a	24,50b	22,50b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=16,76, p<.01				
<i>Other negatives</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>25</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	50
	% of total references	50%	26%	18%	6%	100%
	Mean Rank*	36,80	32,40	29,60	23,20	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=6,17, n.s.				
<i>Fight</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>32</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>1</u>	59
	% of total references	54,2%	30,5%	13,6%	1,7%	100%
	Mean Rank*	44,90a	33,60ab	25,07bc	18,43c	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=23,36, p<.00				

* - Mann-Whitney tests were run to compare each group against the others. The results of the tests are indicated by small letters. Same letters mean no statistical differences between mean ranks and different letters evidence statistical differences between means rank at level of significance p<.01.

Finally, for the last category ‘social groups/individuals’ mentioned during the previous regime, the tests showed differences across political parties for the social groups ‘opposition’ ($H(3)=17,95$, $p<.00$), ‘supporters’ ($H(3)=11,95$, $p<.01$), and ‘Portuguese/Nation’ ($H(3)=18,13$, $p<.00$) but no differences for ‘poor people’ ($H(3)=3,22$, n.s.) (see Table 11). The results of the Kruskal-Wallis Tests for the groups ‘communists’, ‘movements’ and ‘women’ also showed differences across political parties. However, when Mann-Whitney Tests were used to identify which political groups differ, there were no significant differences at the level of $p<.01$.

The results showed that the left, that is, both the PCP from the far left and the PS from the centre left, mentioned ‘opposition’ during the previous regime more than the CDS-PP from the far right (Mean rank=40,20 for PCP and Mean rank=36,23 for the PS as compared with Mean rank=19 for the CDS-PP). There were no differences between the PSD from the centre right and the other political parties. For the social groups ‘supporters’ and ‘Portuguese/Nation’ the results demonstrated a similar pattern.

Table 11

**Statistics for ‘social groups/individuals’ mentioned during the previous regime
across political party**

		PCP	PS	PSD	CDS-PP	Total
	N	15	15	15	15	60
<i>Opposition</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	41
	% of total references	48,8%	36,6%	14,6%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	40,20a	36,23a	26,57ab	19b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=17,95, p<.00				
<i>Supporters</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	22
	% of total references	45,5%	45,5%	9,1%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	34,20a	37,63a	26,17ab	24,00b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=11,95, p<.01				
<i>Communists</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	5
	% of total references	80%	0%	20%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	36a	28a	30a	28a	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=9,23, p<.05				
<i>Poor people</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	23
	% of total references	43,5%	39,1%	13%	4,3%	100%
	Mean Rank*	33,40	32,83	28,93	26,83	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=3,22, n.s.				
<i>Movements</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	1
	% of total references	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	30	32	30	30	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=3,00, n.s.				
<i>Women</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	7
	% of total references	57,1%	42,9%	0%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	35,87a	30,13a	28a	28a	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=8,88, p<.05				
<i>Portuguese/ Nation</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>22</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	58
	% of total references	37,9%	43,1%	13,8%	5,2%	100%
	Mean Rank*	37,57a	40,50a	25,63ab	18,30b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=18,13, p<.00				

* - Mann-Whitney tests were run to compare each group against the others. The results of the tests are indicated by small letters. Same letters mean no statistical differences between mean ranks and different letters evidence statistical differences between means rank at level of significance p<.01.

Overall the results from the previous analyses showed differences between the political parties for all indicators except for the sub-categories ‘neutral terminology’, ‘other negative’ and ‘poor people’. Broadly, differences were found between left-wing and right-wing, with the left-wing mentioning negative terms, such as ‘fascism’ and ‘dictatorship’ more than the political parties from the right-wing did. However, the centre left tended to use the term ‘dictatorship’ more than the far left did. Also, the

results showed a clear cut difference between left-wing and right-wing in mentioning the ‘persecutions’ and ‘colonialism’, with more references found in the left-wing than in the right-wing. For ‘censorship’, the far left mentioned this theme more than the far right did. For ‘fight’ against the previous regime, the results showed that the far left mentioned this theme more than both political parties from the right-wing and the centre left did and more than the far right. Finally, for the three social groups/individuals the results showed a distinction between the left and the far right, with both political parties from the left mentioning more ‘opposition’, ‘supporters’ and ‘Portuguese/Nation’ when describing the previous regime than the far right did.

5.4.3 Multiple Correspondence Analysis for the variables of the previous regime across political party

Following from the previous sub-section, and in order to get a broader view of the multiple relations between the variables used to describe the previous regime and the four political parties, a Multiple Correspondence Analysis was run. This was used for analysing the sub-categories (or variables) of each category that showed differences across political parties in the previous analyses – that is, ‘fascism’, ‘dictatorship’, ‘censorship’, ‘persecution’, ‘colonialism’, ‘fight’, ‘opposition’, ‘supporters’ and ‘Portuguese/Nation’. For this purpose, the indicators, which were initially quantitative variables were transformed into nominal variables with two levels. These were: level 1, indicating zero reference; and level 2, indicating one or more references. The recoding of the variables had to do with the assumptions of the Multiple Correspondence Analysis that only works with nominal variables. It also permits analyst to concentrate on examining the presence and absence of themes in speeches and to distinguish between the parties in terms of presences and absences, rather than degree of presence.

For this analysis, ‘political party’ was entered as a supplementary, nominal variable with four levels (1- PCP; 2- PS; 3-PSD; and 4- CDS-PP). The designation supplementary variable means that the results of the analysis were obtained without this variable, which was only entered in the model at the end in order to investigate how it relates with the overall pattern of associations found with the other variables (Carvalho, 2004).

A Multiple Correspondence Analysis with two dimensions was run. A two dimensions analysis enables us to determine typical relations between factors – or groups of variables – and the four political parties. Thus, the Multiple Correspondence Analysis was performed in order to identify the two dimensions with the highest eigenvalues. These two dimensions accounted for 56% of the total variance.

The first step is to identify which groups of variables constitute the two dimensions. This is done by identifying which variables have a discrimination measure higher than the eigenvalue of the whole dimension. The results for the first dimension grouped together ‘fascism’, ‘persecution’, ‘colonialism’, ‘fight’ and ‘anti-fascists’ (see Table 12 where these are indicated in red). Whereas the second dimension grouped together ‘dictatorship’, ‘censorship’, ‘fascists’ and ‘Portuguese/nation’ (see Table 12 where these are indicated in blue). The results for this second dimension are less clear than the results of the first dimension; as can be seen below, the overall eigenvalue of the second dimension is much lower.

Table 12
Multiple Correspondence Analysis for the previous regime across political parties

Discrimination measures	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Fascism	0,532	0,045
Dictatorship	0,266	0,282
Censorship	0,401	0,188
Persecution	0,529	0,155
Colonialism	0,473	0,000
Fight	0,457	0,124
Opposition	0,516	0,050
Supporters	0,312	0,170
Portuguese/Nation	0,333	0,205
Eigenvalue	0,424	0,135
Supplementary variable:		
Political party speech	0,620	0,114

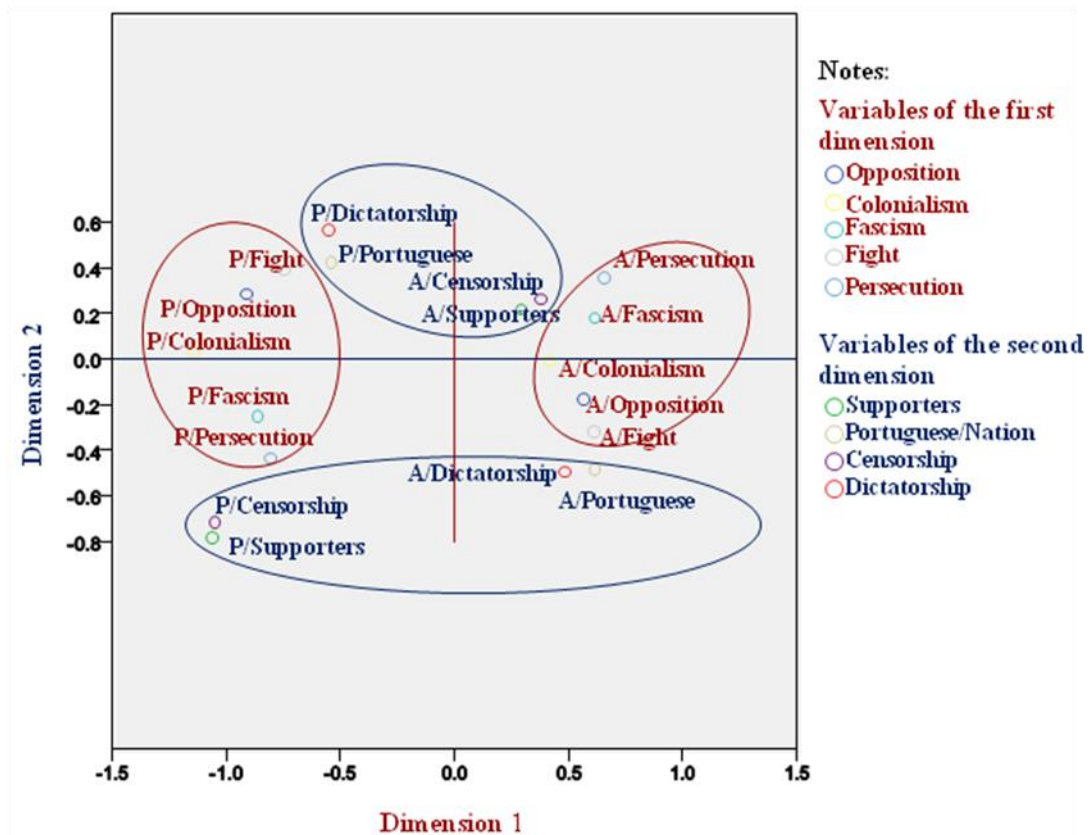
The second step is to examine for each dimension how the variables related to each other. This is done by looking at the quantifications for both levels of each variable that constitute each dimension. All this information is represented in Figure 1, which indicates the presence and absence of each variable. Level 1 of each variable, which indicates the absences, is represented visually by ‘A/’ followed by the name of the absent variable. Level 2 of each variable, which indicates the presences, is represented

visually by 'P/' followed by the name of the present variable. This way of representing the absences and presences is repeated in all the following figures of the Multiple Correspondence Analysis. For example, the quantification of level 1, the absences, of the variable 'fascism' is quantified as positive, which means that in dimension 1 the quantification of 'A/fascism' is significantly above zero (see Figure 1, blue circle close to 'A/Fascism', this circle represents a quantification of .617). And the quantification of level 2, the presences, of 'fascism' – 'P/Fascism' – is negative, that is, it is below zero (see Figure 1, the blue circle close to 'P/Fascism', this circle represents a quantification of -.863). Thus, both levels of the variable 'fascism' are located on the opposite sides of the same dimension and this means that the two levels of that variable are in contrast. This can be seen visually in figure 1 where 'A/fascism' is positioned on the positive side of dimension 1 (the horizontal dimension) and 'P/Fascism' is positioned on the negative side of the dimension.

Furthermore, by looking at the quantifications of all variables that constitute dimension 1, we can identify the overall patterns of relations between the variables. Thus, as can be seen in the figure below, which represents visually the relations between the variables of each dimension, the results for dimension 1 show that all levels 1 (absences) of the variables that constitute this dimension are located on the positive side of the dimension and all level 2 (presences) on the other side. In other words, this means that the variables of dimension 1 compose two contrasting groups: a group that highlighted the fascist nature of the previous regime, 'persecutions', 'colonialism', and also 'opposition' during this period – i.e. 'opposition' and 'fight'; and a second group that is characterised by the absence of these variables (see the two red opposite oval shapes of Figure 1).

Figure 1

Multiple Correspondence Analysis: associations between the levels of the variables used to describe the previous regime by two dimensions analysis



The results for the second dimension are less clear cut. In broad terms, this dimension seems to contrast two groups. The first group described the previous regime in a more general way by highlighting ‘Portuguese’ and ‘Nation’ when talking about this period and by referring to it as a dictatorship without particularly mentioning ‘censorship’ and ‘supporters’ of the previous regime. The second group did the opposite (see the blue oval shapes of Figure 1 with absences of ‘censorship’ and ‘supporters’ grouped with presences of ‘dictatorship’ and ‘Portuguese’, on one side of dimension 2, and absences of ‘dictatorship’ and ‘Portuguese’ and presence of ‘censorship’ and ‘supporters’ grouped together on the opposite side).

It is also possible to identify the strength of the associations within each group that compose a dimension. This information is given by the values of the quantifications and is visually represented by the proximity between the variables. For example, in the group

of dimension 1 'P/Fight' is closer to 'P/Opposition' than to 'P/Persecution'. This means that the association between referring to the 'fight' against the previous regime and mentioning the opposition is stronger than the association between referring to the 'fight' against the previous regime and the 'persecutions' during the previous regime. As will be seen shortly, this information is especially meaningful when the variable political party is also considered.

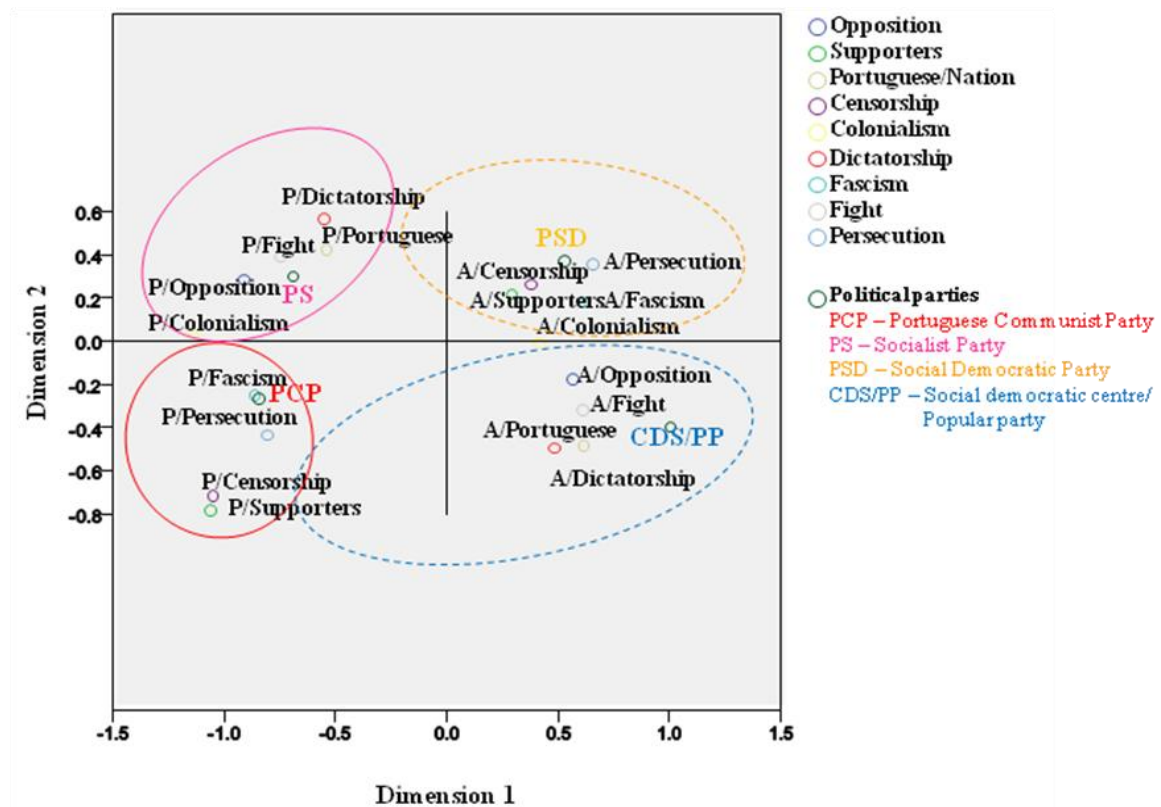
Finally, the last step is to cross the two dimensions and the political parties. This means representing separately for each party the variables constituting both dimensions, mapping this out in terms of the strength of the levels of the variables (see Figure 2). As Table 12 indicates, the political parties are more associated with the variables of dimension 1 than with the variables of dimension 2; the eigenvalue of 'political party' is higher in dimension 1 than in dimension 2. This means that the first dimension represents the different ways that the respective political parties characterise the previous regime. The quantifications for political parties indicate a clear political difference between left-wing and right-wing on this dimension, with the left-wing located on the negative side of the dimension and the right-wing on the positive. In other words, the results showed that the political parties from the left-wing differed from both political parties from the right-wing when talking about the previous regime. Specifically, the left-wing highlighted the fascist nature of the previous regime, 'persecutions', 'colonialism' and also 'opposition' and 'fight' against the regime, whereas the right-wing tended not to use such aspects.

Additionally, by crossing dimension 1 and 2 and the political parties, the results revealed that the PCP from the far left in describing the previous regime gave a version that, although mentioning 'fight', 'opposition' and 'colonialism', strongly emphasised its fascist nature and 'persecutions', as well as it mentioned distinctively 'supporters' and 'censorship' (see Figure 2 inside the red oval shape). The results for the party from the centre left, the PS, showed that, although it used the term 'fascism' and it referred to 'persecutions' during the previous regime, it strongly stressed 'colonialism', 'fight' against the previous regime by the opposition, as well as its dictatorial nature and 'Portuguese' and 'Nation' when talking about this period (see Figure 2 inside the pink oval shape).

Furthermore, this two dimensions analysis provided additional information about the right-wing parties. Both political parties generally did not mention the fascist nature

of the previous regime, ‘persecutions’, ‘colonialism’, ‘fighting’ against the previous regime by the opposition, and they also differed from the left-wing in other ways. The analysis showed that the centre-right, the PSD, was closer to the centre left, the PS, than to the far left, the PCP, in that the PSD used the term ‘dictatorship’ more and referred more to ‘Portuguese’ and ‘Nation’ when it mentioned this period than did the far left, the PCP. This relation is visually represented in the figure in diagonal. That is, because PCP and PSD were located in the same diagonal, this means that these political parties were contrasting with respect to these variables. With respect to the other political parties, the analysis also showed that the centre left, the PS, differed from the far right, the CDS-PP. This is so because CDS-PP was closer to the PCP than to the PS in mentioning ‘censorship’ and ‘supporters’ when referring to the previous regime.

Figure 2
Multiple Correspondence Analysis: crossing of the dimensions and projection of the political parties



5.4.4 Analysis of the sub-categories for the revolutionary period across political party

In this sub-section the subsequent analyses aim at testing differences between political parties in the way their speakers describe the revolutionary period. Similarly to the previous sub-section, for each sub-category of the three basic categories under analysis – ‘terminology’, ‘themes’ and ‘social groups/individuals’ – Kruskal-Wallis Tests were run with political party as the grouping variable and the indicators as dependent variables. Like for the previous analyses, when the tests indicate differences across political parties, additional Mann-Whitney Tests were followed in order to examine which groups differ from each other. Again, for these tests the level of significance used was $p < .01$ (2-tailed).

The Analysis for the category ‘terminology’ showed differences across political parties for ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’ ($H(3)=15,73$, $p < .01$), ‘Revolution’ ($H(3)=11,23$, $p < .05$), ‘November 25’ ($H(3)=12,75$, $p < .01$) and ‘Neutral terminology’ ($H(3)=14,65$, $p < .01$) but there were no differences for ‘Revolutionary period’ ($H(3)=3,90$, n.s.) and ‘History’ ($H(3)=3,25$, n.s.) (see Table 13).

Specifically, the results of Mann-Whitney Tests for the terminologies ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’ showed that the CDS-PP from the far right used significantly these negative terms more when referring to the revolutionary period than both parties from the left did (Mean rank=40,50 for the CDS-PP as compared with Mean rank=25,83 for the PCP and Mean rank=24,00 for the PS). Furthermore, there were no differences between the centre right and the far right on ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’ (Mean rank=31,67 for PSD as compared with Mean rank=40,50 for the CDS-PP), or between the centre right and the political parties from the left (Mean rank=31,67 for PSD as compared with Mean rank=25,83 for the PCP and Mean rank=24,00 for the PS).

For the term ‘Revolution’ another pattern of results was found. The political parties from the left, the PCP and PS, used this term significantly more than the political party from the centre right did (Mean rank=26,30 for the PCP and Mean rank=28,20 for the PS as compared with Mean rank=19,70 for the PSD). There were no differences between the parties of the right, the PSD and CDS-PP (Mean rank=19,70 for the PSD as

compared with Mean rank=27,87 for the CDS-PP), or differences between the far right and the parties from the left (Mean rank=27,87 for the CDS-PP as compared with Mean rank=26,30 for the PCP and Mean rank=28,20 for the PS).

For ‘November 25’, the results indicated that the far right, the CDS-PP, mentioned this period more than the far left did when talking about the revolutionary period (Mean rank=39,23 for the CDS-PP as compared with Mean rank=25 for the PCP). There were no differences between the other political parties.

Finally, the CDS-PP from the far right used ‘Neutral terminology’ less than any other political party (Mean rank=16,50 for the CDS-PP as compared with Mean rank=39,07 for the PCP, Mean rank=35,67 for the PS and Mean rank=30,77 for the PSD). There were also differences between other political parties.

Table 13
Statistics for ‘terminology’ used to describe the revolutionary period
across political party

		PCP	PS	PSD	CDS-PP	Total
	N	15	15	15	15	60
<i>Fascism/ dictatorship</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>15</u>	21
	% of total references	4,8%	0%	23,8%	71,4%	100%
	Mean Rank*	25,83a	24,00a	31,67ab	40,50b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=15,73, p<.01				
<i>Revolution</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>76</u>	<u>103</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>59</u>	259
	% of total references	29,3%	39,8%	8,1%	22,8%	100%
	Mean Rank*	35,00a	39,43a	19,70b	27,87ab	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=11,23, p<.05				
<i>Revolutionary period after April25</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	20
	% of total references	10%	15%	45%	30%	100%
	Mean Rank*	26,30	28,20	35,00	32,50	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=3,90, n.s.				
<i>November 25</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>14</u>	19
	% of total references	0%	10,5%	15,8%	73,7%	100%
	Mean Rank*	25,00a	27,17ab	30,60ab	39,23b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=12,75, p<.01				
<i>History</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>18</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	61
	% of total references	29,5%	32,8%	19,7%	18%	100%
	Mean Rank*	34,07	34,13	28,80	25,00	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=3,25, n.s.				
<i>Neutral terminology</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>182</u>	<u>189</u>	<u>160</u>	<u>85</u>	616
	% of total references	29,5%	30,7%	26%	13,8%	100%
	Mean Rank*	39,07a	35,67a	30,77ab	16,50b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=14,65, p<.01				

* - Mann-Whitney tests were run to compare each group against the others. The results of the tests are indicated by small letters. Same letters mean no statistical differences between mean ranks and different letters evidence statistical differences between means rank at level of significance p<.01.

For the category ‘themes’ of the revolutionary period, the results of Kruskal-Wallis Tests indicated differences across political parties only for ‘progress’ ($H(3)=7,75$, $p<.05$) and ‘freedom’ ($H(3)=14,51$, $p<.01$) (see Table 14). There were no differences across political parties for ‘negative aspects’ ($H(3)=4,04$, n.s.), ‘fight’ ($H(3)=5,81$, n.s.), ‘decolonization’ ($H(3)=4,01$, n.s.), ‘democracy’ ($H(3)=5,16$, n.s.), ‘equality’ ($H(3)=0,78$, n.s.), ‘fairness’ ($H(3)=3,91$, n.s.) and ‘unity’ ($H(3)=1,98$, n.s) (see Table 14).

Specifically, the results showed that the far right, the CDS-PP, referred to ‘Progress’ less when talking about the revolutionary period than the political party from the far left, the PCP, did (Mean rank=17,63 for CDS-PP as compared with Mean rank=40,30 for PCP). The mean ranks between PS, PSD and CDS-PP were not statistically different. For ‘Freedom’, the results showed that the political parties from the left, the PCP and the PS, refers to ‘freedom’ more when talking about the revolutionary period than the political party from the far right, the CDS-PP, did (Mean rank=39 for PCP and Mean rank=37,10 for PS as compared with Mean rank=17,63 for CDS-PP). There were no differences between PSD and the other political parties.

Table 14
Statistics for ‘themes’ mentioned during the revolutionary period
across political party

		PCP	PS	PSD	CDS-PP	Total
	N	15	15	15	15	60
<i>Negative aspects</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>16</u>	38
	% of total references	13,2%	31,6%	13,2%	42,1%	100%
	Mean Rank*	27,70	35,97	26,33	32,00	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=4,04, n.s.				
<i>Fight</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>12</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	42
	% of total references	28,6%	45,2%	9,5%	16,7%	100%
	Mean Rank*	34,10	36,27	25,03	26,60	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=5,81, n.s.				
<i>Decolonization</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>18</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	42
	% of total references	42,9%	33,3%	11,9%	11,9%	100%
	Mean Rank*	32,97	35,57	26,73	26,73	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=4,01, n.s.				
<i>Democracy</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>41</u>	<u>52</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>28</u>	158
	% of total references	25,9%	32,9%	23,4%	28%	100%
	Mean Rank*	31,50	37,77	29,00	23,73	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=5,16, n.s.				
<i>Progress</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>42</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>16</u>	100
	% of total references	42%	18%	24%	16%	100%
	Mean Rank*	40,30a	27,10ab	30,27ab	24,33b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=7,75, p<.05				
<i>Freedom</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>50</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>14</u>	159
	% of total references	31,4%	39,6%	20,1%	8,8%	100%
	Mean Rank*	39,00a	37,10a	28,27ab	17,63b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=14,51, p<.01				
<i>Equality</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	7
	% of total references	42,9%	14,3%	28,6%	14,3%	100%
	Mean Rank*	31,63	29,47	31,43	29,47	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=0,78, n.s.				
<i>Fairness</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>6</u>	16
	% of total references	37,5%	12,5%	12,5%	37,5%	100%
	Mean Rank*	35,30	27,43	27,43	31,83	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=3,91, n.s.				
<i>Unity</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	28
	% of total references	50%	10,7%	14,3%	25%	100%
	Mean Rank*	33,80	28,80	27,83	31,57	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	H(3)=1,98, n.s.				

*Mann-Whitney tests were run to compare each group against the others. The results of the tests are indicated by small letters. Same letters mean no statistical differences between mean ranks and different letters evidence statistical differences between means rank at level of significance p<.01.

Finally for the category ‘social groups/individuals’, the tests showed differences across the political parties only for the social group ‘revolutionaries’ (H(3)=31,50, p<.00) (see Table 15). Specifically, the political parties from the left, the PCP and the

PS, mentioned this group more when describing the revolutionary period than the political parties from the right, the PSD and the CDS-PP, did (Mean rank=41,57 for PCP and Mean rank=43,03 for PS as compared with Mean rank=18,70 for PSD and CDS-PP). The results of the Kruskal-Wallis Tests for the social groups ‘movements’, also showed differences across political parties. However, when Mann-Whitney Tests were used to identify which political parties differed, there were no significant differences at the level of $p<.01$. Also, Kruskal-Wallis Tests showed that there were no differences across political parties for the social groups ‘supporters of the revolution’ ($H(3)=1,32$, n.s.), ‘supporters of the previous regime’ ($H(3)=2,28$, n.s.), ‘poor people’ ($H(3)=5,55$, n.s.), ‘women’ ($H(3)=2,11$, n.s.) and ‘Portuguese/Nation’ ($H(3)=2,33$, n.s.).

Table 15
Statistics for ‘social groups/individuals’ mentioned during the revolutionary period across political party

		PCP	PS	PSD	CDS-PP	Total
	N	15	15	15	15	60
<i>Supporters of the revolution</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>	18
	% of total references	33,3%	5,6%	11,1%	50%	100%
	Mean Rank*	30,73	28,37	30,23	32,67	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	$H(3)=1,32$, n.s.				
<i>Supporters of the previous regime</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	7
	% of total references	28,6	28,6	0	42,9	100
	Mean Rank*	30,10	31,87	28,00	32,03	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	$H(3)=2,28$, n.s.				
<i>Revolutionaries</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>27</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	62
	% of total references	43,5%	46,8%	4,8%	4,8%	100%
	Mean Rank*	41,57a	43,03a	18,70b	18,70b	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	$H(3)=31,50$, $p<.00$				
<i>Poor people</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>29</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	75
	% of total references	38,7%	24%	17,3%	20%	100%
	Mean Rank*	38,47	31,00	27,07	25,47	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	$H(3)=5,55$, n.s.				
<i>Movements</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	3
	% of total references	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	29,00a	35,00a	29,00a	29,00a	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	$H(3)=0,32$, $p<.05$				
<i>Women</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	4
	% of total references	50%	25%	25%	0%	100%
	Mean Rank*	32,50	30,50	30,50	28,50	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	$H(3)=2,11$, n.s.				
<i>Portuguese/Nation</i>	Total references (Sum)	<u>41</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>39</u>	190
	% of total references	21,6%	28,4%	29,5%	20,5%	100%
	Mean Rank*	27,07	33,60	34,20	27,13	
	<i>Kruskal-Wallis</i>	$H(3)=2,33$, n.s.				

* - Mann-Whitney tests were run to compare each group against the others. The results of the tests are indicated by small letters. Same letters mean no statistical differences between mean ranks and different letters evidence statistical differences between means rank at level of significance $p<.01$.

By and large the results for the revolutionary period showed differences across political parties for the terminologies ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’, ‘Revolution’, ‘November 25’, ‘Neutral terminology’, the themes ‘Progress’ and ‘Freedom’, and the social group ‘Revolutionaries’. Significantly, the results showed that the far right, the CDS-PP, tended to use the negative terms ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’ more when referring to the revolutionary period and also ‘neutral terms’ less than the political parties from the left, the PCP and the PS, did. Also, when talking about the revolutionary period, the CDS-PP mentioned ‘November 25’ more than the PCP from the far left did. The CDS-PP referred to ‘progress’ less than the PCP did, and also it mentioned ‘freedom’ less than the left, the PCP and the PS, did. The results for ‘revolutionaries’ showed differences between the left and the right, with the right mentioning this group less than the left. And for the term ‘Revolution’ there were differences between the PSD from the centre right and the PCP and the PS, with the PSD using this term more than the parties from the left. Furthermore, the results showed that the political parties did not differ from each other in many indicators. Noticeably, when talking about the revolutionary period, the four political parties did not differ from each other in mentioning ‘democracy’ and in referring to ‘Portuguese’ and to ‘Nation’.

5.4.5 Multiple Correspondence Analysis for the revolutionary period across political party

In order to get a broad view of the multiple relations between the variables used to describe the revolutionary period and the political parties, a Multiple Correspondence Analysis was run for the sub-categories (or variables) of each category that showed differences across political parties in the previous analyses – that is, ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’, ‘Revolution’, ‘November 25’, ‘Neutral terminology’, ‘Progress’, ‘Freedom’ and ‘Revolutionaries’. This analysis closely resembles that used for the description of the previous regime. Again, the variables, initially quantitative variables were transformed into nominal variables with two levels: level 1 indicating zero reference, and level 2 indicating one or more references. And the variable ‘political party’ was entered as a supplementary, nominal variable with four levels (1- PCP; 2- PS; 3-PSD; and 4- CDS-PP). Also a Multiple Correspondence Analysis with two dimensions was run.

The two dimensions with the highest eigenvalues accounted for 50% of the total variance. The analysis showed that the results for both dimension are not very clear; the overall eigenvalues for both dimensions are low (see Table 16). Dimension 1 grouped ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’, ‘November 25’, ‘Freedom’ and ‘Revolutionaries’, whereas dimension 2 grouped ‘Revolution’, ‘Neutral terminology’ and ‘Progress’.

Table 16
Multiple Correspondence Analysis for the revolutionary regime
across political parties

Discrimination measures	Dimension 1	Dimension 2
Fascism/dictatorship	0,240	0,209
Revolution	0,214	0,273
November 25	0,447	0,178
Neutral terminology	0,025	0,440
Progress	0,068	0,345
Freedom	0,338	0,011
Revolutionaries	0,694	0,006
Eigenvalue	0,289	0,209
Supplementary variable:		
Political party speech	0,558	<u>0,007</u>

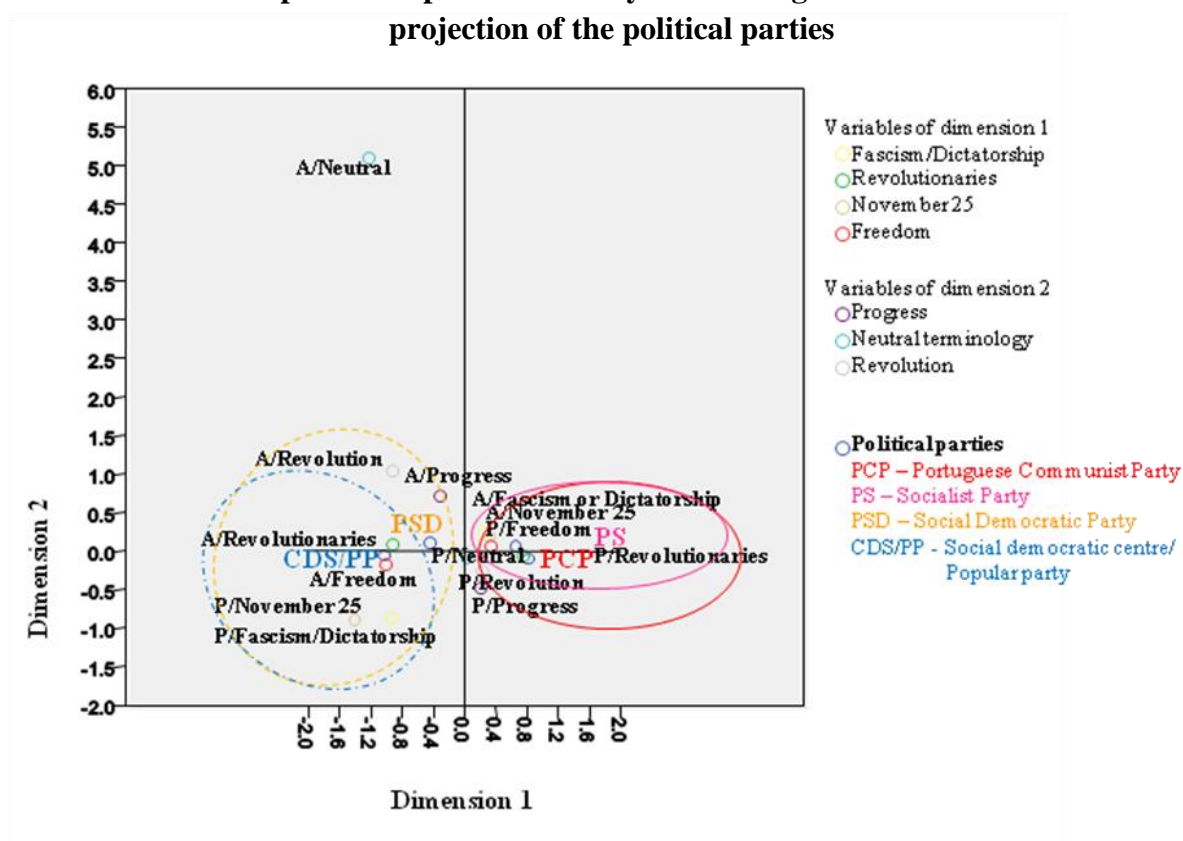
Furthermore, the quantifications for both levels of the variables of dimension 1 showed the nature of this dimension. Basically if a group described the revolutionary period highlighting ‘the revolutionaries’ and ‘freedom’ of this period, then generally it did not use the terms ‘Fascism/Dictatorship’ nor mentioned ‘November 25’. The results indicated that a second group did the opposite. Additionally, the eigenvalue of ‘political party’ indicated that this variable is more associated with dimension 1 than with dimension 2. This signifies that dimension 1 represents a political characterisation of the revolutionary period. According to the quantifications of ‘political party’, the former group represents the descriptions given by the political parties from the left, the PCP and the PS, and the latter group, the descriptions given by the political parties from the right, the PSD and the CDS-PP (see Figure 3).

The results for dimension 2 seem to identify a group that tended to use the terminology ‘Revolution’ when talking about the revolutionary period and also stressed the progress achieved during this period. This group can be contrasted to a group that

avoided using these terms. With regards to using ‘neutral terminology’, the results indicated that on this variable there were identifiable groups.

Finally, the crossing of these two dimensions indicated that there were no such clear oppositions between the four political parties as found with the descriptions of the previous regime. The opposition that comes out from this analysis to the revolutionary period is essentially an opposition between the left-wing and right-wing, as already noted. Nevertheless, this analysis of the two dimensions provided some additional information about an opposition between the far left and the centre right in that the far left tended generally to use the term ‘Revolution’ and mention the ‘progress’ during this period, whereas the PSD tended not to use these terms.

Figure 3
Multiple Correspondence Analysis: crossing of the dimensions and projection of the political parties



5.5 Concluding remarks

One broad conclusion that can be drawn from the previous analysis is that there are clear differences between the left and right parties in the way they describe the previous regime. Basically the parties of the left-wing used critical terminology more than the parties of the right did. The Multiple Correspondence Analysis showed that the right wing parties tended to talk about the previous regime less than the two parties of the left did. Thus, there was a clear left right divide in the way the speakers depicted the previous regime. As such, this provides evidence that the accounts of the past produced in parliament in a supposedly collective non-political commemoration are political accounts. At the very least this shows that accounts of the past are potentially contestable along political and ideological lines.

There were less clear cut results for political differences in describing the revolutionary period. For example, there were no political differences in the way the parties used the themes of 'democracy', 'Portuguese and Nation'. There were some differences which particularly related to the CDS-PP. For example, the CDS-PP used positive terminology less to refer to the revolutionary period than other parties. Their use of the term 'fascism' was particularly notable. They did not use the term to describe the previous regime, unlike the parties of the left. On the other hand, the CDS-PP used 'fascism' when talking about the post revolutionary period. As we will see in the detailed rhetorical analysis of a particular speech, the CDS-PP constructed a version of the past that is out of line with many of the assumptions of the celebration itself.

This analysis has not examined differences of themes over time. For example, it does not compare the early celebrations with the later ones. The next chapter will look at the historical development of the customs for these speeches and like the present chapter, it looks for political differences. Also it will take us further towards examining the rhetoric used. The content analysis has investigated the presences and absences of particular themes and terminology; it has been able to point to interesting patterns of differences in these presences and absences. But what it does not do is to explore the ideological and rhetorical meanings of these patterns. For this a more textual analysis will be required.

6. The formal openings

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined broad themes and terminology in the commemorative speeches across political parties. This chapter also uses the method of content analysis but to address something quite specific in the speeches: it looks at the beginnings and how the speakers address the audience right at the start. As noted previously, this procedure of starting a more detailed analysis of the speeches by looking at their beginnings follows from the methodological principles of discursive psychology and conversational analysis (see Chapter Four). This procedure fits the general bottom-up approach that discursive psychology recommends: it does not assume that there is a particular place in the speeches which are ideologically rich. Instead, it starts at the beginning in order to see what ideological meanings might be empirically found.

As will be seen, all speeches in the celebration start with a formal opening, the nature of which has developed over time as a custom. One can then ask what is the nature of this formal opening? And does it have political significance? The speakers start by mentioning categories and individuals of the audience. Who do they specifically name as the audience and thereby whom do they greet and pay tribute to? Is there political significance in their choices? A quantitative content analysis of the categories and individuals mentioned in the formal openings shows that left and right political speakers differ in their greetings.

More than just looking at potential political differences in the greetings, this analysis examines the development of the greetings across time. Here the method of content analysis was combined with a more discursive analysis of the meaning of particular terms and categories. This method can show in broad terms the history of a

particular rhetorical custom and also who are the leaders in producing the custom and in making changes to it.

In the second part of the chapter (section 6.3), we look specifically at gender and whether the conventional greetings express gendered language. For this analysis it was important to look over time and to examine whether the formal greetings have changed in terms of gender, and who politically instigates the change. We will see that there has been a move from gender invisibility towards gender visibility, although there is still bias in the language use. Surprisingly, there is not a clear distinction between left and right political parties in using gender visible/invisible language. Hence, looking at the specific ways of opening speeches also addresses issues of gender equality.

6.2 Openings of the commemorative speech: a custom

In the first parliamentary commemoration of April 25, on April 25 1977, all speakers in the celebration – that is, the President of the Assembly of the Republic, the President of the Republic and one deputy for each political party – started their speech by formally acknowledging the audience with a list of formal forms of addresses (see Appendix 1, Tables 1). This way of starting the speeches was consistently repeated in each subsequent parliamentary celebration of April 25 (see, for example, the openings on April 25 2008, Appendix 1, Table 3). The use of formal forms of addresses at the beginning of a commemorative speech has then developed over time as a custom of the ceremony.

This conventional way of opening the speeches constitutes what classical rhetoric termed the *exordium* of a speech, that is, the prologue (see in Jasinski, 2001, p. 60-65). All speakers regardless of their political stance and rank start by formally addressing the audience with a list of formal forms of addresses and only then carry on with their own message. Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* (1926, III, xiv, 1-5) suggested that the *exordium* of an epideictic speech should concern praise and honour. Following Aristotle it can be said that the use of a list of formal forms of addresses at the beginning of the commemorative

speeches of April 25 in the parliament constitutes a formal epideictic *exordium*; it is a sign of politeness and of formally displaying consideration towards the audience.

Also, a detailed quantitative content analysis of the formal openings, from 1977 to 2008, shows that there are strong conventions about how to start the speech appropriately and particularly who should be formally acknowledged. Thus, the speakers of the political parties start habitually their list of formal forms of addresses by naming the Head of the State (the President of the Republic) followed by the President of the Assembly of the Republic¹⁰. Moreover, the Presidents of the Assembly of the Republic begin their formal openings by formally addressing the President of the Republic; and the Presidents of the Republic by addressing the President of the Assembly of the Republic (see, for example, Appendix 1, Tables 1 and 2). After this beginning, the speakers carry on by addressing other members of the audience by naming political categories, such as ‘deputies’, or social categories, such as ‘guests’.

Moreover, the members of the audience are commonly addressed by means of polite prefixes – such as ‘Srs.’ (‘Mr’, straight translation for the Portuguese plural form of ‘Senhores’ shortened ‘Srs.’) or ‘Sras.’ (‘Mrs’, straight translation for the Portuguese plural form of ‘Senhoras’ shortened ‘Srs.’), and its variations – followed by official titles of individuals and categories. The President of the Republic was usually addressed with the form ‘Sr. Presidente da República’ (‘Mr President of the Republic’) and the President of the Parliament as ‘Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República’ (‘Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic’). A similar format was adopted with the other political categories, such as ‘members of the government’ and ‘deputies’. For example, the deputies were addressed with a polite prefixes, as ‘Srs.’ (Mr) or ‘Sras. e Srs.’ (‘Mrs and Mr’), and the term ‘deputies’ – as ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Deputies’, see Appendix 1, Tables 1, 2 and 3).

As can be seen, the formal openings function not only as a way of displaying politeness and consideration but also as a way of displaying togetherness. The speakers adopted a formal format of addressing the audience and, in particular, the official members of the parliament that rhetorically constructs a unified parliament, rather than

¹⁰Very few exceptions to this way of starting were detected across time, namely Adão e Silva from the political party ‘Reformadores’ or DR (‘Reformers’) on April 25 1980; Mário Tomé, from the ‘União Democrática Popular’ or UDP (‘Popular Democratic Union’) on April 25 1980; Helena Roseta of the PSD on April 25 1980; Jorge Miranda from the ‘Acção Social-Democrata Independente’ or ASDI (‘Independent Social-Democratic Action’) on April 25 1982; Ferreira do Amaral of the ‘Partido Popular Monárquico’ or PPM (‘Monarchist Popular Party’) on April 25 1982; Gonçalo Ribeiro da Costa from the CDS-PP on April 25 1996; and, João Soares from the PS on April 25 2002.

stressing its political division. In this way, the custom of greeting the audience right at the start of the speeches conforms to the function of collective commemorations of national events (see Chapter Three).

6.2.1 Insignificant variations of the formal openings

There is not a rigid conventional format about how to address the audience and, in some extent, whom to mention. The same speaker across commemorations and the different speakers in the same commemoration can vary the forms they use to address the audience, as well as whom they explicitly address and the forms they use to do so.

A close analysis of the speakers across political parties shows that the speakers construct their own lists by slightly changing the order of the categories they mention, and also the forms they use to refer to them. For example, the speakers of the political parties mentioned the category ‘deputies’ in different places in their lists of formal forms of addresses: close to the end (see for instance the Extracts 1, 2, 5, 9, 17, Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 3); at the end (see for example the Extracts 3, 4, 11, 12, 18, 19, Appendix 1, Table 1 to 3); or, in the middle (see, for example, the Extract 10, Appendix 1, Table 2, or the lists of formal addresses of the speakers of the PSD in 1978¹¹, 1979¹², 1988¹³, the UDP speaker in 1981¹⁴ and 1982¹⁵, the speaker of the ASDI in 1982 or the PVE speakers in 1988, 1996¹⁶). By changing the order of listing the members of the audience, the speakers are not making significant variations since these changes do not imply any particular rhetorical meaning.

Such insignificant variability is not limited to the political category ‘deputies’; other official members of the audience are also addressed by the same speaker across commemoration and by different speakers in the same commemoration in different places of their lists. Often the Prime-Minister is formally addressed close to the beginning of the lists (see, for example, Extracts 1, 2, 8, 11 to 13, 16, 18 to 21, Appendix

¹¹in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 65, 1978. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

¹²in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 52, 1979. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

¹³in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 79, 1988. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

¹⁴in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 56, 1981. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

¹⁵in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 78, 1982. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

¹⁶in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 62, 1996. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

1, Tables 1 to 3) just after having mentioned the President of the Assembly of the Republic; sometimes in the middle (see, for example, Extracts 5, 10, 17, Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 3); and, occasionally not explicitly mentioned (see, for example, 3, 4, 9, Appendix 1, Tables 1 and 2).

Moreover, the Prime-Minister is often addressed together with the political category ‘Members of the Government’. There are different ways of doing this – ‘Sr. Primeiro Ministro e demais Membros do Governo’ (‘Mr Prime-Minister and other Members of the Government’, see, for example, Extracts 8, 11, 12, 16, 19, 21, Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 3) or ‘Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mr Prime-Minister and Mr Members of the Government’, see, for example, Extract 11, Appendix 1, Table 2, or Helena Roseta of the PSD in 1980¹⁷). Also, these formal members of the audience are sometimes mentioned separately, one after the other – ‘Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Members of the Government’, see, for example, Extracts 5, 10, 19, Appendix 1, Table 1 to 3); or, separately at different places of the lists (see, for example, Extract 13, Appendix 1 Table 2).

The category ‘Members of the Government’ was occasionally mentioned together with another category and in a shorter form. Again there were several forms: e.g. ‘Srs. Membros do Conselho da Revolução, e do Governo’ (‘Mr Members of the Revolution’s Council, and of the Government’) (see, Extract 4, Appendix 1, Table 1); ‘Srs. Ministros’ (‘Mr Ministers’); ‘Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e Srs. Ministros’ (‘Mr Prime-Minister and Mr Ministers’) (see, for example, António Taborda of the MDP/CDE¹⁸ in 1982); ‘Srs. Representantes do Governo’ (‘Mr Representatives of the Government’) (see, for example, Carlos Brito of the PCP in 1985¹⁹).

The differences of how to address the audience and how to refer to those who are addressed are not restricted to the official members of the audience. One can also find variability in the formal forms of addresses, for example, in relation to the social category ‘guests’ (see, for example, Extracts 1, 8 as compared with 9, 10, 11, 18 and 19, Appendix 1 Tables 1 to 3).

¹⁷in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 43, 1980. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

¹⁸MDP – ‘Movimento Democrático Português’ (Portuguese Democratic Movement), composed by two deputies and in-coalition with the PCP.

¹⁹in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 74, 1985. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

The lists of formal forms of addresses also vary in length. Shorter lists can be seen in Extracts 1 and 3 (see Appendix 1, Table 1), whereas examples of longer lists can be seen in Extracts 11, 13, 19, 20 (see Appendix 1, Tables 2 and 3). Here there is also a distinction that needs to be made between general lists and more limited ones. That is, lists that mention the whole parliamentary audience by using general categories such as ‘guests’ and ‘ladies and gentlemen’, typically at the end of the lists, and lists that do not use such general categories. By using these general categories, the speakers formally address the whole audience in a broad way (see, for example, Extracts 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 13, 16 to 21, Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 3), whereas the latter are more limited since the entire audience does not appear addressed (see, for example, Extracts 3, 4, 9 and 12, Appendix 1, Tables 1 and 2).

Furthermore, as already seen above, the speakers regularly employed courteous prefixes together with categories. They also slightly varied their choice of the prefixes they use. For instance, the deputies, who were always explicitly mentioned by the speakers, were often acknowledged with the courteous prefixes of ‘Srs.’ (‘Mr’) (see, for example, Extracts 1 to 4 and 8, 16, Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 3) and of ‘Sras. and Srs.’ (‘Ladies and Gentlemen’, see, for example, Extracts 9 to 13, 17 to 20, Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 3). Occasionally, the speakers used formal forms that implied: an upgrading, as ‘Eminence’ of ‘Sr. Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa, Eminência Reverendíssima’ (‘Mr Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, Eminent Reverence’, see Extract 19, Appendix 1, Table 3) or as ‘Illustrious’ of ‘Ilustres Convidados’ (‘Illustrious Guests’, see, for example, Extracts 13, 17, 18, 20, Appendix 1, Tables 2 and 3); or a proximity, as in ‘my’ of ‘Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores’ (‘My Ladies and My Gentlemen’, see, for example, Extracts 5, 13, 20, Appendix 1, Tables 1 to 3). With this latter form ‘my’, the speakers perform, in Kenneth Burke’s term (1969), the rhetorical act of identifying with the audience.

Finally, the possibility of insignificant variation enables the speakers to adapt their formal greeting to new situations, especially if there are exceptional guests. In this respect, the 2004 commemoration provides a good example (see Appendix 1, Table 2). Exceptionally, this year there were special invitations to the Presidents of the Assemblies of former colonies that became independent after the Revolution of April 25 – namely, the Presidents of the Assemblies of Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, S.

Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor²⁰ – the President of the Republic of East Timor, as well as the Vice-President of the Congress of the Deputies of the Spanish Court. Four speakers from the political parties explicitly mentioned these special guests in their lists of formal forms of addresses, in different orders and in different ways. Francisco Louçã of the BE (Bloc of Left), a small party of the far left, explicitly mentioned, the President of the Republic of East Timor, whereas the other special guests were implicitly addressed with the following general category ‘Sras. e Srs. Convidados’ (‘Invited Ladies and Gentlemen’, see Extract 9, Appendix 1, Table 2). The other speakers of the left-wing also mentioned explicitly the special guests of the ceremony in their lists of formal addresses (close to the end of the list) (see Extracts 8, 10, and 12, Appendix 1, Table 2). However, each slightly varied in the way they listed them: Heloísa Apolónia of the PEV, from the far left, referred to them as ‘Sr. Presidente da República Democrática de Timor, Srs. Presidentes dos Parlamentos dos Países de Língua Portuguesa’ (‘Mr President of the Democratic Republic of Timor, Mr Presidents of the Parliaments of the Countries of Portuguese Language’); Bernardino Soares of the PCP, also from the far left, used a similar format but slightly changed the way he referred to the President of East Timor – ‘Sr. Presidente da República Democrática de Timor Leste, Srs. Presidentes do Parlamentos dos Países de Língua Portuguesa’ (‘Mr President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Mr Presidents of the Parliaments of the Countries of Portuguese Language’); and, Manuel Alegre of the PS, the centre left, addressed explicitly these special guests with ‘Sr. Presidente da República Democrática de Timor Leste’ (‘Mr President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor’) followed by ‘Srs. Presidentes das Assembleias de Angola, Cabo Verde, Moçambique, S. Tomé e Príncipe e de Timor Leste’ (‘Mr Presidents of the Assemblies of Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Príncipe and of East Timor’). Finally, Miguel Anacoreta Correia of the CDS-PP, the far right, and Vitor Cruz of the PSD, the centre right, did not mention explicitly any special guests in their lists of formal forms of addresses (see Extracts 11 and 13, Appendix 1, Table 2). Nevertheless, as will be seen in Chapter Seven, the speaker of the far right made a special acknowledgement to these special guests of the ceremony immediately after his formal opening. The rhetorical meaning of his particular praises is analysed in detail in Chapter Seven.

²⁰The President of the Assembly of Guinea-Bissau did not attend the ceremony present because, as the President of the Assembly of the Republic Mota Amaral explained in the opening of the ceremony, the recently elected National Assembly was not constituted when the commemoration occurred.

As can be seen in the above analysis, the speakers of the ceremony make insignificant changes in the custom of greeting the audience without breaking the conventions of an appropriate start. As will be seen shortly, the possibility of variations enables the speakers to mark their lists politically without being perceived as rude and without suggesting a divided parliament.

6.2.2 Political variations of the formal openings

There is another aspect to consider in the custom of greeting the audience. The possibility of insignificant variations raises the possibility of making significant variations, which express rhetorical meaning. This happens when the variations in the formal greetings can be seen to have a political meaning. For example, this can be seen in the choice to include at the end of a list of formal forms of addresses an ideological group, or to leave out systematically from the lists particular groups, or still to mark rhetorically a specific group for political reasons.

In the first parliamentary commemoration of April 25, in 1977, Acácio Barreiros, from the Popular Democratic Union (UDP), marked significantly his list of formal forms of addresses. That is, he ended his list with the category ‘Povo Trabalhador de Portugal’ (‘Working People of Portugal’) (see Appendix 1, Table 1). Barreiros’s ending is unusual: he is the only speaker across all commemorations of April 25 that explicitly addressed a non-present group. Moreover, he was addressing an ideological group – the working class – and thereby he revealed his ideological affiliation to a Marxist-Communist political organization; it is not the sort of term to be used by a non-Marxist group.

Also, on April 25 1999, Lino Carvalho, of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), marked politically his list of formal forms of addresses as he ended his long list with ‘Homens e Mulheres de Abril’ (‘Men and Women of April’, see Extract 1 below).

- (1) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Srs. Deputados, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, Sras e Srs. Convidados, Sr. Presidente da República de Moçambique, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia Nacional Popular da Guiné Bissau, Homens e Mulheres de Abril:

(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Deputies, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Constitutional Court, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen, Mr President of the Republic of Mozambique, Mr President of the Popular National Assembly of Guinea Bissau, Men and Women of April) (Lino de Carvalho of the PCP, April 25 1999²¹)

Lino de Carvalho's ending is politically significant. This sort of formal addresses is not used by the political speakers of the right-wing.

Moreover, from the first parliamentary commemoration of 1977 until the commemoration of 1982, a detailed analysis of the lists of formal forms of addresses indicated a difference between the speakers from the far right, the Social Democratic Centre (CDS), and the speakers from the other political parties. This concerned the category 'Counsellors of the Revolution'. The 'Counsellors of the Revolution' were a group of militaries that was formed in March 1975 and comprised representatives of the military forces of the April Revolution (see Chapter Two). From 1976 to 1982 this group had a formal status in the Constitution of 1976 and, as such, it was invited to the celebrations. The formal position of the Counsellors of the Revolution, which gave these militaries certain political power, was particular problematic for the CDS (Rezola, 2006). In November 1982, there was a constitutional change and the group was formally disbanded.

From 1977 to 1982, the speakers of the CDS – Sá Machado in 1977, Oliveira Dias in 1978, Nuno Abecasis in 1979, Luís Moreno in 1980, Mário Gaioso in 1981 and Rui Pena in 1982 – never mentioned the category 'Counsellors of the Revolution' in their lists of formal addresses, whereas the speakers of the other political parties did (see Table 17). The speakers of the PCP always included the category 'Counsellors of the Revolution'. Also, the speakers from the Socialist Party (PS), from the centre left, and the Social Democratic Party (PSD), from the centre right, frequently included this category; and the UDP did so in half of their lists. This latter pattern was also repeated by the President of the Republic, General Ramalho Eanes, as well as by the Presidents of the Assembly of the Republic (with different political sympathies, namely from the PS, PSD and CDS) who generally mentioned in their lists of formal forms of addresses the category 'Counsellors of the Revolution'. Thus, the speakers from the CDS were the

²¹in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 68, 1999. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

only speakers that systematically did not address the ‘Counsellors of the Revolution’ during this period.

Table 17
Parliamentary commemorations of April 25 from 1977 to 1982:
Number (N) of lists of formal forms of addresses with explicit mention
to ‘Counsellors of the Revolution’²²

<i>Political parties in parliament</i>	N of lists with explicit mention	Percentages	N of total lists
UDP (far left)	3	50%	6
PCP(far left)	6	100%	6
MDP/CDE (far left)	3	100%	3
PS (centre left)	5	83%	6
UEDS (centre left)	2	100%	2
ASDI (independent in coalition with centre left)	1	50%	2
PSD (centre right)	5	83%	6
DR (independent in coalition with centre right)	1	100%	1
PPM (monarchist in coalition with centre right)	2	67%	3
CDS (far right)	0	0%	6

There is another aspect that must be noted in relation to the lists of formal forms of addresses of the CDS during that period; all the lists were identical. Whether the party was in the opposition or in Government (that is, in coalition with the PS in 1978 and in coalition with the PSD, PPM from 1979), the speakers of the CDS used identical three part lists: ‘Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente of the Assembly of the Republic, Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Deputies’, see, for example, Sá Machado in 1977, Appendix 1, Table 1). Significantly, this format of formal forms of addresses changed immediately after the formal disbanding of the Counsellors of the Revolution in 1982. In the first parliamentary commemoration of April 25 after the official disbanding of this group – in April 25 1984 – the speaker of the CDS, Azevedo Soares, started his speech by formally

²²UDP – ‘Popular Democratic Union’, a Marxist-Communist political organization; PCP – ‘Portuguese Communist Party’; MDP/CDE – ‘Portuguese Democratic Party’, in coalition with PCP from December 1979; PS – ‘Socialist Party’; UEDS – ‘Union of Democratic Socialist Left’, in coalition with PS from October 1980; ASDI – ‘Popular Democratic Union’, in coalition with PS from October 1980; PSD – ‘Social Democratic Party’; DR – ‘Reformators’, independents in coalition with PSD, PPM and CDS from December 1979; PPM – ‘Monarchist Popular Party’ in coalition with PSD, DR and CDS from December 1979; CDS – ‘Social Democratic Centre’, in coalition with PS in 1978 and in coalition with PSD, PPM and DR from December 1979.

addressing the audience with a longer list of formal forms of addresses (see Extract 2 below).

- (2) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Deputados, Senhoras e Senhores:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Deputies, Ladies and Gentlemen) (Azevedo Soares of the CDS, 25 April 1984²³)

From the parliamentary commemoration of 1984 onwards, the speakers from this political party no longer used their three part lists. Indeed, their lists of formal forms of addresses became as long as the lists of the other speakers (see, for example, the lists of Miguel Anacoreta Correia and Pedro Mota Soares, Appendix, 1, Tables 2 and 3).

It can then be asked if the change in the CDS's formal forms of addresses has political meaning. The answer is that the practice of addressing the audience with identical and minimal lists of formal forms of addresses conforms to the systematic absence of the category 'Counsellors of the Revolution' from the lists of the speakers of the CDS. On the one hand, to use of three part lists of formal forms of addresses enabled the speakers to start their speech in a conventional way. These lists of formal forms of addresses reproduce a minimal list that nevertheless conforms to the conventional polite form for the celebratory occasion in parliament. It is a minimum form of formal addresses that without being warm remains polite. On the other hand, the use of this specific form of formal addresses enabled the speakers to make a political exclusion without drawing attention to it. A longer list which specifically addressed particular individuals and groups might have made significant the systematic absence of the 'Counsellors of the Revolution'. This formal form of addresses is the minimal form that enables the speakers to produce a specific rhetorical meaning (see also Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986, about three part lists as the minimal number for producing rhetorical meaning). By presenting the minimal three-part list, the CDS does not appear only to be excluding one group, an act which could have appeared controversial, political and, in terms of the occasion, impolite. Thus, the minimal three part list solves the dilemma of how to exclude a political category for political reasons without appearing political:

²³in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 97, 1984. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

everyone is excluded except from the minimal three categories. Significantly, when it becomes no longer ‘obligatory’ to greet the ‘Counsellors of the Revolution’, after 1982, the CDS speakers switched from their minimal lists to fuller ones.

Again insignificant variations are evident in the way the ‘Counsellors of the Revolution’ were formally addressed by the other speakers. The speakers usually addressed these members of the audience with the polite formal prefix ‘Srs.’ (‘Mr’, straight translation for the Portuguese plural form ‘Srs.’) together with the category ‘Conselheiros da Revolução’ – as ‘Srs. Conselheiros da Revolução’ (‘Mr Counsellors of the Revolution’, see, for example, Octávio Pato of the PCP in 1977, Appendix 1, Table 1). Exceptionally, this group was formally addressed with the form ‘Membros do Conselho da Revolução’ (‘Members of the Council of the Revolution’) together with the category ‘Government’ by Barbosa Melo of the PSD in 1977 – ‘Srs. Membros do Conselho da Revolução e do Governo’ (‘Mr Members of the Council of the Revolution and of the Government’, see Appendix 1, Table 1); and also with a polite prefix that implies an upgrade – ‘Exmos. Srs.’ (‘Excellences Mr’) followed with the form ‘Members of the Council of the Revolution’ by the President of the Assembly of the Republic, Leonardo Ribeiro de Almeida, of the PSD in 1980 (see Extract 3 below).

- (3) Exmo.Sr. Presidente da República, Exmo. Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Exmo. Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Exmos. Srs. Membros do Conselho da Revolução, Eminentíssimo Sr. Cardeal-Patriarca, Srs. Ministros, Sr. Provedor de Justiça, Srs. Deputados, minhas Senhora e meus Senhores: (Excellence Mr President of the Republic, Excellence Mr Prime-Minister, Excellence Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Excellence Mr Members of the Council of the Revolution, Eminence Mr Cardinal Patriarch, Mr Ministers, Mr Provider of Justice, Mr Deputies, my Ladies and my Gentlemen) (Leonardo Ribeiro de Almeida, President of the Assembly of the PSD, April 25 1980)

In this latter situation, the formal prefix ‘excellence’ did indicate a rhetorically significant upgrading but followed a general pattern of upgrading as with the ‘President of the Republic’, ‘Prime-Minister’ and ‘President of the Supreme Court of Justice’, which continued with the ‘Cardinal Patriarch’.

From 1984 until 1994 no speakers from any party explicitly greeted those who instigated the Revolution. It was on April 25 1994, for the twentieth anniversary of the

April Revolution, that some lists of formal forms of addresses explicitly named, in one way or another, the revolutionaries. This practice was initiated by the parties from the left-wing. With the exception of the speaker from the PCP (the Portuguese Communist Party), all other parties from the left-wing explicitly included in their lists of formal forms of addresses ‘Srs. Capitães de Abril’ (‘Mr Captains of April’). Also, Manuel Sérgio of the ‘Partido de Solidariedade Nacional’²⁴ (PSN, ‘Party of National Solidarity’) explicitly mentioned those who made the Revolution in his list of formal forms of addresses but used a different form – ‘Militares de Abril’ (‘Militaries of April’). The other speakers did not explicitly mention these members of the audience²⁵. The inclusion of this category in the lists of formal forms of addresses is politically significant, as the analysis of the lists from 1994 onwards suggests (see Table 18).

Table 18
Parliamentary commemorations of April 25 from 1994 to 2008:
Number (N) of lists of formal forms of addresses with explicit mention
to those who instigated the Revolution

<i>Political parties in parliament</i>	N of lists with explicit mention	Percentages	N of total of lists
PSN (leftist)	1	100%	1
BE (far left)	1	11%	9
PEV (in coalition with PCP)	9	60%	15
PCP (far left)	5	33%	15
PS (centre left)	5	33%	15
PSD (centre right)	1	7%	15
CDS-PP (far right)	0	0%	15
Presidents of the Assembly of centre-left	3	30%	10
Presidents of the Assembly of centre right	1	20%	5
Presidents of the Republic of centre-left	3	25%	12
President of the Republic of centre right	0	0%	3

During the period from 1994 to 2008, the speakers of the political parties that included in their lists of formal forms of addresses those who made the Revolution were from the left-wing – five speakers from the PCP, nine from the PEV (‘Ecologist Party The Greens’ in coalition with the PCP) and five of the PS. Only once did a speaker from the right-wing referred to this group. This happened in 2007. Paulo Rangel of the PDS, the centre right, included the category ‘Militaries of April’ (‘Militaries of April’) in his

²⁴The PSN was a political party that defended the interests and the rights of the pensioners. It was formed in 1990 and in the general election of 1991 it elected one deputy. The PSN was official dissolute in 2006.

²⁵in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 63, 1994. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

formal greeting (see Extract 4 below). It should be noted that Paulo Rangel's way of mentioning the revolutionaries – namely, 'Militaries of April' – differs from the format commonly used by the speakers of the political parties from the far left– 'Captains of April'²⁶.

- (4) Sr. Presidente da Republica, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. President do Tribunal Constitucional, Demais Altos Dignitários do Estado e Ilustres Convidados, Celebrados Militares de Abril, Sras. Deputadas, Srs. Deputados, Portuguesas e Portugueses:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Other High Dignitaries of the State and Illustrious Guests, Celebrated Militaries of April, Mrs Deputies, Mr Deputies, Portuguese Ladies and Portuguese Gentlemen) (Paulo Rangel of the PSD, April 25 2007²⁷)

Also, the inclusion of this category by a speaker from the PSD does not necessarily indicate a systematic political change. The speaker of the PSD of the following commemoration, in 2008, Luís Montenegro, did not include this category in his list of formal forms of addresses (see Table 18)²⁸.

In addition, there is a specific form of upgrading that can be mentioned. Speakers can convey their own admiration or respect for the addressee. In calling a group 'celebrados' ('celebrated'), Paulo Rangel of the PSD is not actually specifying that he personally celebrates that group; the speaker is saying that the group is generally celebrated by unspecified others. In this case 'celebrados' ('celebrated') is the passive form of the verb, and the speaker is using what critical linguists have called 'passivization' (Billig, 2008b, 2008c; Fairclough, 1998b/1992; Fowler, 1991). By using a 'passivization', a speaker can leave unspecified who exactly is performing the action in question – in this case, who is performing the action of praising. On the other hand, there are rhetorical forms that make it clear that the speaker is personally praising the group in

²⁶The category 'Captains of April' is also usually chosen by the speakers of the centre left, when they explicitly mention the revolutionaries in their lists of formal forms of address. There was one exception during the period of 1994-2008. This exception came from the deputy José Lamego in 2001, who used the form 'Srs. Militares de Abril' ('Mr Militaries of April').

²⁷in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 75, 2007. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

²⁸Indeed in the following two parliamentary celebrations of April 25 in 2009 and 2010, again only Paulo Rangel from the PSD in 2009 included in his list of formal forms of address the form 'Celebrados Militares de Abril' ('Celebrated Militaries of April'). No other speakers from the right-wing, either from the PSD (including the President of the Republic) or the CDS-PP, did this. Therefore this form seems to be peculiar to Rangel and is not used by any other speaker.

question, for these forms actually fulfil the act of praising. Such forms were used by left speakers only, as in: ‘Capitães de Abril, que nos honram, mais uma vez, com a sua presença nesta cerimónia’ (‘Captains of April that honour us once more, with their presence in this ceremony’, João Soares of the PS in 2002²⁹); ‘Caros Capitães de Abril’ (‘dear Captains of April’, Francisco Louçã of the BE in 2004, see Appendix 1, Table 2); ‘Excelentes Capitães de Abril’ (‘Excellent Captains of April’, Francisco Madeira Lopes of the PEV in 2005³⁰); and, ‘Valorosos Capitães de Abril’ (‘Valuable Captains of April’, Francisco Madeira Lopes of the PEV in 2007).

In sum the detailed quantitative content analysis across time of the custom of greeting the audience right at the start of the speeches suggests that ideology has been present in this formal ritualised part of the speeches. In particular, the political speakers of the ceremony can mark their lists politically without breaking with the conventions of how to start appropriately; in this way they can perform political business without appearing to be divisive or breaking the non-political codes of the occasion.

6.3 Formal openings: gender terminology

Apart from the insignificant and significant variations of the formal forms of addresses that have been studied, there is another kind of variation that the present section examines: the usage of sexist forms in the lists of formal forms of addresses across time. To do this a quantitative analysis of the linguistic forms used over time in these lists of formal greeting was undertaken. This sort of analysis enables us to follow the diachronic change of gender terminology in the lists of formal forms of addresses across political parties. There are also occasional references to the lists of formal forms of addresses made by the Presidents of the Republic and of Presidents of the Assembly of the Republic. The analysis focuses on the lists of formal forms of addresses during the period of 1977 to 2008.

²⁹in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 6, 2002. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

³⁰in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 12, 2005. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

This section about the usage of gendered language in the formal customs of greeting the audience right at the start of the speeches accomplishes two aims. First, it shows that this formal custom of the celebration is influenced by wider patterns of ideology in that the speakers repeat common linguistic habits which are related to patterns of domination and power (see Billig, 1991, p. 1, for ideology as defined here). As seen above, the formal custom of greeting the audience with a list of formal forms of addresses conforms to the function of collective commemorations of national events as it is a display of politeness, consideration and national unity. Nonetheless, the following analysis of the usage of gendered language across time, political parties and gender of speakers reveals that this formal custom of greeting has routinely downgraded the women of the audience. Sexist habits of language are commonly used in the formal custom of greeting the audience right at the start of the speeches. In this respect, the outward displays of national unity can be accomplished while using language which inwardly assumes division and inequality.

Second, this section also exemplifies the continuing working of sexist ideology. As we will see shortly, despite changes towards gender visibility, the present usage of gendered language in the lists of formal forms of addresses is very complex and still biased.

6.3.1 Categories

Definition of the categories

The usage of sexist forms of formal addresses was examined with respect to three categories of terms: political categories, general social category and residual category. The political categories refer to terms used to address formal political groups. Four political terms of the lists of formal forms of addresses were considered: ‘deputies’, ‘colleagues’, ‘ministers’ and ‘members/representatives of the government’. The general social category includes the term used to refer to the invited persons in general – namely, the term ‘guests’. And the residual category includes general and social phrase used to address ‘everybody else’, such as ‘Senhores’ or ‘Senhoras e Senhores’ (‘Gentlemen’ or ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’).

The residual category was distinguished from the other general and social category of ‘guests’ because it was used to refer to a wider and unspecified group – specifically, ‘everybody else’. Thus, unlike the previous two categories, the expression ‘Gentlemen’, or ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’, does not specify any group in particular – as it happens when the speakers were naming either the ‘guests’ in general or the group of deputies, for example. Furthermore, the phrase ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ was generally used at the end of the lists of formal forms of addresses after the speakers had specifically addressed personalities and categories in particular and just before they began to deliver their own message. By adding ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ at the end of the lists, the speakers ensured that those who had not been acknowledged in particular, both invited persons and visitors, were included in the formal forms of addresses. In this respect, the category of ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ was used to address ‘everybody else’ and, thereby, functioned as a residual category. By contrast, the use of ‘Gentlemen’ or ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ at the beginning of a list of formal forms of addresses (as the first term) would have indicated that this category was being used to address ‘everybody’ (and not ‘everybody else’). Thus, it is indeed the use of this category at end of the lists that indicates that the general and social category of ‘Gentlemen’/‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ was being used as a residual category of ‘everybody else’.

Only two lists of formal addresses across all parliamentary commemorations did not use the residual category as the last term of the list – namely, the lists of Mário Tomé and Maia Nunes de Almeida, the two from the far left (see Extracts 5 and 6).

- (5) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Srs. Conselheiros da Revolução, Srs. Membros do Governo, minhas Senhoras e meus Senhores, *Srs. Deputados*: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Counsellors of the Revolution, Mr Members of the Government, my Ladies and my Gentlemen, *Mr Deputies*) (Mário Tomé of the UDP, April 25 1980, italics added)
- (6) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Dig.mos Convidados, minhas Senhoras e meus Senhores, *Srs. Deputados*: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Most Distinguished Guests, my Ladies and my Gentlemen, *Mr Deputies*) (Maia Nunes de Almeida of the PCP, April 25 1988³¹, italics added)

³¹in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 79, 1988. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Both speakers referred to 'Senhoras e Senhores' ('Ladies and Gentlemen') as the penultimate category before 'deputies'. In both exceptional cases the category of 'Ladies and Gentlemen' also functioned as a residual category. This general social category was also used after a list of specific forms of addresses. The use of 'Ladies and Gentlemen', after having listed specific personalities and groups in particular, indicates that 'Ladies and Gentlemen' was referring to 'everybody else'.

The use of the category 'deputies' at the end of a list of formal forms of addresses was frequent – 38% of cases (62 out of 165 lists) ended with the term 'deputies'. In 68% of these lists (38 out of 62) the category 'deputies' was used just after the general and social category of 'guests'. The use of 'guests' as the penultimate category before 'deputies' suggests that 'guests' was being used as a residual category for the invited persons. Specifically, by adding 'guests' after having addressed specific persons or groups who have been invited to the ceremony, the speakers ensured that none of the invited persons were left out of the formal forms of addresses. The use of 'deputies' after the term 'guests' seems appropriate for the occasion; the speakers were formally addressing the entire formal audience before starting their celebratory speech. On the other hand, the use of the category 'deputies' at the last place after 'Ladies and Gentlemen' seems less appropriate. This format could be heard as addressing the speech only to the deputies, after having formally greeted everybody – particular's people and 'everybody else'. Thus, this format seems rhetorically inappropriate for the occasion and this can explain why it was so unusual (1% of lists of formal forms of addresses).

In order to examine sexist forms of formal addresses with respect to political, social and residual categories, only the terms that were referring to groups composed of women and men were included in the analysis. Terms used to refer to groups formed only by men were excluded from the analysis since, as expected, only exclusive masculine forms were adopted to refer to such groups.

In relation to the political category of 'members of the government' and to the social category 'guests', additional information was looked for in order to know the composition of those groups in terms of women and men. The description of the parliamentary audience that comes at the beginning of each official report was unclear in this matter. Apart from specific lists of the deputies who attended to the ceremony, the official parliamentary reports of the ceremony do not describe the audience in detail; in general, they refer to groups of the audience by using exclusive masculine grammatical

forms. In this respect, the official Portuguese Government's website³² was used to clarify the composition of the Portuguese Governments in terms of women and men. Also the study of Freire (2001) about the Portuguese parliament was used to clarify the composition of the guests to the ceremony. The deputies of the *Assembleia Constituinte* – the first elected Parliament in 1975 – have always been invited as 'guests' to the subsequent parliamentary celebrations of the April Revolution. These deputies included both women (in the minority) and men (Freire, 2001). Therefore, the category 'guests' always includes women, regardless of who else was invited to particular celebrations.

Linguistic forms of the categories

The grammatical forms of the terms included in the analysis were considered and, in this respect, three linguistic forms were distinguished:

1. Completely invisible forms: terms that refer to groups composed of women and men but which linguistic forms leave one of these two groups completely invisible. This happened when speakers used:
 - a) Masculine nouns to refer to groups that included persons of both sexes, without either accompanying feminine nouns or feminine adjectives that indicate that some members of those groups were women – for example, 'Senhores' ('Gentlemen') or 'Membros do Governo' ('Members of the Government').
 - b) Masculine nouns with masculine adjectives to refer to groups that included persons of both sexes, without either accompanying feminine adjectives or feminine nouns that indicate that some members of those groups were women – as in 'Srs. Convidados' ('Mr Guests'), 'Exmos. Convidados' ('Excellencies Guests'), 'Digmos. Convidados' ('Most Distinguished Guests'), 'Srs. Deputados' ('Mr Deputies'), 'Srs. Ministros' ('Mr Ministers'), 'Srs. Membros do Governo' ('Mr Members of the Government').
 - c) Uniform adjectives, that is, adjectives that have only one grammatical form – i.e. 'Ilustres' ('Illustrious'), 'Restantes' ('Remaining') and 'Demais' ('Other') only with masculine nouns (that is, without accompanying feminine nouns) as in 'Ilustres Convidados' ('Illustrious Guests'), 'Restantes Membros do Governo' ('Remaining

³²www.portugal.gov.pt/Portal/PT/Governos/ (accessed in July 2010).

Members of the Government’) and ‘Demais Membros do Governo’ (‘Other Members of the Government’). These forms were considered ‘completely invisible’ because the masculine gender of the nouns indicates that these linguistic forms are exclusively masculine and thereby leaves some members of those groups, the women, completely invisible.

d) Finally, ‘nomes uniformes de dois géneros’ (Cunha and Cintra, 2002) (uniform nouns of two genders) with masculine adjectives were also considered completely invisible forms. A ‘uniform noun of two genders’ is a noun with one grammatical form to refer to both sexes – as ‘Representante’ (‘Representative’) and ‘Colega’ (‘Colleague’). When such a noun is used, gender is only distinguished by the determinant or adjectival form, either feminine or masculine, that qualifies the noun. In other words, a uniform noun of two genders can be either feminine when qualified by a feminine determinant or feminine adjectival form, or masculine when qualified by masculine determinant or masculine adjective form. Forms of formal addresses such as ‘Srs. Representantes do Governo’ (‘Mr Representatives of the Government’) and ‘Caros Colegas’ (‘Dear Colleagues’, with ‘dear’ in masculine plural) were considered completely invisible forms since the masculine adjective forms, ‘Srs.’ (‘Mr’) and ‘Caros’ (‘Dear’), indicate that these forms are exclusively masculine and thereby leave completely invisible the women of those groups.

2. Partially visible forms: terms that refer to groups composed of members of both sexes, whose linguistic forms leave part of their members, usually the women, partially visible. This occurred when speakers used:

a) Feminine and masculine adjectives with masculine nouns to refer to groups composed of members of both sexes without accompanying feminine nouns – as in ‘Sras. e Srs. Convidados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Guests’ or ‘Invited Ladies and Gentlemen’), ‘Sras e Srs Deputados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Deputies’), ‘Sras. e Srs. Ministros’ (‘Mrs and Mr Ministers’). These linguistic forms of formal addresses leave the women of those groups partially visible since they are referred to by the (feminine) adjective form – ‘Sras.’ (‘Mrs’) – without accompanying (feminine) nouns; whereas the men are referred to by both (masculine) adjective and noun forms.

b) Also the form ‘Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mrs and Mr Members of the Government’) was considered a ‘partially visible form’. Despite the similarity

between this latter form of formal addresses and the previous forms with masculine nouns preceded by feminine and masculine adjectives – as in ‘Sras. e Srs. Ministros’ (‘Mrs and Mr Ministers’) – in Portuguese grammar these nouns belong to different groups. ‘Ministro’ (‘Minister’) form is a masculine noun – like ‘Deputado’ (‘Deputy’) – and the analogical feminine noun form is ‘Ministra’ (Minister in feminine) – and ‘Deputada’ (‘Deputy’ in feminine), respectively. On the other hand, ‘Membro’ is a masculine noun that belongs to the group of ‘sobrecomuns’ (Cunha and Cintra, 2002), that is, a noun that has only one grammatical gender form to refer to both sexes. ‘Membro’ is a masculine noun that is used to refer to members of either sex. In this respect, ‘Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mrs and Mr Members of the Government’) as ‘partially visible form’ can be seen as problematic since the feminine analogical noun form of ‘Membro’ does not exist in Portuguese language. ‘Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mrs and Mr Members of the Government’) is indeed the only existing form of ‘Membros do Governo’ (‘Members of the Government’) that can be used to indicate that this group is constituted by both women and men. In this respect, it can be argued that the form ‘Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo’ should be considered a ‘completely visible’ form (see below) and not, as it is here, a ‘partially visible’ form. However, three further aspects need to be noted. First, historical precedence of gender change suggests that uniform masculine nouns can be changed (Gouveia, 1997, 2005). For example, in the past the masculine nouns ‘ministro’ (‘minister’) and ‘deputado’ (‘deputy’) did not have analogical feminine forms since traditionally only men occupied these positions. That is, these nouns had only one gender form, the masculine form. With the entrance of women into politics, analogical feminine nouns were formed – ‘ministra’ (‘minister’ in feminine form) and ‘deputada’ (‘deputy’ in feminine form) (Gouveia, 2005). Second, the ‘sobrecomum’ noun ‘membro’ is in some instances, despite of its grammatical incorrectness, used in feminine to indicate that it refers to the members of the feminine sex. For example, the Spanish Minister of Equality in 2008, Bibiana Aído, used in her first Parliamentary discourse the feminine form of ‘Miembro’ (‘member’ in Spanish), namely, ‘Miembra’, when she referred to the members of the Commission of Equality: “miembros y miembras de la Comisión [de Igualdad del Congreso]” (quoted from *El País*, June 10 of 2008³³). In common with Portuguese

³³www.elpais.com/articulo/sociedad/PSOE/aclara/telefono/anuncio/ayer/Aido/maltratadores/elpepusoc/20080610elpepusoc_4/Tes (accessed in July 2008)

language, the feminine form of member does not exist in Spanish language, at least according to formal grammar³⁴. Third, the use of the phrase ‘Membros do Governo’ (‘Members of the Government’) to refer to members of the government is a choice of the speaker; even without a corresponding analogical feminine noun form of ‘Membro’, alternative nouns that have corresponding feminine and masculine forms could have been used, namely, ‘governante’ (‘governor’), ‘representante’ (‘representative’)³⁵, ‘ministras and ministros’ (‘ministers’ in feminine and ‘ministers’ in masculine). Taken together these three aspects suggest that other forms could have been used to indicate that some members of the Government were women and thereby the use of ‘Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mrs and Mr Members of the Government’), which only refers to women through the (feminine) adjective form, was considered a ‘partially visible form’.

3. Completely visible forms: terms that completely and equally reflect all members (women and men) of the addressed groups. This happened when speakers used:
 - a) Feminine and masculine nouns to refer to groups composed by persons of both sexes – as ‘Senhoras e Senhores’ (‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ or its equivalent abbreviation ‘Sra. e Srs.’).
 - b) Feminine adjectives and masculine adjectives accompanying feminine and masculine nouns – as ‘Sras Convidadas e Srs Convidados’ (‘Mrs Guests and Mr Guests’), ‘Sras. Deputadas e Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs Deputies and Mr Deputies’), ‘Sras Ministras e Srs Ministros’ (‘Mrs Ministers and Mr Ministers’).
 - c) Also ‘uniform nouns of two genders’, as ‘Colegas’ (‘Colleagues’), used with feminine and masculine adjective forms – ‘Caras e Caros Colegas’ (‘dear, in feminine, and dear, in masculine, colleagues’) – were considered ‘completely visible form’. Despite the apparent similarity between this form and the partially visible form ‘Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mrs and Mr Members of the Government’), the feminine and masculine forms of ‘Caras e Caros Colegas’ are both only referred to by the adjective forms. As already mentioned (see 1.d above), uniform nouns of two genders do not distinguish either gender by themselves; it is the grammatical form of the determinant or adjective that qualifies the noun that

³⁴The use of ‘Miembras’ by the Minister of Equality unleashed a controversial public debate about abuse of grammatical rules (see, about this polemic, the newspaper *El País*, June/July 2008).

³⁵‘Governante’ (‘Governor’) and ‘Representante’ (‘Representative’) are ‘uniform nouns of two gender; see below ‘completely visible form’ about these nouns.

clarifies its gender. In this respect, the use of both feminine and masculine adjectival forms – ‘Caras e Caros’ – with the uniform nouns of two genders – ‘Colegas’ (‘Colleagues’) – completely and equally refers to both sexes.

Political groups

The analysis also considers the political stance of the speakers. In this respect four political groups were distinguished: far left, centre left, centre right and far right. The composition of each political group depended on the positioning of the political parties across the political spectrum from far left to far right (see Table 19).

Table 19

Parliamentary commemorations of April 25 across Governments and political groups

Parliamentary commemoration by government	Governments	Type of government	Composition of political groups
1977	1976-1978: I Government	PS minority	Far left – PCP and UDP Centre left – PS Centre-right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
1978	1978: II Government	Coalition PS-CDS	Far left – PCP and UDP Centre left – PS Centre-right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
1979	1978-1979: IV Government	Presidential Gov.	Far left – PCP, UDP and MDP/CDE Centre left – PS Centre-right – PSD, DR and PPM Far right – CDS/PP
1980	1980-1981: V Government	Coalition AD (PSD,DR and PPM)	Far left – PCP, UDP and MDP/CDE Centre left – PS, UEDS and ASDI Centre-right – PSD and PPM Far right – CDS/PP
1981 1982	1981-1983: VIII Government	Coalition AD (PSD,DR and PPM)	Far left – PCP and UDP Centre left – PS Centre-right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
1984 1985	1983-1985: IX Government	Coalition PS-PSD	Far left – PCP and MDP/CDE Centre left – PS, ASDI and UEDS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
1986 1987	1985-1987: X Government	PSD minority	Far left – PCP and MDP/CDE Centre left – PS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
1988 1990 1991	1987-1991: XI Government	PSD majority	Far left –PCP, PEV (1988 and 1990) and ID (1988) Centre left – PS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
1994 1995	1991-1995: XII Government	PSD majority	Far left –PCP and PEV Centre left – PS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
1996 1997 1998 1999	1995-1999: XIII Government	PS minority	Far left –PCP and PEV Centre left – PS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
2000 2001	1999-2002: XIV Government	PS minority	Far left – BE, PCP and PEV Centre left – PS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
2002 2003 2004	2002-2004: XV Government	Coalition PSD-CDS/PP	Far left –BE, PCP and PEV Centre left – PS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP
2005 2006 2007 2008	2004-2009: XVII Government	PS majority	Far left –BE, PCP and PEV Centre left – PS Centre right – PSD Far right – CDS/PP

6.3.2 Analysis

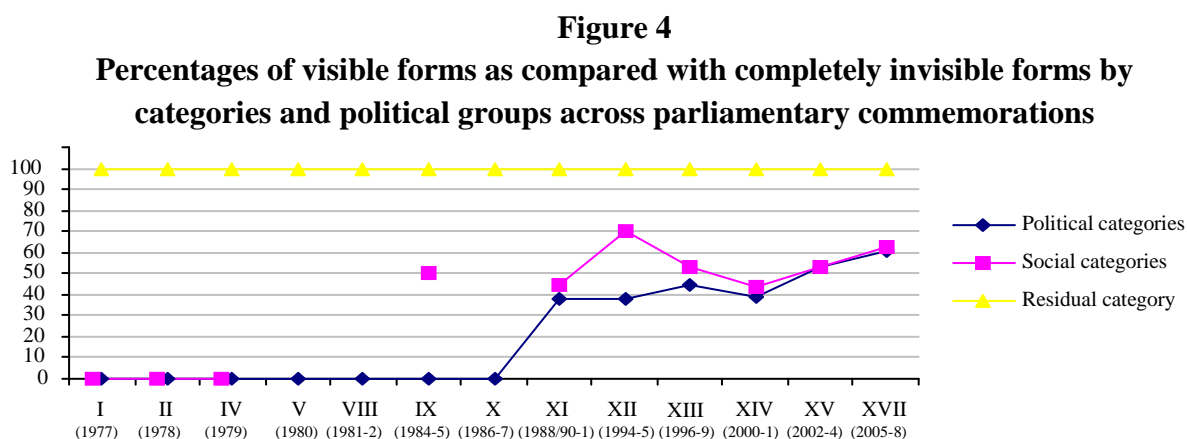
A breakdown of the relative uses of linguistic visible forms compared with completely invisible forms is given in Figure 4. In the presentation of data in the figures, the data for partially visible and completely visible forms are combined. A score of zero percent would indicate that only completely invisible linguistic forms were used. A score of fifty percent would indicate that visible (both partially and completely) were used as often as invisible forms. A score of 100% would indicate that visible forms (both partially and completely) were always used. Although the figures combine the two visible forms, they will on occasion be discussed separately in the text.

The results are displayed across Governments, which are represented by capital numbers (see also Table 19). Under each Government the respective commemorative years of April 25 are presented in parentheses.

6.3.2.1 Residual category

The first analysis is a comparison of visible forms with completely invisible forms, with respect to social, political and residual categories across the 28 parliamentary commemorations of April 25. The results show a clear distinction between the linguistic forms used to refer to the residual category, on the one hand, and the social and political categories, on the other hand (see Figure 4).

The speakers who included the residual category in their lists of formal forms of addresses all used visible forms (100% of visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms). That is, all used the completely visible form of ‘Senhoras e Senhores’ (‘Ladies and Gentlemen’). This linguistic form, which was adopted by the speakers of all political parties, contrasts with the completely invisible form of ‘Senhores’ (‘Gentlemen’) that was only used once in 1977 by the President of the Republic, General Ramalho Eanes (see Appendix 1, Table 1).



6.3.2.2 Social and political categories

With respect to the social and political categories two distinct periods can be traced: a first period from the first parliamentary commemoration of April 25 in 1977 to the commemoration of 1982, in which all speakers used completely invisible forms; and, a second period, from the 1984 commemoration onwards, where linguistically visible forms were also used (see Figure 4 above).

First period of gender terminology for social and political categories

From the first parliamentary commemoration of April 25 in 1977 to 1982, all speakers consistently used completely invisible forms when they referred to the social – ‘Srs. Convidados’ (‘Mr Guests’) – and political categories – ‘Srs. Deputados’ (Mr Deputies), ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mr Members of the Government’) or ‘Membros do Governo’ (‘Members of the Government’).

During this early period of the lists of formal forms of addresses the women of the parliamentary audience only became visible by means of the residual category. An analysis of the use of the residual category from 1977 to 1982 by political group shows that the far right was the only political party that consistently did not include the residual category in its lists of formal forms of addresses (see Table 20). This means that during this period women were completely invisible in the formal forms of addresses of the far right, and were only apparent in the residual categories of the other parties.

Table 20
Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of references to the residual category from 1977 to 1982 by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Residual category		
	Reference	No reference	Total
Far left	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	15 (100%)
Centre left	5 (50%)	5 (50%)	10 (100%)
Centre right	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	10 (100%)
Far right	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)
Total	25 (61%)	16 (39%)	41 (100%)

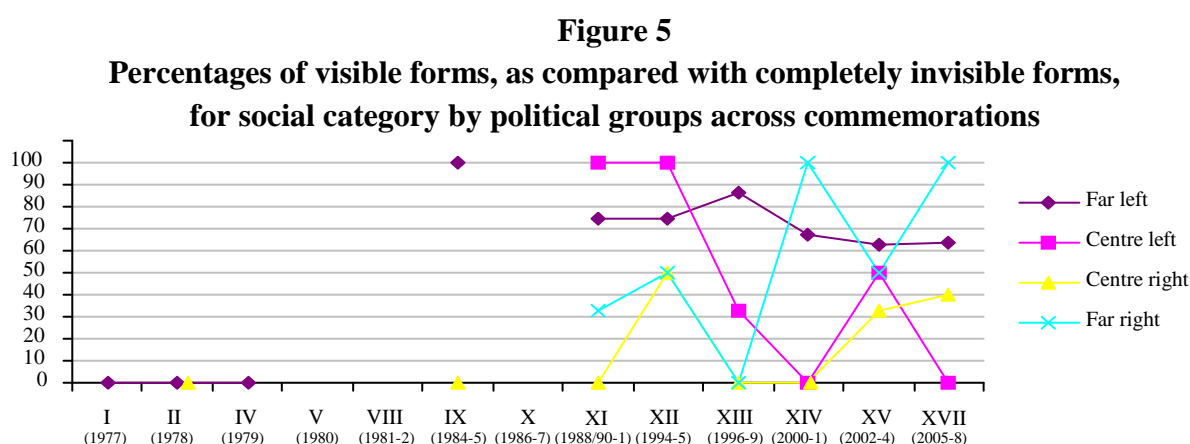
Also during this period only three commemorative speeches were given by women: two from Helena Cidade Moura from the far left (MDP/CDE) in 1980 and 1982, and Helena Roseta from the centre right (PSD) in 1980. Both speakers used the residual category in their lists of formal forms of addresses. Apart from that, both women speakers used formal forms of addresses that made women invisible.

Second period of gender terminology for social and political categories

From 1984 onwards, the social and political categories were analysed separately.

1. Social category. It was in the 1985 commemoration that for the first time the term ‘guests’ was used in a visible form, specifically, in the partially visible form of ‘Sras. e Srs. Convidados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Guests’) (see Figure 5).

A breakdown of the relative use of linguistic visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms, for ‘guests’ by political groups is given in Figure 5. Again under each Government are displayed in parentheses the respective commemorative years.



During the IX Government there were two celebrations in 1984 and 1985. The centre-right, in government with the centre-left, only referred to the general term ‘guests’ once, in 1984, and when it did so it used the completely invisible form – ‘Srs. Convidados’ (‘Mr Guests’) (i.e. 0% visible forms, Figure 5; see also Table 21). By contrast, the far left Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) used the term guests once, in 1985, but when it did so it used the partially visible form – ‘Sras. e Srs. Convidados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Guests’) (i.e. 100% visible forms as compared with completely invisible forms, Figure 5 and Table 21). The other parties did not use the term ‘guests’ at all.

Table 21
Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible forms and completely invisible forms of the social category in 1984 and 1985 by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Social category						
	1984		1985		N (%) Total of		
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	Total
Far left	-	-	1	0	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Centre left	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Centre right	0	1	-	-	0 (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
Far right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	0	1	1	1	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100 %)

It was only three years after the commemoration of 1985, during the commemorations of April 25 of the XI Government, that the political speakers re-used the term ‘guests’ in their lists of formal addresses (see Figure 5). Indeed, during the previous two commemorations of April 25 (that took place during the X Government), in 1986 and 1987, no one used this category.

During the XI Government there were four commemorations: in 1988, 1989, 1990 and 1991. The speakers gave commemorative speeches in three of those, that is, in 1988, 1990 and 1991. During those three commemorations not only the far left but also the centre left and the far right, in smaller proportion, included ‘guests’ and used visible forms to do so (see Figure 5). The centre left used ‘guests’ only once and when it did so it used the partially visible form – ‘Sras. e Srs. Convidados’ (i.e. 100% visible forms as compared with completely invisible forms, see also Table 22). On the other hand, not all speakers from the far left and the far right used visible forms to refer to ‘guests’ in general. The far left used this social category four times: it used the completely invisible

form once (in 1988) and on three occasions (in 1988, 1990 and 1991) it employed the partially visible form (i.e. 75% visible forms). The far right used the term ‘guests’ three times but only used once the partially visible form (i.e. 33% visible forms). By contrast, the centre-right, the political party in government, referred to ‘guests’ three times but each time it used the completely invisible form (i.e. 0% visible forms) (see Table 22 and Figure 5).

Furthermore, an analysis across commemorations shows that the far right used the partially visible form with the term ‘guests’ in 1991; whereas the left, either the far left or the centre left, employed this form since 1988 (see Table 22). From 1988 to 1991 there was only one occasion where the far left did not use a visible form to address in general the guests of the audience. The exception comes from the PCP in 1988, which, unlike in 1985 and unlike the other speaker from the far left, used the completely invisible form of ‘guests’. During the following two commemorations, only the PCP referred to this category in its lists of formal forms of addresses and on both occasions it used the partially visible form (see Table 22).

Table 22
Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible forms and completely invisible forms for social category during the 1988, 1990 and 1991 commemorations by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Social category								
	1988		1990		1991		Total N (%)		
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	Total
Far left	1	1	1	0	1	0	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4 (100%)
Centre left	1	0	-	-	-	-	1 (100%)	0 (0%)	1 (100%)
Centre right	0	1	0	1	0	1	0 (0%)	3 (100%)	3 (100%)
Far right	0	1	0	1	1	0	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3 (100%)
Total	2	3	1	2	2	1	5 (45%)	6 (55%)	11 (100%)

It was during the following commemorations (i.e. during the XII Government) that the centre-right, the party in government, used for the first time a visible form to refer to the term ‘guests’ (see Figure 5). There were two celebrations of April 25 during the XII Government: in 1994 and 1995. In each commemoration the centre right used the term ‘guests’: in 1994 it used the completely invisible form of ‘Srs Convidados’ and in 1995

it used, for the first time, the partially visible form ‘Sras e Srs Convidados’ (see Table 23). As will be seen, the centre-right re-used a visible form with the term ‘guests’ only in 2002.

Again, for the 1994 and 1995 commemorations, apart from the centre left which used the term ‘guests’ on both occasions and only used the partially visible form (i.e. 100% visible forms, see Figure 5 and Table 23), the other political parties were irregular in the way they used this category. That is, during these two commemorations, the speakers of the far left mentioned ‘guests’ on both occasions and used different linguistic forms to do so. The PCP used on both occasions the partially visible form, whereas the PVE (the Greens), which included the term ‘guests’ in its lists of formal addresses for the first time in 1994, used first the completely invisible form and then in 1995 it employed for the first time the partially visible form (i.e. 75% visible forms from the far left, Figure 5).

The far right also used two distinct linguistic forms to refer to ‘guests’: in 1994, unlike in the previous commemoration of 1991, it used the completely invisible form and in 1995 it re-used the partially visible form (i.e. 50% visible forms, Figure 5 and see also Table 23).

Table 23
Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible and completely invisible forms
for the social category during the commemorations of 1994 and 1995
by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Social category						
	1994		1995		N (%) Total of		
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	Total
Far left	1	1	2	0	3 (75%)	1 (25%)	4 (100%)
Centre left	1	0	1	0	2 (100%)	0 (0%)	2 (100%)
Centre right	0	1	1	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
Far right	0	1	1	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
Total	2	3	6	0	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	10 (100%)

In sum, it was the far left – namely, Carlos Brito of the PCP – which started to use a visible form with the category ‘guests’, specifically, the partially visible form of ‘Sras. e

Srs. Convidados' in the 1985 commemoration during the IX Government. Then the centre left followed in 1988. In 1991 the far right started to use this form and then the centre right in 1995. Not all speakers used a visible form when they mentioned the term 'guests'. After 1985 some speakers from the far left, namely, the PCP in 1988 and the PEV in 1994, used the completely invisible form 'Srs. Convidados', while the others speakers of the far left employed the partially visible form 'Sras. e Srs. Convidados'. Similarly, after 1991 not all speakers from the far right adopted the partially visible form with the category 'guests'; in 1994 it adopted the completely invisible form. During this period, the only exception came from the centre left which consistently used the partially visible with the term 'guests'.

This irregular pattern was reproduced across the subsequent commemorations (Figure 5 and Appendix 1, Table 4). All political parties made use of different forms when they mentioned the term 'guests'; some speakers used a completely invisible form, whereas others employed a visible one. For instance, during the commemorations of the following two governments – XIII and XIV Governments – the centre left, the political party in government, used the term 'guests' five times: three times during the commemorations of the XIII Government and twice during the commemorations of the XIV Government. During the commemorations of the XIII Government it only used the partially visible form once to do so (i.e. 33% visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms; see Figure 5), and during the following two commemorations of the XIV Government it used on both occasions the invisible form (i.e. 0% visible; see also Figure 5). The far left, composed of two political parties during the XIII Government and then from the XIV Government onwards by three political parties (see Table, 19), referred to the term 'guests' ten times in total: seven times during the commemorations of the XIII Government and three times during the commemorations of the XIV Government (Appendix 1, Table 4). It used the invisible form once during the commemorations of the XIII Government (i.e. 86% visible forms) and also once during the commemorations of the XIV Government (i.e. 67% visible forms). On the other hand, the far right during the commemorations of the XIII Government only used invisible forms with 'guests' (i.e. 0% visible forms, as compared with invisible forms), whereas during the commemorations of the subsequent government it used on both occasions partially visible forms to do so (i.e. 100% visible forms). By contrast, the centre right was the only political party that during this period only used invisible forms

with the term 'guests'. Finally, during the commemorations of the following two governments, XV and XVII Governments, all political parties, including the centre right, made use of different forms to refer to the term 'guests'.

One can then talk of a linguistic habit changing. In the early years speakers habitually used invisible forms. From this consistent use of invisible forms, there has been a change to using irregularly visible forms (i.e. 50-60% visible forms, see Figure 4). This linguistic change was introduced by the far left in 1985 and all political parties were affected by it. However not all speakers after 1985 used a visible form to refer to this category.

Moreover, from 1985 there is a conventional way of being visible with the social category 'guests'; when speakers were being visible they always used a particular form. They used the partially visible form of 'Sras. e Srs. Convidados'. Only the President of the Assembly of the Republic, of the centre left, in 2008, used a completely visible form when he mentioned the category 'guests' – 'Ilustres Convidadas e Convidados' ('Illustrious Invited Ladies and Invited Gentlemen').

Apart from the category 'guests', another social category was included in the analysis, namely the general category of 'Portuguese/Fellow citizens'. This general and social category was referred to only three times, once in 2005 and twice in 2007. The far left, specifically the PEV (the Greens), referred to it twice and on both occasions it only used the invisible form – first 'Concidadãos Portugueses' ('Fellow Portuguese Citizens') in 2005 and then in 2007 'Caros Concidadãos' ('Dear Fellow Citizens'). On the other hand, the centre right mentioned this social category only once in 2007 and it used a completely visible form – 'Portuguesas, Portugueses' (Portuguese (feminine and plural), Portuguese (masculine and plural)).

Finally, from 1985 to 2008 only 20 women out of 116 speakers (17%) were women (see Table 24). 14 of the women speakers (70%) used the social category in their lists of formal forms of addresses. Of these, 8 out of 14 (57%) used the partially visible form. Similarly 68% (i.e. 65 men out of 96) of the men included 'guests' in their list of formal forms of addresses and also 57% (i.e. 37 out of 65 references to social categories) of these references were partially visible. From 1985 to 1995, during the period when speakers of all political parties started to use a more inclusive form to address the term 'guests', only three women gave a speech: Maria dos Santos in 1988 of the PVE (the

Greens), Edite Estrela in 1991 of the centre left and Isabel Castro in 1994 of the PVE. Only Isabel Castro included the term ‘guests’ in her list of formal forms of addresses but when she did so she used the completely invisible form. It was one year later in 1995, as already seen, that a speaker from the PVE, André Martins, a man, used for the first time the partially visible form. Thus, there is no evidence that women used more visible forms than men, nor that they were leading the change.

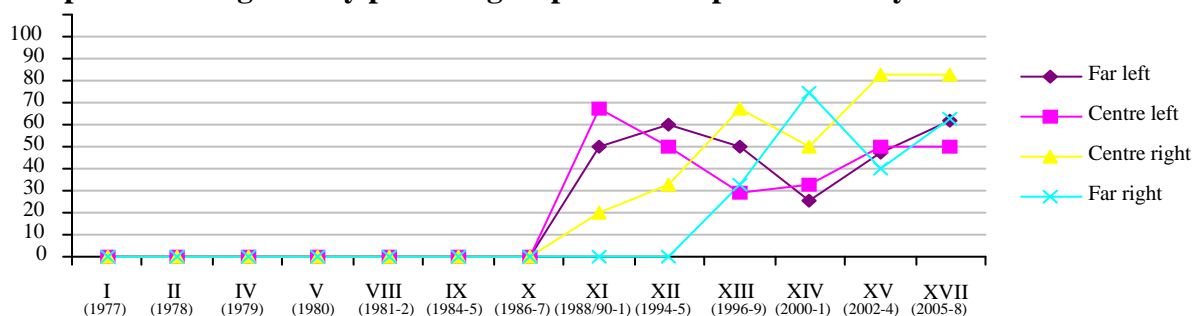
Table 24
Numbers of women (W) and men (M)’ speakers from 1985 to 2008
by Government and political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	IX Gov. (1985)		X Gov. (1986-7)		XI Gov. (1988/1990-1)		XII Gov. (1994-5)		XIII Gov. (1996-9)		XIV Gov. (2000-1)		XV Gov. (2002-4)		XVII Gov. (2005-8)		Total	
	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M	W	M
Far left	0	2	0	4	1	5	1	3	5	3	2	4	4	5	2	10	15*	36
Centre left	0	3	0	2	1	2	0	2	0	4	1	1	0	3	1	3	3	20
Centre right	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	4	0	2	1	2	0	4	1	20
Far right	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	2	1	3	0	2	0	3	0	4	1	20
Total	0	7	0	10	2	13	1	9	6	14	3	9	5	13	3	21	20	96

* Specifically, one from the PCP, two from the Left Bloc (BE) and twelve from the PVE.

2. Political categories. It was during the XI Government that for the first time speakers used political terms in a visible form (see Figure 6). A breakdown of the relative uses of visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms with respect to political categories by political groups is given in Figure 6. Again the commemorative years are presented in parentheses under the respective governments.

Figure 6
Percentages of visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms, for political categories by political group across all parliamentary commemorations



Broadly, during the commemorations of 1988, 1990 and 1991, the far left (50%), the centre left (67%) and the centre right, in smaller proportion (20%), used for the first time a visible form to refer to political terms (see Figure 6 and Table 25). The far right also mentioned political categories but continued to use completely invisible forms.

The use of visible forms of political terms dates from the 1984 commemoration when it was first used but not by a representative of any political party. In this parliamentary celebration, the President of the Assembly of the Republic, Manuel Alfredo Tito de Morais, whose political allegiances were on the centre left, mentioned the ‘deputies’, and when he did so he employed the partially visible form – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Deputies’). No other ceremonial speaker followed the President of the Assembly in this matter until 1988.

An analysis by commemorations showed that it was in 1988 that speakers from the far left used a visible form not only with ‘deputies’ – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Deputies’) – but also once with ‘members of the Government’ – ‘Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo’. However, not all speakers of the far left used visible forms (see Table 25). The PCP only mentioned the political category ‘deputies’ and when it did so it employed the completely invisible form – ‘Srs. Deputados’. On the other hand, the Democratic Intervention’s (ID) speaker, also from the far left, referred to the categories of ‘deputies’ and ‘members of the government’ and it used different linguistic forms to do so. It used the completely invisible form when it referred to ‘Members of the Government’ and the partially visible form with ‘deputies’. Finally, the speaker from the PVE (‘The Greens’), Maria Santos, also referred to both political categories and both times she used partially visible forms. By contrast, the other political parties only used completely invisible forms, either to refer to ‘deputies’ or ‘Members of the Government’ (see Table 25).

Table 25
Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible forms and completely invisible forms for political categories during the commemorations of 1988, 1990 and 1991 by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Political categories								
	1988		1990		1991		Total N (%) of		
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	Total
Far left	3	2	1	1	0	1	4 (50%)	4 (50%)	8 (100%)
Centre left	0	1	1	0	1	0	2 (67%)	1 (33%)	3 (100%)
Centre right	0	2	0	1	1	1	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5 (100%)
Far right	0	2	0	2	0	2	0 (0%)	6 (100%)	6 (100%)
Total	3	7	2	4	2	4	8 (36%)	14 (64%)	22 (100%)

It was in the following commemoration that the centre left used for the first time a visible form with a political term. Specifically, it mentioned one political category, ‘deputies’, and it used a partially visible form to do so – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’. The far left also only mentioned the political term ‘deputies’ in their list of formal forms of addresses and like in 1988 not all adopted the same linguistic form. The PCP, as in 1988, used a completely invisible form – ‘Srs. Deputados’ – while the PVE speaker, Herculano Pombo, used a completely visible form – ‘Sras. Deputadas, Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs Deputies, Mr Deputies’). Herculano Pombo was the first of ten political speakers, from 1990 to 2008, to use this completely visible form with respect to political categories (see Appendix 1, Table 5). By contrast, the other two political parties from the right only made use of completely invisible forms to refer to political terms (see Table 25).

Finally, in 1991, the centre right used a visible form with political terms. Specifically, it used as usual a completely invisible form with the term ‘Members of the Government’ – ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’ – but, for the first time, a partially visible form to refer to ‘deputies’ – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Deputies’). The centre left only mentioned the political category ‘deputies’ in its list of formal forms of addresses and when it did so it re-used, as in 1990, a partially visible form – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’. By contrast, the other political parties, that is, the PCP of the far left and the far right, only used completely invisible forms with the political terms.

It was during the commemorations of April 25 that took place during the XI Government that the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) used for the first time a visible form when it mentioned political terms. During those commemorations only the far right used consistently completely invisible forms with political terms. The other political parties used different linguist forms (see Figure 6 and Table 26).

In 1994 only the PEV (the Greens) used visible forms with the political category of ‘deputies’. On the other hand, it used a completely invisible form with ‘Members of the Government’ – ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’ – and a partially visible form with ‘deputies’ – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’. All other political parties only employed completely invisible forms (see Table 26). In the 1995 commemoration the PCP employed for the first time a visible form to refer to political categories. It only mentioned the political category ‘deputies’ and when it did so it used a partially visible form – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’. The other political parties from the left, the Greens, the centre left and the centre right also only mentioned the category ‘deputies’ in their list of formal forms of addresses and all used visible forms. The centre left was the only one to use a completely visible form – namely, ‘Caras e Caros Colegas’ (‘Dear (feminine plural) and Dear (masculine plural) Colleagues (plural)’); the others used a partially visible form – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’. On the other hand, the far right only used completely invisible forms – either with ‘Members of the Government’ or with ‘Deputies’.

Table 26
Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible forms and completely invisible forms for political categories during the commemorations of 1994 and 1995 by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Political categories						
	1994		1995		N (%) Total of		Total
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	
Far left	1	2	2	0	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)
Centre left	0	1	1	0	1 (50%)	1 (50%)	2 (100%)
Centre right	0	2	1	0	1 (33%)	2 (67 %)	3 (100%)
Far right	0	1	0	3	0 (0%)	3 (100%)	3 (100%)
Total	1	6	4	3	5 (38%)	8 (62%)	13 (100%)

During the subsequent commemorations the far right used for the first time a visible form with political terms (Figure 6 and Table 27). It used a partially visible form twice with the term ‘deputies’. In 1996 it only mentioned the political term ‘deputies’ and used the partially visible form of ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’. During the following two commemorations, in 1997 and 1998, it mentioned ‘Members of the Government’ once and ‘deputies’ twice and it used completely invisible forms to do so – ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’ and ‘Srs. Deputados’. Finally, in 1999 it also mentioned both political terms and used two different linguistic forms: it employed the completely invisible form with ‘Members of the Government’ and the partially visible form with ‘Deputies’.

Again, all other speakers used different linguistic forms with political terms (see Table 27). The Greens employed completely invisible forms in 1996 and 1998, either with ‘Members of the Government’ or ‘Deputies’. In 1997 it used a completely invisible form with ‘Members of the Government’ – ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’ – and a partially invisible form with ‘deputies’ – ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’. Finally, in 1999 it only used partially visible forms with both ‘Members of the Government’ and ‘Deputies’. The PCP only mentioned ‘deputies’ during this period and when it did so it used the partially visible form in 1996, 1997 and 1998 and in 1999 it re-used the completely invisible form of ‘Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mr Deputies’). Such variability in the use of different linguistic forms to refer to political terms can also be seen in the lists of the other two political parties. Thus, the centre left used both completely invisible forms, as well as partially visible forms with ‘deputies’ and only completely invisible forms with ‘Members of the Government’. In 1996 and 1998 it used the partially visible form of ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’ and the completely invisible form of ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’. In 1997 and 1999, it used only invisible forms with both categories.

Finally, the centre right must be looked at. This political party refers to ‘Members of the Government’ twice during this period, in 1996 and 1997, and used on both occasions the completely invisible form – ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’. On the other hand, it mentioned ‘deputies’ in 1996, 1997, 1998 and 1999 and used either completely visible forms – ‘Sras. Deputadas e Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs Deputies and Mr Deputies’) – in 1996, 1997 and 1998 or the partially visible form in 1999– ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’ (Mrs and Mr Deputies).

Table 27

Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible forms and completely invisible forms for political category during the commemorations of 1996 to 1999 by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Political categories								N (%) Total of		
	1996		1997		1998		1999		Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	Total
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms			
Far left	1	2	2	1	1	2	2	1	6 (50%)	6 (50%)	12 (100%)
Centre left	1	1	0	2	1	1	0	1	2 (29%)	5 (71%)	7 (100%)
Centre right	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	4 (67%)	2 (33%)	6 (100%)
Far right	1	0	0	2	0	1	1	1	2 (33%)	4 (67%)	6 (100%)
Total	4	4	3	6	3	4	4	3	14 (45%)	17 (55%)	31 (100%)

This irregular pattern was reproduced across the following commemorations of April 25 (Figure 6 and Appendix 1, Table 6). From the commemoration of 2002 onwards, all political parties often used progressively more visible forms when they mentioned political categories, as compared with completely invisible forms. The centre right was the political party that from 2002 onwards used considerably more visible forms than completely invisible ones – 80% visible forms, as compared with completely invisible ones.

There is a further aspect to note with respect to the political categories. A breakdown of the relative use of linguistically visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms, with respect to the categories of deputies, on the one hand, and to members of the Government, on the other, is given in Figure 7 and 8.

Figure 7
Percentages of visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms, for ‘deputies’ by political group across all parliamentary commemorations

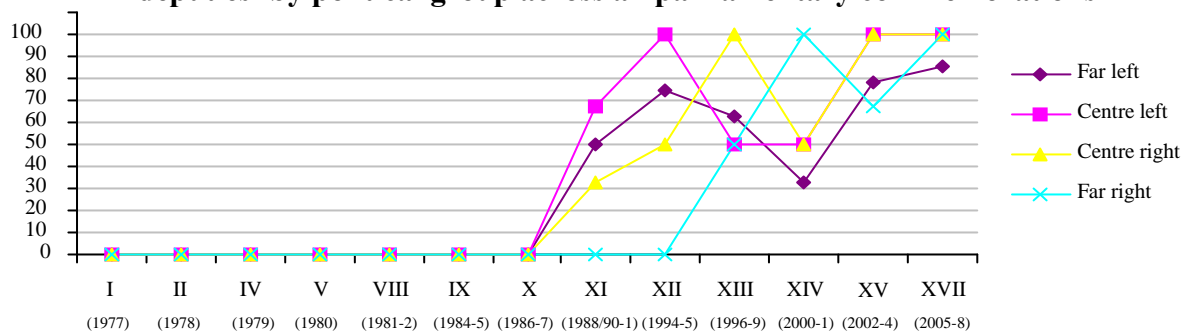
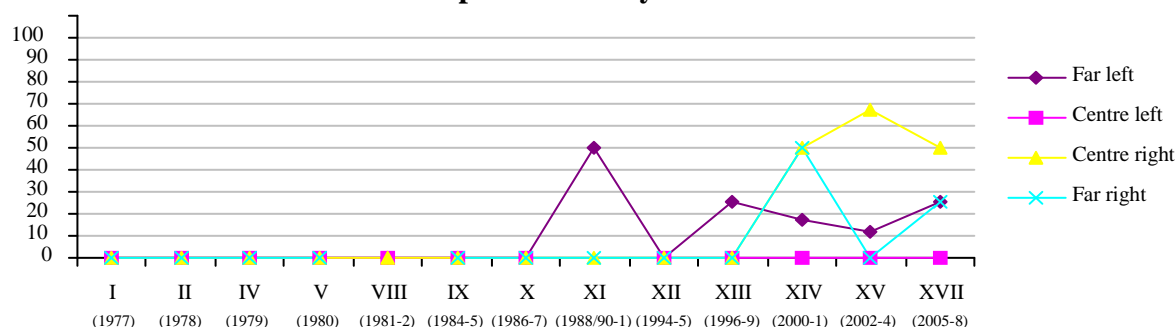


Figure 8

**Percentages of visible forms, as compared with completely invisible forms, for
'Members of the Government' by political group
across all parliamentary commemorations**



As can be seen, there is a clear distinction between the way the speakers referred to 'Deputies', on the one hand, and to 'Members of the Government', on the other. As already seen, on both categories the far left led the change. The far right was the last political party (in 1996) to use visible forms to refer to the term 'deputies'. From 2002 onwards the two political parties from the centre used visible forms consistently and exclusively when they referred to 'deputies'. Also during this period the far left used visible forms to address this political category in 80% of its references. And finally since 1996 the far right also changed considerably its way of addressing the 'deputies': it used only visible forms during 2000 and 2001 and then again from 2005 onwards.

With respect to the political category 'Members of the Government', only the political parties from the right were affected by the linguistic change (see Figure 8). Both used visible forms to address the category 'Members of the Government' in the 2001 commemoration. There were two commemorations during the XIV Government, in 2000 and 2001. Both political parties referred to 'Members of the Government' twice: the centre right used in 2000 a completely invisible form – 'Srs. Membros do Governo' ('Mr Members of the Government') – and in 2001 it used a completely visible form – 'Sras. Ministras e Srs. Ministros' ('Mrs Ministers and Mr Ministers'). The far right also used in 2000 a completely invisible form – 'Srs. Membros do Governo' – and in 2001 it used a partially visible form – 'Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo' ('Mrs and Mr Members of the Government'). The centre left only used completely invisible forms to refer to this political category.

These figures show that the speakers used different linguistic forms to address both political categories. Significantly when they used a visible form to refer to ‘Members of the Government’, they also used a visible form to refer to the political category ‘Deputies’. This happened in 12% (i.e. 12 out 99) of the lists of formal forms of addresses from 1988 to 2008.

Finally, the linguistic change with respect to the political categories, either ‘Deputies’ or ‘Members of the Government’, was introduced by a woman. As we have seen previously, Maria Santos from the Greens in 1988 used partially visible forms to refer to both political terms.

Current choice of social and political categories

The present moment is one of inconsistency shown by speakers. To show this inconsistency it is necessary to look for examples of completely visible lists by a speaker. Only two lists of formal forms of addresses from speakers of political parties were completely visible in terms of gender terminology. The first one came from Herculano Pombo of the far left, namely, from the PEV, in 1990, and the second one from Mota Amaral of the centre right in 1998 (see Extracts 7 and 8 below).

- (7) Exmo. Sr. Presidente da República, Exmo. Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Exmo. Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, *Sras. Deputadas, Srs. Deputados*, minhas Senhoras e meus Senhores:
(Excellence Mr President of Republic, Excellence Mr President of Assembly of Republic, Excellence Mr Prime-Minister, *Mrs Deputies, Mr Deputies*, my Ladies and my Gentlemen) (Herculano Pombo of PEV, April 25 1990, italics added)
- (8) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, Altas Entidades presentes, *Sras. Deputadas e Srs. Deputados*, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores:
(Mr President of Republic, Mr President of Assembly of Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr President of Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, High present Entities, *Mrs Deputies, Mr Deputies*, My Ladies and My Gentlemen) (Mota Amaral of PSD, April 25 1998³⁶, italics added)

³⁶in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 63, 1998. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

As can be seen, the speakers only mentioned the political category of ‘deputies’ and when they did so they used a completely visible form. When the second speaker, Mota Amaral of the centre right, gave a speech in 2001, he used completely visible forms with the two political categories – ‘Sras. Ministras e Srs. Ministros’ and ‘Sras. Deputadas e Srs. Deputados’ – and a completely invisible form with the category ‘guests’ – ‘Ilustres Convidados’ (see Extract 9 below). Also, with the category ‘ambassadors’, Mota Amaral used a completely visible form.

- (9) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, *Sras. Minsitras e Srs. Ministros*, Altas Entidades da República Portuguesa, *Sras. Embaixadoras e Srs. Embaixadores*, Excelências, *Ilustres Convidados*, *Sras. Deputadas e Srs. Deputados*, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores: (Mr President of Republic, Mr President of Assembly of Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Justice Court and Constitutional Court, *Mrs Ministers and Mr Ministers*, High Entities of the Portuguese Republic, *Mrs Ambassadors and Mr Ambassadors*, Excellencies, *Illustrious Guests*, *Mrs Deputies and Mr Deputies*, My Ladies and My Gentlemen) (Mota Amaral of PSD, April 25 2001³⁷, italics added)

In the following commemoration, Mota Amaral, speaking, this time as the President of the Assembly of the Republic, produced a completely visible list. He mentioned the two political categories analysed and when he did so he used completely visible forms. He also used a completely visible form with the category ‘ambassadors’ (see Extract 10). On the other hand, in 2002, he reverted back to using a mixture of linguistic forms, using completely invisible forms with the political category ‘members of the government’ and the category of ‘guests’, but a partially visible form with the political category ‘deputies’ (see Extract 11).

- (10) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da República de Cabo Verde, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, *Sras. Minsitras e Srs. Ministros*, *Sras. Embaixadoras e Srs. Embaixadores*, Altas Entidades presentes, *Sras. Deputadas e Srs. Deputados*, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores: (Mr President of Republic, Mr President of the Republic of Cape Verde, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Justice Court and Constitutional Court, *Mrs Ministers and Mr Ministers*, *Mrs Ambassadors and Mr*

³⁷in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 74, 2001. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Ambassadors, High present Entities, Mrs Deputies and Mr Deputies, My Ladies and My Gentlemen) President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mota Amaral, April 25 2002³⁸, italics added)

- (11) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e *demais Membros do Governo*, Srs. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, *Sras. e Srs. Deputados, Ilustres Convidados*, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores:
(Mr President of Republic, Mr Prime-Minister and *other Members of the Government*, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Justice Court and Constitutional Court, *Mrs and Mr Deputies, Illustrious Guests*, My Ladies and My Gentlemen) (President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mota Amaral, April 25 2003³⁹, italics added)

These examples from the speaker of the centre right⁴⁰, suggest that there has not been a move resulting in complete visibility – otherwise we would expect the examples of complete visibility to occur in the present period and individual speakers, such as Mota Amaral, moving towards using complete visibility rather than away from it. The way that Amaral used different linguistic forms to refer to the social and political categories is quite common at present, as can be seen in the following examples (see Extracts 12 to 14).

- (12) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Presidente da República de Cabo Verde, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e *Demais Membros do Governo*, Srs. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, *Sras. Deputadas e Srs. Deputados*, Ilustres Capitães de Abril aqui presentes, *Sras. e Sr.s Convidados*:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr President of Cape Verde, Mr Prime-Minister and *Other Members of Government*, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and Constitutional Court, *Mrs Deputies and Mr Deputies*, Illustrious Captains of April here present, *Mrs and Mr Guests*) (Honório Novo of the PCP, April 25 2002, italics added)
- (13) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Srs. Presidentes do Tribunal Constitucional e do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, *Srs. Membros do Governo, Sras. e Srs. Deputados, Excelentíssimos Convidados*, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Presidents of the Constitutional Court and of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr Prime-Minister, *Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies*,

³⁸in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 6, 2002. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

³⁹in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 114, 2003. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

⁴⁰see also Mota Amaral's list of formal forms of address in 2004 (see Appendix 1, Table 2).

Excellencies Guests, My Ladies and My Gentlemen) (Medeiros Ferreira of the PS, April 25 2003, italics added)

- (14) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, demais altas entidades do Estado, Sr. Cardeal Patriarca, *Sras. e Srs. Membros do Governo, Sras. e Srs. Deputados*, Srs. Representantes do Corpo Diplomático, *Ilustres Convidados*, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Sr. President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Other Entities of the State, Mr Cardinal Patriarch, *Mrs and Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies*, Mr Representatives of the Diplomatic Body, *Illustrious Guests*, My Ladies and My Gentlemen) (Luís Montenegro of the PSD, April 25 2008⁴¹, italics added)

The non-existence of a regular fixed pattern is revealed in the somewhat odd mixtures of linguistic forms. One further example is a speaker using different linguistic forms, completely visible and partially visible, with the same term ('deputies') can be see below (see italics of Extract 15). In this case the speaker first used the completely visible form '*Deputadas e Deputados Constituintes*' ('Deputies (feminine and plural) and Deputies (masculine and plural) of the Constituent') but then used the partially visible form '*Sras. e Srs. Deputados*' ('Mrs and Mr Deputies'). Also, with the category 'guests', the speaker used a partially visible form.

- (15) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, Capitães de Abril, *Deputadas e Deputados Constituintes, Sras. e Srs. Convidados, Sras. e Srs. Deputados*:
(Mr President of Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and Constitutional Court, Captains of April, *Deputies and Deputies 'Constituintes', Mrs and Mr Guests, Mrs and Mr Deputies*) (Jerónimo de Sousa of the PCP, April 25 2005, italics added)

Thus, there is not a trend of complete visibility. The current pattern is quite irregular; the speakers frequently use a mixture of visible, partially visible and invisible forms (see Table 28). Unexpectedly, some speakers still use completely invisible forms

⁴¹see Appendix 1, Table 3.

(apart from the residual category) and most strikingly the majority of these lists come from the political group that led the linguistic change, that is, from the far left. Specifically, one list of completely invisible forms was used by the BE (in 2001), two lists by the PCP (in 2000 and 2001), and three lists by the PEV (in 2001, 2003 and 2004). Surprisingly, the three completely invisible lists of the PEV come from a woman⁴². All the other speakers who used completely invisible lists, either from the left-wing or the right-wing, are men.

Table 28
Percentages and Number in parentheses of regular and irregular forms
for the social and political categories from 2000 to 2008 by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	Lists of formal forms of addresses				
	Regular forms – all completely visible	Regular forms – all partially visible	Regular forms – all completely invisible	Irregular forms	Total
Far left	0% (0)	30% (8)	22% (6)	48% (13)	100% (27)
Centre left	0% (0)	0% (0)	11% (1)	89% (8)	100% (9)
Centre right	0% (0)	11% (1)	11% (1)	78% (7)	100% (9)
Far right	0% (0)	22% (2)	11% (1)	67% (6)	100% (9)
Total	0% (0)	20% (11)	17% (9)	63% (34)	100% (54)

6.3.3 Concluding Remarks

Three distinct periods can be traced with respect to gender terminology of the lists of formal forms of addresses:

1. A first period of completely invisible forms apart from the residual category. This period lasted from the first commemoration of April 25 of 1977 to 1982. This period is strongly sexist since all political speakers used unequal forms of formal addresses, where women are completely invisible and men completely visible. During this period the women of the audience were visible only when the speakers referred to

⁴²After 2004, Heloísa Apolónia gave indications of change towards the use of more visible lists. In her speech of 2006 she used a partially visible form with the category of ‘guests’ and completely invisible forms with the political categories of ‘members of the Government’ and ‘deputies’; and, in 2010, she used a partially visible form with the political category of ‘deputies’ and a completely invisible form with the political category of ‘members of the Government’. In her latter list of formal forms of address, she did not include the category ‘guests’.

the residual category. This form is also marked by a strong tone of sexism since all women of the audience were left to the end of the lists and only addressed as 'everybody else'. In this sense, the women of the formal audience – a minority during this period – were not acknowledged as official members of the Parliament, Government and special guests; quite the contrary, they were only addressed through the polite form of 'Ladies and Gentlemen'. In this way, the speakers routinely and unnoticeably downgraded and made invisible the women who were actually present in the audience as formal members.

2. A second period of change as the political speakers began to use visible and partially visible linguistic forms. This period is the beginning of visibility across the political spectrum; it started in 1985 with the far left. It ended in 1996 when the far right used a visible form with a political category and was the last party to do so. By 1996 all parties had begun to use visible forms.
3. And the present period of variable visibility, from 2000 onwards. All political speakers from the far right and the centre are using routinely a mixture of visible, partially visible and invisible linguistic forms, except for the far left which is using a mixture of partially visible and invisible linguistic forms. This period is also marked by a degree of sexism since all speakers, including women speakers, continue regularly to use linguistic forms which make women invisible or only partially visible.

Three aspects of the present period need to be stressed. First, invisible forms are still used⁴³ as well as partially visible and completely visible forms. As mentioned, these three linguistic forms are being used habitually by all the political parties from the far right as well as the two from the centre. The far left uses a mixture of invisible and partially visible forms. In this respect, all political speakers are using unequal forms of addresses, where men are more visible than women. Second, since 2002 there seems to be a trend for the political category of 'deputies'. Since 2005 the speakers from the centre and even from the far right have not used the completely invisible form; only the far left, which started the linguist change, uses it. On the other hand, the speakers are using a mixture of partially and completely visible forms. However, there is no evidence

⁴³From 2004 to 2009, no speakers, either from the political parties or the Presidents, used completely invisible lists. However, in 2010 the speaker from the far right formally acknowledged the audience with a completely invisible list.

that they will be moving towards using completely visible forms. With respect to the other two categories no trend seems to exist. The speakers are using a mixture of completely invisible and partially visible linguistic forms. On the other hand, the general social category ‘guests’ is more partially visible than the political category ‘Members of the Government’. Again with these categories, there is also no evidence that the speakers are moving towards complete visibility. Finally, the present period appears to be one of variable visibility, where speakers appear to be non-sexist by specifically addressing women but in practice they are sexist because they regularly use forms which make women invisible or partially visible. Even the women speakers do this. In consequence, the choice of linguistic forms of addresses ensures that men are still more visible than women.

In this way, this analysis of the formal beginnings of the speeches shows that ideology is present right at the start of the speeches, even when the speakers are engaging in the formal rituals of the ceremony. In particular, ideology is present in terms of choices of whom to greet or not to greet – that is, ideology as overt political ideology – and also in terms of the usage of sexist habits of language – that is, ideology as patterns of language (mostly unnoticed), which reproduce relations of domination. As such, ideology in these both forms is present in a part of the speech where it might not be expected, and this is in speeches which ostensibly are presented as if they are not ideologically or politically controversial.

Second, the analyses undertaken in this chapter are important both for understanding the nature of speeches in the celebration of the April Revolution in the national parliament, namely the ideological significance of customary practices, and also for understanding the rhetorical moves which speakers might make in their version of history on this formal occasion. As will be seen shortly, this is the case of the speaker of the far right, Anacoreta Correia, who, in the 2004 commemoration, formally addresses his audience with a list of formal forms of addresses twice: first, to open his speech and then again after a short passage. The rhetorical and ideological significance of his second list of formal forms of addresses can only be understood in the light of the current analysis of the formal beginnings of the speeches. Generally, one can only understand an unusual rhetorical event against the background of customary practices. This chapter has

aimed to demonstrate and critically analyse these customary practices.

7. The role of formal forms of addresses within a speech:

Rhetorical identification and manipulation

7.1 Introduction

In the previous two chapters we analysed the parliamentary speeches of political speakers by looking at presences and absences of terms and categories. First, a broad analysis of whole political speeches revealed political differences in describing the previous regime and the revolutionary period. Broadly, the first content analysis showed that the speakers from the right-wing are less critical about the previous regime than those of the left-wing. For example, the right-wing tends to use negative terms, such as ‘fascism’, ‘dictatorship’ less, when talking about the previous regime than does the left-wing. On the other hand, the right-wing and, especially, the far-right (CDS-PP), describe the Revolution more negatively than the left-wing. Particularly, the CDS-PP uses significantly more often the negative terms ‘fascism’ or ‘dictatorship’ when referring to the revolutionary period than the political parties from the left-wing. Also, the CDS-PP mentions ‘November 25’ more than the far left, the PCP. Noticeably, when referring to the revolutionary period, the four political parties do not differ from each other in mentioning ‘democracy’ and in referring to the Portuguese and to the Nation. Second, a historical content analysis of the formal openings across time also revealed political differences in the custom of greeting the audience. For instance, the speakers from the right-wing tend not to pay tribute to those who made the April Revolution. This second study also examined the formal greetings in terms of gendered language. It showed that there has been a move towards gender visibility – which was initiated by the far-left – although left and right political parties still use sexist language.

This chapter undertakes a more complex analysis than the previous ones. Instead of looking at a large set of speeches and at patterns of presences and absences in particular

themes or terms, it looks in depth at the details of one particular speech – not even the whole speech but particular parts of one speech. The chapter aims at investigating how the speaker in question rhetorically constructs a version of the past. In order to investigate a speaker's version of history, especially on an occasion whose celebratory feature seems to involve the cessation of everyday politics, we need to examine in great detail the meaning of what is said, how it said and also at the ideological meaning of what it is not said. In this respect, the kind of analysis undertaken here follows from the assumptions of Rhetorical and Discursive Social Psychology (ex. Billig, 1996/1987; Billig, 1991; Edwards, 1997; Edwards and Potter, 1992a; Potter, 1996). Because of the ambiguous nature of this sort of speech, the study goes beyond the analysis of explicit rhetoric. The omissions and ambiguities are also examined. To do this we follow discursive approaches that enables us to look at these aspects of discourse, such as Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse-Historical Analysis (ex. Billig, 1997, 1999; Fairclough, 1998b/1992; Fowler, 1991; van Dijk, 2006; Wodak, 2001b). Finally, the meta-linguistic aspects of the data, such as intonation shifts, direction of gaze, word stresses, pauses, gestures, etc., are also taken into account when relevant. In this respect, this analysis also borrows analytical tools from Conversational Analysis, particularly to examine how a speaker uses rhetorical devices to obtain applause from the audience (for example, Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b; Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986).

In accordance with the methodological principles of discursive psychology and conversational analysis, the analysis undertaken is a bottom-up analysis (see Chapter Four). We start with the beginning of a particular speech, that is, the formal greetings, and then proceed into the speech proper by looking in-depth at what it contains, as well as what it omits. The analysis progresses by working on what is found. Therefore, this analysis does not provide a general structure of the whole speech but aims at working step by step with what it is found in the speech from its beginning onwards. In this respect, only the transcripts of the beginning of one particular speech – the formal greetings and the beginning of the speech proper – are presented next to the analysis (but see Appendix Two, for the transcript of the whole speech and its English translation).

It should also be noted that the research questions of this analytical study are not formulated at the outset of the chapter but are formed and discussed as the analysis progresses. The reason for this it is that the research questions derive directly from the analysis itself (see Chapter Four). Thus, in the different sections of the analysis, research

questions are formulated together with the analysis and they are discussed alongside other studies working on similar rhetorical properties of discourse.

This chapter examines how Anacoreta Correia, the speaker of the far right (CDS-PP), starts his speech at the 2004 parliamentary commemoration. As will be seen shortly, the speaker formally greets the audience twice with a list of formal forms of addresses: conventionally at the opening of his speech and then after a short passage. One can then ask what is the argumentative meaning of the speaker's formal re-address? As the analysis shows, the use of a second list of formal forms of addresses, shortly after the conventional one, is part of the speaker's effort to promote himself and his party as commemorating the April Revolution, while doing so in an ambiguous way.

In this respect, the analysis of a speaker of the far right enables us to answer a particular question about this political party and the parliamentary commemorations of the April Revolution. The position from which the speaker of the CDS-PP celebrates the annual parliamentary commemorations of the Revolution of April 25 is dilemmatic (see Billig *et al.*, 1988, for a discussion of ideological dilemmas). This political party has been in Parliament since 1975 (Freire, 2001) and therefore it must participate in the ceremonial occasion and commemorate the event that overthrew the previous fascist regime. On the other hand, this political party represents a political continuity with the previous regime: persons who espoused conservative authoritarian values were an integral part of its constitution as a political party (Robinson, 1996); moreover, the opinion polls of 1975/76 showed that for its support the party drew upon those who were in favour of the previous regime of Salazar and Caetano (Pinto, 1998). In this sense, the position of the CDS-PP towards the parliamentary commemorations of April 25 is ambiguous: it has to celebrate an event that its history makes difficult. Moreover, thirty years of democratic practice might be thought to be sufficient time for the members of this political party to dissipate the early ambiguity towards the Revolution and the previous regime inherent in its formation. If this had happened, the CDS-PP's speaker would advocate at the 2004 parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution a rupture with the previous regime and would also ally his party with the commemorations of the Revolution without ambiguity. The detailed analysis of Correia's rhetoric and its hidden meanings shows that the speaker does something else; he rhetorically manipulates the presentation of the party's ideology as he appears to celebrate an event to which he is ambivalent.

Additionally, in 2004 the CDS-PP was in Government, in a coalition with the Democratic Social Party (PSD) of the centre right. Being in a position of power, as a junior partner in a coalition, typically constrains a minority party, especially an extremist party partaking in an official state occasion, in which there are strong normative expectations to engage conventionally. Therefore a close analysis of this speech also enables us to examine how potentially ambiguous messages might be rhetorically managed.

At last, the present analysis enables us to see that the CDS-PP speaker does not distance himself from the previous regime; instead he seeks to change the nature of the celebration and its object in ways that preserve continuity with the previous regime. In this respect it can be argued that CDS-PP might represent in the parliament a continuity with the previous regime. This aspect has been overlooked by contemporary experts of political analysis, who tend to describe the CDS-PP either as a conservative right-wing party (Freire, 2005; Jalali, 2007; Robinson, 1996) or a post-materialist extreme right party (Costa, 2007). In both approaches, the CDS-PP is presented as a political party without links to the previous regime. For instance, Catarina Costa (2005) argues that the CDS-PP changed in 1991 when its new leader, Manuel Monteiro, asserted a ‘democratic rupture’ (Robinson, 1996, p. 969) with the fascist past. According to Costa, the CDS-PP became a ‘post-materialist extreme right party’, in Ignazi’s terminology (2003), that is, the ideology of the CDS-PP is nationalist and racist, but also democratic for it broke with its previous fascist history – although, according to Costa, this party adopts, for strategic purposes (not ideological), a populist rhetoric, which is, in some extent, anti-democratic and anti-liberal. There is, however, another possibility. Monteiro’s assertion about breaking with the fascist past of the party might not be an indication of a genuine change in the party’s politics but be part of the outward presentation of the party ideology, which downplays but does not completely disavow its fascist links and heritage. John Richardson (2011), who examines contemporary fascist parties, shows that their discourse are typically not straightforward but are ‘inherently duplicitous’ (p. 38). That is, they explicitly present themselves as being ‘anti-immigrant’, ‘nationalist’ and ‘democratic’, but at the same time implicit rhetorical moves are made for the benefit of their long term supporters to show that the party has not forgotten its past (see also, Billig, 1978, and Wodak, 2011). As will be seen shortly, the analysis of the CDS-PP

speaker at the 2004 commemoration of the April Revolution suggests that this party is engaging in a similar approach.

7.2 Rhetorical identification with a special guest of the ceremony and the audience

7.2.1 A conventional formal opening

Correia starts his commemorative speech by formally acknowledging the parliamentary audience with what we called in the previous chapter a formal *exordium* (see Extract 1).

1. Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e Srs. Membros do Governo, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, Srs. Presidentes das Assembleias Legislativas dos Açores e da Madeira, Altas Autoridades Cíveis e Militares do Estado, Sr.as e Srs. Convidados, Sr.as e Srs. Deputados⁴⁴
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of Republic, Mr Prime Minister and Mr Members of the Government, Mr President of the Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Mr Presidents of the Legislative Assemblies of Azores and Madeira, High Civil and Military Authorities of the State, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen, Mrs and Mr Deputies)

Following the previous analytical chapter, three aspects can be highlighted in Correia's formal opening. First, Correia opens his speech conventionally: he addresses the parliamentary audience with a long list of formal forms of addresses which he begins as customary by acknowledging formally the 'President of the Republic' and the 'President of the Assembly of the Republic'. Second, Correia is also conventional in that his list of formal forms of addresses shows an irregular pattern in terms of gender terminology. That is, he uses a completely invisible form to address the 'members of the

⁴⁴*Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 80, 2004. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Government’ – ‘Srs. Membros do Governo’ (‘Mr Members of the Government’) – and partially visible forms with the terms ‘guests’ and ‘deputies’ – ‘Sras e Srs Convidados’ (‘Invited Ladies and Gentlemen’) and ‘Sras. e Srs. Deputados’ (‘Mrs and Mr Deputies’), respectively. And finally, Correia also reproduces a right-wing pattern in that he does not explicitly address the protagonists of the Revolution, the Captains of April.

7.2.2 General applause

Having started in a conventional way, Correia then begins his speech proper by precisely indicating that he is beginning his speech – ‘Começo’ (‘I begin’) – and he starts by welcoming and honouring a special guest of the ceremony (see Extract 2).

2. Começo por saudar o Presidente da República de Timor Leste, que nos quis honrar com a sua presença nesta comemoração do XXX Aniversário do 25 de Abril. É sempre com o maior prazer que o vemos nesta Casa da democracia portuguesa, Sr. Presidente Xanana Gusmão.
Aplausos do CDS-PP, do PSD, do PS e do BE
(I begin by greeting the President of the Republic of East Timor, who wanted to honour us with his presence at this commemoration of the thirtieth Anniversary of April 25. It is always with the greatest pleasure that we see you in this House of the Portuguese democracy, Mr President Xanana Gusmão.
Applause from CDS-PP, PSD, PS and BE)

As the parliamentary official written record of Correia’s speech indicates, Correia’s praise of the President of East Timor is followed by applause from almost all political parties of the political spectrum. Correia’s greeting of this special guest at the ceremony is followed by applause coming from his political allies – that is, his own party, the CDS-PP, and his governmental ally, the PSD – as well as political opponents – the PS, from centre left, and the BE, from the far left. The two parties in alliance to the left of the centre left PS – namely, the Communist Portuguese Party (PCP) and the Greens (PEV) – do not applaud. This aspect raises an intriguing question: how can the speaker from the far right elicit applause from political enemies at the commemoration of the April Revolution?

Given the analysis of political applause of John Maxwell Atkinson (1984a, 1984b) and John Heritage and David Greatbatch (1986), it can be expected that Correia does something to prompt the parliamentary audience to applaud. The authors note that politicians at British political party conferences commonly used specific rhetorical devices to mark an ending point in order to elicit coordinated applause from the audience. For example, rhetorical forms such as three part lists, contrasts or position taking (see Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986, for position taking device) at the end of a political argument were found to be repeatedly followed by applause. In total seven rhetorical devices were identified as influencing the audience to applaud. Also, the authors note that politicians coordinated these rhetorical formats with verbal and non-verbal cues – such as intonation shift, word stressed, pauses, gestures or other body movements – in order to create rhetorically a slot for applause (see also Bull, 2006). In sum, Atkinson, and Heritage and Greatbatch, show that applause at party political conferences is not unprompted but orchestrated by politicians. By combining rhetorical devices with delivery techniques the political orators communicate to their immediate audiences what to applaud and when to do so. Atkinson (1984a) refers to the slot for applause as a ‘clap-trap’.

A detailed analysis of Correia’s praise of the President of East Timor shows that the speaker indeed creates a slot for applause. In this case, Correia ends his praise with a rhetorical formulation conventionally used to get applause – ‘projecting a name’ or ‘naming’ (Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b) – and marks the completion of his praise with verbal and non-verbal cues. Specifically, just like the politicians of Atkinson’s study, Correia initially welcomes and greets the honourable guest by using a formal and impersonal form – ‘Sr Presidente da República de Timor Leste’ (‘Mr President of the Republic of East Timor’) – and he concludes by addressing formally the President with a formal but more personal form, that is, by his name – ‘Sr. President Xanana Gusmão’ (‘Mr President Xanana Gusmão’).

Furthermore, Correia marks his delivery with verbal and non-verbal cues (see Outline of Extract 2, for verbal and non-verbal techniques of Correia’s delivery)⁴⁵. As he

⁴⁵The notation of pauses, intonations, and other verbal and non-verbal cues that are used in the Outlines of Extract 2, 3 and 5 is a simplified version of the notions used by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Specifically, numbers in brackets indicate pauses timed in seconds, a full stop in brackets signals an audible pause but too short to measure, an underlining signifies that words or some parts of words were uttered with special emphasis and words in capital letters indicate that they are uttered louder. Finally, an arrow pointing downwards (↓) signifies a fall of intonation and an arrow pointing upwards (↑) indicates a raise of intonation. Also, in order to mark the rise and fall of the speaker’s

begins his praise of the President of East Timor, Correia slightly turns his chest and head to his left looking at where President Gusmão is seated. He delivers his praise by moving his head from his left side to the centre, looking down at his speech. He also emphasises his delivery by stressing words, shifting intonation and as he starts his second sentence also by moving his left hand up ^(^) and down _(v). Significantly, when Correia creates rhetorically ‘President Xanana Gusmão’ as a slot for applause, he is looking at President Gusmão. He also reinforces the use of the rhetorical device ‘naming’ in a similar form as Atkinson’s politicians. He pauses for 0.4 seconds before ‘senhor’ (‘mister’), stresses the formal form ‘senhor’. Then Correia’s intonation falls at ‘President Xanana Gusmão’ (↓), he drops his hand after President’s surname ‘Gusmão’ _(v) and pauses for 0.3 seconds (0.3), indicating thereby the completion of his praise, as well as providing a space for applause. A pause of 0.3 second at the end of a slot for applause was found to be the average time required to indicate that applause is expected at that moment (see Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b, Heritage and Greatbatch, 1986).

Outline of Extract 2

Verbal and non-verbal cues

_(o) (2.5) ^(o) ↑Começo _(o) (0.6) por SAUDAR o ^(o) Presidente da República de Timor Le_(o) ste
 (0.8) ^(o) que nos quis HON_(o) RAR com a sua presença (.) ^(o) nesta comemoração (.) _(o) ↓
 do trigésimo ani^(o)versário do vinte e cinco de Abril _(o) (1.0) ^(o) ↑ é sempre ^(^) (0.1) com o
_(o) MAIOR prazer _(v) ^(o) (0.5) que o ven ^(^) os nesta _(o) _(v) Casa da de^(o) mocracia
 portuguesa _(o) (0.4) ^(o) senhor ^(^) ↓ Presidente Xanana Gusmão _(v) _(o) (0.3)
 Aplausos (10.5)

Below is the equivalent stresses in the English translation:

_(o) (2.5) ^(o) ↑I begin _(o) (0.6) by GREETING the ^(o) President of the Republic of Ea_(o) st Timor
 (0.8) ^(o) who wanted TO HO_(o) NOUR us with his presence (.) ^(o) at this commemoration (.) _(o) ↓
 of the thirtieth anni^(o)versary of ↓ April twenty five _(o) (1.0) ^(o) ↑ it is always ^(^) (0.1) with the
_(o) GREATEST pleasure _(v) ^(o) (0.5) that we ^(^) see you in this _(o) _(v) House of de^(o) mocracy
 Portuguese _(o) (0.4) ^(o) mister ^(^) ↓ President Xanana Gusmão _(v) _(o) (0.3)
 Applause (10.5)

In this way, by combining verbal and non-verbal signs together with the rhetorical format of ‘naming’, Correia communicates to his audience that he is leaving a slot for applause. Similar to the other studies, the audience responds after 0.3 seconds. The

hands, as well as shifts of gaze four signs were added: ^(^) to indicate that the speaker raises one hand; _(v) to mark that the speaker drops their hand; ^(o) to indicate that the speaker is looking up at the audience and _(o) to mark that they are looking down at their speech.

duration of the applause – 10.5 seconds (10.5) – is slightly above the average duration of applause of 8 seconds found by Atkinson, and Heritage and Greatbatch.

7.2.3 Rhetoric of communal identification

Although the analysis of applause, according to Atkinson, and Heritage and Greatbatch, is revealing for understanding Correia supporters' applause, it is not sufficient to disclose how Correia manages to elicit applause from political enemies. To understand this it is necessary to look closely at what Correia actually says (see Billig, 2003b, for this argument; see also Bull, 2006).

A close analysis of the content of Correia's greeting shows that he positions himself as welcoming and honouring the President of East Timor on behalf of the parliament. He begins by greeting the 'President of East Timor' in individual terms using the first person singular. He says: 'Começo por saudar o Presidente da República de Timor Leste' ('I start by greeting the President of the Republic of East Timor'). And then he shifts to the first person plural of 'us'/'we' to honour and welcome this special guest of the ceremony – that is, 'us' in 'que nos quis honrar com a sua presença' ('who wanted to honour us with his presence') and 'we' in 'que o vemos nesta Casa da democracia portuguesa' ('that we see you in this House of Portuguese democracy', see Extract 2). In this way, Correia praises and welcomes an honourable guest with what Michael Billig (1991, 1995, 2003b, 2009a) calls 'a vague' or 'unified' 'we'. Kenneth Burke (1969), drawing on classic rhetoric theory, argued that identification is accomplished rhetorically whenever a speaker emphasises communal links with the audience⁴⁶. Billig (1991, 1995, 2003b, 2009a, 2009b) points out that often politicians identify themselves rhetorically with their audience by means of a vague 'we' for its vagueness evokes a sense of unity⁴⁷. In Billig's own words (2003b):

⁴⁶see also Billig, 1996/1987, 1988a, 2003b, for a review of Burke's view on persuasion by means of rhetorical identification; Jasinski, J., 2001; see also Cheney, 1983, for a study of Burke's rhetorical identification applied to corporate.

⁴⁷see specifically Billig, 1995, 2009a, 2009b, for 'preconscious' rhetorical identification through the invocation of a vague and unified 'we'; see also more generally Maitland and Wilson, 1987, Seigel, 1975, Wilson, 1990, for the use of ambiguous 'we' in political discourse.

‘This lack of specification, far from being confusing, has its own rhetorical force: it suggests an “identity of identities”, as if those in the audience comprise a unity.’(p. 238).

In the present case, Correia stresses a common ground between himself and the parliament. He positions himself as praising and welcoming a special guest of the ceremony on behalf of the parliament. Several aspects of his opening suggest that ‘we’ and ‘us’ refer to ‘those who have the commemoration’. Specifically, Correia ends his list of formal forms of addresses with ‘deputies’ – ‘Sr.as e Srs. Deputados’ (Mrs and Mr Deputies) (see Extract 1). As seen in the previous chapter, the speakers of the ceremony of the April Revolution can either end their list of formal forms of addresses by formally addressing the ‘guests’ in general, the remained audience – with the form ‘Ladies and Gentlemen’ – or ‘the deputies’. Correia prefers to end his list with ‘deputies’ and begins his speech proper greeting a special guest of the ceremony by changing from ‘I’ to a unified ‘us’ and by deictically pointing to the actual celebration with ‘nesta’ (‘at this’) – in ‘nesta comemoração do XXX Aniversário do 25 de Abril’ (‘at this commemoration of the thirtieth anniversary of April 25’). In the following sentence, Correia uses the general ‘we’ with the verb ‘to see’ and the pronoun ‘you’ and, thereby, he points to those who are actually seeing the President – in ‘o vemos’ (‘we see you’). Then he also deictically points with ‘nesta’ (‘at this’) to where the celebration is taking place (i.e. the parliamentary building) – in ‘nesta Casa da democracia portuguesa’ (‘at this House of Portuguese democracy’).

But that is not all. Correia addresses the honourable guest of the ceremony with expressions that carry an emotional quality – ‘saudar’ (‘by greeting’) of ‘Começo por saudar’ (‘I start by greeting’), ‘honrar’ (‘to honour’) of ‘que nos quis honrar’ (‘who wanted to honour us’) and ‘maior prazer’ (‘greatest pleasure’) of ‘É sempre com o maior prazer que o vemos nesta Casa da democracia portuguesa’ (‘It is always with the greatest pleasure that we see you in this House of the Portuguese democracy’). Discursive social psychologists (Billig, 1997c, 1999a; Edwards, 1997, 1999) have pointed out that people make use of emotional expressions to perform social activities. In Edwards (1999) own words:

‘Emotion categories are not graspable merely as individual feelings or expressions, and nor is their discursive deployment reducible to a kind of detached, cognitive sense-making. They are discursive phenomena and can be studied as such, as part of how talk performs social actions.’ (p. 279)

In the present case, Correia employs the conventional rhetoric of ceremonial events. Namely, he praises a valued member of the ceremony with friendly and polite clichéd expressions. In this sense, Correia adopts what can be called ‘common-places’, that is, ‘commonly used statements of general principles’ (Billig, 1988a, p. 191) that ‘because of their common usage and generality tend to be clichéd expressions.’ (p. 192; see also Billig, 1996/1987, 2003b, for the notion of ‘common-places’ in rhetorical theory). In this respect, by praising in a conventional way a valued member of the commemoration, Correia also conveys, in Burke’s terms, an identification with the commemorative audience. As Billig (2003b) writes:

‘Speakers, by praising what their audiences value, suggest a commonality, as if they and their audiences possess what Burke calls “consubstantiality”, or a common substance. This is most easily achieved by citing shared commonplaces.’ (p. 233).

In sum, Correia starts his speech proper by conveying a strong identification with the parliament and he does this by praising an honourable guest of the ceremony; specifically, he addresses the President of East Timor with friendly and polite ‘common-places’ on behalf of a unified parliament.

Other conventional phrases in Correia’s initial praises must be noted. The initial phrase ‘Começo por saudar’ (‘I begin by greeting’) constitutes what J. L. Austin (1962) initially called ‘a performative’ (p. 6) (see also Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Potter, 2008). In other words, he employs a verb whose meaning indicates the performance of an act – namely, ‘por saudar’ (‘by greeting’). That is, the phrase ‘Começo por saudar’ (‘I start by greeting’) performs the act of greeting. Austin (1962) wrote that performative or illocutionary acts carry a force. Therefore, as an act with a force they can demand of the recipient an acknowledgement of the act. Thus, for example, the recipient of a greeting

may feel an obligation to acknowledge or return the greeting. And this is what Austin identified as ‘a perlocution’:

‘Saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the audience, or of the speaker, or of other persons: and it may be done with the design, intention or purpose of producing them; and we may then say, thinking of this, that the speaker has performed an act (...). We shall call the performance of an act of this kind the performance of a perlocutionary act or perlocution.’ (p. 101)

The force of the illocutionary act ‘Começo por saudar’ involves not only the President Gusmão but also the parliamentary audience since Correia immediately follows by positioning himself as praising this special member of the audience with commonplace discourse on behalf of the parliament. In other words, the parliamentary members may have felt an obligation to associate themselves with Correia’s greeting, which has been made on their behalf. Moreover, Correia continues his communal rhetoric in extreme language and thus he increases its illocutionary force. He uses, what Anita Pomerantz (1986) calls ‘extreme case formulations’ (p. 219) – i.e. such terms as ‘sempre’ (‘always’) and ‘o maior’ (‘the greatest’) of ‘É sempre com o maior prazer que o vemos nesta casa da democracia portuguesa’ (‘It is always with the greatest pleasure that we see you in this house of Portuguese democracy’) – to formulate the communal welcoming, as well as a national referent – namely, ‘nesta casa da democracia portuguesa’ (‘in this house of Portuguese democracy’) (see Edwards, 2000, for extreme case formulations being heard as extreme descriptions by co-hearers or co-participants). Correia then creates a slot for the expression of a response both from President Gusmão and the audience: the audience applauds and President Gusmão acknowledges this with his head, as the video of the parliamentary session shows.

7.2.4 ‘Clap trap’

The concept of ‘clap trap’ by Atkinson (1984a) is then very appropriate in this case. Correia sets a trap for his audience. He forcefully praises and welcomes a valuable guest of the ceremony on behalf of the parliament. His trap is that he uses a communal and

extreme rhetoric together with a rhetorical formulation – ‘naming’ – and appropriate intonation, gestures, pauses, etc., to create a slot for the parliamentary audience to applaud the ‘President Xanana Gusmão’. If his audience does not fill this slot with applause then they risk being seen to insult the honourable guest, or at least being seen to dissociate themselves from the communal greeting that Correia has made. In this sense, this is truly a clap trap for many in the audience would not have wished to respond to Correia’s words with applause because of the politics of the speaker.

There is a further distinction that the analysis of Correia’s general applause suggests: the distinction between the creation of a slot for the applause and the object of applause. The audience is not applauding Correia or his words directly but ‘President Xanana Gusmão’. The object of applause is therefore the ‘President Xanana Gusmão’ and not Correia. Correia is orchestrating the applause, that is, he is leading the audience to applaud the ‘President Xanana Gusmão’. By identifying with the audience and by setting the clap-trap, Correia becomes for a moment the leader of the audience and the audience is trapped into following him.

7.2.5 Rhetoric of individual identification

After the general applause Correia shifts back to an individual register, or the first person singular, in order to express a strong individual identification with the President of East Timor and his country (see Extract 3).

3. Confesso que sinto uma grande emoção por ter hoje presente nesta celebração o homem que desde há mais de 20 anos admiro, então como comandante da luta pela liberdade e hoje como chefe da nação amiga que é Timor Leste.
(I confess that I feel an enormous emotion for having present today at this celebration the man whom for more than 20 years I have admired, then as commander of the struggle for freedom and today as the head of the friend nation that is East Timor.)

As can be seen, Correia praises in individual terms the President of East Timor also by means of friendly clichéd expressions – in ‘Confesso que sinto uma grande emoção por... o homem’ (‘I confess that I feel an enormous emotion for... the man’) and ‘que...

admiro' ('whom... I have admired'). In speaking thus, Correia conveys a rhetorical identification with the commemorative audience and the occasion for he continues to praise a commonly valued figure of the ceremony in conventional terms (Burke, 1969; Billig, 1996/1987).

The way the speaker refers to the President's past struggle and to the President's country requires further attention. Correia uses terms, such as 'luta' (struggle) and 'comandante' ('commander'), which left-wingers typically use when they talk about Gusmão and praise his anti-colonial past. By using such terms, Correia suggests a rhetorical identification with the President's past for he appears to be valuing Gusmão's anti-colonialist struggle against imperialism (Burke, 1969; see also Wodak, 1989, for political jargon, namely, left jargon, as group identity language). In addition, the speaker conveys a rhetorical identification with the President's country; he uses the phrase 'amiga' ('friend') to denote communality – in 'nação amiga' ('friend nation') – when he praises the President as the 'head' of East Timor. Therefore, one aspect can be highlighted with regards to Correia's individual praise of the President of East Timor: the speaker conveys a strong identification with President Gusmão as an anti-colonialist and with the President's country, and he does this after having positioned himself as praising this special guest on behalf of a unified parliament.

It should also be noted that in common with his communal praise Correia ends his individual praise of President Gusmão with the rhetorical format 'naming' (Atkinson, 1984a, 1984b) – specifically naming a country – but unlike his previous naming of Gusmão no applause from the audience follows. Given the previous analysis of general applause, it can be expected that, in this case, Correia does not orchestrate applause. Several aspects of his praise suggest this. First, its content must be noted; Correia greets the President Gusmão and his country in personal (not collective) terms. And second, he does not give the name 'East Timor' as a slot for the audience to applaud (see Outline of Extract 3, for verbal and non-verbal techniques of Correia's individual praise of President Gusmão). Correia does emphasize his praise by stressing words, shifting intonation, pausing and also by moving his right hand up and down but he does not do so in order to create rhetorically a slot for applause. Specifically, he does not pause for at least 0.3 seconds before 'East Timor', nor does he shift his intonation or coordinate the rhetorical device 'naming' with appropriate gestures – neither, for instance, raising his

hand before ‘East’ nor dropping it after ‘Timor’. Therefore, even when he pauses for 1.9 seconds after ‘Timor’, no applause from the audience follows.

Outline of Extract 3

Verbal and non-verbal cues

^(o) Confess^(o) o (0.7) ^(o) que sinto (0.2) uma GRANDE (0.3) emoção^(o) (0.6) por ter ↑
ho^(o)je (.) presente (0.2) nes^(o)ta celebração (0.6) o ^(o)homen (.) que des^(o)de há mais de vinte
anos ↓ a^(o)dmiro ^(^) (0.6) ^(o)então co^(o)mo comandante (0.1) da lu^(o)ta pela ^(o)liberdade ^(o)
^(v) (0.4) e ^(o)↑ hoje como chefe da nação ↓ amiga ^(v) (0.1) que é Timor Le^(o)ste (1.9)

Below is the equivalent stresses in the English translation:

^(o) I confes^(o)s (0.7) ^(o) that I feel (0.2) an ENORMOUS (0.3) emotion^(o) (0.6) for having ↑
to^(o) day (.) present (0.2) at ^(o)this celebra^(o)tion (0.6) the ^(o)man (.) whom for more than twenty
years ↓ I have a^(o)dmired ^(^) (0.6) ^(o)then a^(o)s commander (0.1) of the stru^(o)ggle for^(o) freedom
^(o) ^(v) (0.4) and ^(o)↑ today as the head of the ↓ friend nation ^(v) (0.1) that is Ea^(o)st Timor (1.9)

7.2.6 Ambiguity and rhetorical manipulation of a category of time

If the analysis of the explicit rhetoric of Correia’s initial honouring of President of East Timor suggests the conventional and uncontroversial nature of his opening, a further analysis of ambiguities, omissions and use of the category of time ‘twenty years’ reveals that in order to appear conventional (and thereby uncontroversial) he conceals partiality.

The way Correia starts by addressing the President of East Timor suggests ambiguity. He uses a communal and extreme rhetoric to praise an honourable guest of the ceremony. He also orchestrates general applause. But he does not clarify the relation between the President of East Timor and the commemoration of April 25. The opening phrase ‘que nos quis honrar com a sua presença nesta comemoração do XXX Aniversário do 25 de Abril’ (‘who wanted to honour us with his presence at this commemoration of the XXXth Anniversary of April 25’) implies a relation between the two – the President of East Timor and the commemoration – but this is left vague.

Then he praises in individual terms this honourable guest. This time Correia clarifies the relation between the President and the commemoration, but his rhetoric contains a crucial omission. As already seen, Correia expresses a rhetorical identification with the President as an anti-colonialist. However, he does not explicitly identify who

were the enemies in this battle. Instead, he uses a category of time – ‘vinte anos’ (‘twenty years’) – and this implicitly gives a clue about the identity of Gusmão’s opponents. The use of ‘vinte anos’ (‘twenty years’) at the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Revolution of April 25 is not innocent. This category indicates that Correia shortens Gusmão’s revolutionary past struggle against imperialism to his battle against the Indonesian Empire. Thus, he leaves out from his rhetorical identification with Gusmão’s anti-colonial past, Gusmão’s battle of 1974/1975 against the Portuguese Empire⁴⁸. That is, Correia manages rhetorically to appear at the celebration of the Revolution of April 25 to be aligning himself with an anti-colonialist. However, by means of a category of time that he shortens to twenty years, he only identifies himself with Gusmão’s anti-colonial struggle against a colonial domination which was subsequent to Portuguese colonialism. Thus, Correia’s personal identification with the President of East Timor, which at first sight seems non-controversial, would be likely to attract criticism from the political parties of the left, if it were clearly expressed rather than achieved by a quick shift of the time category.

Additionally, Correia’s communal and individual praise suggest another omission. Correia does not use explicitly the personal plural pronoun ‘nossa’ (‘our’), which would convey a rhetorical identification in Burke’s term when he deictically points to the actual commemoration. He says: ‘nesta comemoração do XXX Aniversário do 25 de Abril’ (‘at this commemoration of the XXXth anniversary of April 25’) in his communal greeting; and, ‘nesta celebração’ (‘at this celebration’) in his personal praise. In the context in which Correia implies an identification with the commemorative audience, the absence of ‘nossa’ might not be significant since a communal identification with the commemoration might be taken for granted. Nevertheless, his following controversial passage about the nature of April 25 and its commemorations suggests that the absence of ‘nossa’ (‘our’) to refer to the actual commemoration of April 25 cannot be without significance (see next section 7.3).

Several aspects about the above analysis need to be stressed. Correia begins his speech proper by praising and welcoming a valuable member of the ceremony and by orchestrating general applause. In this respect, Correia’s opening seems, at least superficially, non-controversial. However, as Billig (1996/1987, 1988a, 1988b, 2003b)

⁴⁸see Evans, 1975, Capazzi, Hill and Macey, 1976, for Fretilin’s fight against Portuguese colonial domination.

has noted, the rhetoric of identification, and, more specifically, ‘commonplace discourse’, is far from being rhetorically straightforward. In his own words:

‘There is a paradox about the rhetorical usage of common-places. On the one hand common-places denote the uncontroversial moral values of the speaker’s community. On the other hand, common-places are frequently used to provide the basis of controversial arguments. (...) Common-place discourse is frequently argumentative, as common-places are cited to justify positions, and positions are claimed to defend common-places.’ (Billig, 1988a, p. 187-188).

In the present case, several argumentative meanings can be exposed in the speaker’s rhetoric. Correia’s start is quite remarkable if we consider the political identity of who performs such praise and leads the general applause. The history of Correia’s political party might pose difficulties for praising an anti-colonialist at the celebration of the Revolution of April 25. Indeed, several aspects of his rhetoric indicate problems as the above analysis of ambiguity, omissions and manipulation of a category of time shows. In order to identify himself rhetorically with this special guest of the ceremony, the speaker from the far-right needs to conceal rhetorically any link that explicitly associates Gusmão and East Timor with its former resistance to the Portuguese Empire. Therefore, Correia’s rhetorical identification with the Head of a former colony is dilemmatic (Billig *et al.*, 1988): Correia praises and welcomes Gusmão as an anti-colonialist but not for his anti-colonialist battle against the Portuguese Empire⁴⁹. Instead, Correia praises Gusmão only for his anti-colonial struggle against the Indonesian Empire. We can then ask what is the purpose of starting in this way if such identification is not without problems for the speaker from the far right? That is, why does Correia position himself as identifying rhetorically with the President Gusmão on behalf of a unified parliament, and orchestrating general applause? And why does he then carry on with his rhetorical identification to align himself in individual terms with that special guest? The answer is argumentative and therefore ideological (i.e. Billig, 1988a, 1996/1987). On the one hand, by using common-place discourse on behalf of his audience to praise a special guest of the ceremony and by prompting his audience to applaud President Gusmão, Correia is also promoting his own ‘ethos’ as a member of the commemorative

⁴⁹for analogies, see Billig *et al.*, 1988; see also Billig, 1991 for examples of how English conservatives talk between themselves about a former colony.

community (Billig, 2003b, p. 233; Billig, 1996/1987⁵⁰). His communal praise of President Gusmão functions thus as a self-justification in advance, a *prolepsis* in rhetoric, against potential criticism that he might be opposing the ceremony or not participating appropriately (ex. Billig, 1996/1987, 2003⁵¹). It is unlikely that all his audience, and surely not President Gusmão, would agree with the very partial disapproval of imperialism that he tacitly expresses in his individual identification with President Gusmão's past struggle. On the other hand, Correia is implicitly arguing for (or justifying) a political arrangement between both countries, as his rhetorical identification between himself and East Timor conveys. The following part of his speech provides stronger support for this argumentative and ideological aspect of his rhetoric. This can be seen in the way Correia greets other special guests of the ceremony. Specifically, he moves to greet in individual terms the Presidents of the Parliaments of former colonies, which became independent with the Revolution of April 25 – namely, Angola, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde and East Timor. Significantly, Correia does not openly link these countries to the Portuguese colonial past. Further, he ends his greeting by expressing gratitude to the President of the Portuguese Parliament (see Extract 4).

4. V. Ex.^a, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, é credor do nosso reconhecimento por ter tomado esta iniciativa e por ter proporcionado este convívio dos Parlamentos lusófonos em democracia, iniciativa que um dia esperamos ver institucionalizada sob a forma de uma assembleia parlamentar da Comunidade dos Países de Língua Portuguesa.
(Your Excellency, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, you are worthy of our acknowledgement for having taken this initiative and for having provided this acquaintanceship of the lusophone Parliaments in democracy, an initiative that one day we hope to see institutionalised in the form of a parliamentary assembly of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries.)

Several aspects of the way Correia greets the President of the Portuguese Parliament need to be stressed. He does this by expressing gratitude to the President of the Portuguese parliament for his initiative with polite clichéd expressions and on behalf of a unified 'we'. In this way, he conveys a rhetorical identification with the ceremony and

⁵⁰see Kaposi, 2008, for an example of how emotional talk can be used to display a speaker's credentials.

⁵¹see also Cochrane and Billig, 1984, Billig, 1988b, 1991 and Chapter Seven in Billig et al., 1988, for advance self-justification in contemporary denial of prejudice.

also with the President's initiative. Then he follows this with a message about a future political arrangement between the Parliaments of Portuguese-speaking countries also on behalf of a vague 'we'. In speaking in this way, Correia argues implicitly for a position that is both political and highly controversial – namely the establishment of a parliamentary assembly for all Portuguese-speaking countries, including those not present at the commemoration. This position was not government policy and certainly was not a long-term aim of the left-wing parties. However, it was his party's policy. Correia presents it as if it were non-controversial by prefacing it with common-place discourse and by positioning himself as speaking on behalf of an unspecified 'we' – certainly, he did not identify his party as the referent of the 'we'. In this way, he positions himself as if speaking on behalf of a wider community than his own political party, while promoting a policy associated with his party. Significantly, no general applause follows this communal but controversial message. This absence of applause indicates that the controversial aspect of the message was apparent to the audience.

Finally, there is another significant aspect in Correia's rhetoric of identification, which suggests further partiality. This concerns an omission – something that Correia does not say but whose absence has ideological significance (e.g. Billig, 1999a, 1999c, 2010). Correia does not align himself with the audience and the ceremony by praising and welcoming the protagonists of the Revolution of April 25. The Captains of April are not honoured and, as we shall see shortly, they are not even named when Correia refers to them.

7.3 Rhetoric of ambivalent remembering April 25 and the previous regime

7.3.1 Re-defining how to celebrate April 25

Correia moves to another topic of his speech. He enters the debate which has been joined prior to the celebrations about whether the revolution should be celebrated as a Revolution or an Evolution. This debate was prompted by the governmental programme for the national celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Revolution of April 25,

entitled ‘April is Evolution’ (for this debate in the press see Castro and Marinho, 2006; Ribeiro, 2011). The left-wing argued for commemorating April 25 as Revolution, whereas the right-wing as Evolution. As we will see, the speaker from the far-right joins the evolution side of the debate but does not do so straightforwardly (see Extract 5).

5. Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Ilustres Convidados, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores: Renovar em cada ano a celebração do 25 de Abril – com reconhecimento aos que o fizeram e com alegria pelo seu significado essencial do reencontro de Portugal com a liberdade – sem, contudo, procurar situar essas celebrações no contexto preciso de uma realidade em mudança cada vez mais acelerada e em boa parte inesperada, seria reduzir essas comemorações a uma mera liturgia ou a um mero ritual. Seria também, e sobretudo, um muito mau serviço ao espírito do verdadeiro 25 de Abril, que não quis, por certo, vencer uma situação de imobilismo substituindo-o por outro imobilismo de sinal contrário. O 25 de Abril fez-se justamente para ultrapassar uma situação de impasse, para outorgar ao País um sentido de verdadeira evolução. Quando os países chegam a situações de impasse, porque não dispõem de instrumentos de mudança que só a democracia disponibiliza, e a única forma de ultrapassar essas situações é a da Revolução e dar a voz às armas, essas rupturas trazem consigo a imprevisibilidade do desenrolar posterior dos acontecimentos. E isso foi em boa parte o que sucedeu em Portugal. A Revolução teve uma dimensão democrática, de essência popular e patriótica, mas teve outra dimensão de perversão e tentação totalitárias que só terminaram em 25 de Novembro.

Aplausos do CDS-PP e do PSD

(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Honourable Guests, My Ladies and My Gentlemen: To renew each year the celebration of April 25 – with acknowledgement to those who made it and with joy for its essential meaning of the re-meeting of Portugal with freedom – without, however, to endeavour situating those celebrations into the precise context of a changing reality each time more accelerated and largely undesired, would be to reduce those commemorations to a mere liturgy or a mere ritual.

It would also be, and above all, a very bad service to the true spirit of April 25, which did not want, certainly, to overcome a situation of immobilization by replacing it with another immobilization of opposing sign.

April 25 made itself precisely to exceed a situation of impasse, to grant to the Country a sense of true evolution.

When countries reach situations of impasse, because they do not have instruments of change, which only the democracy supplies, and the only way to exceed those situations is the Revolution and to give the voice to the weapons, these ruptures bring along with them the unpredictability of subsequent unfolding events.

And that was largely what happened in Portugal.

The Revolution had a democratic dimension, of popular and patriotic essence, but had another dimension of perversion and totalitarian temptations, which only ended on November 25.

Applause from the CDS-PP and PSD)

7.3.1.1 A re-start

Correia enters the debate by formally re-addressing his audience with a second list of formal forms of addresses. At its simplest, the use of a list of formal forms of addresses within a speech indicates an interruption, a somewhat common feature of parliamentary speeches. Correia thus indicates rhetorically that he separates what he has already said from what he is going to say – in other words, he indicates that he ends one part of his speech and that he moves to a new part. However, a detailed analysis of the content of this second list of formal forms of addresses, as compared with his first one, reveals additional meanings. And in this respect, Correia's second list of formal forms of addresses is quite unconventional.

Correia's second list of formal forms of addresses is not a repetition of his first one. His second is shorter but wider than his first one but he begins his second list in the same conventional way as his first one. He starts his second list by formally addressing the President of the Republic and then the President of the Assembly of the Republic. In this respect, Correia seems to re-start his speech and he does this after a short passage, which corresponds approximately to 1/9 of his speech.

With his second list, Correia re-addresses the whole parliamentary audience. He adds at the end of his list the residual category of 'Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores' ('My Ladies and My Gentlemen') (see Extract 5). In this sense, Correia addresses the whole audience, and not just the formal audience, as he initially does (see Extract 1). Also, Correia's second list of formal forms of addresses conveys, in Burke's term, a rhetorical identification with the whole audience: the addition of 'my' to 'Ladies and Gentlemen' suggests this. Also, he upgrades the reference to 'guests', adding this time 'ilustres' ('illustrious').

By seemingly re-starting his speech, Correia sets up rhetorically the previous part as an opening or a particular *exordium* in classical rhetoric, as well as he marks off a new beginning. Two other aspects of his rhetoric support that his initial praises to special guests of the ceremony function as an *exordium*. First, right at the outset of his initial part Correia begins by asserting this exactly: that he is beginning – 'Começo' ('I begin'). And second, the content of his first part is just like Aristotle (1926) wrote, in his *Rhetoric*, that the *exordium* of an epideictic speech should be: he greatly praises and honours his audience and the occasion (III, xiv, 1-5).

In terms of the gender terminology, Correia reproduces in his second list of formal forms of addresses the current habit of addressing the audience with a mixture of invisible and visible forms. Specifically, he uses a completely invisible form to address the guests of the ceremony – ‘Ilustres Convidados’ (‘Illustrious Guests’). Interestingly, Correia differs in his way of addressing this group in his two lists. In his first list, he uses the partially visible form – ‘Sras. e Srs. Convidados’ (‘Invited Ladies and Gentlemen’, see Extract 1); but he switches to a completely invisible form in his second list. Correia’s inconsistency with respect to the gender terminology of the social category ‘guests’ in his two lists is consistent with the results obtained in the previous chapter. What is here interesting is that this discrepancy in referring to the same category in terms of its gender terminology occurs in the same speech.

7.3.1.2 Ambiguous rhetorical identification with the commemorations

Correia follows by discussing how April 25 should be commemorated. He begins with rhetorical common-places about the routine conventional way of celebrating April 25 and the undesirability of repetitive and monotonous celebrations. Specifically, he speaks in general terms of the annual celebrations of April 25 – ‘renovar em cada ano a celebração do 25 de Abril’ (‘to renew each year the celebration of April 25’) – and he provides platitudinous description of conventional celebrations and their ‘essential’ meaning by using common-values – ‘reconhecimento’ (‘acknowledgement’), ‘alegria’ (‘joy’), ‘reencontro de Portugal com a liberdade’ (‘re-meeting of Portugal with freedom’). He then provides a vague description of ‘a changing reality’, which he introduces as ‘precise’ – ‘uma realidade em mudança cada vez mais acelerada e em boa parte inesperada’ (‘a changing reality each time more accelerated and largely undesired’) – and he expresses the undesirability of repetitive and monotonous conventional celebrations also with commonplace discourse. That is, he talks about conventional commemorations in general – ‘essas comemorações’ (‘those commemorations’) – with undesirable common values – that is, ‘seria reduzir’ (‘it would be to reduce’), ‘a uma mera liturgia ou a um mero ritual’ (‘to a mere liturgy or a mere ritual’). We can note that the commonplaces which Correia uses are ones with which the whole audience could identify – they seem, outwardly at least, to express self-evident values.

Thus, Correia seems to re-start his speech presupposing that April 25 should be commemorated but not in a routine, unfeeling way. In speaking this way, Correia is

again using the rhetoric of identification (Burke, 1969; Billig, 1988a, 1991, 1996/1987). No-one would support celebrating April 25 in a monotonous meaningless way. By using rhetorical common-places discourse – that is, ‘commonly used topic’ (Billig, 1996/1987, p. 229) and ‘commonly held topic’ (p. 230) – he is implying a rhetorical identification with the commemorative audience and with the celebratory event itself. But again Correia’s rhetoric of identification suggests ambiguity. He talks of conventional celebrations in a universal way and without social agents. That is, he uses verbs in the infinitive as the subjects of the sentences and in this way he does not identify the agents of the acts that he is referring to: ‘renovar’ (‘to renew’) of ‘renovar em cada ano a celebração’ (‘to renew each year the celebration of April 25’), ‘procurar situar’ (‘to endeavour situating’) of ‘sem, contudo, procurar situar essas celebrações’ (‘without, however, to endeavour situating those celebrations’) and ‘reduzir’ (‘to reduce’) of ‘reduzir essas comemorações’ (‘to reduce those commemorations’). In this context, the use of the infinitive verbs functions in a similar way as what critical discourse analysts call nominalization (see, Fairclough, 1998b/1992; Fowler, 1991, for examples⁵²). A noun or noun phrase is used to designate an action or process (for example, ‘acknowledgement’, a noun that designates the action of acknowledging), rather than using a clause with a subject and verb. As critical discourse analysts observe by using a noun to denote action, rather than a verbal phrase, writers and speakers can omit information about who performs the action. In this case, Correia omits identifying the agents of routine commemorations of April 25. Moreover, Correia phrases his discussion of ritual and monotonous conventional celebrations in conditional terms – ‘seria’ (‘would be’) – and thereby he is speaking in hypothetical mode rather than directly saying that the commemorations are actually ritual or monotonous.

Further omissions of social agents can be seen in his description of conventional celebrations. He also uses nominalizations – ‘com reconhecimento’ (with acknowledgement) and ‘com alegria’ (with joy) – and thereby he does not identify explicitly who ‘acknowledges’ the protagonists of April 25 and who ‘feels’ joy or when. In addition the protagonists of the Revolution of April 25, namely, the Captains of April, are not named but implied in ‘aos’ (‘to those’) of ‘aos que o fizeram’ (‘to those who made it’).

⁵²see also, Billig, 2008b, 2008c, for discussions of how nominalization enables speakers to avoid giving the identity of social agents.

It is at this moment that the argumentative and ideological meaning of his rhetorical identification with the audience and active commemorations of April 25 can be fully understood. The speaker follows with a message that he knows not all his audience will agree with and which might be seen as dishonouring the occasion. Specifically, Correia develops a controversial parallel between past and present. He advocates that routine conventional commemorations of April 25 would not be true to the ‘espírito’ (‘spirit’) of April 25 and he suggests a parallel between ‘an impasse’ of the previous regime and routine ways of celebrating April 25. Thus, just like in his special *exordium*, Correia’s alignment with the audience and the commemorations then implicitly works as a self-justification in advance against potential or actual criticism of not commemorating the occasion appropriately (ex. Billig, 1996/1987, 2003⁵³). More precisely, it functions as a disclaimer, a subcategory of *prolepsis*, as if he were asserting ‘I am a supporter of active commemorations of April 25’, just as a racist might deny their racism before asserting a racially controversial sentiment (ex. Billig, 1996/1987, 1988b, 1991, 2003b; Billig *et al.*, 1988; Cochrane and Billig, 1984⁵⁴). As Billig (1996/1987) argues the use of disclaimers can indicate a rhetorically ambiguous situation. Not only does it aim to counteract in advance potential criticism of the self as being seen as attacking the values of the audience but also it enables the speakers to identify with the audience’s values and simultaneously to contradict them:

‘(...) in the disclaimer there is more than an identification, or an attempt to manage the impression which the audience might form of the speaker. There is also an element of contradiction, as the statement of a common ground serves as an exordium to a critical assault. It is as if the speaker clear the way for the sort of anti-logoi which might otherwise invite the hisses and boos of a hostile audience.’ (Billig, 1996/1987, p. 269).

In this situation, Correia is promoting himself as suggesting a true way of celebrating April 25 and thereby also implying that other ways of celebrating April 25 as mere rituals and not true to April 25. Further, he suggests a controversial parallel between the previous regime and today – namely, between ‘a situation of immobilisation’ of the previous regime and ritual ways of celebrating April 25.

⁵³see also Wodak, 1989, for another example of self-presentation as a defence strategy before a negative message.

⁵⁴see also Hewitt Hewitt and Stokes, 1975, for disclaimers.

Correia thus appears to be following the strategy recommended by classic and modern rhetoricians, as Billig (ex. 1996/1987) points out. For example, as Billig notes, Quintilian and Cicero advised the orators to appeal in the opening or *exordium* of their speech to the common-sense of their audience, and thereby to stress their identification with their audience, as a means to be persuasive: 'It was a means to further the argumentative end of winning one's own case and defeating that of an opponent.' (p. 262). Furthermore, more recently, Burke (1969), as Billig (ex. 1996/1987, 2003b) observes, wrote that in order to persuade an audience, and specifically in order to change its opinions, orators should rhetorically identify with the audience before contradicting its views (see also Jasinski, 2001).

7.3.2 The nature of April 25 and the previous regime

In the following part of his speech, the 'spirit' of April 25 that Correia leaves ambiguous previously becomes clearer. The 'true spirit' of April 25 is not the overcoming of dictatorship or fascist regime. The old regime is described vaguely as one that has created 'um impasse' ('an impasse') – 'uma situação de impasse' ('a situation of impasse') – or, as previously noted, 'uma situação de imobilismo' ('a situation of immobilization'). No condemnation of the previous regime is to be found in his description of the past. Quite the contrary, 'impasse' carries the connotation of an unfortunate difficulty or obstacle. The whole phrase 'uma situação de impasse' thus conveys that the problem of the past was not the whole previous regime – its totalitarian, fascist nature – but only a situation, an unfortunate difficulty. Furthermore, this euphemistic phrase sets up the 'problem' as if it just happened by itself; no social agents are mentioned in his description of the previous 'situation'. As we saw in Chapter Five, Correia is not doing anything different from other members of his party. Throughout the celebrations of April 25, speakers from the CDS-PP use words such as 'fascist' or 'totalitarian' far less than other speakers when describing the previous regime.

Correia does not provide an empiricist version of April 25 (see next chapter). Quite the opposite, he gives a general and essentialist version of an evolutionary April 25. He describes April 25 as 'ultrapassar' ('overcoming') a previous situation and not as defeating it. In other words, 'ultrapassar' conveys a sense of continuity. Similarly, the

whole phrase ‘para outorgar ao País um sentido de verdadeira evolução’ (‘to grant to the Country a sense of true evolution’) carries a connotation of continuity: it is as if April 25 solved an obstacle that was interrupting the ‘normal’ evolution of the ‘country’ and, thereby, ‘granted’ a ‘true evolution’. Also, in common with his description of the previous ‘unfortunate situation’, Correia describes April 25 without mentioning, or even implying, social agents. He uses a reflexive verb ‘fez-se’ (‘made itself’) and, thereby, he speaks as if April 25 just happened by itself; no protagonists are thus mentioned. In this context the use of a reflexive verb functions like what critical discourse analysts call ‘passivization’: a verbal form that enables speakers and writers to account for an event without identifying the social agents (ex. Fairclough, 1998b/1992; Fowler, 1991). Correia speaks of April 25 and evolution in essentialist terms – ‘um sentido de verdadeira evolução’ (‘a sense of true evolution’). The phrase ‘um sentido’ (‘a sense’) implies an abstract notion of meaning and ‘verdadeira’ (‘true’) implies the notion of essence (i.e. of true nature). In this way, Correia talks of April 25 as being in essence evolution.

Then Correia speaks of Revolutions as problematic ruptures. Specifically, he describes Revolutions, in general, as overcoming ‘situações de impasse’ (‘situations of impasse’). No protagonists of those ‘situations’ are mentioned; he speaks of ‘países’ (‘countries’) as reaching such ‘situações’, not of regimes. And he gives a justification of those ‘situações de impasse’, in an abstract way, as not having appropriate ‘instrumentos de mudança que só a democracia disponibiliza’ (‘instruments of change which only the democracy supplies’). Correia conveys non-democratic countries – ‘porque não dispõem de instrumentos de mudança que só a democracia disponibiliza’ (‘because they do not have instruments of change, which only democracy supplies’). And thereby, he manages to appear as aligning with democracy, or better democratic means, without explicitly criticising the nature of those previous regimes. Rather he criticises revolutions as a whole. Revolutions are depicted as bringing ‘a imprevisibilidade do desenrolar posterior dos acontecimentos’ (‘the unpredictability of subsequent unfolding events’).

After that Correia moves to the Portuguese Revolution also using an abstract rhetoric. He speaks of two opposing ‘dimensions’ of the Portuguese Revolution – ‘uma dimensão democrática’ (‘a democratic dimension’) and ‘outra dimensão’ (‘another dimension’) – and not precisely of two conflicting political opponents. Again he uses the rhetoric of essence with respect to the ‘democratic dimension’ of the Revolution; he

qualifies this latter ‘dimension’ as popular and patriotic in essence – ‘uma dimensão democrática, de essência popular e patriótica’ (‘a democratic dimension, of popular and patriotic essence’) – which he contrasts with the other ‘dimensão’, which he defines as immorally and politically motivated – that is, ‘perversão’ (‘perversion’) and ‘tentações totalitárias’ (‘totalitarian temptations’). In this way, he implies that the Portuguese Revolution was comprised of democrats and anti-democrats. He ends by implying that this latter anti-democrat ‘dimensão’ was defeated on November 25 (see Chapter Two for November 25).

7.3.3 ‘November 25’ as a slot for applause

It is at this moment that it becomes clear that Correia seeks to celebrate another event. He does this by creating a slot for applause but changes the object of the applause – November 25 and not April 25. Correia uses the sort of rhetorical formats, intonation and gestures that Atkinson (1984a, 1984b), Heritage and Greatbatch (1986) identify as eliciting applause. He uses three rhetorical formats that are commonly used by politicians, namely ‘position taking’, ‘contrast’ and ‘naming’. Specifically, he criticises in general terms Revolutions – i.e. rhetorical format ‘taking position’ – then he contrasts two dimensions of the Portuguese Revolution – i.e. rhetorical format contrast – and ends his applause-eliciting utterance with a date – i.e. rhetorical format ‘projecting a completion of a point by naming’. All this sequence of his speech is accompanied with appropriate intonation, gesture in order to create a slot for the audience to applaud (see Outline of Extract 5).

However, the date is not April 25 – the date that is being commemorated in the parliament – but November 25. In fact, he mentions April 25 three times before November 25 and in none of these references Correia uses the sorts of rhetorical devices and intonation to set up ‘April 25’ as a date to be applauded (see Outline of Extract 5). That is, Correia does not utter April 25 at the end of any of his sentences, nor does he mark the date of the event which is being commemorated with appropriate non-verbal and verbal cues that set up April 25 as a slot to applaud. It is November 25 that Correia sets up as a slot for the audience to applaud. After a pause of 1.3 seconds the audience

applauds. But not all do so; only his political party and his governmental allies – the PSD from the centre right – respond to Correia’s eliciting applause.

Outline of Extract 5

Verbal and non-verbal cues

^(o) Sr. Presidente ^(o) da República ^(o) (0.3) Sr. Presidente ^(o) da Assembleia da República ^(o) (0.4) Ilustres ^(o) Convidados ^(o) (0.2) Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores ^(o) (0.8) ^(o) ↑ Renovar (.) em cada ano ^(o) (0.3) ^(o) ↓ a celebração do vinte e cinco de ^(o) Abril ^(o) (0.7) ↑ com ^(^) reconhecimento (0.2) aos que o fi ^(o) zeram ^(v) (0.8) e ^(^) com alegria (0.1) ↓ pelo si ^(o) gnifica ^(o) do essencial (0.3) do re ^(o) encontro de Portu ^(o) gal com a liberdade ^(o) (0.5) sem ^(o) contudo (0.2) ↑ procurar situar essas ce ^(v) le ^(o) braços ^(o) (0.2) ↓ no con ^(o) text ^(o) o preciso de uma realidade em mudança ca ^(o) da vez ^(^) mais ^(v) ^(o) acelerada ^(o) (0.2) e em boa pa ^(o) rte inesperada ^(o) (0.3) seria reduzir essas comemo ^(o) rações (0.2) a uma ^(o) ^(^) mera li ^(v) turgi ^(o) a (0.1) ou ^(^) ^(o) a um mero ri ^(o) o ^(v) tual (0.9)

^(o) ↑ Seria (0.1) também ^(o) (0.5) e ^(^) s ^(o) bretudo ^(o) (0.5) um muito mau se ^(o) rvico ^(v) ^(o) (.) ↓ ao espírito ^(o) do verdadeiro ^(o) vinte cinco de Abril ^(o) ^(^) (0.4) ↑ que não ^(o) quis por certo ^(o) (0.4) ↓ vencer uma situação ^(o) de imobilism ^(o) o ^(o) (0.2) substituindo ^(o) o por ^(o) outro imobilismo ^(o) de sinal ^(o) contrário ^(v) (1.8)

O vinte ^(o) cinco ^(^) de Abril ^(o) ^(v) (0.2) fez-se ju ^(o) stamente ^(o) (0.5) para ultrapassar uma situ ^(o) ação ^(o) de (0.1) impasse ^(v) ^(o) (0.5) ↑ para ou ^(o) tor ^(o) gar ao País (0.1) ↓ um sen ^(o) tido ^(v) de verdadeira evolu ^(o) ção (1.0)

Quando ^(o) os ^(^) países ^(v) (0.3) ↑ che ^(o) gam a si ^(o) tuações ^(v) de impas ^(o) se ^(^) (0.3) porque ^(o) não dispõem ^(o) ↓ de instrumentos de mu ^(o) dança ^(o) (0.4) ↑ que só ↓ a demo ^(o) cracia dispo ^(o) nibiliza (0.3) e a única forma de ultrapassar essas situações ^(o) (0.1) é a da ^(o) Revolução ^(o) (0.1) e dar a voz ^(o) às armas ^(o) (0.5) ↑ essas ruptura ^(o) s (0.2) trazem ^(o) (0.2) consi ^(o) go a impre ^(o) visibilidade ^(o) do (0.1) do desenrolar ↓ po ^(o) sterior dos acontecimentos ^(o) (0.5) E isso ^(o) (0.2) foi em boa parte ^(o) (0.3) o que sucedeu ^(o) em Portug ^(o) al ^(v) (1.2) ^(o) ↑ A Revo ^(o) lução (0.2) TEV ^(o) E uma di ^(v) mensão de ^(o) mo ^(o) crática ^(v) ^(o) (0.4) ^(^) de essência p ^(o) opular e pa ^(o) triótica ^(o) (0.3) mas teve ↓ outra dim ^(o) ensão (0.3) de ^(o) perversão e totalitárias ten ^(o) tação ^(o) (0.3) que só ↓ terminaram em vinte e cinco de Novem ^(o) bro ^(v) (1.3)

Aplausos do CDS-PP e do PSD (11.2)

Below is the equivalent stresses in the English translation:

^(o) Mr President ^(o) of the Republic ^(o) (0.3) Mr President ^(o) of the Assembly of the Republic ^(o) (0.4) Honourable ^(o) Guests ^(o) (0.2) My Ladies and My Gentlemen ^(o) (0.8) ^(o) ↑ To renew (.) each year ^(o) (0.3) ^(o) ↓ the celebra ^(o) tion of twenty fifth of ^(o) April ^(o) (0.7) ↑ with ^(^) acknowledgement (0.2) to those who ma ^(o) de it ^(v) (0.8) and ^(^) with joy (0.1) ↓ for its essential mea ^(o) ning ^(o) (0.3) of the re ^(o) meeting of Portu ^(o) gal with freedom ^(o) (0.5) without ^(o) however (0.2) ↑ to endeavour situating those ce ^(v) le ^(o) brations (0.2) ↓ into the precise con ^(o) text ^(o) of a changing reality ea ^(o) ch time ^(^) more ^(v) ^(o) accelerated ^(o) (0.2) and lar ^(o) gely undesired ^(o) (0.3) would be to reduce those commemo ^(o) rations (0.2) to a ^(o) ^(^) mere li ^(v) turgy (0.1) or ^(^) ^(o) a mere ri ^(o) o ^(v) tual (0.9) ^(o) It would be (0.1) also ^(o) (0.5) and ^(^) a ^(o) bove all ^(o) (0.5) a very bad se ^(o) rvice ^(v) ^(o) (.) ↓ to the spirit ^(o) true ^(o) of April twenty fifth ^(o) ^(^) (0.4) ↑ which did not ^(o) want certainly ^(o) (0.4)

↓ to overcome a situation ^(o) of immobilisati ^(o) on ^(o) (0.2) by replacing ^(o) it with ^(o) another immobilisation ^(o) of an opposing ^(v) sign ^(o) (1.8)

^(^) The twenty ^(o) fifth ^(o) of April ^(o) ^(v) (0.2) made itself pre ^(o) cisely ^(o) (0.5) to overcome a situ ^(o) ation ^(o) of (0.1) impasse ^(v) ^(o) (0.5) ↑ to gr ^(o) an ^(o) t to the Country (0.1) ↓ a sen ^(o) se ^(v) of true evolu ^(o) tion (1.0)

When ^(o) the ^(^) countries _(v) (0.3) ↑ re ^(^) each si^(o)tuations _(v) of impas_(o)se ^(^) (0.3) because ^(o) they do not have _(o) ↓ instruments of chan^(o)ge _(o) (0.4) ↑ which only ↓ the demo^(o)cracy sup_(o)plies (0.3) and the only way to exceed those situations ^(o) (0.1) is the _(o) Revolution ^(o) (0.1) and to give the voice _(o) to the weapons ^(o) (0.5) ↑ these ruptur_(o)es (0.2) bring^(o) (0.2) along with them the unpre^(o)dictability _(o) of (0.1) of unfolding ↓ sub^(o)sequent events _(o) (0.5) And that ^(o) (0.2) was largely_(o) (0.3) what happened ^(o) in Portug_(o)al_(v) (1.2)
^(o) ↑ The ^(^) Revo^(^)lution (0.2) HA_(o)D a di_(v)mension de^(^)mo^(o)cratic _(v) _(o) (0.4) ^(^) of essence po^(o)pular and pa_(o)triotic ^(o) (0.3) but had ↓ another dim_(o)ension (0.3) of perversion and totalitarian tem_(o)ptations ^(o) (0.3) which only ↓ ended on twenty fifth of Novem_(o)ber _(v) (1.3)
Applause from the CDS-PP and PSD (11.2)

We can then ask why does Correia create an applause-slot for ‘November 25’, but not ‘April 25’ and how come that only his political allies respond to it? The answer is political. In partaking in the celebration of April 25, he seeks to reconstruct the object of the celebration. This can be seen in the detailed rhetoric of his talk. First, after his formal greeting of guests, he seems to start his talk again, by re-addressing the formal audience but this time upgrading his identification with the parliamentary audience. However, this time, he follows the rhetoric of identification with a controversial message that he knows that many in the audience cannot identify with. He speaks of the evolutionary nature of April 25; he criticises Revolutions, as a whole for what they unfold; he talks of two opposite dimensions of the Portuguese Revolution – democratic, the natural one, versus a totalitarian one which is given as motivated – and he implies that the latter was defeated on November 25. When he does so, he creates November 25 as a slot for applause. In this way it is the end of the period between April 25 and November 25 that is problematic and its end that is celebrated. Thus, he presents the defeat of the revolutionary anti-fascists – whom he describes as totalitarians – as an object for applause and celebration, not the defeat of fascists – whom he presents as naturally democratic. To do this, he rhetorically has changed the month that is offered for applause, thereby transforming the political meaning of the celebration.

7.4 Concluding remarks

The above analysis reveals an interesting similarity. Before and after his re-start, Correia changes the time of what is to be praised, 30 years to 20 years and April 25 to November 25, respectively. That is, in both instances he moves the date of celebration and, in both cases, he moves it away from the end of the previous regime. Correia thus inserts an extra-time between the end of the previous regime and what is to be celebrated. Although in other respects, he presents himself as participating in the general celebration, he is not doing so in a way that explicitly celebrates the end of the previous regime which is the rationale of the whole celebration. In this way, he publicly celebrates without actually celebrating the end of the previous regime and its policies.

Correia cannot publicly justify support for the previous regime and Portuguese colonialism but his omissions are significant. Specifically, he omits to praise Gusmão for 30 years of anti-imperialism and by praising November 25 – and giving it as a slot for applause – he omits giving April 25 special significance and offering it as a date to be applauded. For ideological reasons the speaker from the far-right cannot praise Gusmão for his anti-colonialism against Portugal, nor can he praise the socialist overthrow of the previous regime because this would oppose the historical heritage of his own political party. Therefore, Correia praises Gusmão for 20 years of anti-imperialism and he transforms the end of the fascist dictatorship into the end of socialism. In this sense, these omissions suggest an ideological avoidance (for example, Billig, 1997d, 1977e, 1998a, 1999a, 2003b). Furthermore, there is a rhetorical move of projection (Billig, 1992, 1997a, 1998a, 2003b, 2009b). Correia does not describe the previous regime as totalitarian or anti-democratic, unjust or immoral, nor does he refer to its protagonists in this way. However, the themes of ‘totalitarianism’ and immorality are not altogether absent: they are present but projected onto another target, the period after April 25 1974 and before November 25 1975.

Correia’s rhetoric resembles what Fairclough (1988a) and Van Dijk (2006, 2008) have identified as manipulation. For Van Dijk, manipulation involves a dishonest use of language by those in power. Correia, the speaker of the far right in Parliament, manipulates the presentation of his political party ideology by implying that his party has a different ideology of what it actually has. He orchestrates communal applause and

he uses common-place discourse as if he is celebrating the April Revolution but actually he is using language in ways to avoid directly celebrating what he appears to be celebrating. That is, he suggests meanings which are rhetorically omitted; for instance, he changes the dates as a means of accomplishing rhetorical omissions. In this respect, just like members of other contemporary fascist political parties in Britain, Austria and elsewhere, Correia is being dishonest and 'duplicitous' about the ideology of his political party (Richardson, 2011, p. 38). He manipulates the presentation of his political party's ideology by implying that he and his political party are celebrating the overthrow of the fascist regime, whilst not completely disavowing his party's connections with the fascist past (Billig, 1978; Richardson, 2011; Wodak, 2011).

What Correia does resemble what Billig (ex. 1997a, 1997b, 1998a, 1999a, 1999c, 2010) has identified as discursive repression because certain expected themes are omitted from the speech. However, in Correia's case this is probably not Freudian repression in the classic sense (see for example, Freud, 1910) because his omissions are knowingly accomplished. In this sense he is knowingly manipulating ideology in order to omit and project politically difficult meanings. Classic Freudian repression is something that is said to occur without conscious or deliberate manipulation. If this interpretation is correct then one might expect Correia to speak about the celebration very differently in private meetings with his own party as compared with what he says during the public celebration. However, the necessary data to confirm this is lacking at present.

8. Discursive manipulation used by those contesting power

8.1. Introduction

In line with the previous chapter, this final analytical chapter examines in great detail the beginning of another speech given at the parliamentary commemoration of the 30th anniversary of the April Revolution. Specifically, it investigates how the speaker of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) from the far left, Bernardino Soares, rhetorically constructs an ideological version of the past right at the beginning of his speech. As in Chapter Seven, the analysis presented here is a bottom-up analysis that evolves step by step by looking in detail at Soares's explicit rhetoric, its ambiguities and even its hidden meanings. Moreover, the meta-linguistic aspects of the parts examined are also taken into account when significant. In this respect, the current analysis of the beginning of Soares's speech also draws on the assumptions of Rhetorical and Discursive Social Psychology, as well as Critical Discourse Analysis and Discourse-Historical Analysis.

There are several reasons for investigating how Bernardino Soares begins his speech at the 2004 commemoration. First, Soares speaks on behalf of the official communist party, the PCP, which very strongly supported the overthrow of the previous regime and actively participated in the revolutionary period that followed the 25 April coup (see Chapter Two). As was found in the content analysis of Chapter Five, the PCP, like the PS, is historically quite open in its use of the term 'revolution' when speaking of the period that followed the overthrow of the previous regime. In this matter, the parties of the left differ from the parties of the right, who tend not to use the term 'revolution' in this context. The content analysis reveals a further difference between left and right political parties. The parties of the left, unlike those of the right, use the term 'fascism' to describe the previous regime, with the PCP doing so to a much greater extent than the PS. Also the analysis of the beginning of Correia's speech in Chapter Seven suggests

that CDS-PP speakers may not be straightforward in their descriptions of the previous regime and of the movement that overthrew the previous regime. In a similar way, this chapter aims at examining how such terminology is used by a speaker on the far left, rather than counting their frequency. It does this by looking at how terms such as ‘fascim’ and ‘revolution’ are actually used in the beginning of the speech of the PCP, when the issue of ‘revolution’ became a matter of political controversy.

Second, during April 2004, the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) was strongly against turning revolution into evolution, as proposed by the government’s commemorative program, which was entitled ‘Abril é Evolução’ (‘April is Evolution’) (Castro and Marinho, 2006; Ribeiro, 2011). As already noted in the previous chapter, the government was then formed by a coalition between the CDS-PP from the far right and the PSD of the centre right. In this respect, at that year’s commemoration of the April Revolution, the speaker of the PCP, Soares, had to deal with a difficult rhetorical dilemma. As the official commemorations of the April Revolution in parliament put constraints on what can be said and what cannot be said, the speaker had to present non-consensual versions of the past in a celebration that appears to exclude controversy. As will be seen, Soares presents right at the start of his speech a version of the past – i.e. April as a Revolution – as being factual rather than as something that is contestable. To do this he manipulates historical evidence but not in the interests of concealing his ideology; in fact, his speech is an attack on those whom he accuses of concealment. On the other hand, he speaks indirectly when he makes a connection between the version of the past, which sees the Revolution as Evolution, and the fascist regime.

And third, this chapter also aims at extending the concept of discursive manipulation, as defined by Van Dijk (2006, 2008). The previous chapter concludes by asserting that Correia’s rhetoric was duplicitous and manipulative. Van Dijk defines manipulation as illicit rhetoric which is related to the position of the speaker or writer and also to the function of the rhetoric. Therefore, for van Dijk ‘manipulation’ is not defined merely as an illicit rhetorical move, but a particular use of illicit rhetorical move – an illicit rhetoric used by those in power that hides their real ideology.

Van Dijk’s (2006, 2008) concept of discursive manipulation does not apply to those who are contesting power. However, it can be asked how one might distinguish between illicit rhetorical moves (such as omissions, ambiguity, changing meanings, etc.) used by those in power with those not in power but contesting power. The present chapter aims

to provide answers to this question. To do this, it examines the rhetorical manipulations of Bernardino Soares who, unlike Correia (see Chapter Seven), is not speaking on behalf of a political party which is part of a governmental coalition but he is speaking from a minority political party in opposition, which is unlikely to be part of any governing coalition in the foreseeable future. As will be seen, this does not mean discarding Van Dijk's notion of manipulation but extending it. As Van Dijk argues, in order to understand manipulation, we must consider the social function of the rhetoric of manipulation, rather than just seeing manipulation as a rhetorical device in the abstract. In this case, the manipulations of the speaker from a political party of the far right in power (as analysed in Chapter Seven) are very different because they aim to conceal the ideology of the party, whereas the manipulations of the speaker of the far left contesting power (to be analysed in this chapter) are designed to simplify and clarify the ideology of the party. In this sense Van Dijk is correct in seeing the holding of power as important to understanding the nature of manipulation and we need to extend his argument to show how other forms of manipulation can be used by speakers contesting power.

8.2. The construction of a political version of the past but presented as factual

Soares begins his speech proper in a very different way from that of Correia. Correia starts his speech proper with a particular exordium, wherein he identifies himself with the ceremony and its audience, while he conceals the partiality of his message. On the other hand, Soares refers, after his formal greetings, to the national past by quoting two notable figures of Portuguese culture (see Appendix 3, for the transcript of the whole speech and its English translation). Specifically, he quotes Fernão Lopes, a prominent figure of the national medieval historiography, about the civil disturbances of 1383-1385, and then he quotes the well-known poet Ary dos Santos about the April Revolution. As will be seen shortly, when he reads the two quotations, he displays himself as reporting the messages of these two figures. However, he rhetorically constructs the two quotations and their authors in order to argue a historical point that has direct political implication: that Revolutions are made by the powerless.

8.2.1. Previous events (1383-85) as a factual revolution by quotation

8.2.1.1 A factual witness account of ‘the people’ in past events

Soares starts conventionally by greeting the audience with a list of formal forms of addresses. Then he quotes a passage from Fernão Lopes about extraordinary historical events (see Extract 1). As we will see, Soares makes a parallel between the events of those times with the events of the April Revolution. He uses the quotation to establish a factual account of those past times. He creates this sense of factuality in a number of ways.

1. Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Srs. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Srs. Membros do Governo, Sr.as e Srs. Deputados, Sr.

Presidente da República Democrática de Timor Leste, Srs. Presidentes do Parlammentos dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, Sr.as e Srs. Convidados:

Escreveu o cronista: “As gentes que isto ouviram saíam à rua a ver que coisa era; e, começando a falar uns com os outros, alvoroçavam-se as vontades e começavam a tomar armas cada um como melhor e mais depressa podia. (...)”

Soaram as vozes do ruído pela cidade, ouvindo todos bradar que matavam o Mestre e se moveram todos com mão armada, correndo à pressa para onde diziam que isto se fazia, para lhe darem vida e escusar a morte. (...)”

A gente começou de se juntar a ele, e era tanta que era estranha coisa de ver.

Não cabiam pelas ruas principais e atravessavam lugares escusos, desejando cada um ser o primeiro.” O cronista era Fernão Lopes, na sua Crónica de D. João I, descrevendo o povo de Lisboa na Revolução de 1383-1385.⁵⁵

(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Constitutional Court, Mr Prime Minister, Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Mr President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Mr Presidents of the Parliaments of the Portuguese Speaking Countries, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen: Wrote the chronicler: “The people who heard this went out onto the street to see what it was; and, starting to talk with each other, their wills were aroused and they started to take in arms each one as best and as quickly as they could. (...)”

⁵⁵in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 80, 2004. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Noisy voices sounded throughout the city, all hearing crying out that the Master was being killed and they all moved with arms in hand, running quickly to where it was said that this was being done, in order to give him life and pardon the death. (...) The people started joining him, and they were so numerous that it was a strange thing to see. They did not fit along the main streets and crossed to unusual places, wanting each one to be first.” The chronicler was Fernão Lopes, in his Chronicle on D. João I, describing the People of Lisbon during the 1383-1385 Revolution.)

First the way Soares described the quotation must be noted. Immediately after his list of formal greetings and just before the quotation, Soares introduces the author whom he is about to quote. He does this by reference to a category, ‘cronista’ (‘chronicler’) in ‘escreveu o cronista’ (‘wrote the chronicler’), and thereby he depicts the author whom he is about to quote as a recorder of events of his own time. One who writes a chronicle is taken to be someone who is writing about the events of his or her own times and therefore a chronicler is different from a historian who records past time.

Soares could have chosen another category to introduce the author whom he quotes. He could have identified the author by giving his name or he could have used other categories regarding, for example, his position in the religious hierarchy or his position with the King. As rhetorical and discursive psychologists (see for example Billig, 1985, 1996/1987; Edwards, 1991) have argued, the selection of one category over another to talk about persons, objects or events ‘can be a matter of controversy’ (Billig, 1996/1987, p. 166). In this respect, and in disagreement with the cognitive social psychological approach to categorization, Billig (1996/1987) writes:

‘A language provides us with whole varieties of ways of talking about the world. (...) Moreover, humans, through their use of language, possess that most important capability which makes rhetoric possible: the ability to negate. It is not just that we have different categories which we can apply to things; but we can argue the merits of categorizing one way rather than another. One category can be placed in opposition to other potential categories. This opposition of categories might then be a matter for justification and criticism.’ (1996, p. 165)

In order to understand the rhetorical meaning of Soares's use of the category 'chronicler', we need to see in detail how Soares actually depicts the author before and after the quotation and the quotation itself. By choosing the category 'chronicler' to describe the author whom he is about to quote, Soares implies a reporter of events of his own time. This can also be seen after the quotation, when Soares provides further information about his quoted author and the episode described by quotation. He names the author whom he initially only identifies as 'the chronicler', repeating this category. He says 'o cronista era Fernão Lopes' ('the chronicler was Fernão Lopes'). Soares also provides further information about the quotation itself that he initially introduces as a written report of 'the chronicler'. Specifically, immediately after naming the chronicler, Soares depicts the 'chronicler' as 'describing' an episode of his own times. He says 'na sua Crónica... descrevendo' ('in his Chronicle... describing') of 'na sua Crónica de D. João I, descrevendo' ('in his Chronicle of D. João I, describing'). Thus, Soares constructs his quoted author and the quotation itself in ways that involve a preference for categories that imply a reporter recording an episode of his own times.

We can then ask if it is enough for Soares to depict the author before and after the quotation as 'chronicler' in order to imply rhetorically a factual, credible witness. To answer this question we need to consider further aspects of Soares's description. Thus, the way Soares introduces the author whom he is about to quote requires further attention. The definite article 'o' ('the') of 'o cronista' ('the chronicler') in 'escreveu o cronista' ('wrote the chronicler') must be noted. To understand the significance of 'o' in 'o cronista', it is important to see what Soares does not do. He does not introduce his quoted author as 'a chronicler'. Had he used the indefinite article 'a' ('um') with chronicler, he would have implied that there are other chroniclers of those times. In Portuguese, the indefinite article literally means 'one'. So, by referring to 'a' or 'one' chronicler he would have been implying that this chronicler is one of a number of chroniclers. That would have suggested that there would have been other records of those times that can be equally quoted⁵⁶. In point of fact, there was more than a single recorder of those events. For example, there were the 'Mestre de Avis' ('Master of Avis'), the future King, and his official correspondence of 1384, and, lawyers and their reports of the Courts of Coimbra of 1385 (Caeiro, 1972; Caetano, 1985/1953; Serrão, 1990/1977). Significantly, there was also at least another author of those times who

⁵⁶see, for example, Billig (2006) for the meaning of using the indefinite article 'a' in scientific reporting.

produced a narrative description, known as a chronicle. This chronicler, whose identity is unknown, produced the ‘Crónica do Condestável’, narrating the life of an aristocrat, who was involved in the events of 1383-1385 (Caetano, 1985/1953; Saraiva, 1998/1988). This anonymous author, therefore, also provides, like Soares’s quoted author, a narrative description of what happened. Nevertheless, Soares does not describe his quoted author as ‘one of the chroniclers’ or even ‘the main chronicler’. In this sense, with the phrase ‘o cronista’ (‘the chronicler’) Soares implies – but does not state – that there are no other chroniclers, at least who can be compared with this one. Thus, Soares implies that the author whom he is about to quote is *the* authoritative reporter of the events of 1383-1385 (see Potter, 1996, more generally for category entitlement; see also Dickerson, 1997).

Moreover, Soares also constructs ‘the chronicler’ and his written words as factual. Thus, after the quotation Soares depicts ‘the chronicler Fernão Lopes’ as describing: ‘descrevendo’ (‘describing’) – in ‘descrevendo o povo de Lisboa na Revolução de 1383-1385’ (‘describing the people of Lisbon in the 1383-1385 Revolution’) – implies factual reporting, as if ‘the chronicler’ was only describing, not interpreting or explaining, etc. Interestingly, Soares does not draw attention to an irony in this situation: a communist is treating a king’s historian as if he were a factual recorder of events. Indeed, Fernão Lopes was the official chronicler appointed by the King (Serrão, 1990/1977; Saraiva, 1998/1988).

If we look at the content of the quotation, we can see suggestions that the quotation itself produces an eyewitness account as factual, credible⁵⁷. In this respect, the phrase ‘que era estranha coisa de ver’ (‘that it was a strange thing to see’) must be noted for it suggests that the author of the description was there at the scene, that he was an eyewitness. Also, the author of the quotation provides a description of people in an event – more precisely, the actions, motivations etc., of ‘as gentes’ (‘the people’ in the plural) and ‘a gente’ (‘the people’ in the singular) – in which the chronicler’s involvement is not included, nor is his own construction of ‘the people’ he describes. In this way, ‘the people’ described in the quotation appear as agents; it is as if the chronicler is merely observing and then recording what is happening in front of him. This illustrates what

⁵⁷ see Edwards and Potter (1992a, 1992b); Gilbert and Mulkay (1984); Potter (1996); Potter and Edwards (1990), for the rhetoric of factual construction.

Nigel Gilbert and Michael Mulkay (1984) in their studies of scientific papers in biochemistry call the ‘empiricist repertoire’, that is, reports that appear as factual. Such reports are presented as merely describing what happened in the experiments, reflecting the ‘facts’ of the case rather than the characteristics of the scientists who made the experiments and who described them (see also Edwards and Potter, 1992a; Potter, 1996). The phrase ‘que era estranha coisa de ver’ (‘that it was a strange thing to see’) also requires further attention for its grammatical construction also conveys factuality. This phrase does not communicate a particular claim or interpretation of the scene but rather an impersonal claim, as if everyone who saw the scene would find it strange. Such grammatical form constitutes one feature – grammatical impersonality – of fact construction (Edwards and Potter, 1992a; Gilbert and Mulkay, 1984; Potter, 1996). For analysts of factual rhetoric, fact construction contemplates ‘the sorts of devices and procedures that are used to make a specific version appear literal, solid and independent of the speaker’ (Edwards and Potter, 1992a, p. 105; see also Billig, 1994 and 1998b, for examples of markers of ‘realism’ and of ‘construction’ in the rhetoric of social psychology; and, Potter and Wetherell, 1988, for ‘factual-type of assertions’ versus ‘attitude-type of assertions’ in contemporary racist discourse).

Soares quotes a lengthy extract of a narrative description – that is, a description ‘ordering events or experiences in a time sequence’ (see in Jasinski, 2001, p. 390). Specifically, the extract provides a sequential eyewitness description of ‘the people’ acting in a situation. The description is organised following four sequences or sequences. In the first sequence, the author describes ‘the people’ talking ‘to each other’ and getting fervent: ‘e, começando a falar uns com os outros, alvoroçavam-se as vontades’ (‘and, starting to talk to each other, their wills were aroused’). The verb ‘to start’, which is repeated three times in the quotation, must be noted for it functions to signal how ‘the people’ got involved in the event, in the first place, and also to mark, together with ‘e’ (‘and’), the different instances of the narrative description. After the fervent talk, the author signals a second instance in his description, ‘e começavam’ (‘and they started’). He wrote: ‘e começavam a tomar armas cada um como melhor e mais depressa podia’ (‘and they started to take in arms each as best and as quickly as they could’). This second instance describes ‘the people’ taking in arms. And the phrase ‘cada um como melhor e mais depressa podia’ (‘each as best and as quickly as he could’) implies that ‘the people’ was motivated.

In the third instance the author narrates how ‘the people’ went to protect a person identified as ‘the Master’. In this description of the scene, ‘the chronicler’ repeats previous phrases and also creates a sense of an increasing involvement of ‘the people’ in the events. Thus, the author reasserts that ‘the people’ heard something ‘ouvindo todos’ (‘all hearing’) and this time he provides additional information about what they were hearing. He wrote: ‘Soaram as vozes do ruído pela cidade, ouvindo todos bradar que matavam o mestre’ (‘Noisy voices sounded throughout the city, all hearing crying out that ‘the Master’ was being killed’). He marks the new instance in the narrative with ‘e’ (‘and’) of ‘e se moveram todos’ (‘and they all moved’) and he narrates how ‘the people’ went to protect ‘the Master’ – ‘e se moveram todos com mão armada, correndo à pressa para onde se diziam que isto se fazia, para lhe darem vida e escusar a morte.’ (‘and they all moved with weapon in hand, running quickly where it was said that this was being done, in order to give him life and pardon the death.’). Here again he repeats previous phrases ‘arms’, ‘quickly’. Just like in the previous instances of the narrative, this third instance suggests that ‘the people’ were motivated – ‘running quickly’ implies motivation/determination.

Another aspect can be stressed in this third instance of the narrative description. The author refers to ‘the people’ in a way that Anita Pomerantz (1986) calls ‘extreme case formulations’. He does not just refer to ‘the people’ but ‘all the people’: that is, ‘all’ in ‘ouvindo todos bradar’ (‘all hearing crying out’), and in ‘e se moveram todos com mão armada’ (‘and they all moved with arms in hand’). By contrast, in the previous moments, the author implies a number of people, not the totality, that is, ‘As gentes que isto ouviram’ (‘The people who heard this’). This formulation – ‘the people who heard’ – implies, but does not explicitly state, that there were some people who did not hear. In this respect, the third instance of the narrative creates a sense of an increasing involvement of ‘the people’ in the events.

Finally, the last instance of the narrative description is about ‘the people’ succeeding in joining ‘the Master’. This instance is signalled with the verb ‘to start’ – ‘A gente começou de se juntar a ele’ (‘The people started to join him’). Then the author produces a description that works to highlight the success and the motivation of ‘the people’ in joining ‘the Master’. This is created in ‘e era tanta que era estranha coisa de ver. Não cabiam pelas ruas principais e atravessavam lugares escusos, desejando cada um ser o primeiro’ (‘and they were so numerous that it was a strange thing to see. They

did not fit along the main streets and crossed unusual places, wanting each one to be first.’). The statements use an extreme rhetoric, stressing both the number of ‘the people’ and their determination or motivation.

It is significant that Soares quotes a lengthy and sequentially organized passage of ‘the chronicler’. Analysts of factual rhetoric have pointed out that the sequential organization of witness accounts can work to produce a solid, believable account (Edwards and Potter, 1992a; Potter, 1996). In this case, the structure of the description functions to create a solid account of ‘the people’ and their agency in this episode; it produces a sequential – with a beginning, middle and end – description of ‘the people’ acting and being motivated towards a successful ending.

Overall, the detailed analysis of Soares’s description of his quoted author and his description shows that the speaker constructs rhetorically the author as the authoritative, factual reporter of ‘the people’ in the revolution of 1383-1385. This is reinforced by the narrative description itself. The analysis of the content of the quotation suggests that the extract is structured to convey a factual, solid eyewitness account of ‘the people’ agency in a successful event.

8.2.1.2 Animating the words of the chronicler

Soares presents himself as reporting the words of someone else. Specifically, he introduces the quotation in a way that indicates a direct report of someone else’s words. He gives verbal and non-verbal cues to signal this shift of, what Erving Goffman (1981, Chapter Three) calls, footing. Also, he reads the quotation in ways that indicate that he is reproducing an entire extract of a witness account.

One might note Soares’s syntax of ‘escreveu o cronista’ (wrote the chronicler’). He does not say ‘o cronista escreveu’ (‘the chronicler wrote’) but he inverts that normal order of noun and verb, to put the verb first. Why might he do this? The reason could be quite simple. The phrase ‘escreveu o cronista’ (‘wrote the chronicler’) indicates that a direct quotation is to follow and that the speaker proceeds straight to the quotation. The normal phrasing ‘o cronista escreveu’ (‘the chronicler wrote’) might lead the audience to expect an indirect quotation or general paraphrase: i.e. ‘the chronicler wrote that the

events of 1383 were very dramatic’ etc. The inversion prepares the audience directly to receive the words of the chronicler.

Moreover, Soares uses other verbal and non-verbal cues to indicate his shift to someone else’s words (see Outline of Extract 1)⁵⁸. To show this, it is necessary to indicate precisely when he shifts his gaze. In the quoted extract, the sign (°) indicates that the speaker is looking up, while (o) indicates that he is looking down. Specifically, after uttering ‘escreveu o cronista’ while looking up at the audience (°), he makes a long pause (1.0), looks down at his speech, shifts intonation and reads the narrative – raising his head from time to time – with a very rhythmic voice – i.e. he pauses, shifts intonations at different moments of the narrative description, and thereby he gives a rhythmic quality to the narrative description. Then he signals a second shift of footing after the quotation, giving verbal and non-verbal cues to signal this shift. Thus, after ‘o primeiro’ (‘the first’), the last phrase of the quotation, Soares makes a long pause (0.6), he looks up (°) at the audience and he names the chronicler with emphasis – ‘o cronista era Fernão Loopes’ (‘the chronicler was Fernão Loopes’) – maintaining his gaze at the audience until the middle of the chronicler’s last name ‘Lopes’.

It must also be noted that Soares reads the quotation without indicating any discontinuity. In this respect, his oral delivery of the chronicler’s words differs from the quotation which appears in the official parliamentary written record of his speech. In the official written record, there are indications that Soares does not quote a complete passage – this is indicated twice with brackets (see Extract 1). As will be seen in the next section, Soares’s oral delivery of the quotation as if he is reproducing a full extract of Lopes’s account is significant.

⁵⁸Like in Chapter Seven, the notation of pauses, intonations, and other verbal and non-verbal cues that are specified in the Outline of Extract 1 and of Extract 3 is a simplified version of those used by Potter and Wetherell (1987). Thus, following Potter and Wetherell’s transcription notation, numbers in brackets indicate pauses timed in seconds, a full stop in brackets signals an audible pause but too short to measure, an underlining signifies that words or some parts of words were uttered with special emphasis. In this speech, the speaker does not move his hands up and down, but only uses them to turn the pages of his speech. In this respect, no signs were used to mark the raises and drops of the speaker’s hands.

Outline of Extract 1

Verbal and non-verbal cues

o senhor (.) Presidente da República senhor Presidente da Assembleia da República (0.5) senhores Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional ° (0.1) senhor Primeiro Ministro senhores Membros do Governo senhoras e senhores Deputados (0.3) senhor ° Presidente ° da República Democrática de Timor Leste (0.3) senhores Presidentes dos Parlam^{to}s (0.1) dos Países de ° Língua Portuguesa ° (0.3) senhoras ° e senhores ° Convidados ° (0.9) escreveu (.) o cron^oista (1.0) as gentes que isto ouviram saíam a rua a ver que ° coisa era ° (0.2) e começando a ° falar uns com ° os outros (0.2) alvoroçavam-se as vontades ° (.) e começavam a tomar armas cada um como melhor e ° mais depressa ° podia (0.5) so^oaram as ° vozes do ruído pela cidade ouvindo todos bra^odar que mata^ovam o mestre (0.1) e se mo^overam todos ° com mão armada (.) corr^oendo ° à pressa (.) para onde diziam que (.) isto se fazia (.) para lhe ° darem vida e escusar ° a morte (0.7) a gen^ote ° começou de se juntar a ele (0.4) e era tanta (0.2) e era tanta que era estranha coisa de ver (0.3) não ° cabi^oam (.) pelas ruas ° principais (.) e ° atravessava^ovam lugares escusos (0.1) desejando cada ° um ser ° o primeiro ° (0.6) o cronista era Fernão Lopes (.) na sua crónica de Dom João primeiro (0.1) descrevendo o ° povo de Lisboa (.) na ° revolução (.) de mil trezentos e oitenta e três oitenta e cinco ° (0.7)

Below is the equivalent stresses in the English translation:

o mister (.) President of the Republic mister President of the Assembly of the Republic (0.5) mister Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Constitutional Court ° (0.1) mister Prime Minister mister Members of the Government ladies and gentlemen Deputies (0.3) mister ° President ° of the Democratic Republic of East Timor (0.3) mister Presidents of the Parliaments (0.1) of the Countries ° Speaking Portuguese ° (0.3) ladies ° and gentlemen ° Invited ° (0.9) wrote (.) the chronicler (1.0) the people who heard this went out onto the street to see what ° it was ° (0.2) and starting to ° talk with ° each other (0.2) their wills were aroused ° (.) and they started to take in arms each as best and ° as quickly ° as they could (0.5) sounded the ° noisy voices throughout the city all hearing cry^oing out that the master was being kill^oed (0.1) and they all mo^oved ° with arms in hand (.) run^oning ° quickly (.) to where it was said that (.) this was being done (.) in order ° to give him life and pardon ° the death (0.7) the people ° started joining him (0.4) and they were so numerous (0.2) and they were so numerous that it was a strange thing to see (0.3) they did not ° fit ° (.) along the main streets ° (.) and ° crossed to unusual places (0.1) wanting each ° one to be ° first ° (0.6) the chronicler was Fernão Lopes (.) in his chronicle on Dom João first (0.1) describing the ° People of Lisbon (.) during the ° revolution (.) of thirteen eighty three eighty five ° (0.7)

Following Goffman (1981), Soares positions himself as animating the chronicler – i.e. as the person who utters the words of that other reporter. According to the author when a speaker takes the role of the animator he is showing distance with respect to the words he is uttering, since they are indicated as not being his own words but those of another person (see also Potter, 1996).

In addition, it is significant to reproduce the words of someone else with a very rhythmic voice. Günther (1999), Klewitz and Couper-Kuhlen (1999), investigating

reported speech in everyday interaction, show that people often use prosody and voice quality devices not only to indicate that they are reporting the words of someone else but also to signal the quality of the speech reported. Accordingly, Soares's use of a very rhythmic voice as he reads an eyewitness's narrative, suggests that he impersonates or mimics a witness. According to Edwards (1995) 'direct quotation and vocal impersonation provide a strong warrant for vivid and factual accuracy.' (p. 341). In this respect, Soares's indication of a direct quotation and his 'vocal impersonation' work to display himself as not just reproducing a passage of another but also that for a moment he is taking on the persona of the other.

8.2.1.3 Omissions, semantic change and categorization of the quotation

Although Soares's oral delivery of the quotation suggests that he is merely reporting someone else words about 'the people' in past events, there is evidence that Soares changes the quotation in ways that suggest discursive manipulation.

Soares quotes a passage of Fernão Lopes's *A Crónica de D. João I* (Lopes, 1897/1814, p. 46-47). However, and contrary to the impression he creates with his oral delivery, Soares does not reproduce an intact passage of Lopes. He selects parts from the original passage and in doing so he produces an account that is different from the original one. The following extract reproduces the original passage from Lopes that Soares uses to construct the quotation. The parts that Soares quotes are indicated in italic (see Extract 2).

2. O pagem do Mestre que estava á porta, como lhe disseram que fosse pela villa, segundo já era percebido, começou d'ir rijamente e ao galope, em cima de cavallo em que estava, dizendo a altas vozes, bradando pela rua: «Matam o Mestre! Matam o Mestre nos paços da rainha! Acorrei ao Mestre, que o matam!»'. E assim chegou a casa de Alvaro Paes, que era d'ali um grande espaço. *As gentes que esto ouviram, sahiam á rua, ver que coisa era, e, começando de falar uns com os outros, alvoroçaram-se nas vontades e começavam de tomar armas, cada um como melhor e mais azinha podiam.* Alvaro Paes, que estava já prestes e armado, com uma coifa na cabeça, segundo usança d'aquelle tempo, cavalgou logo á pressa, em cima de um cavallo que annos havia que não cavalgara, e todos os seus creados com elle, bradando a quaesquer que achava, dizendo: «Acorramos ao Mestre, amigos! Acoramos ao Mestre, ca filho é

d'el-rei D. Pedro!» E assim bradavam elle e o pagem, indo pela rua.

Soaram as vozes do arruído pela cidade, ouvindo todos bradar que matavam o Mestre e, assim como viuva que rei não tinha, e como se lhe este ficasse em loge de marido, se moveram todos com mão armada, correndo á pressa para hu diziam que esto fazia, pero lhe dar vida e escusar morte. Alvaro Paes não quedava de ir pera alá, bradando a todos: «Acorramos ao Mestre, amigos! Acorramos ao Mestre que o matam sem porque!».

A gente começou de se ajuntar a elle, e era tanta que era extranha cousa de vêr; não cabiam pelas ruas principaes e atravessavam logares escuzos, desejando cada um de ser o primeiro; e perguntando uns aos outros «quem matou o Mestre?» não minguava quem responder «que o matava o conde João Fernandes, por mando da rainha.

(The young noble of the Master who was at the door, as they told him to go by the town, according with what was already understood, started to ride firmly and in gallop, on his horse, saying in loud voices, shouting out in the street:

«They kill the Master! They kill the Master in the real palace of the Queen! Rescue the Master, that they kill him!». And thus he reached the house of Alvaro Paes's house, which was far from there. *The people who heard this, went out onto the street, to see what it was; and, starting to talk with each other, their wills were aroused and they started taking up arms each as best and as quickly as they could. Alvaro Paes, who was already ready and armed, with a 'coifa' in his head, according to the usage of that time, rode immediately in hurry, in a horse that did not*

ride for years, and all his servants with him, were shouting out to anyone they found, saying: «Come rescue the Master, friends! Come rescue the Master, that he is the son of the King D. Pedro! » And thus were shouting he and the young noble, going onto the street.

Noisy voices sounded throughout the city, hearing everyone crying out that the Master was being killed and, like widow who did not have a king, and as if this one would stay instead of her husband, they all moved with weapon in hand, running hurriedly where it was said that this was being done, in order to give him life and pardon his death. Alvaro Paes did not stop to go there, shouting out to all: «Let us rescue the Master, friends! Let us rescue the Master that they kill him without reason!».

The people started joining him, and they were so numerous that it was a strange thing to see; they did not fit along the main streets and crossed unusual places, wanting each one to be the first; and asking to each other «who killed the Master?» it did not lack who answered «that the earl João Fernandes killed him by orders of the Queen.»)

If we compare Soares's quoted passage with Lopes's original text, two aspects in Soares's quotation appear different from what Lopes wrote originally. Soares misses out several parts of Lopes's text and he changes the parts he quotes from old Portuguese of the fifteenth century to modern Portuguese.

Empirical research (Clark and Gering, 1990; McGlone, 2005) has shown that, contrary to what might be expected, direct quotations often differ from the original written or spoken source. Speakers and writers frequently modify the original source that

they quote by either rewording – i.e. by making grammatical or semantic alterations – or quoting ‘out of the original context’ – i.e. by reproducing the words of someone else that, when removed from their original source, acquire a meaning which is different with the original source’s proposed meaning (McGlone, 2005). In discussing the expression ‘quoted out of context’, Matthew McGlone (2005) writes:

‘The real objection often is not to removing a quote from its original context (as all quotes are), but to the quoter’s decision to exclude from the excerpt certain nearby phrases or sentences (which thereby become ‘context’ simply by virtue of the exclusion) that serve to clarify the intentions behind the selected words.’ (p. 513)

Following the historian Milton Mayer (1966), McGlone (2005) calls this latter form of modifications ‘contextomy’. In McGlone ‘contextomy’ is ideologically significant and it is related to the professional demands and ideological positioning of the person who is doing the quoting.

In the present case, changing from old to modern Portuguese is not ideologically significant. It is a rewording that helps communication and enables the audience to understand Lopes’s account. This fits McGlone’s category of changes where the speaker or writer merely makes grammatical alterations but there is no manipulation as such.

However, what Soares leaves out of the original text he quotes is quite different. He misses out all the parts of the original text that imply that the population – i.e. ‘as gentes’ or ‘a gente’ – was not anti-royalist. Thus, Soares omits the parts of the original passage that show that the agents of the events included aristocrats – as implied in the phrases ‘Alvaro Paes (...) and all his servants with him’⁵⁹ and ‘young noble’ – and who in the original text were instigating servants and the wider population to save ‘the Master’. Further, Soares omits the parts of the original text that clarify the identity of ‘the Master’ and that therefore indicate that the ‘Master’ was a member of the royalty. This includes suggestions that he was the son of the King – for example in ‘«Come rescue the Master,

⁵⁹According to historians the social class of Álvaro Paes is not clear. Historians either describe him as an aristocrat or an important businessman of Lisbon. In any case he was a rich person of Lisbon who had worked as a magistrate for the Kings D. Pedro and D. Fernando (Serrão, 1990/1977).

friends! Come rescue the Master, that he is the son of the King D. Pedro!»'. Also there is a passage where the chronicler obliquely imagines the Master as the future King, when he describes him in 'like widow who did not have a king, and as if this one would stay instead of her husband'. This again is omitted by Soares.

In addition these omitted passages not only suggest that aristocrats were instigating the wider population to save a member of the royalty but also that the aristocracy and the people were united. This includes references by 'Alvaro Paes' to the wider population as 'friends', which, in Burke's (1969) terms, can suggest a rhetorical identification, for Paes is depicting a unity with the rest of the people. In the original passage, Paes states: '«Come rescue the Master, friends! Come rescue the Master, that he is the son of the King D. Pedro! »'. Moreover, the chronicler continues: 'Alvaro Paes did not stop to go there, shouting out to all: «Let us rescue the Master, friends! Let us rescue the Master, that they kill him without reason!»'.

The place in the text where Soares starts to quote the chronicler conforms to this overall pattern of exclusion. That is, he misses out the beginning of the original text which clarifies 'isto' ('this') refers to in the phrase 'As gentes que isto ouviram' ('The people who heard this'). In the original 'isto' clearly refers to the members of the aristocracy who were instigating the population of a city 'to rescue' a member of the royalty. By starting with 'As gentes que isto ouviram', Soares avoids specifying the reference of 'isto'.

By omitting passages of the original text he quotes, Soares presents a description of the events which is different from the original one; it is a description that depicts those who are not in power as being the agents of the events. If Soares had quoted the full original passage he would have given an account of the events that does not conform to his description of the quotation; namely, as we shall see shortly, that Lopes is describing the powerless of Lisbon in a past revolution. Significantly Soares does not indicate that he excludes passages from the original text which he quotes. As already seen, he reproduces orally the quotation without indicating any discontinuity. If Soares had orally signalled that the quotation misses out parts of the original text, he would have suggested that he was not merely reproducing the chronicler's words.

In addition, Soares also omits a phrase of the original text that conveys that the description was an account of past events; that it was an historical account, rather than

an immediate or direct description. Thus, the phrase ‘com uma coifa na cabeça, segundo usança d’aquelle tempo’ (‘with a ‘coifa’ in his head, according to the usage of that time’) from the original passage suggests that ‘coifa’, a protection for the head, was an unfamiliar object when the account was written. This is implied in the phrase ‘segundo usança d’aquelle tempo’ (‘according to the usage of that time’). Indeed, according to historians, the ‘Chronicle of the King D. João I’ was written around 1443, more than fifty years after the events of 1383-1385 (Caetano, 1985/1953, footnote 4, p. 135; Saraiva, 1998/1988). If Soares had included this part in his quotation he would have also given the impression that Lopes’s account was a distant account and therefore a possibly contestable account.

Finally, the last sentence that Soares quotes can also be noted. He omits the final part of this sentence. Thus, he does not quote: ‘e perguntando uns aos outros «quem matou o Mestre?» não minguava quem responder «que o matava o conde João Fernandes, por mando da rainha.’ (‘and asking to each other «who killed the Master?» it did not lack who answered «that the earl João Fernandes killed him by orders of the Queen.»’). If Soares had quoted the sentence in its entirety, he would have implied that ‘the people’ did not succeed in their actions. Instead, he stops his quotation at a point that suggests that the people were successful.

As can be seen, Soares does not accurately reproduce Lopes’s original passage contrary to the impression he creates; he changes, or manipulates, Lopes’s account in ways that fit Milton’s and McGlone’s concept of ‘contextomy’.

We can ask whether Soares by these omissions succeeds in presenting the people of the quotation who are acting in the streets as being the powerless. The answer is that Soares does something more to link the description of the ‘people’ in the quotation he creates, to his own description after the quotation. Soares changes the label of ‘as gentes’ (‘the people’ in the plural) and ‘a gente’ (‘the people’ in the singular) of the quotation to ‘o povo’ (‘the people’ in the singular) in his description after the quotation. After the quotation, Soares says: ‘O cronista era Fernão Lopes... descrevendo o povo de Lisboa na Revolução de 1383-1385.’ (‘The chronicler was Fernão Lopes... describing the People of Lisbon during the 1383-1385 Revolution.’). This shift is a semantic and an ideological move. The categories ‘as gentes’ (individuals) and ‘a gente’ (gathering of individuals in the singular) imply ‘the people’ as a collection of individual persons,

whereas the category ‘o povo’ (‘the people’ in singular) conveys unity for it means ‘group’. Here, it is necessary to distinguish in English between these two senses of ‘the people’ in Portuguese by ‘as gentes’/‘a gente’ and ‘o povo’. We will be translating from here onwards ‘o povo’ as ‘the People’ and using ‘the people’ for ‘as gentes’ or ‘a gente’.

Significantly, the category ‘o povo’ can be used to refer to an ideological group, which suggests a contrast between those who are ruled and those who rule. That is, the category ‘o povo’ of ‘o povo de Lisboa na Revolução de 1383-1385’ (‘the People of Lisbon in the Revolution of 1383-1385’) can either mean those who live in Lisbon, the habitants of Lisbon, or those who are the powerless of Lisbon. In the context of left-wing politics, the category of ‘o povo’ is ideologically highly significant, for ‘o povo’ (‘the People’), or the whole class of the oppressed, are depicted as the force for progressive action (see for example, Saraiva, 1998/1988; Neves, 2008). In this sense, ‘o povo’ (‘the People’) does not denote an aggregate of individuals. Then Soares’s shift to ‘o povo’ indicates that he points to the dominated, to those who are not in power. Just like the chronicler whom he quotes, Soares could have used, instead of ‘o povo’ in his description after the quotation, either ‘as gentes’ (‘the people’ meaning individuals) or ‘a gente’ (‘the people’ meaning gathering of individuals in singular) for ‘as gentes de Lisboa’ or ‘a gente de Lisboa’ can both be used in modern Portuguese. If Soares had done so, he would have pointed to the inhabitants of Lisbon as referring to the aggregate of all the individuals who live there. It is not ideologically random that Soares changes this category: he was doing this in a context in which he is presenting himself as reporting ‘the chronicler’s’ words and after he had omitted passages without informing the audience. Thus, with this shift to ‘o povo’ Soares is subtly making a semantic and ideological move without drawing attention to it: he is using a category that emphasises that the actors are not those in power. This shift conforms to the omissions that he made in the quotation. Together these two rhetorical moves are making an ideological point: ‘the people’ he creates in the quotation were the powerless of Lisbon acting as the agents of a revolution. To make this point Soares also introduces two phrases in his description of the quotation, which are absent from the quotation he creates – ‘Lisbon’ and ‘Revolution of 1383-1385’. In this way, Soares presents ‘the people’ who are acting on the streets in the quotation he creates, as representing the powerless of Lisbon as ‘the agents’ of a past Revolution.

It is ideologically significant to interpret what Lopes understood as the agents of the events of 1383-1385. As can be seen, Soares removed from the quotation any reference to the aristocracy and royalty, he equalled 'as gentes' and 'a gente' to 'o povo' – as if the 'agents' of the events were only the dominated, the oppressed – and he introduced the words Lisbon and revolution. By doing this Soares presented Lopes as giving a factual and immediate eyewitness account of 'o povo' of Lisbon making a revolution and thus he implied that it is a fact that 'o povo' (i.e. the oppressed) made the revolution.

The description of the events of 1383-1385, attributing agency to the powerless, is controversial in Portuguese historiography. Soares's version, constructed from his selective quotation of Lopes, fits the version by communist historians, who interpret Lopes's description of the people involved in those events as indicating the oppressed as the 'agents' in a revolution (for example, Cunhal, 1975; Saraiva, 1998/1988; see also, Neves, 2008, for a summary of the communist interpretation of these events). The opposing version of those events interprets the people of Lopes's description as indicating the broader population, including the aristocracy, as making a revolution. In this interpretation, the events of 1383-1385 represent a national revolution, which divided the nationals (regardless of their social class) into two opposing groups: the supporters and the opponents of Castile (for example, Caeiro, 1972; Caetano, 1985/1953; Serrão, 1990/1977). In this respect, Soares's categorization of Lopes's term 'the people' as denoting the 'o povo' making a revolution is argumentative and ideological (Billig, 1996/1987). By using the categories in this way, Soares is following the communist interpretation of those past events, and this historical interpretation was made in opposition to another interpretation, which by stressing national factors rather than class ones is more attractive to nationalists.

Nonetheless, Soares does not indicate that he is following the communist interpretation of the powerless in those events, but he presents it as if it were a fact, not an interpretation. Soares cannot refer to, or argue about, the rhetorical moves and the omissions that he makes without undermining his position. If he had exposed his own rhetorical moves, his conclusion would have appeared as a matter of ideology, rather than a matter of fact. In this respect, it can be argued that Soares is discursively manipulating historical evidence, selectively quoting his sources and omitting parts of quotations that would have run counter to the 'factual' point that he was attempting to construct. However, there is a fundamental difference between Soares's discursive

manipulation and that of Correia, the speaker from the far right. As seen in the previous chapter, Correia manipulates the presentation of his political party's ideology, implying that he and his party celebrate the overthrow of the previous regime, when they actually do not do so. In this respect, Correia manipulates the presentation of his own party's ideology implying that his party has an ideology different than what it has. This is quite distinct from what Soares is doing. The speaker from the far left does not hide his political party's ideology. The construction of the powerless as making a revolution in the events of 1383-1385 fits the version of the communist party. Rather he conceals his own manipulations of evidence but does so in order to clarify the ideology of his political party and to make it simpler than it otherwise might be. In this respect, the comparison between Correia and Soares shows the importance, as Van Dijk (2006, 2008) argues, of not using the concept of 'manipulation' in too broad a sense. If we refer to any rhetorical trick, or attempt to convey an over-simplification to an audience, as a 'manipulation', we will fail to distinguish between the different ideological functions of such manipulations. As has been suggested, rhetorical manipulation can be used to conceal or clarify an ideological purpose. Perhaps, the phrase 'manipulating the presentation of ideology' should be reserved for those instances where speakers use rhetorical devices to mislead the audience implying that their political party has an ideology different of what it actually has. In this case, then Correia's speech would qualify as 'manipulating the presentation of ideology' but Soares's would not. Soares, on the other hand, is not presenting his party as having a non-Marxist set of beliefs but rather he manipulates evidence for his political party's Marxist ideology to make it appear clearer and more in line with the so-called 'facts' of history.

8.2.2 April 25 as a factual revolution by analogy with the previous events

Soares constructs April 25 as factually being a revolution because it is analogous to the revolution of 1383-1385. In order to do this he quotes a second respected figure of Portuguese culture about the April Revolution, Ary dos Santos, and he constructs this second quotation as similar to the previous one (see Extract 3).

3. 590 anos depois, o Poeta Ary dos Santos relatava também uma outra Revolução. E dizia: “E em Lisboa, capital dos novos mestres de Aviz, o povo de Portugal deu o poder a quem quis.”.

(590 years later, the Poet Ary dos Santos narrated also another Revolution. And was saying: “And in Lisbon, capital of the new masters of Aviz, the People of Portugal gave the power to whom it wanted.”.)

Soares introduces the second quotation with a temporal marker – ‘590 anos depois’ (‘590 years later’) – and thereby he indicates a temporal progression in his historical narrative. Then he constructs rhetorically the second author whom he is about to quote, as being analogous to the previous one. Thus, Soares identifies the author of the second quotation by giving his name and also by reference to a category. Nevertheless, he does not use a category that implies a direct reporter but a category that depicts the author as being a creative figure, that is, a ‘poet’: ‘o Poeta Ary dos Santos relatava também uma outra Revolução’ (‘the Poet Ary dos Santos narrated also another Revolution’). Ary dos Santos is a famous Portuguese poet, well-known for his poem about the April Revolution. It is in the phrase ‘relatava também uma outra Revolução’ that Soares suggests that the account of ‘the Poet Ary dos Santos’ resembles the earlier chronicler for both were reporting revolutions. This is conveyed by ‘uma outra’ (‘another’) in the phrase ‘uma outra revolução’ (‘another revolution’). The similarity between both accounts is also implied in ‘relatava também’ (‘narrated also’). ‘Relatar’ (‘to narrate’) means reporting in detail and sequentially and can imply direct and factual reporting. In addition, ‘também’ (‘also’) makes explicit the similarities between the reports of ‘the poet’ and ‘the chronicler’. In this way, Soares constructs the account of ‘the poet’ as analogue to the account of ‘the chronicler’. Indeed, dos Santos’s original text from which the quotation is extracted produces a direct narrative description of the April Revolution. Nevertheless, unlike with his first quotation, Soares does not identify the original text from dos Santos. That is, he does not use the same form of expression as he does with Lopes. After the quotation he does not state ‘no seu poema *As Portas que Abril Abriu*’ (‘in his poem *The Doors that April Opened*’) (Santos, 1999/1975). If Soares had identified the original text from dos Santos, he would have made explicit the dissimilarities between both reports. He would have made plain that the quotation from

the Poet is a creative account. It would be unlike the previous one that Soares had presented as a factual, eyewitness, and therefore an undisputable account.

Soares selects an extract from dos Santos's poem, this time a shorter extract, which itself produces an account of 'the People's' agency. The extract quoted actually uses the category of people, 'o povo' ('the People'), which Soares had projected onto the previous quotation. Furthermore, the phrase 'deu o poder a quem quis' ('gave the power to whom they wanted') implies agency, that is, a motivated or desired action which is attributed to the powerless. This second extract which Soares quotes also makes an analogy between the previous events of 1383-1385 and the events of April 25. The phrase 'novos mestres de Aviz' establishes a parallel between both events, for 'mestre de Aviz' is the name of 'the Master', whom 'the people' described in the first quotation were protecting. It is not random that dos Santos uses the category 'o povo' ('the People') when he describes the April Revolution nor that he establishes a parallel between the events of 1383-1385 and April 25; Ary dos Santos was a well-known communist.

This time Soares reproduces an intact passage of dos Santos, thereby, he quotes an ideological and creative interpretation of the event but he presents it as if it was a factual account. Again, Soares's rhetorical manipulation is fundamentally different from that of Correia. Unlike Correia, Soares is not hiding his ideological position towards April 25. If he is hiding the ideological nature of dos Santos's specific account, he cannot be hiding dos Santos's ideological position overall, simply because dos Santos was so publicly a communist. Just by naming the author as dos Santos, Soares is indicating that the author has an ideological position, but he is implying that this ideological author is describing the events factually.

Finally, Soares also portrays himself as reproducing the words of 'the Poet'. As with the previous quotation, he uses verbal and non-verbal cues to indicate his shift of footing (Goffman, 1981). After his description of the quotation, Soares makes a clear pause (0.4) and looks down at his speech in front of him (o) (see Outline of Extract 3). He then says: 'e dizia' ('and was saying'), makes a clear pause (0.6), looks up at the audience (o) and starts to quote the first word of the poet 'e' ('and'). Soares does not say 'que' ('that'), after 'e dizia' ('and was saying'), this would have indicated an indirect quotation. Instead, after uttering 'e' ('and'), he looks down at his speech in front of him (o) and

reads the quotation making pauses after the words that mark rhymes, that is, ‘Capital’ (0.2) ‘Avis’ (0.2), and ‘Portugal’ (0.2), ‘quis’ (0.5), looking up to the audience (°) and down to his speech (◦) from time to time. In this way, Soares not only signals that he is repeating the words of the poet, but also that he is impersonating the poetry of ‘a poet’, and by impersonating he is doing more than merely reproducing the words of another, but for a moment he is taking on the persona of the other.

Outline of Extract 3

Verbal and non-verbal cues

° (0.7) quinhentos e noventa anos dep_◦ois (0.3) o poeta Ary dos Santos relatava também uma outra ◦ revolução ◦ (0.4) e dizia ° (0.6) e ◦ em Lisboa capital (0.2) dos novos me_◦stres ◦ de Aviz (0.2) o ◦ povo de Portugal ◦ (0.2) deu o poder ° a quem quis ◦ (0.5)

Below is the equivalent stresses in the English translation:

° (0.7) five hundred and ninety years la_◦ter (0.3) the poet Ary dos Santos narrated also another ◦ revolution ◦ (0.4) and was saying ° (0.6) and ◦ in Lisbon capital (0.2) of the new ma_◦sters ◦ of Aviz (0.2) the ◦ People of Portugal ◦ (0.2) gave the power ° to whom it wanted ◦ (0.5)

8.2.3 An enthymeme

Aristotle in his *Rhetoric* describes an *enthymeme* as the way of demonstrating that something is the way it is or the way of drawing a general conclusion from other statements or propositions (see also Billig, 1996/1987). Following Aristotle, it can be argued that Soares’s quotations constitute the premises of an historical enthymeme or argument by analogy.

Soares constructs the April Revolution rhetorically as being factually a revolution by analogy with previous events of 1383-1385, which he presents as the events of a revolution. After this, he formulates a general or universal statement about revolutions and ‘o povo’ (‘the People’) (see Extract 4). He says: ‘As revoluções fazem-se porque as quer o povo.’ (‘Revolutions are made because the People want them.’).

4. As revoluções fazem-se porque as quer o povo. Trinta anos depois de Abril há quem queira esconder isto mesmo: que Abril foi uma Revolução. Fê-la o povo, que apoiou os Capitães de Abril – que aqui saudamos -, que mais não eram do que o povo em armas, no próprio dia 25. Fê-la o povo nos meses que se seguiram, conquistando a liberdade, a democracia e o direito a uma vida melhor.

(Revolutions are made because the People want them. Thirty years after April there are/is those who want/s to hide this exactly: that April was a Revolution. It was made by the People, who supported the Captains of April - whom we salute here -, who were none other than the People in arms, on the actual day of the 25. It was made by the People during the months that followed, conquering freedom, democracy and the right to a better life.)

Although Soares does not explicitly connect his general statement with the previous quotations, he presents it as if it were the conclusion. That is, this general statement appears as an evident or relevant conclusive move of the information that Soares presents with the quotations. This move as conclusive operates according to the maxim of relevance of Paul Grice (1975). The general assertion that ‘Revolutions are made because the People want them’ is made after Soares’s quotations about two events classified as ‘revolutions’ whose agents are ‘o povo’ (‘the People’), that is, the powerless. As such, it is presumed to be relevant to the previous two quotations; and its relevance is presumed to be as a conclusion drawn from the quotations.

Following Aristotle, contemporary rhetoricians argue that an enthymeme is a deductive argument which is formed by a conclusion supported by one or two premises (Jasinski, 2001, p. 1981). That is, an enthymeme might only have one premise and the conclusion for, as contemporary rhetoricians have noted, one premise ‘may at times be only implicit and not actually present in an enthymemic argument’ (Jasinski, 2001, p. 206). For example, if one utters ‘X is an honest person, so vote for Candidate X’, it is stating an enthymeme, which is composed of a single premise together with the conclusion. In fact, Aristotle himself maintains that an enthymeme may be composed of only one premise if the second one is well-known by the audience. As Billig (1996/1987) notes:

‘Aristotle, in *Rhetoric*, had suggested that the basic unit of a rhetorical argument resembled that of a logic one. In logic according to Aristotle, one argues in syllogisms, wherein one asserts two premises and deduces, tight-fistedly, a conclusion. In rhetoric one uses ‘enthymemes’, which were, according to Aristotle, shortened syllogisms. The second premise of an enthymeme was omitted for the sake of brevity, and, thus, the enthymeme was merely a conclusion supported by a single premise, or justification.’(p. 131).

Soares does not shorten his argument or enthymeme. That is, in order to establish his definite or conclusive proposition, Soares uses two quotations from two prominent figures about ‘the people’ in two historical events – presented in chronological order – which he constructs as factually describing analogous events, that is, ‘the People’ making revolutions. In this way, Soares constructs a solid, *as if logical* (and thereby undeniable), enthymeme by historical analogy. His enthymeme rests upon the assertion that reality has successively shown that revolutions, if they are to be properly called ‘revolutions’, must be made by ‘the People’.

Soares’s enthymeme by historical analogy functions to counteract current denial of April as being a revolution. Having demonstrated ‘logically’ by quotation that Revolutions are made by ‘the People’, and that April 25 was in fact a Revolution, Soares then enters into political controversy (see Antaki and Leudar, 2001, for the argumentative use of quotations in political controversy, namely in quoting the opponents’ words to bolster the speaker’s view; see also Dickerson, 1997, for quoting others in political controversy). That is, he follows by asserting that at present they are people who oppose seeing April 25 as a Revolution. He says: ‘Trinta anos depois de Abril há quem queira esconder isto mesmo: que Abril foi uma Revolução.’ (‘Thirty years after April there are/is those who want/s to hide this precisely: that April was a Revolution.’). The grammatical construction of this assertion must be noted. Soares does not communicate a particular but rather a general claim about the existence of opponents to April as a Revolution. Thus, the verb ‘há quem’ (‘there are those’) conveys factuality for it takes an impersonal form (Edwards and Potter, 1992a; Gilbert and Mulkay, 1984; Potter, 1996). Also, the phrase ‘isto mesmo: que Abril foi uma Revolução’ (‘this exactly: that April was a Revolution’) implies facticity: ‘isto mesmo’ (‘this exactly’) deictically points to what comes immediately next as being *the* (exact) matter of the denial and

thereby it emphasises the ‘reality’ of the following phrase. In addition, ‘April was a revolution’ is not presented as communicating a particular claim or interpretation, which might then be contestable; instead it is presented as a factual, and thereby incontestable, claim.

Again, Soares supports his definite claim of current denial of April as a Revolution with two assertions about April 1974 as made by ‘the People’. The phrases ‘fê-la o povo’ (‘it was made by the people’) take an impersonal form, and thereby, he asserts as factual that April 25 and the achievements of ‘freedom’, ‘democracy’ and ‘the right to a better life’ were made by ‘the People’. In this way, Soares implicates that April 25 and these achievements were revolutionary, since they are presented in ways that conform to his previous argument from historical analogy that revolutions to be properly called revolutions are made by the ‘People’. This implication operates by the maxim of relevance (Grice, 1975; see also Marsen, 2006). The assertion that revolutions are made by the people came before Soares’s assertions about the ‘People’ making April 1974. The assertion is to be presumed relevant to his descriptions of how ‘the People’ were the makers of April 1974. By the maxim of relevance, then his statement about the nature of revolutions confirm April 1974 as a revolution. In sum, Soares postulates that April 25 and the following months were revolutionary for they were made by ‘the People’ and to oppose April as a Revolution implicates opposing April 25 and the accomplishments of ‘freedom’, ‘democracy’ and progress as being revolutionary achievements.

Significantly, Soares mentions explicitly the protagonists of April 25 as ‘the Captains of April’. Unlike the speaker from the far right, as seen in the previous chapter, Soares names the protagonists of the Revolution and he praises them explicitly – ‘que aqui saudamos’ (‘whom we salute here’) – through a vague and unified ‘we’. He leaves unspecified who ‘we’ refers to – it could be taken in different ways, such as to embrace all the participants of the celebration, all the people of Portugal or just the communist party which the speaker represents officially (Billig, 1995, 2003b; Maitland and Wilson, 1987; Wilson, 1990). However ‘we’ is interpreted, Soares is nevertheless expressing rhetorical identification (Burke, 1969) with the Captains of April. On the other hand, Soares did not identify with those who deny the revolutionary nature of April 1974. Instead, he sought to explain why some people might uphold the inadequate, non-factual version of April 1974.

8.4 Constructing the opposing version as motivated or non-factual version of April 25

Soares faces a rhetorical dilemma (Billig, et *al.*, 1988): how to explain the existence of the denial of the fact. As we have already seen, the revolutionary nature of April 1974 was a matter of controversy at that year's celebration. The government and its allies preferred to talk about 'evolution' rather than 'revolution'. It can be noted that Soares does not begin his speech by explicitly entering into this controversy. Quite the reverse, he appears to treat the controversy as if it were non-existent. He argues that the revolution was factually a revolution as if its revolutionary nature could not be logically or historically denied. However, he has a dilemma because he, and the rest of the parliament, is aware that it was being denied. He does not avoid the denial and he then moves in his speech to consider the denial of the revolutionary nature of April 25 (see Extract 4). His treatment of this denial is interesting and reveals a similar strategy to that which Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) found when they studied the way that scientists dealt with the existence of opposing scientific theories which denied the adequacy of their own theories (see Potter and Wetherell, 1987, for a summary of this study).

In the previous Extract, we can see Soares's dilemma. He presents as a clear fact that 'the People' make revolutions but then he has to deal with the rhetorical situation that others are denying this 'clear fact'. Gilbert and Mulkay's (1984) scientists were in a similar rhetorical dilemma to Soares when they were talking in interviews about their opposing colleagues' theory: 'If the natural world speaks so clearly through the respondent in question, how is it that some other scientists come to represent that world inaccurately? What is it about such speakers, which prevents the natural world from representing itself properly in their speech?' (p. 69).

Gilbert and Mulkay noted that the scientists' accounts for the opponents' version were constructed in contrast with their own position which they depicted as factual. Specifically, Gilbert and Mulkay (1984) observed that 'they all speak as if their own position is an unproblematic and unmediated representation of the natural world' (p. 68). In contrast, the scientists had a different way of talking about their scientific rivals. The actions and judgements of those scientists were depicted as being in error and they were

characterised in what Gilbert and Mulkay term as ‘strongly contingent terms’. According to Gilbert and Mulkay, the rivals’ claims about the natural world ‘are presented as being mediated through and as understandable in terms of various special attributes which they possess as individuals or as certain kind of social actors.’ (p. 68). The authors called this latter form of discourse the ‘contingent repertoire’, which was contrasted with the ‘empiricist repertoire’ that the scientists used to account for their own position. Hence, the scientists in Gilbert and Mulkay’s study solved their dilemma by asserting that ‘the views of these other scientists are being distorted by the intrusion of non-scientific, that is, non-experimental, influences into the research domain.’ (p.69). Examples of the contingent repertoire in Gilbert and Mulkay’s data are to be found when the scientists depicted their rivals’ theory as dependent on motives, psychological dispositions and contextual factors such as being mislead by publications. As will be seen shortly, Soares uses a politically equivalent ‘contingent repertoire’ to account for his opponents’ version of April 25 (see also Edwards and Potter, 1992a, 1992b, for the use of a contingent discourse in political controversy).

8.4.1 Metaphor of hiding

As can be seen in Extract 4, Soares enters in the political controversy about April as a Revolution/ Evolution by asserting the present existence of those who deny that April 1974 was a Revolution. Specifically, he talks about the opponents of April as a Revolution as motivated – i.e. ‘who want’ – ‘to hide’ this fact. In so speaking, Soares implies that they know that it was a Revolution, that they are able to see it as a Revolution, but they want to conceal this. Soares thus describes the upholders of the opposing version of April in contingent terms, which convey a personal characterization, that is, as motivated with a deceitful intent. Soares formulates a strong criticism of the opponents of April as a Revolution. Nevertheless, he does not reveal the identity of those who are denying of April as a Revolution; he uses an impersonal verb – ‘há quem’, which means ‘there is’ or ‘there are’ – and thereby he states the factual existence of people who deny April as a Revolution without actually naming any individual or individuals in particular.

Soares then talks about the opposing version of April as a Revolution with a metaphor of ‘hiding’: ‘to talk about evolution’ is described as being motivated with a wish to hide something about April 25 (see Extract 5). Again his assertion about the opposing version is presented as following from his previous argument – ‘por isso’ (‘therefore’).

5. Falar de evolução a propósito do 25 de Abril é, por isso, querer esconder o carácter o revolucionário da nossa conquista da liberdade. Não porque não tenha havido evolução nos últimos 30 anos – certamente que houve! –, mas porque esta “teoria evolucionista” pretende esconder que as importantes alterações em sentido positivo que tivemos no nosso país nas últimas três décadas têm a sua origem e a sua raiz no 25 de Abril, que lhes abriu caminho. E porque a “evolução” apregoada, que faz lembrar uma outra “evolução na continuidade”, que não era mais do que uma continuidade sem evolução, pretende igualmente esconder que a Revolução foi uma ruptura contra alguma coisa: contra o fascismo. O “R” que falta em Revolução tem sobrado na reescrita da história do 25 de Abril.

(Talking about evolution with regard to the April 25 is, therefore, wanting to hide the revolutionary character of our achievement of freedom. Not because there was no evolution during the last 30 years – certainly, there was! –, but because this “evolutionist theory” intends to hide that the important changes in positive direction that we had in our country during the last three decades have their origin and root in the April 25, which opened them the way. And because the proclaimed “evolution”, which makes remembering another “evolution in continuity”, which was no more than a continuity without evolution, similarly intends to hide that the Revolution was a rupture against something: against fascism.

The “R” which is lacking in Revolução has been leftover in the rewriting of the history of April 25.)

He used infinitive verbs – ‘falar de’ (‘to talk about’), ‘querer esconder’ (‘to want to hide’) – and thereby he refers to the opposing version of April as being a Revolution in unspecified terms without attributing to anyone the wish to hide something about the April 25, namely to hide the revolutionary nature of a national victory. Soares’s use of

infinitive verbs functions like nominalizations, that is, grammatical forms through which a speaker does not identify the social agents of the action being described (see Fairclough, 1998b/1992; Fowler, 1991; Billig, 2008a, 2008b; see also in this thesis Chapter Seven for a detailed reference to nominalization through reference to infinitive verbs).

Soares faces another rhetorical dilemma. He counters that the change between the old regime and the new one should be categorized as ‘evolution’ rather than ‘revolution’. However, he cannot contest that there has been some evolution occurring since 1974; it would have been possible for his opponents and his audience in general to think of aspects of life that have evolved positively in Portugal since then. To protect his position he uses a rhetorical tactic that has been identified by Antaki and Wetherell (1999) as showing concession. According to Antaki and Wetherell, showing concession is a rhetorical device commonly used to disarm counter-criticism and to strengthen one’s case – that is, ‘bolstering the speaker’s original proposition against implied (or explicit) challenge, and weakening, or even dismissing, the counter case.’ (p. 10). Antaki and Wetherell (1999) identify rhetorical markers which speakers use to convey that they are making a concession. As such, there is a rhetorical structure involved in displaying a concession that does not undermine the main point of the speaker. The structure is: ‘proposition, concession marker plus material countable as evidence against the challengeable proposition, or its implications, and a recognizable reprise of the original.’ (p.12). Soares demonstrates this structure exactly. He first asserts his rejection of the evolutionary argument with a metaphor of hiding. He follows this statement immediately with a concession marker ‘não porque’ (‘not because’) and this introduces his concession that there has been an evolution in the last thirty years. He emphasises the obviousness of the concession – ‘certamente que houve!’ (‘certainly, there was!’). This concession, following the structure identified by Antaki and Wetherell, is followed by the restatement of the original proposition, introduced with the marker ‘mas porque’ (‘but because’) which dismisses the significance of the concession – ‘mas porque esta “teoria evolucionista” pretende esconder...’ (‘but because this "evolutionist theory" intends to hide...’). In this way, Soares bolsters his original position through conceding a point whose significance he dismisses. For him the crucial fact of April 1974 is that it was a revolution, not that some degree of evolution has occurred subsequently.

Thus, Soares concedes the idea of evolution in order to dismiss its significance. He claims that to talk of April 25 as Evolution is motivated to hide – ‘pretende esconder’ (‘intends’) – that the national evolution started with April 25. Three aspects should be noted in Soares’s claim. First, Soares depicts the evolutionary version of April 25 as a theory – ‘esta “teoria evolucionista”’ (‘this “evolutionist theory”’). He implicitly is contrasting theory with facts. Second, Soares indicates that he is using an unsuitable categorization when he identifies the opposing version as being about evolution. He signals the phrase ‘evolutionary theory’ with quotation marks, using them in the written version and conveying them by tone in the spoken version – by making pauses before and after the phrase and falling intonation before ‘evolutionary’ (see Appendix 4). In this way, Soares draws attention to the phrase ‘evolutionary theory’ and simultaneously conveys a distance from the characterisation of April 25 as evolution (Predelli, 2003). In other words, Soares is communicating an ironic intent with respect to the opposing version of April 25. And, third, Soares implies that this ‘evolutionary’ version is unpatriotic. Specifically, he presents the revolutionary conquest of freedom – ‘nossa conquista da liberdade’ (‘our achievement of freedom’) – and the starting point of evolution – ‘as importantes alterações em sentido positivo que tivemos no nosso país’ (‘the important changes in positive direction that we had in our country’) – as national and unifying events for ‘our’/‘we’, in this context, conveys a sense of national unity because Soares specifically indicates he is talking of ‘our country’. According to discourse and rhetoric analysts, politicians often use a unified national ‘us’/‘we’ as a rhetorical device to identify themselves and their own political policy with the nation and to depict opponents as national enemies (Billig, 2003b). In the present case, Soares depicts the revolutionary achievement of freedom and progress as unifying national events – the past events of ‘our’ history. He thereby implies, without directly suggesting, that those who talk of evolution are non-patriotic for they are willing to hide the true nature – i.e. its ‘revolutionary character’ – of these national past victories.

8.4.2 Opposing version as politically motivated

But there is more. Soares explains the opposing version of April as politically motivated, that is, a version embedded in the ideological characteristics of its supporters. In this respect, Soares makes use of a ‘contingent repertoire’, just like the scientists studied by

Gilbert and Mulkay (1984). Soares explains the existence of the other version of April 25, as being based on deceitful and ideological motives.

Again Soares marks the opposing evolutionary version of April with quotation marks – in ‘a “evolução” apregoada’ (‘the proclaimed “evolution”’) – and thus he signals that he is dissociating himself from this way of talking of April 25. Significantly, Soares makes an analogy between this particular way of talking of April 25 and another use of evolutionary terminology – ‘uma outra “evolução na continuidade”’ (‘another “evolution in continuity”’). The analogy is made through an impersonal statement – ‘que faz lembrar’ (‘which makes remembering’) – and thereby it implies impersonality; as if everyone would associate the evolutionary version of April with this other version. Furthermore, he marks this other version of evolution with quotation marks – using them in the written version and conveying them by tone in the spoken version – and thereby he draws attention to it, while he was dissociating himself from it (Predelli, 2003). Soares suggests that this other version is deceitful – ‘que não era mais do que uma continuidade sem evolução’ (‘which was no more than a continuity without evolution’) – and that the present evolutionary version is similarly deceitful. He implies that this other ‘evolution’ was proposing an evolution but aimed at something less – namely, continuity.

Thus, Soares makes an analogy with a previous evolutionary version. This previous version was that which was upheld by the fascists of the previous regime, more precisely by Marcello Caetano and his allies in 1968 (see Chapter Two). In this respect, Soares suggests indirectly that talking of evolution in relation to April 25 was similar to the previous fascist evolutionary rhetoric. Soares does not specify the nature of this continuity that he is referring to; he does not specifically say that it is the continuity of fascism. Soares ambiguously suggests that the way of talking of evolution about April 25 at present is similar to this other way of talking about the previous regime. He suggests this ambiguously with ‘igualmente’ (‘similarly’). In this respect, Soares is suggesting that the upholders of the evolutionary version of April are doing something similar to what the fascists did; in addition he is suggesting that they aim to hide this similarity by concealing the existence of fascism in their talk of evolution. It would have been impossible to make the parallel between fascism and the present members of the government openly on this occasion of national celebration. Soares can only imply it by

pointing to parallels of discourse, identifying the fascist users of this discourse but leaving vague the identity of the current users. On the other hand, to omit the parallel would have been equivalent to Soares hiding his own ideology. Therefore, his rhetoric combined direct and indirect accusation. In this way, he conveys, but does not directly state, that the evolutionary rhetoric of his opponents is a version, a rewriting as he asserts subsequently, of history that is sympathetic to fascism.

8.5 Concluding remarks

Soares's rhetoric about April 25 contrasts with that of Correia, the speaker from the far right. Correia hides his own party's ideology: he conceals the nature of the previous regime and minimizes any distance from it. As such Correia falls into the category of those Soares is criticising. However, Correia's extent of hiding is wider than Soares identifies. Soares is talking about hiding the revolutionary nature of April 1974. Correia is actually hiding much more, for he is hiding his own party's ideology towards the previous regime and its end. Correia's talk about evolution and the denial of a rupture with the previous regime, in fact, bear out Soares's point that to talk about evolution is conveying (or at least, can convey) a sympathy with fascism. But not all can be said directly. So we see both speakers using implication, vagueness and manipulation but with a difference. Correia is hiding his party's ideology, but Soares is open about that of his own party. He is nevertheless engaged in hiding when it comes to describing his opponents. Moreover, he engages in rhetorical manipulation in the way that he presents selective parts of an extract as if they are a full extract, thereby producing a manipulated version of past events. However, he does this, not to hide his own ideological view, but to present this ideology in a clearer, less ambiguous way.

9. Conclusion

Harold Lasswell (1934, reprinted in 1955) defines propaganda as: ‘the technique of influencing human action by the manipulation of representations’ (1955, p. 13; see also, Jowett and O’Donnell, 2006, p. 7). The author adds that ‘both advertising and publicity fall within the field of propaganda’ (p.13). Political business greatly depends on propaganda, as political parties regularly seek to win the consent and votes of a large number of the population. In his study of the British Labour party, Dominic Wring (1996) examines how this political party uses propaganda in electoral campaigns. The author distinguishes three phases related to the type of propaganda techniques used by the Labour party on these occasions (see also Wring, 2005). A first phase, from the 1920s up to the 1950s, was characterized by the Labour party adopting traditional methods of propaganda to communicate its policies – such as meetings, leaflets and doorsteeping – alongside elementary forms of advertising and market research, such as projecting its image or targeting particular audiences with relevant messages (Wring, 1996, p. 111). A second phase started with the advent of mass television broadcasting and lasted through the 1970s; during this phase the Labour party increasingly resorted to modern methods of propaganda by investing in private political opinion research and advertising advisors. A third phase from the 1980s onwards came when the party progressively adopted sophisticated marketing techniques that target particular demographic groups and appeal to their opinions, rather than attempting to communicate its entire message to the whole electorate.

On the surface, the commemoration of the April Revolution in the national parliament seems to be an occasion when propaganda, in this sense, is not permitted. The speakers of the ceremony are not meant to try to influence others tactically by conducting party politics or by overtly arguing for specific political actions. Rather, the celebratory aspect of the commemorations involves the cessation of ordinary political controversy and division in an apparent act of unity and communion. Nevertheless, as this thesis has hopefully made clear, behind the apparent acts of unity there is covert political disagreement, with political influence and persuasion going on, as speakers

seek to persuade others to accept their views of history and also their views on alternative constructions of history. To demonstrate this, different methodologies were used and thus the content of the speeches was examined at different levels – overt slogans, themes and words, and also as social and persuasive actions.

The broad quantitative content analysis of themes and terms across the commemorative speeches, especially across political parties and over time, exposed clear differences between the speakers from the left and right political parties in the way they talk about the past. Largely, the speakers from the parties of the left-wing used more critical terminology than did the speakers from the parties of the right when they referred to the previous regime. A different pattern was found with respect to the revolutionary period; there was no difference in the way the speakers used the themes of ‘democracy’, ‘Portuguese’ and ‘Nation’. However, there were particular differences related to the far right, the Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party. The speakers from this political party employed less positive terminology to refer to the revolutionary period than did the speakers from the left parties. Overall the broad content analysis of the speeches suggests that accounts of the past in the parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution are potentially contestable along political and ideological lines. And this fits the approaches that stress that history is constructed and can have a political meaning.

However, this sort of analysis tends to examine meaning at a comparatively superficial level. In order to better understand what is going on at the parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution, we looked at what a broad content analysis of patterns typically ignores: the rhetorical complexities of particular speeches and the way specific politicians subtly convey and/or hide meanings.

This sort of rhetorical complexity was seen in the analysis of the custom of greeting the audience right at the beginning of the speeches across political party and across time (Chapter Six). By looking at the presences and absences of categories or terms used by the speakers of the ceremony to formally greet the audience, as well as looking at the meaning of these categories/terms, it was possible to study the nature of this custom, its history and also its political-ideological feature. Firstly, the analysis showed that greeting the members of the audience with a list of formal forms of addresses evolved as a custom, as all speakers of the ceremony typically start their speech in the same broad way – by formally addressing the members of the audience with a list of formal forms of

addresses. However, there has never been complete uniformity about who the speakers mention in their greetings. By analysing these greetings across time and across political party it was possible to identify the conventions of this custom and how these conventions have evolved. In this way, we could see that this custom constitutes what was called, following Aristotle (1926, III, xiv, 1-5), a 'formal exordium'; it is a sign of politeness, of formally displaying consideration towards the audience, and also a form of displaying togetherness. All the speakers adopt a formal format of addressing the official members of the parliament that does not identify particular political affiliations. In this way, this custom rhetorically constructs a unified parliament. Also, the analysis revealed some degree what was called insignificant variability – such as slight changes in the length of the lists of formal forms of addresses, in the polite prefixes used with the categories or individuals, etc. As was argued, the possibility of insignificant variability raises the possibility for the speakers to politically mark their lists of formal forms of addresses in more politically meaningful ways. This sort of variability was called significant variability and it could be seen in the way political speakers mention, or fail to mention, specific groups in their lists of formal forms of addresses for political reasons. For example, the speakers of the far right do not systematically address in particular those who made the revolution, whereas the speakers of the centre right stopped greeting these actors after 1982, that is, after the constitutional disbandment of the group of 'Counsellors of the Revolution'. Only in 2007 the speaker of the latter political party addressed in particular those who made the revolution by including in the formal greetings the category 'Militaries of April'. But as was seen, the speaker added a particular prefix 'celebrated', therefore not specifying that the speaker was personally celebrating that group. A very distinct pattern was found in the speakers of the left-wing, who moved from a consistent pattern of greeting the revolutionaries, in the group of the 'Counsellors of the Revolution' until 1982, to a less regular pattern of addressing those who made the revolution through the category of 'Captains of April'. The significant aspect of this sort of political variability is that it shows that ideology is present in this ritualised part of the speeches and this happens without breaking the conventions for an appropriate start, or in other words, without the speakers being perceived as overtly political or suggesting that parliament was divided at this time of national celebration. In this way, the speakers at the ceremony are able to do political business but without appearing to be divisive or breaking the non-political codes of the occasion.

This aspect of the speeches was further examined by looking in-depth at the opening sections of two speeches given at the 2004 commemoration. As we could see in Chapter Eight, the detailed analysis of Soares's opening revealed that the speaker of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP) started his speech, after the formal greetings, by delivering a historical account of April 25 but presented it as if it were obviously a factual version. However, as was shown, his account of the past was deeply ideological and political. It was delivered as a criticism of the accounts being given by the governing coalition, which were denying that the event was a revolution. Soares's speech aimed to present the events not just as revolutionary but that the revolutionary nature was clearly factual. The speaker even manipulated an historical source from the fifteenth century in order to make his ideological account of history clearer. Also he criticised the rival version of April 25 as non-factual and politically motivated – more precisely, as a non-patriotic and deceitful version of the past, sympathetic to fascism. But he could not say this openly and therefore he made this controversial accusation indirectly by first making a concession and then pointing to parallels of discourses about the previous regime.

During the same year's commemoration, the speaker of the Democratic and Social Centre/Popular Party (CDS-PP) from the far right also employed indirect language to criticise opposing ways of celebrating April 25 as rituals and monotonous (Chapter Seven). He did this by drawing a parallel between 'other ways' of celebrating April 25 and the previous regime, which he depicted euphemistically as 'a situation of immobilisation'. Like the speaker from the far left, Correia uttered an ideological, and in this case highly controversial, account of history but presented it as if it was factual and non-ideological. What Correia was doing was to present an account of the past, which downplayed the totalitarian nature of the previous regime, but without displaying the historical connections of his party with that period. Politically, the speaker needed to display himself as celebrating the overthrow of the previous regime, while at the same time criticising those who overthrew the regime. In this respect, he displayed himself as suggesting 'the true' way of celebrating April 25, while he tacitly manipulated a category of time, thereby presenting the defeat of socialism, not of fascism, as the the object for applause and celebration. He even sought to influence human action by trying to get the whole audience to applaud his words, even though most of the audience would have disagreed strongly with his version of history.

Hence, the opening sections of Correia's and Soares's speeches together with the detailed analyses of the custom of greetings suggest that what happens at the parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution is a much more subtle form of influence than what Lasswell (1955/1934) for example, perceives as being propaganda (see also Jowett and O'Donnell, 2006). Indeed, the term 'propaganda' may be insufficiently subtle for what is going on at these official celebrations of the past. The sort of political influence or persuasion that we find in these speeches resembles more to what Antonio Gramsci (1971, in Hoare and Smith), a founding member of the Italian Communist party, refers to as ideology and culture's hegemony. In his notebooks, which he wrote when he was a prisoner of the fascist regime, Gramsci suggests that elite groups seeking to create a culture's hegemony need to link their own ideology (that is to say, their own conception of the world) to common-sense assumptions or beliefs. According to the author this process aims at leading the mass of people to think in the same way as the elite group (see also Billig, 1991, for a discussion of Gramsci's conception of ideology and common sense). To some extent this is what seems to be happening at the commemorations of the April Revolution, as political speakers of the ceremony seek to present their version of history as if they were mere common-sense – or non-controversially ideological – versions of history. Nonetheless, their versions of history are deeply ideological and often contradictory with each other.

Wider patterns of ideology and rhetorical manipulation

But there is more. The detailed studies of the beginnings of the speeches also led us to consider issues of rhetorical manipulation and gender inequality. Hence, a second analysis of the custom of greeting the audience right at the start of the speeches across time made apparent another ideological pattern of this custom that persists to the present: the usage of sexist habits of language. This aspect of the lists of formal forms of addresses was made apparent by examining gender terminology of categories of terms and their change across time. Specifically, the analysis focuses on three categories of terms – the general social category of 'guests', the category of 'deputies' and the category of 'members of government'. The analysis across time enabled us to distinguish between three periods in terms of the use of gendered greetings. A first strongly sexist period lasted until 1982. During this period, all speakers at the ceremony, including the women speakers, were using linguistic habits that made the women who

were in the audience invisible or downgraded women by confining them to a general residual category. In the mid 80s a change in the usage of gender terminology was initiated by speakers of the far left. This was the starting point of a change towards gender visibility. This period of change lasted until mid 1990s. By then all political speakers had begun to use visible linguistic forms either with the general social category or with the political categories. Finally, the third and current period is still one of gender inequality. The changes initiated previously during the mid 1980s did not evolve towards a linguistic habit that makes women completely visible and grammatically equal. Rather, the current period is a period in which all speakers, including the far left speakers and the women speakers, use the range of linguistic forms which make women invisible, partially visible or completely visible. In this respect, the current linguistic habit is ambiguously sexist. The speakers appear to be non-sexists since they are using linguistic forms that specifically address women. Nonetheless, they routinely use sexist linguistic forms that still ensure that women are on occasions invisible or only partially visible, therefore ensuring that men are still more visible than women.

The analysis of gender terminology in the custom of greetings raises several significant aspects. First, it shows that sexist habits of language have always been present in these speeches, even when the speakers are engaging in the formal rituals of the ceremony. In this respect, this analysis demonstrates that outward displays of parliamentary/national unity can be accomplished while using language which inwardly assumes division and inequality.

Also, this analysis of gender terminology identifies who led the change towards gender visibility. As could be seen, there is evidence that such change was led by the political speakers from the left. And this happened with both types of categories – general social category and political categories. The first change occurred with the general social category. Carlos Brito, the speaker of PCP, broke in 1985 with the strongly sexist habit of addressing the guests in general with a completely masculine form. This individual act did not initiate an immediate or regular change towards gender visibility. The speakers in the following commemorations, including the speakers of the PCP, started to use irregularly the partially visible form. This period of change lasted until 1995. By then speakers from all political party had used at least one partially visible form with the general social category. It should also be stressed that this change

was led by a man and that during this period women speakers, who were then a small minority, were not influenced by it.

A somewhat similar pattern happened with the political categories. The first political speaker who did not use the masculine form of the political categories, which rendered women completely invisible, was a speaker of the Greens – from the left of the centre left and in coalition with the PCP. In 1988, Maria dos Santos used the partially visible forms with both ‘deputies’ and ‘members of the government’. To be precise, Maria dos Santos was the second speaker at the commemorations to do this. The first speaker was the President of the Assembly of the Republic, Manuel Alfredo Tito de Morais, a man whose political allegiances were on the centre left, and who in 1984 used a partially visible form with one political category – ‘deputies’. Yet no other speaker followed the President of the Assembly until 1988, when Maria dos Santos used the partially visible form but this time with both political categories. As with the general social category, the change towards gender visibility for the political categories was neither immediate nor regular, as the speakers of the following commemorations used either invisible or partially visible forms with these categories. By 1996 speakers from all political parties had used at least one visible form with these categories. As with the general social category, the change towards gender visibility was initiated by a speaker of the left, but this time by a woman.

Further, there is no evidence that speakers to the left of the centre-left, both men and women speakers, are pushing the current linguist habit towards a more regular pattern of gender visibility. Unexpectedly, the opposite seems to be happening with the political category ‘deputies’. Since 2005, the speakers of the centre left, the centre right and the far right are not using the completely invisible linguistic form with this political category. However, it is only the speakers to the left of the centre left, including the women speakers, who are still using the completely sexist form of ‘deputies’ that renders women wholly invisible. Nevertheless there is also no evidence that the speakers of the other three political parties are moving towards complete gender visibility. On the other hand, with the other two categories – the general social category and the political category ‘members of the government’ – all political parties are using a mixture of completely invisible and partially visible forms. In this respect, there is also no evidence of a change towards complete gender visibility for these two categories.

The in-depth analyses of the opening sections of Correia's and Soares's speeches show that both speakers unexpectedly use rhetorical manipulations in their accounts of the past. The analysis of the speaker of the far right, Correia, shows that he manipulated the presentation of his party ideology in order to conceal his political party's position – rather than to make it clearer, as the speaker from the PCP did. The CDS-PP speaker displayed himself as commemorating the occasion by praising an anti-colonialist on behalf of the whole audience. He even elicited the whole audience to follow his praise and to applaud the honoured guest. He used conventional rhetorical means of intonation and gesture to indicate that he was leaving a slot for the whole audience to display through applause their appreciation of the guest. In this way, Correia manipulated the audience since many in the audience, namely the political parties of the left, would have preferred not to have responded with applause to the words of a far right speaker, particularly at the celebration of the April Revolution. But if they had chosen not to applaud this special guest of the ceremony when openly elicited to do so, they could have been interpreted as failing to greet the honoured guest and showing disrespect to someone whom they respected. Nonetheless, after orchestrating general applause, Correia by manipulating a category of time managed to praise the honoured guest for his colonial fight against a subsequent foreign colonial domination – but not his fight against Portuguese Imperialism. Further, Correia displayed himself as suggesting a true way of celebrating the April 25 but, by further manipulating a category of time, he gave the defeat of socialism, not of fascism, as the object for applause and celebration.

Correia thus used rhetoric in a manipulative way. He manipulated the presentation of his party ideology by acting as if he and his political party were joining in the national celebration of the overthrow of the fascist regime, but he did so in a way which avoided explicitly celebrating its overthrow. Just like members of other contemporary fascist parties (see for example, Billig, 1978; Richardson, 2011; Wodak, 2011), Correia was manipulating the presentation of his party's ideology implying that the party had a different, more democratic and anti-totalitarian ideology of what it actually has. In this respect, Correia's rhetorical manipulations are a necessary consequence of his political party's duplicitous politics. In order to successfully manipulate the presentation of his party ideology, the speaker needed to use rhetoric in order to avoid directly celebrating what he appears to be celebrating.

What Correia did is quite distinct from what the speaker of the PCP was doing. The CDS-PP's speaker was using rhetorical manipulation as a consequence of his political party's duplicitous politics. And this also fits Van Dijk's (2006, 2008) definition of rhetorical manipulation: an illicit rhetorical move used by those in power to hide their actual politics. By contrast, the PCP's speaker did not seek to use rhetorical manipulation to conceal his party ideological heritage. Rather, he manipulated historical evidence of a national past event to match with a Marxist version of this event. Yet he did this in order to present (not to hide) the ideology of his political party and to make it simpler than it otherwise might be. In line with Van Dijk (2006, 2008), the present thesis argues for the importance of considering the social function of the rhetoric of manipulation, for manipulation can be used to conceal or clarify ideology. It also shows the benefits of analysing the rhetoric of manipulation by those who are not in power but contesting power. This does not mean discarding Van Dijk's notion of manipulation but extending it and thereby showing how other forms of manipulation can be used by speakers contesting or seeking power.

Finally, the kind of discourse analysis that was undertaken in this thesis was seen to provide a productive means for examining the political speeches at the commemorations of the April Revolution and in particular for investigating the gap between the outward presentation and the inner meaning of the CDS-PP's ideology. This analysis enabled us to show that the CDS-PP represents in the Portuguese parliament a continuity with the previous regime; an aspect of the CDS-PP that has been overlooked by many political analysts (Costa, 2007; Freire, 2005; Jalali, 2007; Robinson, 1996). However, additional analyses of the CDS-PP's speeches at the parliamentary commemoration of the April Revolution would need to be done in order to monitor potential changes in the party's position towards the past. Latest rhetorical analyses of recent speeches seem to suggest that in recent years there might have been some movement of position and/or internal debate in the CDS-PP about whether the party should distance itself from the Salazarist heritage (Marinho and Billig, 2012). Thus looking in detail at the way that the party celebrates the anniversary of the April Revolution in the national parliament seems to provide an excellent way to detect such debate/movement.

As can be seen, the present study of the speeches at commemorations of the April Revolution in the Portuguese parliament benefited from having more than one methodology. Future analyses examining in detail more speeches at the celebration,

particularly those of the centre parties will enrich this research. For now, it is to be hoped that a first step has been taken in revealing patterns of concealment, manipulation, gender bias and overt display in these sorts of speeches.

Appendix 1

Table 1
Lists of formal forms of addresses on April 25 1977⁶⁰

(1)	<p>Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.s. Ministros, Sr.s. Convidados, Sr.s Deputados, Povo Trabalhador de Portugal: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Ministers, Invited Gentlemen, Mr Deputies, Working People of Portugal) Acácio Barreiros of the 'União Democrática Popular', UDP (Popular Democratic Union)</p>
(2)	<p>Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.s. Conselheiros da Revolução, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr.s. Ministros, Sr.s. Deputados, Senhoras e Senhores: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Counsellors of the Revolution, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr Ministers, Mr Deputies, Ladies and Gentlemen) Octávio Pato of the 'Partido Comunista Português', PCP (Portuguese Communist Party)</p>
(3)	<p>Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr.s. Deputados: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Deputies) Sá Machado of the 'Partido da Democracia Cristã', CDS (Social Democratic Centre)</p>
(4)	<p>Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr.s. Membros do Conselho da Revolução, e do Governo, Sr.s. Deputados: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr Members of the Revolution's Council, and of the Government, Mr Deputies) Barbosa de Melo of the 'Partido Social Democrata', PSD (Social Democratic Party)</p>
(5)	<p>Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal da Justiça, Sr.s. Conselheiros da Revolução, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.s. Membros do Governo, Sr.s. Deputados, minhas Senhoras e meus Senhores: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr Counsellors of the Revolution, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Members of the Government, Mr Deputies, my Ladies and my Gentlemen) Salgado Zenha of the 'Partido Socialista', PS (Socialist Party)</p>
(6)	<p>Sr. Presidente da República, Sr.s. Deputados: (Mr President of the Republic, Mr Deputies) President of the Assembly Vasco da Gama Fernandes</p>
(7)	<p>Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr.s. Deputados, meus Senhores, Portugueses: (Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Deputies, my Gentlemen, Portuguese) President of the Republic General Ramalho Eanes</p>

⁶⁰ in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 100, 1977. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Table 2
Lists of formal forms of addresses on April 25 2004⁶¹

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- (8) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e demais Membros do Governo, Sr.s. Presidentes do Tribunal Constitucional e do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr.s. Deputados, Sr. Presidente da República Democrática de Timor, Sr.s. Presidentes dos Paramentos dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, Sr.s. Capitães de Abril, Sr.s. Convidados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister and other Members of the Government, Mr Presidents of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr Deputies, Mr President of the Democratic Republic of Timor, Mr Presidents of the Parliaments of the Countries of Portuguese Language, Mr Captains of April, Invited Gentlemen)
Heloísa Apolónia of the PEV
- (9) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Presidente da República de Timor Leste, Sr.as e Sr.s. Convidados, Sr.as e Sr.s. Membros do Governo, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, meus caros Capitães de Abril:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr President of the Republic of East Timor, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen, Mrs and Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies, my dear Captains of April)
Francisco Louçã of BE
- (10) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr.s. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.s. Membros do Governo, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, Sr. Presidente da República Democrática de Timor Leste, Sr.s. Presidentes do Paramentos dos Países de Língua Portuguesa, Sr.as e Sr.s. Convidados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Constitutional Court, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Mr President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Mr Presidents of the Parliaments of the Countries of Portuguese Language, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen)
Bernardino Soares of the PCP
- (11) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e Sr.s. Membros do Governo, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, Sr.s. Presidentes das Assembleias Legislativas dos Açores e da Madeira, Altas Autoridades Cíveis e Militares do Estado, Sr.as e Sr.s. Convidados, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister and Mr Members of the Government, Mr President of the Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Mr Presidents of the Legislative Assemblies of Azores and of Madeira, High Civil and Militaries Authorities of the State, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen, Mrs and Mr Deputies)
Miguel Anacoreta Correia of the CDS-PP
- (12) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e demais Membros do Governo, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, Sr. Presidente da República Democrática de Timor Leste, Sr.s. Presidentes das Assembleias de Angola, Cabo Verde, Moçambique, S. Tomé e Príncipe e de Timor Leste, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister and other Members of the Government, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Mr President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Mr Presidents of the Assemblies of Angola, Cape Verde, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Príncipe and of East Timor, Mrs and Mr Deputies)
Manuel Alegre of the PS
- (13) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, Sr.as e Sr.s. Membros do Governo, Sr.s. Presidentes das Assembleias Legislativas Regionais, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, Ilustres Convidados, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Mrs and Mr Members of the Government, Mr Presidents of the Regional Legislative Assemblies, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Illustrious Guests, My Ladies and My Gentlemen)
Victor Cruz of the PSD
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⁶¹ in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, N. 80, 2004. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Table 3
Lists of formal forms of addresses on April 25 2008⁶²

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- (14) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e demais Membros do Governo, Sr.s. Presidentes do Tribunal Constitucional e do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr.s. Deputados, Sr.s. Capitães de Abril, que aqui particularmente saúdo em nome do Partido Ecologista “Os Verdes”,
Sr.as e Sr.s. Convidados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister and other Members of the Government, Mr Presidents of the Constitutional Court and the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr Deputies, Mr Captains of April, that I particularly greet here on behalf of the Ecologist Party “The Greens”,
Invited Ladies and Gentlemen)
José Miguel Gonçalves of the ‘Partido Ecologista Os Verdes’, PEV (‘Ecologist Party The Greens’)
- (15) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.s. Membros do Governo,
Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, Ilustres Convidados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Illustrious Guests)
José Moura Soeiro of the ‘Bloco de Esquerda’, BE (Bloc of Left)
- (16) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.s. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça e do Tribunal Constitucional, Capitães de Abril, Sr.as e Sr.s. Convidados,
Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Constitutional Court, Captains of April, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen, Mrs and Mr Deputies)
Miguel Tiago of the PCP
- (17) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e demais Membros do Governo, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, demais autoridades civis e militares do Estado,
Sr. Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa, Eminência Reverendíssima, Sr.as e Sr.s. Representantes do Corpo Diplomático, Sr.as e Sr.s. Convidados, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister and other Members of the Government, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, other civil and military authorities of the State, Mr Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, Eminence Reverence, Mrs and Mr Representative of the Diplomatic Body, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen, Mrs and Mr Deputies)
Pedro Mota Soares of the ‘Partido Popular’, CDS-PP (Popular Party)
- (18) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional, demais altas entidades do Estado, Sr. Cardeal Patriarca, Sr.as e Sr.s. Membros do Governo, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, Sr.s. Representantes do Corpo Diplomático, Ilustres Convidados, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, other High Entities of the State, Mr Cardinal Patriarch, Mrs and Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Mr Representative of the Diplomatic Body, Illustrious Guests, My Ladies and My Gentlemen)
Luís Montenegro of the PSD
- (19) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro e demais Membros do Governo, Sr. Presidente do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, Sr. Presidente do Tribunal Constitucional,
Sr. General Ramalho Eanes, Sr. Dr. Mário Soares, Sr. Dr. Jorge Sampaio, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, Excelências:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister and other Members of the Government, Mr President of the Supreme Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Mr General Ramalho Eanes, Mr Dr. Mário Soares, Mr Dr. Jorge Sampaio, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Excellencies)
Osvaldo Castro of the PS
- (20) Sr. Presidente da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.s. Presidentes do Supremo Tribunal de Justiça, do Tribunal Constitucional e dos demais Tribunais Superiores, antigos Presidentes da República e Presidentes da Assembleia da República, Sr.as e Sr.s. Ministros, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, Sr.s. Representantes do Corpo Diplomático, Altas Autoridades Civis e Militares, Sr. Cardeal Patriarca de Lisboa, Eminência Reverendíssima, Ilustres Convidadas e Convidados:
(Mr President of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice, of the Constitutional Court and other Superior Courts, earlier Presidents of the Republic, and Presidents of the Assembly of the Republic, Mrs and Mr Ministers, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Mr Representative of the Diplomatic Body, High Civil and Military Authorities, Mr Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, Eminence Reverence, Illustrious Invited Ladies and Invited Gentlemen)
Jaime Gama, President of the Assembly of the Republic
- (21) Sr. Presidente da Assembleia da República, Sr. Primeiro-Ministro, Sr.as e Sr.s. Deputados, Minhas Senhoras e Meus Senhores:
(Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime-Minister, Mrs and Mr Deputies, My Ladies and My Gentlemen)
Aníbal Cavaco Silva, President of the Republic
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⁶² in *Diário da Assembleia da República*, I Série, N. 77, 2008. Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda.

Table 4
Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible forms and completely invisible forms of addresses for social category
from the 1996 commemoration to 2008 by political group

Political groups	Social category														
	XIII Government								XIV Government				N (%) Total		
	1996		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001				
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	Visible forms	Complete ly invisible forms	Total
Far left	1	1	2	0	1	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	8 (80%)	2 (20%)	10 (100%)
Centre left	-	-	1	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	1	1 (20%)	4 (80%)	5 (100%)
Centre right	-	-	0	1	-	-	0	1	0	1	0	1	0 (0%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)
Far right	-	-	0	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	2(40%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)
Total	1	1	3	2	1	2	2	3	3	2	1	3	11 (46%)	13 (54%)	24 (100%)

Political groups	Social category																
	XV Government						XVII Government								N (%) Total		
	2002		2003		2004		2005		2006		2007		2008				
	N of visible forms	N of compl etely invisibl e forms	N of visible forms	N of comple tely invisibl e forms	N of visible forms	N of compl etely invisibl e forms	N of visible forms	N of compl etely invisibl e forms	N of visible forms	N of compl etely invisibl e forms	N of visible forms	N of comple tely invisibl e forms	N of visible forms	N of compl etely invisibl e forms	N of visible forms	N of complete ly invisible forms	Total
Far left	2	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	14 (67%)	7 (33%)	21 (100%)
Centre left	1	0	0	1	-	-	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3 (100%)
Centre right	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	0	0	1	1	1	0	1	3 (38%)	5 (62%)	8 (100%)
Far right	0	1	-	-	1	0	-	-	1	0	1	0	1	0	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	5 (100%)
Total	4	2	1	3	3	2	3	2	3	2	5	2	3	2	22 (59%)	15 (41%)	37 (100%)

Table 5

Numbers of completely invisible forms (compl. invisible), partially visible forms (part. visible) and completely visible forms (compl. visible) of addresses for political categories from the 1988 commemoration onwards by political groups

<i>Political groups</i>	XI Government (1988, 1990-1)			XII Government (1994-5)			XIII Government (1996-9)			XIV Government (2000-1)			XV Government (2002-4)			XVII Government (2005-8)			Total N (%)		
	N of compl. visible	N of part. visible	N of compl. invisible	N of compl. visible	N of part. visible	N of compl. invisible	N of compl. visible	N of part. visible	N of compl. invisible	N of compl. visible	N of part. visible	N of compl. invisible	N of compl. visible	N of part. visible	N of compl. invisible	N of compl. visible	N of part. visible	N of compl. invisible	Compl. visible	Part. visible	Compl. invisibl e
Far left	1	3	4	0	3	2	0	6	6	0	3	9	0	8	9	2	11	8	3 (4%)	34 (45%)	38 (51%)
Centre left	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	2	4	0	1	2	0	3	3	1	3	4	1 (4%)	12 (43%)	15 (53%)
Centre right	0	0	4	0	1	2	3	1	2	2	0	2	0	5	1	1	4	1	6 (21%)	11 (38%)	12 (41%)
Far right	0	1	6	0	0	3	0	2	4	0	2	1	0	2	3	0	5	3	0 (0%)	12 (38%)	20 (62%)
Total	1	6	15	0	5	8	3	11	16	2	6	14	0	18	16	4	23	16	10 (6%)	69 (42%)	85 (52%)

Table 6

Numbers and Percentages in parentheses of visible forms and completely invisible forms of addresses for political category from the 2000 commemoration to 2008 by political groups

Political groups	Political categories												
	XIV Government				XV Government						N (%) Total		
	2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	Total
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms			
Far left	3	3	0	6	3	3	2	3	3	3	11 (38%)	18 (62%)	29 (100%)
Centre left	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	5 (56%)	4 (44%)	9 (100%)
Centre right	0	2	2	0	2	0	1	1	2	0	7 (70%)	3 (30%)	10 (100%)
Far right	1	1	2	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	5 (56%)	4 (44%)	9 (100%)
Total	5	6	5	7	6	5	5	6	7	5	28 (49%)	29 (51%)	57 (100%)

Political groups	Political categories										
	XVII Government								N (%) Total		
	2005		2006		2007		2008				
	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	N of visible forms	N of completely invisible forms	Visible forms	Completely invisible forms	Total
Far left	5	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	13(62%)	8(38%)	21(100%)
Centre left	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	4(50%)	4(40%)	8(100%)
Centre right	1	1	1	0	1	0	2	0	5(83%)	1(17%)	6(100%)
Far right	2	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	5(63%)	3(38%)	8(100%)
Total	9	3	5	5	7	3	6	5	27(63%)	16(38%)	43(100%)

Appendix 2

Below is my English translation of Miguel Anacoreta Correia's speech given at the parliamentary commemoration of the April 25 in 2004:

'Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Prime Minister and Members of the Government, Mr President of the Court of Justice, Mr President of the Constitutional Court, Mr Presidents of the Legislative Assemblies of Azores and Madeira, High Civil and Military Authorities of the State, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen, Mrs and Mr Deputies: I begin by greeting the President of the Republic of East Timor, who wanted to honour us with his presence at this commemoration of the thirtieth Anniversary of April 25. It is always with the greatest pleasure that we see you in this House of Portuguese democracy, Mr. President Xanana Gusmão.'

Applause from the CDS-PP, PSD, PS and BE

'I confess that I feel an enormous emotion for having present today at this celebration the man whom for more than 20 years I have admired, then as commander of the struggle for freedom and now as the head of the friend nation that is East Timor.

Also I would like to greet the Presidents of the Parliaments of Angola, Mozambique, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde and East Timor as well as the Vice-President of the Spanish Courts, D. Manuel Marín, which is being represented here.

If April 25 has an enormous meaning to us Portuguese, it is, undoubtedly, also a decisive mark in the History of the Lusophone countries that are so close to us.

Your Excellency, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, you are worthy of our acknowledgement for having taken this initiative and for having provided this acquaintanceship of the Lusophone Parliaments in democracy, an initiative that one day we hope to see institutionalized in the form of a parliamentary assembly of the Community of Portuguese Speaking Countries.

Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Honourable Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: To renew each year the celebration of April 25 – with acknowledgement to those who made it and with joy for its essential meaning of the re-meeting of Portugal with freedom – without, however, to endeavour situating those celebrations into the precise context of a changing reality each time more accelerated, would be to reduce those commemorations to a mere liturgy of a mere ritual.

It would also be, and above all, a very bad service to the true spirit of April 25, which did not want certainly to overcome a situation of immobilization by replacing it with another immobilization of opposing sign.

April 25 made itself precisely to exceed a situation of impasse and to grant the Country a sense of true evolution.

When countries reach situations of impasse because they do not have instruments of change, which only democracy supplies, and the only way to exceed those situations is the Revolution and the voice to the weapons, these ruptures bring along with them the unpredictability of subsequent unfolding events. And this was largely what happened in Portugal.

The Revolution had a democratic dimension, of popular and patriotic essence, but had another dimension of perversion and totalitarian temptations, which only ended on November 25.'

Applause from the CDS-PP and PSD

'April 25 proclaimed as its aims to democratize, to decolonize and to develop.

We would not be saying the truth if we did not state that, due to stubbornness, the decolonization arrived too late. Well, decolonizing without democratizing had an excessively high price, which us Portuguese, and the people of the other nations, paid.

The facts prove that democracy and development are two sides of the same process. At present, after overcoming the vanguardisms, the democracy progresses in those countries and, in that journey, their Parliaments play a unique and irreplaceable role.

Consequently, there is peace today and having peace, the conditions for development are created. In this process, Portugal wants to and it is its duty to be a privileged and generous partner, developing historical ties of friendship, which only make sense when its goals go beyond governments and transitory leaderships.

As regards the purpose of development, it is irrefutable that we, Portugal, progressed. The indicators on health, education and habitation are very different to those of 30 years ago. They do not let doubts. They reflect an evolution and bring us closer to the European values.

The integration into Europe is one of the big milestones of the active and very positive April 25, which, at the national level, enabled to approach populations and regions. The dignifying of autarchic power and the solutions found for the autonomous regions are undoubtedly climaxes in our development process.

However, the world has changed. At present, we face complex problems, said to be of society, which must largely be overcome with a deep involvement of the civil society's, whose potentialities are far from being fully understood by the Portuguese, so big was, in Portugal, the asphyxiated weight of the state tradition and inhibitor of initiative, before and after the April 25.

Then, to overcome these "society problems" vital consensuses are required, which cannot be confused with unanimity, for that the reforms needed and inherent to the change may only be considered effective if they would have a sense of social equity.

And on the advantages of finding, whenever possible, broad consensus and on how these can boost our abilities as a Country, it suffices to give as example the case of East Timor.

For 25 years, the Parliament spoke in one only voice and "pushed" – is the term! – and supported our diplomacy to act with audacity, by defying the logic of established powers and developing on other "trays" the same struggle of resistance that the FALINTIL guerrillas were pursuing in the mountains of their country.

With regard to the social equity, I allow myself merely to draw attention on the effort of the current Government in establishing situations of indispensable justice to a European Country of the XXI century. I am referring, precisely and for instance, to the policy of the convergence of pensions and, with regard to the ex-combatants, to the compensations for those who fought with bravura and patriotism in Africa, without in proper time, fair political solutions having been constructed.'

Applause from the CDS-PP and PSD

‘The third purpose of the April 25 – to democratize – was, in my opinion, the one that was the most achieved.

Dozens of electoral acts were carried out during these 30 years at a local, regional and national level, and always in perfect democratic normality, without the least amount of protesting over the results.

The Constitution of the Portuguese Republic has been periodically adjusted to the changing new realities. My party did not vote it favourably in 1976, because of its excessive ideological and programmatic weight, but it was always present at all the constitutional revisions. We did well, in 1976; we did well now and in previous times.

Despite we think that it is need to go further, by giving up outdated formulas, by endeavouring, especially, a balance between rights and responsibilities and by acknowledging new rights, namely, of a social nature, we were with the parliamentary majority that this week approved, just the day before yesterday, the last amendments to the Constitution. It was a small step in a good direction and I allow myself to highlight the clarification of relations with the European Union along with the advancement in the political process of the island autonomies.

The Portuguese love freedom and I have no doubts that whatsoever, as absurd as it may be, if it was necessary they would fight for it again.

But, it would be “trying to hide the obvious”, to forget that there is huge disenchantment towards politic, that the signs of a citizenship crisis, which must be overcome, are visible and that the people want a better democracy.

If the April 25 was a ending point to an unjust situation, the best way to honour it is for us to have a fighting position around aims that can unite us: a fight for our identity as people and as Nation, in the frame of the European Union to which we belong; a fight for the lusofonia; a fight for our country’s prestige, for that it can be in the Europe as well as in the international adjustment of the nations "the voice of those who are voiceless"; a fight against the terrorism, tireless, and against the intolerance, made with our allies, without ‘strategism’ or being calculating; a fight for the rights, freedoms and guarantees everywhere, but also a fight for the alive interest for politics and for the responsible exercising of citizenship; a fight for the economic and social reforms, without whose the Country will not be competitive, essential condition for that we can triumph over these challenges.

These reforms are essential so that Portugal will not be a resigned country, but rather a Country with optimism, with faith, a Country that knows that it is able to adapt itself to the constantly changing world and that through the democracy, it finds solutions that will not let itself fall on any other situation of impasse. We will be able to bequeath a Country to the generations that follow us it is the best purpose of an April 25 alive and acting.

Hail Portugal!’

Applause from the CDS-PP and PSD

Appendix 3

Below is my English translation of Bernardino Soares's speech given at the parliamentary commemoration of the April 25 in 2004:

‘Mr President of the Republic, Mr President of the Assembly of the Republic, Mr Presidents of the Supreme Court of Justice and of the Constitutional Court, Mr Prime Minister, Mr Members of the Government, Mrs and Mr Deputies, Mr President of the Democratic Republic of East Timor, Mr Presidents of the Parliaments of the Portuguese Speaking Countries, Invited Ladies and Gentlemen: Wrote the chronicler: “The people who heard this went out onto the street to see what it was; and, starting to talk with each other, their wills were aroused and they started to take in arms each one as best and as quickly as they could. (...) Noisy voices sounded throughout the city, all hearing crying out that the Master was being killed and they all moved with arms in hand, running quickly to where it was said that this was being done, in order to give him life and pardon the death. (...) The people started joining him, and they were so numerous that it was a strange thing to see. They did not fit along the main streets and crossed to unusual places, wanting each one to be first.” The chronicler was Fernão Lopes, in his Chronicle on D. João I, describing the People of Lisbon during the 1383-1385 Revolution.

Five hundred and ninety years later, years later, the Poet Ary dos Santos narrated also another Revolution. And was saying: “And in Lisbon, capital of the new masters of Aviz, the People of Portugal gave the power to whom it wanted.”

Revolutions are made because the People want them. Thirty years after April there are/is those who want/s to hide this exactly: that April was a Revolution. It was made by the People, who supported the Captains of April - whom we salute here -, who were none other than the People in arms, on the actual day of the 25. It was made by the People during the months that followed, conquering freedom, democracy and the right to a better life.

Talking about evolution with regard to the April 25 is, therefore, wanting to hide the revolutionary character of our achievement of freedom. Not because there was no evolution during the last 30 years – certainly, there was! –, but because this “evolutionist theory” intends to hide that the important changes in positive direction that we had in our country during the last three decades have their origin and root in the April 25, which opened them the way. And because the proclaimed “evolution”, which makes remembering another “evolution in continuity”, which was no more than a continuity without evolution, similarly intends to hide that the Revolution was a rupture against something: against fascism.

The “R” which is lacking in Revolution has been leftover in the rewriting of the history of April 25.

The truth must be spoken about the April Revolution. It must be said that the April Revolution was made against a fascist regime, which practised the torture, the political imprisonment, the censorship and imposed the colonial war. That the fascism was the Tarrafal, the "blue pencil", the police charges, the PIDE and also the hunger, the poverty, the illiteracy. It must be remembered that many fought against the tyranny, communists and many other democrats, who died, suffered and paid the price for dreaming with the

freedom stolen by Salazar's and Caetano's dictatorship, and that April was also made along the path that all them had been opened.

It must be said that the April Revolution was made in order to conquer the freedom and the political democracy, but it was also made, because the People so wanted it, in order to break away from the unfair economic and social relationships that were in force in the Portuguese society; that it brought along with it the political rights, but also those regarding the citizenship, the labour and the cultural rights; that it was made against the fascism, but also against the forces that sustained it.

It was the April Revolution that brought to the Portuguese People the minimum wage and the pensions and retirements, the unemployment benefit and the 13th month pay, the 30-day holidays and the maternity rights, the universal access to the health, to the education and to the social security and a fairer distribution of the wealth.

It was the April Revolution and the People's will that put an end to the colonialism and to the colonial war and acknowledged to colonised people's the inalienable right to independence, whose representatives present here today we salute.

It was the April Revolution that put an end to the economy's domination by the fascism's monopolies, to the industrial constraints, and opened the way to the economic dynamism and to a development at the service of the collective interest.

It was the April Revolution that imposed the equality between men and women.

It was the April Revolution that opened a period of intense popular participation in the Country's life, which was undoubtedly the moment in our History where the participative democracy was most profoundly exercised.

It was the April Revolution that, along with the agrarian reform, made uncultivated lands cultivated, provided work in the fields and increased the agricultural production.

For all this, April was a Revolution. A Revolution that represented, for many people in the world, for many forces that were fighting for democracy and for freedom, an important event and a new encouragement for their own fights. A singular Revolution, where without any bloodshed it was achieved the toppling of fascism, where from the military institution came out the impulse that the People was hoping.

We are facing today a time of strong social setbacks. The policy in force attacks the April's conquests and values, as others did it before. It is the policy of unemployment, of work without rights, of low salaries and of increasing exploitation.

It is the policy of growing inequality in wealth distribution, of increasing poverty and exclusion, 30 years after a Revolution which was also made to put an end to the privileges of the dominant fascist clique.

It is the policy of war, which involves the Country in a new colonialism, 30 years after a Revolution which was made against a colonial war.

It is the policy of destruction of social rights, of elitisation of the access to education, of mercantilisation of the health and of privatisation of the social security, 30 years after conquering the universal access to all these rights.

It is the policy of the economic backwardness, of the destruction of the productive system, of the outsourcing of the economy and of the loss of vital centres of national decision.

It is the policy of the mutilation of the national sovereignty, with the shameful submission of our Constitution's to the European law, approved just two days ago, in constitutional review, in this Assembly, by accepting the imposition of a so-called European Constitution and its predictable content – the federalism, the neo-liberalism and the militarism.

It is the policy of the revenge against April and its values, of the distortion of the History, of the return to the past and of the compromising of the future.

The anti-April policy, which attacked and intends to destroy so many popular victories, it also provoked in many Portuguese a disenchantment with the democracy and with the political participation.

To this contribute the unfulfilled promises, the electoral demagogy, the successive postponements of the resolution of both the populations' and the Country's main problems. To this contribute the switching of governments without political alternatives. To this contributes a political power increasingly more and more subjected to the interests of economic power.

For this, one must also resume this spirit of intervention and of struggle that April taught us that it is worth and to make of the participation a weapon to reform the democracy.

In April this People wanted that there was Revolution and it made it in the street, in the factories, in the fields and in the schools. And this People, who were able to topple the fascism, will also be able to reverse the path of the democratic and social regression and to achieve a new direction for Portugal.

April continues to be hope for the Portuguese. It must be remembered. It must be resumed. As Ary said: "Now that already blossomed /The hope in our country / The doors that April opened/ Nevermore shall someone closed them."

Applause from PCP, BE and The Greens Party

Appendix 4

Table 1
Verbal and non-verbal cues

Falar de evolução a propósito do 25 de Abril (0.2) é por isso querer esconder o carácter o revolucionário da nossa ↓ conquista da liberdade (0.5) ↑ Não porque não tenha ↓ haver evolução nos últimos trinta anos (.) certamente que houve (0.5) ↑ mas porque esta (.) teoria ↓ evolucionista (0.6) ↑ pretende esconder (0.4) que as importantes alterações em sentido positivo que tivemos no nosso país (0.4) nas últimas ↓ três décadas ↑ têm a sua origem (0.3) e a sua raiz (0.1) no vinte cinco de ↓ Abril (0.1) que lhes abriu caminho (0.6) ↑ E porque a evolução apregoada (0.2) que faz lembrar uma outra (0.1) evolução na continuidade (0.1) ↑ que não era mais do que uma continuidade ↓ sem evolução (0.4) ↑ pretende igualmente esconder (0.3) que a Revolução (0.3) foi uma ↓ ruptura contra alguma coisa (0.1) contra o fascismo (0.6) ↑ O R que falta em Revolução tem sobrado (.) na ↓ reescrita da história do vinte e cinco de Abril.

Below is the equivalent stresses in the English translation:

Talking about evolution with regard to the April 25 (0.2) is therefore wanting to hide the revolutionary character of our ↓ achievement of freedom (0.5) ↑ Not because there was ↓ no evolution during the last 30 years (.) certainly, there was (0.5) ↑ but because this (.) theory ↓ evolutionist (0.6) ↑ intends to hide (0.4) that the important changes in positive direction that we had in our country (0.4) during the last ↓ three decades ↑ have their origin (0.3) and their root (0.1) in the twenty-fifth ↓ of April (0.1) which opened them the way (0.6) ↑ And because the proclaimed evolution (0.2) which makes remembering another (0.1) evolution in continuity (0.1) ↑ which was no more than a continuity ↓ without evolution (0.4) ↑ similarly intends to hide (0.3) that the Revolution (0.3) was a ↓ rupture against something (0.1) against fascism (0.6) ↑ The R which is lacking in Revolution has been leftover (.) in the ↓ rewriting of the history of April twenty-fifth.

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