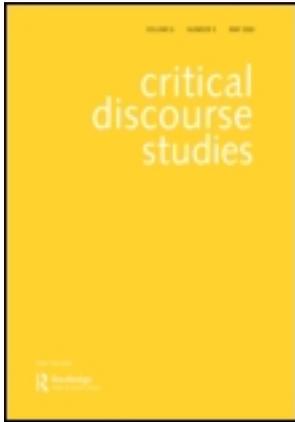


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Defending Joy against the Popular Revolution: legitimization and delegitimation through songs[†]

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In this paper, I will analyze, as an example of political discourse, the songs used by Spain's two main political parties in the 2008 general elections. Just like other texts used in political electoral discourse (such as speeches, interviews, meetings, posters, advertisements or videos), these songs form a part of a public and ideological discourse aimed at the election of a candidate. The whole of the candidate's discourse is aimed at convincing the electorate that she/he and his/her party are the best choice (*legitimation*), while the opposing candidate is the worst (*delegitimation*). In this paper, I will analyze how this strategy, quite typical in political ideological electoral discourse, is put into practice in the two songs.

Keywords: political discourse; political songs; electoral discourse; political discourse analysis; electoral discourse analysis; applied linguistics; legitimizing; delegitimizing

Introduction

Spain is one of the youngest European democracies. In November 1975, the Spanish dictator General Francisco Franco died peacefully, 39 years after the military coup d'état that he had led against the democratically elected Second Spanish Republic. King Juan Carlos I was named by the dictator himself to succeed him after his death. In 1976, King Juan Carlos I and the new Prime Minister Adolfo Suárez, a young moderate conservative, led a peaceful transition toward democracy, approving the democratic constitution in December 1978.¹ Adolfo Suárez, President of the *Unión de Centro Democrático* party (Union of Democratic Center, UCD), managed the government for two legislatures (1977–1979 and 1979–1981).² He was succeeded by Felipe González, leader of the *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Spanish Socialist Workers Party, PSOE), who was the country's president for four legislatures (1982–1986, 1986–1989, 1989–1993 and 1993–1996). Then, José María Aznar, the President of *Partido Popular* (Popular Party, PP), ran the Spanish government for two legislatures (1996–2000 and 2000–2004). Finally, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero, the new leader of the PSOE, has been president for a further two legislatures (2004–2008 and 2008–2011).³

The PP rose directly from the ashes of the Francoist regime: its founder, Manuel Fraga Iribarne, honorary president of the PP until his death (on 15 January 2012), was directly involved with Franco's dictatorship as the Minister of Information and Tourism from 1962 to 1969, and as the Minister of Government from 1975 to 1976.⁴ In Spain, the PP has always represented continuity with the country's conservative past, through its political ideology (centralism, patriarchalism and paternalism,⁵ favoring owners rather than workers, deregulation, tax reduction, privatization) and a strong Catholic tradition (firmly opposing homosexual marriage, abortion, euthanasia, etc.).

[†]This paper is part of a wider research project as part of my PhD thesis on the implementation of legitimization and delegitimation strategies in the 2008 Spanish electoral campaign.

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As regards the PSOE, socialism continues to be present only in its name: in fact, this party has increasingly deregulated the public sector. Nevertheless, it still encourages public social policies and public investments, professes to defend the environment, and is critical toward the Catholic establishment (having approved homosexual marriage and legalized abortion).

The PSOE and PP have been the two main parties in terms of cardholders, of absolute votes and in terms of members of parliament since the early 1980s. The 2008 Spanish general electoral campaign was characterized, like any other Spanish electoral campaign, by strong reciprocal attacks between the two leading parties. As seems to be natural, at least in Spain, these attacks were especially frequent and aggressive from the opposition to the government (from PP to PSOE). Criticism from the opposition is natural, as its role is to criticize the job of the government, and by doing so, to ensure the necessary checks and balances. But in Spain, this 'physiological' feature of the democratic system seems to have instead become quite 'pathological', and politicians unfairly attack each other for practically everything. Therefore, the strategies were for the PP to attack the government (PSOE) and for the government to defend itself from PP attacks.⁶

Here I use the term *strategy* as 'a more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim' (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001, p. 44; see also Wodak, 2004, p. 207; 2009, p. 40; Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, & Liebhart, 1999, pp. 31–2). These strategies were deployed by both parties using every type of symbolic system (words, pictures and songs), and all of the available media channels (TV, internet, radio, newspapers, etc.). However, the response from the PSOE to the attacks by the PP was quite different. Instead of openly and frontally attacking PP members, the PSOE designed a new and different approach, which consisted of establishing itself as optimistic and positive, and establishing the opponent as pessimistic, and therefore negative.⁷ In doing so, the attacks from the PP (whether right or wrong, even when well-grounded) were automatically disqualified as coming from pessimistic people. Throughout the entire electoral campaign, optimism was discursively highlighted as the main feature of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's personality.⁸ Optimism was also discursively constructed as the emblem of the PSOE, its policies and its voters, while the PP, its leader Mariano Rajoy and its voters were discursively described as negative and pessimistic.⁹

In this paper, I intend to analyze the two songs that the PP and PSOE used throughout the electioneering process as the 'soundtrack' of their electoral campaigns, as an example of the political discourse deployed in the 2008 Spanish general election, which was eventually won by Zapatero. Both songs are inscribed in the wider context outlined above.

Music, politics, rituals and (mediated) events

Songs are an especially important medium for transmitting (ideological) meanings. The important role played by the aural channel in the cognitive elaboration of information has often been stressed: (a) for the greater semiotic collaboration of the receiver during the interpretation of the message compared with other media (McLuhan, 1964); (b) for the improved memory record (Calvet, 1979). For instance, rhetorical devices such as rhyme (alliteration, assonance, consonance, etc.) focus the attention and intensify the message by means of liturgical or magical effects (Calsamiglia & Tusón, 1999, p. 341). Due to the sound enchainement, rhyme allows information to be transmitted and recalled (stock and recovery) more easily. This is the reason why political parties use songs to spread their ideological messages, that is, their ideological construction/interpretation of the social reality.

The well-known use of songs in politics is also due to the function of music in building consensus, as revealed by the vast body of literature on the role of music in Nazism and Stalinism (Edmunds,

2004; Kater, 1997; Kater & Riethmüller, 2003; Levi, 1994; Meyer, 1993; Nelson, 2004; Wicke & Deveson, 1985). The consensus-building capacity of songs works most strongly in collective rituals: in national(ist) rituals, through national anthems (Billig, 1995); during concerts;¹⁰ at football matches; during liturgical religious practices and even in more mundane forms of rituals such as visiting the pub with friends. In all these rituals, songs serve to merge participants' voices into one, in a 'social unison' (Van Leeuwen, 1999, pp. 79–80). If we consider that political *performances* on the front stage (Okulska & Cap, 2010; Wodak, 2009), and particularly electoral meetings, could be considered as form of *rituals* (Abèlés, 1989; Gerstlé, 1989; Rieffel, 1989; Wodak, 2009; as well as, for Spanish context, Del Rey Moratò, 1989; Herreros Arconada, 1989; Huici Módenes, 1996; León, 1989), we can better understand the importance of these two songs.

It should be noted that both the PP and the PSOE already had their own corporate anthems,¹¹ while these two songs were created especially for the 2008 Spanish general elections. The PSOE song *Defender la Alegría* (Defending Joy, hereafter DJ¹²) is openly inspired by Serrat's (2007 [1985]) song 'Defensa de la alegría' (Defense of Joy¹³), which in turn was inspired by Benedetti's (1985 [1979]) poem 'Defensa de la alegría' (pp. 58–9). The PP song *Revolución Popular* (Popular Revolution, hereafter PR¹⁴), was written by an anonymous lawyer, an informal supporter of the PP, from *Nuevas Generaciones* (the younger 'New Generations' of the PP). DJ was presented on 9 February 2008, 1 month before the election, at the official start of the electoral campaign; PR, responding to the latter, was presented on 28 February 2008. They were sung in many circumstances, time and places: for example, at the beginning of a meeting of the political parties, or when the main candidate entered a room or took to the stage, in numerous videos on the Internet, or on opening the candidate's web page. Some of the people present at the meetings knew the words and sang along with them.

This was not the first time that songs had been used to accompany an electioneering process: for example, in 1977, the UCD used the song *La vía segura a la democracia*, in 1979, the Spanish Communist Party (Partido Comunista Español) used the song *Pon tu voto a trabajar*, in 1982, the PSOE used the song *Hay que cambiar*; in 1987, the AP used the song *Alianza Popular*, etc. This means that there was nothing really new in the PP and the PSOE using songs for electioneering purposes. The only novelty, especially from the PSOE, was the presentation of the song itself – which was sung by a big group of well-known singers, actors, directors, TV presenters, etc. – as an event. These songs (first DJ, and then PR in response to the former) were created as events in themselves for using the *permeability of the media system*, that is, the fact that some contents cross different media through different channels. Obviously, spin doctors take advantage of this feature of the media system for increasing politicians' visibility (Screti, 2011). For example, these two political electoral songs (to be sung in meetings) were created and launched in order to attract media attention to themselves by being reviewed in newspapers or in TV, and thereby to candidates, who in this way gained visibility during the electioneering process when being seen in the media, especially on television, is crucial (Campmany, 2005, p. 241). For days, the media dealt with the choice of using these songs by the two main parties, increasing the reach of the *news* of the two songs. With its echoic and rebounding discourse – like some kind of infinite interplay of mirrors – the media did not multiply the impact of the songs, but that of the candidates. These two songs were created in order to secure the politicians the attention they constantly need (Atkinson, 1984; Wodak, 2009). This is coherent with the idea of the *mediatization* of politics, that is, the interdependency between politics and the media, as well as the fact that politicians perform as media celebrities (Bourdieu, 2000;¹⁵ Wodak, 2009), but especially with what have been alternatively defined as the 'eventization', 'theatrization' or 'spectacularization' of politics (as studied in Spain, for instance, by Del Rey Moratò, 1989, pp. 136, 172, 174; Muñoz Alonso, 1989, pp. 71, 136, 139; Rey et al., 1999, pp. 35–6, among others).

As for the local choices, we have to note that the PP opposed the anonymity (testimonial) of the PSOE's use of celebrities (endorsement).¹⁶ In fact, the PSOE's song was written and performed by a group of Spanish celebrities such as Joan Manuel Serrat, Joaquín Sabina and Miguel Bosé, among others, while the PP's song was written by an anonymous supporter of the party. And while DJ was recorded in a video and sung by a large group of celebrities, nobody performed PR openly or explicitly: it was anonymous.

The use of endorsement (PSOE) and testimonial (PP) is well known in politics, but in the case of the PSOE's song, DJ, the endorsement is very important, as using well-known personalities associated with democracy and politically committed, such as Joan Manuel Serrat, or openly referring to Mario Benedetti,¹⁷ gives more ideological significance to the song: Spanish people were supposed to see the link between the PSOE and their history, and therefore construct the image of the PSOE as fighting against oppressive right-wing ideology. For this reason, the fact that the PSOE's song was inspired by a song by Serrat, in turn inspired by a poem by Benedetti, is extremely significant and strategically crucial.

Ideology and songs

Songs are just one of the various texts through which political parties build and transmit their ideological discourse, which is rhetorical and persuasive. These songs constitute a public discourse, in the sense that they are openly available in the public socio-semiotic space. Here, I approach ideology in an operative way, which, of course arises from the Marxist approach to ideology as 'false consciousness' (Eagleton, 1991, pp. 1–31; 1994, pp. 23–49; Larrain, 1979, Chapter 2, particularly pp. 47–51), for overcoming it without denying it. Even if discourse is not the only societal ideological practice carried out by the members of a group, ideologies are especially built and expressed by the discourse. We can consider it as a special form of action (Austin, 1962, 1979), increasingly important in our contemporary 'logocratic' societies, and for the intrinsic ideological–evaluative value of the word (Voloshinov, 1973 [1929]). In this paper, I will analyze how ideologies (intended as complex and articulated systems of ideas shared by the members of groups *in competition* with other groups) affect a particular kind of discursive manifestations – songs – in order to orient the addressees' social cognition and social praxis. Given that songs, in the same way as other types of discourse, describe the society while contributing to its construction (Ferrarotti, 1996, p. 7), we need to scrutinize the themes they deal with, their lexical features, their syntactic structures and their rhetorical resources, in order to understand the way the addressers represent and construct their world(s). Songs are just one of the various interrelated texts (verbal, iconic or audiovisual) that constitute the macro-discourse that political parties use to address citizens (voters) during an electoral campaign. They are just a part of the whole, but they can be considered as a synecdochic and coherent representation of that macro-discourse or macro-text.

The songs examined in this paper (1) attempt to construct and transmit an ideology, that is, a vision of the social reality shared by a group competing against other groups, and (2) attempt to persuade strengthening the beliefs of ingroup members, presenting these beliefs to addressees who are not yet members of ingroup or even to addressees that are members of other groups. In the same way as other persuasive texts, songs use specifically rhetorical–discursive devices, which we will go on to analyze.

Theoretical and methodological framework

One of the main features of our postmodern societies is *hybridation* (Bauman, 2000; Bertens & Natoli, 2002; Lyotard, 1986; Wilson & Dissanayake, 1996). This trend can be observed also in

political discourses that are increasingly contaminated with other discursive genres (Blommaert, 2005, p. 31; Fairclough, 2001a, p. 133). Obviously, this contamination – at the level of patterns, languages, techniques – impels scholars to adopt a multidisciplinary perspective in the analysis of discourse (Fairclough, 2001a; Van Dijk, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2001; Wodak, 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2001, pp. 32–34, among others). For this reason, I use concepts and analytical tools from different disciplines: mainly of pragmatics for the analysis of speech acts and deixis (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 1983; Searle, 1965, 1975; Wilson, 1990), and of rhetoric for the analysis of figures such as metaphors or hyperboles and other rhetoric devices (Gill & Whedbee, 1997; Sandig & Selting, 1997; Van Eemeren, Grootendorst, Jackson, & Jacobs, 1997). All these linguistic phenomena are analyzed from a critical perspective, in which discourse is seen as a social semiotic or a social (inter)action, a way of enacting the process of building/conveying meanings. In this social/semiotic interaction, competing speakers – especially if they are powerful – manipulate language to achieve their ends (de Beaugrande, 1997; Blommaert, 2005; Fairclough, 2001a; Van Dijk, 1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2001, 2003; Wodak & Meyer, 2001).

Following the methodology described by Wodak and Meyer (2001), I will carry out an analysis of the political discourse that is constructed within and transmitted by these two songs.

Political parties competing for power

Political parties are organically structured and institutionalized groups whose goal is to achieve (and control) power. As Campmany (2005) clearly puts it: ‘in Politics, if one wins, another loses. [...] In Politics, there is no doubt about the fact that votes sum or subtract in a perfect arithmetical way; peaceful coexistence between parties is simply impossible’ (p. 86, my translation).¹⁸ From this perspective, the political electoral process is a zero-sum game (on game theory, see Davis, 1983): given the existence of only one reward, only one party can win. The victory of one means a loss for the other(s) competitor(s). In this case, the reward is the majority of the social capital.

Bourdieu (1982, 1986, 1987) distinguished the guises that capital (which can be resumed in the amount of accumulated work) can take: it can be economic, social, cultural or symbolic. Economic capital is the amount of material resources: money, houses, fields, etc. Cultural capital is the accumulation of culture/knowledge: incorporated in the individual, that is, his/her knowledge, objectivated in the material form of books, painting, statues, etc., or institutionalized in form of degrees and other academic qualifications. Social capital is the total amount of potential/actual resources derived from one’s own network of relationships, the resources based on belonging to a group. Symbolic capital is the amount of capital that does not seem to be capital at all, that is, prestige, charisma, status, etc. It is capital that is constructed and transmitted semiotically, that is, created and interchanged by symbols.

Obviously, the four types of capital are strictly and problematically intertwined. What is especially interesting here is the notion of social capital, which can be measured by the number of votes obtained in the elections. According to the idea of the electoral process as a zero-sum game, as stated above, in political elections only one party can win, while other(s) lose(s). Hence, the aim of each competitor is to achieve more social capital, subtracting it from the other competitor (candidate party).

As Campmany (2005) stated: ‘an electoral campaign has the virtue of openly representing the fight for power’ (p. 9, my translation). Analyzing these songs as a form of discourse of power, one can ‘unveil’ the ideologies that underlie signs and discourses of dialectically opposed addressers, uncovering the language that powerful speakers use when they are in power, or when they are striving to achieve power (Blommaert, 2005, p. 25; Mey, 1985; Van Dijk, 1997a; Voloshinov, 1973 [1929]; Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 65). An electoral campaign

can be seen as a (semiotic) fight for symbolic supremacy: competitors strive to impose their own words, interpretations, symbols and (preferred) meanings over those of others, in order to construct and transmit an image of reality that favors achieving of their own social ends, that is, to increase their social capital in order to control other resources, and thereby control power. This vision of the political universe as an arena could explain the discourse the political parties are engaged in, telling voters that one option (oneself) is legitimate, while another (the other) is not.

Context

I have paid special attention to the discursive context, both at interactional and socio-cultural level. As Blommaert (2005) states, ‘context is not something we can just “add” to text – it is text, it defines its meanings and conditions of use’ (p. 45). Probably the most complete notion of context is, for the time being, the one offered by Van Dijk (1998, Chapter 22), but here the role played by the historic and cultural context is especially relevant (Blommaert, 2005, pp. 126, 137; Gill & Whedbee, 1997, p. 161; Wodak & Meyer, 2001, p. 67). Applying the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001; Wodak & Meyer, 2001), I considered that the recent history of Spain was essential in order to understand and ‘unveil’ the political discourse of the PP and PSOE, as seen in these two songs, as much as to acknowledge the interconnection between the texts of these two addressers, and between them and other texts. These are the reasons why: (a) I briefly introduce the recent history of these two parties in the wider context of Spanish contemporary history; (b) I interconnect these two songs with a number of other texts, as well as websites, speeches, videos, etc.¹⁹

Given the intrinsic dialogicity and polyphony of texts, their intertextuality and interdiscursivity (Bakhtin, 1981 [1975], 1984; Fairclough, 1992, 1995; Kristeva, 1986), triangulations (Wodak et al., 1999, p. 9; Wodak & Meyer, 2001, pp. 29–30, 65, 67) with other texts and with information about the sociopolitical, historical and cultural context were helpful. Actually, even if songs are autonomous texts, one can see them as *lexias* integrated in a complex network of discourses and texts; as autonomous but interconnected textual portions of a macro-text. Barthes (1970) coined and used the concept of *lexia* in the analysis of literary texts: the term refers to significant and autonomous portions of text, which can be seen as unities of reading. This concept seems very useful in the metaphorical representation of human communication as a network, where every part is interconnected. These discursive interconnections between texts sometimes activate semiosis and sometimes empower it, enhancing the meanings and the interpretation of texts, therefore increasing their persuasive power.

Analysis

Since electoral discourses are coherent and cohesive *per definitionem*, the analysis of the lyrics of these two songs can provide us with an insight into the main features of the political electoral discourse from the PP and PSOE during the 2008 Spanish general elections.

The songs have been recorded and transcribed: the lyrics are shown in Table 1 in Spanish with the English translation below each verse.

According to the methodology explained by Wodak and Meyer (2001), I carried out a qualitative analysis of the data, a sequential hermeneutic study, in order to detect patterns in the use of certain rhetorical–discursive devices at a pragmatic, textual, morpho-syntactic and lexical level. For instance, I have analyzed the choice of themes and topoi, the use of deixis (personal, social and temporal), implicatures, rhetorical figures (of structure, of meaning or of word) or the lexical elections, all aimed at constructing global/local meanings. As a result, I have attempted to briefly

Table 1. Lyrics of the two songs.

PP	(29) <i>Uniremos nuestras ilusiones,</i>
<i>Revolución Popular</i> - Popular Revolution (PR)	(30) <i>lucharemos por defender nuestros valores,</i>
(1) Si tienes nuevas ideas	(31) <i>por el futuro de los españoles,</i>
If you have new ideas	(32) <i>avanzaremos en todas direcciones.</i>
(2) y piensas que algo debe cambiar,	(33) Con cabeza y con corazón,
And you think that something has to change	With head and heart
(3) si crees que todo es posible,	(34) viviremos todos esta canción,
If you believe that everything is possible	We will all live this song
(4) ven a la revuelta popular.	(35) con cabeza y con corazón,
Come to the popular revolt	With our heads and our hearts
(5) Buscamos gente valiente,	(36) montaremos esta revolución.
We are looking for brave people	We will begin this revolution
(6) soñadores que puedan imaginar,	
Dreamers who can imagine	
(7) soñar con una España nueva,	
Who can dream about a new Spain	
(8) vivir en un mundo de igualdad.	
Living in a world of equality	
(9) <i>Uniremos nuestras ilusiones,</i>	
We will unite our enthusiasm	
(10) <i>lucharemos por defender nuestros valores,</i>	
We will fight to defend our values	
(11) <i>por el futuro de los españoles,</i>	
For the future of the Spaniards	
(12) <i>avanzaremos en todas direcciones.</i>	
We will advance in all directions	
(13) Sabes que es nuestro momento,	
You know that it is our time	
(14) no podemos dejarlo escapar.	
We cannot let it escape	
(15) No, no esperes más tiempo,	
No, don't wait any longer	
(16) ahora te tienes que mojar.	
Now it's time to take the plunge	
(17) <i>Uniremos nuestras ilusiones,</i>	
(18) <i>lucharemos por defender nuestros valores,</i>	
(19) <i>por el futuro de los españoles,</i>	
(20) <i>avanzaremos en todas direcciones.</i>	
(21) Hoy queremos invitarte,	
Today we want to invite you	
(22) a un proyecto de justicia y libertad,	
To a project of justice and freedom	
(23) la historia está de nuestra parte,	
History is on our side	
(24) juntos vamos a revolucionar.	
Together we are going to bring about a revolution	
(25) Habrá que currar muy duro,	
We'll have to work hard	
(26) no nos lo van a regalar,	
No one's going to give us anything for free	
(27) somos la apuesta del futuro,	
We are the hope for the future	
(28) nos llaman Partido Popular.	
They call us the Partido Popular	
	PSOE
	<i>Defender la Alegría</i> - Defending Joy (DJ)
	(1) Defender la alegría como una trinchera,
	Defending joy as if it were a trench
	(2) defenderla del caos y de las pesadillas,
	Defending it against chaos and nightmares
	(3) de la ajada miseria y de los miserables,
	Against weary misery and scoundrels
	(4) de las ausencias breves y las definitivas.
	Against brief and definitive absences
	(5) <i>Defender la alegría (x 4).</i>
	Defending joy
	(6) Defender la alegría como un atributo,
	Defending joy as an attribute
	(7) defenderla del pasmo y de las anestias,
	Defending it against bewilderment and insensitivity
	(8) de los pocos neutrales y los muchos neutrones, Against
	the few who are neutral, and the many neutrons
	(9) de los graves diagnósticos y de las escopetas. Against
	grave diagnoses and rifles
	(10) Defender la alegría como un estandarte,
	Defending joy like a banner
	(11) defenderla del rayo y la melancolía.
	Defending it against lightning and melancholy
	(12) <i>Defender la alegría (x 12).</i>
	Defending joy

Note: Lyrics for *Revolución Popular* have been transcribed from the song freely available for download from the PP website, March 2008. Lyrics for *Defender la Alegría* have been transcribed from the song freely available for download from the PSOE website, February 2008.

outline the main strategies of the electoral discourses of the PP and PSOE, in order to build and manage an *image* (Goffman, 1959) of ingroup and outgroup members.

Firstly, I analyzed the two songs at a macro-structural level: I considered each song as a 'macro speech-act' (Van Dijk, 1997a, p. 15), a macro-text, which is coherent and cohesive within itself and within its parts: a macro-proposition. Secondly, I carried out a micro-structural analysis at a microtextual level, in order to highlight the different elements that constitute the speech acts. These two levels are obviously reciprocally connected and influence each other's semiosis, for the addresser (ideation, codification and transmission of the message) as much as for the addressee (receiving, decodification and interpretation of the message).

In the next sections, I am going to analyze in depth these two songs: the discursive strategies at the level of themes and topoi and the way these strategies are implemented by linguistic and rhetorical devices.

Political messages in the PP and PSOE songs

As for all electoral political discourse, the perlocutive object (or end) of the two songs, is for the addressee to give his/her vote to the addresser.

The main communicative intentions of the addresser are two, *make know* and *make do* (Greimas & Courtés, 1979), hence speech acts are of two main types: assertive or directive (Searle, 1965, 1975):

- (1) assertive speech acts: we (ingroup) are good and they (outgroup) are bad; illocutive intention (force): make know;
- (2) directive speech acts: join us (voting for us); illocutive intention (force): make do.

Whatever assertive (*we are the bet of the future*) or directives (*come to the popular revolt or defending the joy*), the perlocutive object of the speech act is the same: obtaining the vote. On the other hand, the assertion and the request are rarely formulated in a direct way.²⁰ Anyway, for the addresser to get the addressee's vote, it is fundamental that the latter should believe that the party to which they give their vote is the best option. Hence, the addresser has to legitimize himself and delegitimize his competitor(s).

Main discursive strategy: legitimizing/delegitimizing

Since the victory of a party means the defeat of the other, peaceful coexistence between political parties is impossible: in fact, political parties subtract social capital from one another. Therefore, since the basic assumption is that people want to belong to the group with the best image, the basic strategy of the electoral discourse is complementarily increasing the positive image of *Us* and increasing the negative image of *Them*. The positive image of the ingroup can be increased by generalizing and emphasizing its positive aspects, and the negative image of the ingroup can be reduced by limiting or omitting its negative aspects.

In line with Chilton and Schäffner (1997), I refer to this double-faced strategy as *legitimation* and *delegitimation* (see also Van Dijk, 1998, Chapter 26; 2003). Legitimizing the ingroup means discursively creating and transmitting a positive image of the Self; delegitimizing means discursively creating and transmitting a negative image of the Other. This strategy is aimed at increasing membership in a group, and therefore at obtaining more social capital.

The discursive strategy is the same both for the PP and PSOE: legitimizing the ingroup (by framing it positively) and delegitimizing the outgroup (by framing it in a pejorative manner). As

a result, the discourses of the PP and the PSOE, regardless of their type, have similar illocutive and perlocutive aims. This double strategy of legitimizing/delegitimizing is verbally implemented by different devices at two intertwined levels: (1) at a global level, macro-textually, by the election of certain *themes and topoi*; (2) at a more local level, micro-textually, by the election of certain *lexical items*, morpho-syntactical features, pragmatical elections (as deixis) or rhetorical features (as metaphors, hyperboles, etc.). What follows is an analysis of these separate devices.

Themes and topoi

Since the addresser can choose among different thematic and stylistic possibilities, the election of themes and the way to treat them is strategic *per se*. The theme of the PP song is to rouse its supporters to take action (*revolution*) against the PSOE. Voting for the PP and against PSOE is presented as something revolutionary. It is significant that a right-wing party refers to revolution, a topic normally associated with extreme left-wing ideology. In PR there are also topoi such as *nation, Spain, justice and freedom, future*, which build the image of a patriotic party committed to the future of the Spanish people. Themes of populism (interest in the people) and nationalism (defense of the nation) in PR can be seen from the perspective of legitimizing/delegitimizing. Populism is referred to by the ambiguous determinant *Popular/popular* and the PP presenting itself as the defender of Spanish popular interests (*we will fight . . . for the future of Spaniards*).²¹ The idea is that the PP defends Spain, while its opponents – one infers – do not. Therefore, this song also configures a position with regard to the concept of nation, not only through the frequent mentions of the ‘imagined community’ of the *Us* and the first plural person deixis *we/our* (Anderson, 1983; Billig, 1995; Íñigo Mora, 2004; Petersoo, 2007; Wilson, 1990; Wodak et al., 1999), as well as the explicit references to Spain and Spaniards (PR7 and PR11). With its open references to Spain and Spaniards, PP introduces the issue of nation in the political discursive arena. Instead, in the PSOE’s song, there are no references to the nation, nor the (Spanish) *people*, Spain, Spaniards, etc. In fact, there are no personal references whatsoever, thanks to the use of infinitive verbs. This seems to be coherent with the idea that even if populism and nationalism, or some populist exploitation of the topic of nation, are common features of political discourse even from speakers of different and opposing parties (Van Dijk, 2003), right-wing parties have some preference toward referring to the nation and nationalism, often in connection with xenophobic attitudes.

The theme of the PSOE song is the defense of the party, its ideology and its policies against the frequent and violent attacks carried out by the PP. The video presenting DJ gave clear indications about the communicative strategy of the PSOE,²² since one of the singers said ‘[. . .] to defend joy against the killjoys’, and the slogan before the song start was ‘we defend joy against catastrophism, intolerance,²³ and everything that is retrograde’.

The PSOE, its ideology and its policies are metaphorically defined as *joy*. Conversely, the PP is metaphorically represented as the threat to the joy via nouns like *chaos, nightmare, misery*, etc.²⁴ The ideological and persuasive value of this song is the idea of defending optimism (=PSOE) against pessimism (=PP). Here joy is a topic, as nobody would argue against its positive value. Its relevance in the discursive strategy of the PSOE is evident considering the position and the frequency of the phrase *defending joy*: it is the first and the most repeated expression (19 times).

Another clear way of presenting the ingroup as positive and the outgroup as negative is through the topic of history. In PR23, the addresser uses an assertive speech act as *history is on our side*. This mention does not refer to the Francoist past of the PP. In fact, the PP always attempts to avoid every reference to Francoism during electoral campaigns, trying to

move away from right-wing positions toward the political center (Morales López & Prego Vázquez, 2002, pp. 211–229). From this perspective, *history* is rather a reference to Spain's transition to democracy after Franco's dictatorship.²⁵ Also, *history* could refer to traditional values – given that the PP is a conservative party – judged as positive, versus the negatively judged new values defended by the progressive party (PSOE). However, the use of the word *history* is an example of an authoritarian (unjustified and undemonstrated) appropriation of the term, a strategic manipulation of a 'public' and 'neutral' concept; also, the PSOE appropriates the term *joy*, while the PP takes possession of the word *freedom* or *justice*, without specifying in which domain it applies.²⁶

Verbal devices of legitimizing/delegitimizing: hyperbole, metaphor, inference

In the songs being analyzed, the addressers achieve ingroup legitimation and outgroup delegitimation through different rhetorical–discursive devices, which we can resume as lexical (s)election. Since perfect synonymy does not exist, each choice is strategically motivated by ideological reasons and oriented to certain ends. Apart from the morpho-syntactic constraints (such as, for instance, the fact that article precedes the noun), the other choices are under the speaker's control and express the speaker's attitude or the contextual influence on the text (Halliday, 1990 [1985]; Kress, 1990; Martin & Eggins, 1997; Van Dijk, 2003, p. 69): I will focus at least on those choices which construct figures such as hyperboles and/or metaphors, and trigger a series of inferences/implicatures.

In PR, we can see hyperboles such as *popular revolt*, *Popular Revolution*, *we are going to revolutionize*, *we are the hope for the future*, *we will begin this revolution* to indicate just a change in the government through normal and peaceful elections. These expressions emphasize positive ingroup aspects, by discursively highlighting the differences between the PP and the government of the time, so that the PP victory could be seen as a revolution. These hyperbolic expressions emphasize the positive aspects of the ingroup and the negative aspects of the outgroup by representing the PP as the future and the PSOE as the past. In DJ, there are also frequent hyperboles, such as the entire chain of nouns that describes the threat to joy: *chaos*, *nightmare*, *lightning*, *rifles*, *melancholy*, etc.

In one case, presenting itself as radically new implies presenting the other as given, which is very interesting for a conservative party such as the PP, which is still seen as a continuation of the Francoist regime. This is something that the PSOE traditionally tries to take advantage of to obtain votes, scaring voters (from the center/undecided voters as well from left-wing voters) with the risk of a return to dictatorship. Conversely, the PP is openly borrowing words, images and meanings from the symbolic imagery of the left.

Metaphors can take many forms: they can be local, global or archetypal. A local metaphor only acts at sentence level, as seen in PR27: *we are the hope for the future*, while a global metaphor acts at level of the entire text, as a feature conditioning the entire discourse. The whole idea of *defending joy*, where *joy* represents the PSOE, its policies and its electors, is an example of a global metaphor: it underlies the entire text, making it work and guiding the addressees' interpretation. Archetypal metaphors (Gill & Whedbee, 1997; Osborn, 1967) act across many discourses or texts, across generations, always construing the same meanings, such as PR33, *with head and heart* referring to rationality and passion, or DJ9, *against the rifles*, which metonymically represents 'arms' and indicates war and violence.

Metaphor is a potent way of ideologically presenting the ingroup as good and the outgroup as bad, especially in terms of framing itself and the other by naming/describing/defining them. Positive metaphors are used for the ingroup, while negative ones are used for the outgroup. Thus, the PSOE uses *joy* to refer to itself, while the PP is indirectly referred to by negative terms such *chaos*,

nightmares, weary misery, scoundrels, brief/definitive absences, bewilderment, insensitivity, few neutrals, many neutrons, serious diagnosis, rifles, lightning, melancholy. Conversely, the PP refers to itself using positive metaphorical expressions as *the hope for the future, a project of justice and freedom* and does not openly name the outgroup, referring to it simply by the personal deixis in the verbal form (third person plural), *they are not going to give it to us*, a reference that is clear to the audience thanks to the contextual information.²⁷ The ‘Populars’ describe themselves as *brave people, dreamers, imaginative, having new ideas, thinking that something has to change, believing that everything is possible, people able to dream about a new Spain and about a world of equality.* On the contrary, it is inferred that socialists lack these qualities.

Quite obviously, and given the contextual information (electioneering, polarization, etc.), receivers infer that if the Populars have these features, socialists lack them. At the same time, socialists know that negative nouns such as *chaos, nightmares, weary misery*, etc. describe the opponent. Inferences are a constant in human communication: one always says less than she/he effectively pretends to convey, leaving the reconstruction of the meaning to the cooperation of the addressee (Eco, 1979; Grice, 1975). This is very important in the electoral discourse. As Company (2005) clearly puts it, ‘What people deduce is more important than what you tell them. So, if you just limit yourself to providing some suggestions or some elements of reflection, you could better motivate their support’ (p. 151, my translation). In political discourse, implicit aspects of discourse frequently create ideological meanings (Wilson, 1990). Here, for instance, inferences contribute to implementing the legitimization/delegitimation strategy. For example, in PR1-3 and PR5-8, the addresser sketches a representation of the typical ingroup member, a portrait of the Popular, by listing the features that characterize him/her: *brave, dreamers, imaginative*, etc. But by listing these features as typical of the ‘Popular’, the addresser implies conversationally (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 1983; Wilson, 1990; see also the ‘invited inferences’ of Lycan, 1986) that the opponent has none of these features. And, since receivers – thanks to the context – know that in electioneering the construction of identity is differential, they infer that such features only belong to Populars. Since all the features listed above are positive, PR1-3 and PR5-8 legitimize the (Popular) receiver, and, metonymically, every Popular, by associating these positive features to Popular’s image and dissociating them from the opponent’s image. Actually, the first plural person deixis has an inclusive function; all of the values listed above are shared by all Populars: addresser(s) as well as addressee(s).²⁸

In creating a positive ingroup identity and a negative outgroup identity, both PR and DJ avoid explicitly mentioning the opponent even if they constantly presuppose it. The third person plural in PR26 *they are not going to give it to us* presupposes implicitly the Other, the direct competitor. The same occurs in DJ, where the entire series of nouns against which joy is to be defended (*weary misery, scoundrels, rifles*, etc.) presupposes implicitly the Other. Even if in DJ there is no reference to the persons of the discourse (all verbal tenses are impersonal infinitives), the ingroup member positions him/herself as a defender of joy, as the dropped subject/agent (both grammatically and semantically) of the verb *to defend*. Since everybody agrees with the fact that joy is a socially desirable feeling, the people defending it automatically become a ‘good’ subject/agent, against the ‘bad’ one that threatens joy. Note that the verb *to defend* semantically implies the existence of a threat. Due to the increasing polarization of the sociopolitical situation during the elections, (socialist) receivers identify the defenders of joy with socialists (themselves, the ingroup) and the threats of joy with Populars (the outgroup). The simple fact of establishing the protagonist (*we*) makes it possible to presuppose the antagonist (*them*). Here the antagonist is negatively characterized by the list of negative nouns such as *weary misery, scoundrels, rifles*, etc. Without naming it at all, the PSOE implicitly equates the PP with a long list of undesirable nouns. The verb ellipsis in DJ3-4 and DJ8-9 is strategically

oriented to focus the chain of negative nouns, giving it pragmatic/cognitive relevance, so that it could be better remembered. The relevance given to this noun chain – also increased by anaphora and symploce – strengthens the delegitimation strategy.

Political pop songs

The claims made by Wodak (2009) about the fact that parties or candidates usually commission pop songs from famous singers (p. 3) led me to reflect on the difference between these two political songs and, for example, ‘The Internationale’, the official anthem of the Socialist International. From a stylistic point of view, DJ and PR are two political pop songs. For instance, we can see that there are some differences between DJ as sung by the famous Spanish singer-songwriter Joan Manuel Serrat,²⁹ and DJ as sung by the artists of the *Plataforma de Apoyo a Zapatero* (the ‘Platform of Support for Zapatero’, which also included Serrat). The electoral version (2008) is somewhat shorter than the earlier version (1985), as the second half of Serrat’s song is elided in order to make it fit better in the typical structure of a pop song. Moreover, where the former had a much more intimate and poetic mode (soloist, *vibrato*, slow tempo, as a *musicato* poem), the latter has a faster tempo and more drums and electric guitar, as well as at least nine different singers (five male and four female), each singing one verse, alternating as soloist, except for the refrain, sung in unison, with counter-melody and counter chants.

The fact that men and women sing together means that they are a group made of equal individuals, each one with her/his voice and style. The fact that a group performs the song indicates extra-verbally the plurality of subjects in *social unison* (Van Leeuwen, 1999, pp. 79–80), while verbal deixis is completely impersonal (infinitive verbs).

PR also seems like a pop song, with drums, bass and electric guitar, and a fast tempo. It is sung by a male soloist, but in PR1-4 and PR13-16, handclaps can be heard marking the rhythm in the background as a mass approval of what singer ‘says’. Furthermore, the first part of the refrain is sung by a chorus in unison, while the last part of verse 20, the name of the party (*Partido Popular*), is said against total silence in order to highlight it. The soloist is always in the foreground, but the fact that *we are looking for, we will unite, we will fight, for the future, we will advance in all directions*, as well as *with head and heart, we will all live, we will begin* are sung in unison, is a way of representing the existence of a group both extraverbally, using numerous voices, and verbally, by the verbal deixis at the plural (*we*). This is also highlighted by the ending of the song, which fades out with a *looololo*. . . sung in unison, like a stadium chant. The choice of a male soloist (the leader) seems to express the Patriarchalist ideology of right-wing parties, with a (male) leader followed by a group.

Concluding remarks

As we have seen, on the one hand, songs are just one type of electoral persuasive texts that circulate during electioneering, and that as such, they form part of a wider ideological and persuasive discourse with which they are coherent and cohesive. On the other hand, songs have specific formal features such as conciseness, rhyme and alliteration, which are crucial for memorization and thus for persuasion, but also functional features such as the ability to create and maintain consensus. In this case, it is necessary to analyze in greater detail how and to what extent the function of creating and maintaining social unison, evident in rituals characterized by physical proximity (*in praesentia*), such as political meetings, is also valid in other types of interactions occurring *in absentia*, such as meetings that are broadcast on TV or published in other media.

On the previous pages, I have highlighted the fact that language is a system for representing and constructing social reality; I have also stressed the intrinsically evaluative and ideological nature of the (linguistic) sign in polarized situations, such as electoral campaigns, whose actors (political parties) compete for a series of limited material, social and symbolic resources. Each political party attempts to impose its meanings, and in doing so, it appropriates verbal forms and/or meanings, creates new forms and/or meanings, but also reformulates or entextualizes previously existing forms and/or meanings.

The lyrics of the PSOE song are borrowed from Joan Manuel Serrat's song, which in turn was borrowed from a poem by Mario Benedetti. The lyrics of PR are also manifest examples of *entextualizations* (Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Blommaert, 2005; Silverstein & Urban, 1996). The determinant *popular* (in *Popular Revolution* as well as in *popular revolt*) has two meanings, 'revolution of the people' or 'Populares revolution': here it means 'Populares revolution' in the sense of 'the revolution of the members of Popular Party', also known as *Populares*. The phrase *popular revolution* is an entextualization: it decontextualizes a left-wing expression, with left-wing meaning/values, and recontextualizes it in the right-wing domain. Some lexical items in PR represent an imminent and inevitable change (apart from the future tense, the noun *future* itself appears four times in PR11, PR19, PR27 and PR31), novelty and utopia (*new ideas, if you believe that everything is possible, something has to change, dreamers, to dream of a new Spain, to imagine*). But they seem to be an appropriation of radical left-wing topoi. At the same time, the use and re-signifying of words and expressions such as *we will unite, we will fight, justice and freedom, popular revolt, revolutionize, revolution* in PR seem to reflect the Communist party manifesto of Marx and Engels ('workers of the world, unite') or Sergio Ortega's song *El pueblo unido jamás será vencido* [A united people will never be defeated].

This leads to the following remarks: (1) ideological meanings are at work when there is some dialectical confrontation between two (or more) groups in order to achieve semiotic domination. Semiotic domination could be the first step toward achieving power (whether material, social or symbolic). Semiotic domination is achieved by semiotic manipulation. (2) In dialectic situations, groups attempt to impose their meanings, their words and their categories through which people see the world. Quite obviously, powerful people or institutions can more easily impose their meanings, interpretations, words and categories; powerful speakers also can more easily appropriate 'public' words or impose their preferred meaning for such words. So the relationship between powers is circular: semiotic power helps in achieving material and social power, which in turn strengthens the semiotic power.

The main socio-discursive strategy observed in the two songs is double-edged: the legitimation of the ingroup and the delegitimation of the outgroup. This strategy is aimed at informing the receivers about something (the ingroup is better than the outgroup), and at making them do something (joining the group, starting or continuing to vote for it): the perlocutive object is to achieve more votes than the opponent (votes represent or resume the social capital), which leads to achieving more power. In order to obtain the majority of the social capital, the group presents itself positively (legitimation) while presenting the opponent negatively (delegitimation) in order to subtract its part of the social capital. The comparative analysis dealt with here shows to what extent the discursive strategies, perlocutive goals and the rhetorical-discursive devices displayed by the addressers are similar (even if they are not exactly the same) to each other, despite the different political and ideological positions. Both parties manipulate language in order to achieve their aims.

Comparing the results of the present study with the conclusions of others (Morales López & Prego Vázquez, 2002), it can be said that there are no major differences (either synchronically or diachronically) between the electoral discourses of the PP or PSOE. This similarity depends on

the fact that the aims of electoral discourses are always the same: to convince someone to believe in something, to do something. At the same time, the intrinsic dialectical feature of the electoral struggle, where an increase in the social capital for one party inevitably means a decrease for other parties, perpetuates this dynamic of legitimizing/delegitimizing, even if, as the analysis showed, each addresser (in each song) uses different devices. Actually, the difference observed above between the lyrics used by the PSOE and PP does not refute the fact that both parties implement the same legitimizing/delegitimizing strategy.³⁰

The question is whether the electoral discourse of the young Spanish democracy should always be a legitimating/delegitimizing exercise, or could it instead demonstrate something other than this common pattern, such as a more honest and civic debate?

This could only be achieved if the exercise of politics begins to be conceived no longer as a 'battle' between options, as a confrontation between parties (etymologically intended as *parts* of a society), as a *partial* protection of group interests or as a way of achieving group ends such as material, social, cultural and symbolical capital, but as a responsible exercise of a duty responsibly assumed from and for all of society, whether it voted for the party or not, as a mission to ensure the truly humanitarian and ethical progress of the society as a whole.

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Notes

1. On the Spanish transition, see Colomer (1995).
2. Adolfo Suárez resigned in 1981, and the president for the remainder of the legislature was Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo.
3. At the time of writing, Mariano Rajoy, leader of the PP since 2004, is the country's president with an absolute parliamentary majority, after winning the 2011 general elections, which were brought forward 4 months (scheduled for March 2012).
4. Manuel Fraga first founded the right-wing *Alianza Popular* party (Popular Alliance, AP) in 1982, as a coalition of different conservative parties originating in the Francoist regime; then, in 1989, he founded the *PP*, which absorbed the *AP*.
5. On paternalism and patriarchalism, see, for instance, Kleinig (1983, pp. 3–37).
6. The main elements of the electoral campaign (traditional political rifts in Spain) were terrorism and the government's relationship with the Basque independence movement ETA (dialogue versus non-dialogue); the form of state (federal versus centralist); economic policies (tax decrease versus increase); relations with the Catholic Church (laicism versus clericalism), individual freedom regarding homosexual marriages and abortion (yes versus no); and education with the school subject of 'Civic Education' (yes versus no). In addition, the economic crisis of 2008 gave the PP a firmer foothold to continuously attack the PSOE.
7. George Lakoff himself helped the PSOE to define this strategy, as an adviser during the 2008 electoral campaign (Bassets, 2008).
8. For instance, his personal web was called *La mirada positiva* (the positive view).
9. See, for instance, the video *No seas él* (Do not be him), where a very pessimistic person is shown in a wide variety of situations, always wishing the worst to another person, while the final slogan invites (socialist?) receivers not to be like this (Popular?) character.
10. See, for instance, research on music in far-right groups (Shekhovtsov, 2009, 2011, 2012).
11. The PSOE's anthem is available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yHJJCrlYeMo>, while the PP's anthem is available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Y7vYSfWExeo&feature=related>.

12. The song is available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_bQ9-rk1Thc.
13. The song is available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WfVhzYtBWHA>.
14. The song is available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aFZZlsYtrpQ>.
15. I decided to use this term to refer to the claims made by Wodak about this point, in order to distinguish it from what Wodak defines as a 'fictionalization of politics' and 'politicization of fictions', which refer to different phenomena.
16. Anonymity (*argumentum ad populum*) was the PP's choice in response to the PSOE's choice for celebrity (*argumentum ad verecundiam*). In many videos, the PP preferred anonymous citizens to launch messages against the PSOE, while the PSOE used celebrities.
17. Serrat was not liked by the Francoist regime, and also lived in exile for some time. Benedetti is an icon of democracy, because of his exile from Uruguay after the military coup d'état of 1973.
18. Joan Campmany (agency DDB) is the advertiser responsible for the 2004 electoral campaign for the PSOE, won by José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero. The PSOE's 2008 campaign was run by the agency Sra Rushmore.
19. Although this is not explored here in detail, for reasons of space.
20. Campmany (2005) is very clear about the PSOE's communicative strategy of indirectness in the 2004 electoral campaign.
21. Note that *Popular* (capitalized) means 'belonging to the Popular Party', while *popular* means 'belonging to the people'.
22. The video is available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_bQ9-rk1Thc.
23. *Intolerance* against sexual, racial, political, religious and cultural differences is presented as a feature of the PP, for instance, in reference to the theme of migrants or homosexuals. The same is valid for the word *retrograde*. It is understood in the sense of a loss of rights, defended by the PSOE. Actually, the fact that the celebrities participating in the video for DJ included a number of well-known homosexuals was meaningful, as it positioned the PSOE as defender of sexual difference in contrast to the PP. On 30 September 2005, the PP lodged an appeal in the Spanish Supreme Court against the law for homosexual marriages, which was promulgated by PSOE during Zapatero's first term in power, coming into effect on 3 July 2005.
24. On the representation of social actors, see Van Leeuwen (1996).
25. In the web page of *Nuevas Generaciones*, there was a reference to a meeting with Adolfo Suárez's son, with the slogan *Los herederos legítimos de UCD* [the legitimate heirs of the UCD], the party founded and led by Adolfo Suárez, who played a prominent role during the Spanish transition to democracy.
26. For other examples of the ideological appropriation of linguistic signs, see Raiter (1999, p. 27), who shows the different ideological meanings of the word *democracy* in the discourses of two Argentinean Presidents, Perón and Alfonsín.
27. Spanish is a pro drop language, so that the personal pronoun for *they are not going to give it to us* is dropped: (*ellos*) *no nos lo van a regalar*.
28. On the other hand, note that the PP song uses the second person singular, addressing the receiver as an individual (*tú*) instead of as a group (*vosotros*). This personalized style could be seen as an attempt of avoiding the receiver the negative sensation of being a passive or unknown and interchangeable target of persuasive messages, and to preserve his/her individuality. This is what Fairclough (2001b) calls 'synthetic personalization' (p. 52).
29. The song is available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WfVhzYtBWHA>.
30. Note that these two songs are probably the politest and most refined attacks the two parties directed at each other during the 2008 electoral campaign. In particular, the PP directly and aggressively attacked the PSOE (something that was not so evident in the PP song), while the PSOE delegitimized the opponent with indirect attacks, establishing itself as optimistic and the PP as pessimistic.

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