Gestures, ideologies and meaning in TV debates: A multimodal approach

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In this article we will analyze how political actors - involved in the presidential TV debates - use certain semiotic strategies to manage the relationship between gestures and their ideological orientation. We developed a multimodal analysis for some relevant sequences during the presidential debates from November 2014. For this purpose, we used a Multimodal Professional Analysis Tool, ELAN, which allowed us the annotation and dynamic analysis of the semiotic behavior of the political actors involved in the analyzed sequences.

Keywords: *presidential debate, multimodal analysis, ideological orientation, political semiotics, political communication culture*

1. The "multimodal" nature of discursive interactions

Political communication is the place where political action gains significance and social relevance. Such a reality comes from capacity of the political discourse to re-describe and socially reconstruct reality. The mere naming of a problem gives it life and consistency in the political space (Rovența-Frumușani 2012, 146). In a previous article (Drăgan 2017a) we discuss some effects of such a reality, how political actors are somehow between *Narcissus*, victim of self-referencing and *Pygmalion*, victim of the simulacrum. Being considered the most significant experiences of the election campaign (Boydstun Glazier and Pietryka 2013, 254), the televised debates offer the ideal opportunity for political actors to identify such issues that have the potential to become reality. The representations of political situations, events and political actors are concentrated in the *hic et nunc* reality of the debate, in one word we are seeing a *tableau vivant* of the political reality in the society at a certain moment. In the discursive interactions of this type, the political actors do not only use verbal language as a means of constructing meaning. Beyond the

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verbal language, they use the image, gestures, posture, and modes of semic production, as well as the relations between them in order to communicate.

Practically, we are in the area of social semiotics which opens to „approaches centered on the study of 'the pragmatic conditions' of communication exchanges" (Drăgan 2007, 232) and takes into account "how people produce and communicate meaning in specific social settings" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006, 266). Here is the space of action of *multimodality*, which is "the use of several semiotic modes in the design of a semiotic product or event" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, 20). The political actors involved in the analyzed communication situations build their verbal strategies and discursive behavior based on a whole complex of semiotic resources. Each of them has a certain discursive competence, which they manage in a customized manner, depending on the context. The knowledge and proper use of the semiotic resources available to them, including verbal ones, is "a *sine qua non* condition of effective multimedia communication, optimizing the image capital that each personality builds upon" (Rovența-Frumuani 1999, 205).

Considered as "*part* of language" (McNeill 2005, 4), gestures are an important category of semiotic resources that political actors use in the effort to construct meaning. McNeill (2005, 4) argues in favor of the idea of "inseparability of language/speech and imagery/gesture". There is a constant interaction between gestures and verbal discourse. Practically, in various forms of communicational interaction, "speakers' gestures are multifunctional" (Kok 2016, 119). According to Kasper Kok (2016, 250), "a single gesture may contribute to multiple layers of the discourse simultaneously". The multifunctional aspect of gestures can explain how, in a single act of gestural significance, as in most situations where a sign occurs, the multiple modes/semiotic resources tend to interact (Mittelberg 2007, 241). Understanding how different modes/semiotic resources interact is at the heart of the multimodal analysis (O'Halloran 2011; Siefkes 2015).

2. Pragmatic gestures. Some families of pragmatic gestures and the persuasive value of gestures

In our analysis we will mainly deal with a particular aspect of gestures with "pragmatic function" (Kendon 2004; Müller 2013). The pragmatic gestures refer to any way that they can refer to the features of the meaning of a statement "that are not a part of its referential meaning or propositional content" (Kendon 2004, 158, as cited in Müller 2013, 213). This type of gesture expresses certain aspects of the "utterance structure", as well as aspects related to the cohesion of speech or to the "character of the 'speech act' or interactional move of the utterance" (Kendon

1995, 247). According to Cornelia Müller (2013), Kendon distinguishes "three main kinds of pragmatic functions: Müller's modal and performative gestures and those with a parsing function" (Kendon 2004, 159 as cited in Müller 2013, 213). For example, performative gestures are gestures "whose primary function is to execute a speech-act" (Müller 2013, 214). They work "like performative verbs. [...] Performative gestures in general are extremely common and widespread and they are often fully conventionalized speech acts" (Müller 2013, 214). From the perspective of the theory of language acts (Austin 1962; Searle 1969, 1985), it is obvious that "every gesture is a communicative action" (Müller 2013, 214).

The "ring" type of gestures, analyzed in detail by Adam Kendon (2004), is part of the family of gestures with a pragmatic function, which can have a significant persuasive effect. This is the gesture where the tip of the index finger is in contact with the tip of the thumb. Such gestures "convey the concept of precision" in certain contexts of communication (Vincze, Poggi, and D'Erico 2014, 181). They have specific meanings in that they "specify" or bring "clarifications" to something specific. As a rule, they are used every time this clarification is important in the dynamics of conversational exchange. The person that executes them wants to ensure that "specific information be given prominence" (Kendon 1995, 271). Through such gestures the speaker follows "gaining the agreement, the conviction or the understanding of the interlocutor" (Kendon 2004, 241, as cited in Poggi and Vincze 2009, 74). Practically, the "ring" type of gestures appear in conjunction with verbal speech sequences that "provides precise information", or when "make a specific reference to something" Kendon (1995, 268).

Geneviève Calbris (2003) also analyzes the gestures that convey the semantic marks of the precision concept. According to Calbris (2003), precision is "a symptom of implication" (as cited in Vincze, Poggi, and D'Erico 2014, 182). For the French author, the "ring", which comes from the pragmatic "ring" type of gestures (*le rond* in french), is a "a symbol of precision and even rigour (possibly, moral rigour too)" (as cited in Vincze, Poggi, and D'Erico 2014, 182). Also, Michael Lempert (2011) investigates the family of *precision gestures*, especially "ring" type of gestures, in the case of the former U.S. President, Barack Obama. Such pragmatic gestures have implications of the type of actual involvement in the speech, as Calbris had already noticed (2003). Moreover, by performing such gestures, "Speaker who uses them and who starts to be perceived by the audience as 'being argumentatively sharp'" (Lempert 2011, 3 as cited in Vincze, Poggi, and D'Erico 2014, 183-184).

Another category of pragmatic gestures that interest us from the perspective of our analysis is represented by the "open" gestures in the PUOH, *Palm-Up Open-Hand* gestures family (Kendon 2004, 275-281; Müller 2004 as cited in Streeck 2008,

173). In the opinion of Cornelia Müller (2004, 233), by performing a PUOH type of gesture the participants in the discourse exchange are invited "to take on a shared perspective" asupra "abstract discursive object" represented by the gesture. Such a gesture results from the combination form (open hand) - function (hand's orientation) (Müller 2004, 233). David McNeill (2005) analyzes this type of gesture in a wider discussion of the relationship between conventional and metaphorical gestures. The author compares the gestures of the "PUOH" family with "the prototype of a conventional gesture, the 'OK' sign" (McNeill 2005, 49). Thus, according to Cornelia Müller, Silva H. Ladewig and Jana Bressem (2013), McNeill (2005, 64) noted that such gestures "are in a process of becoming conventionalized, their form-meaning relation is motivated and the motivation is still transparent".

According to Karl-Erik McCullough this type of gesture has a certain semiotic complexity: "the PUOH has two features: deixis, which resides in the orientation the hand (facing up), and a surface, which resides in the shape of the hand (a flat surface)" (McNeill 2005, 52). The two components of the gesture, the orientation and the surface of the palm determine certain semiotic configurations: "Surface and orientation are significant in the gesture as components of the gesture's iconicity (cf. Peirce 1960). The deictic and shape components impose a kind of granularity of the possible meanings of PUOH" (McNeill 2005, 52). Finally, McCullough comes to a similar conclusion to that of Cornelia Müller (2004). Practically, when performing such a gesture, the intention of the speaker is "the idea of presenting a discursive object" (McNeill 2005, 53). As a rule, such gestures are met "at the ends of turns at talk" (Streeck 2008, 173). Jürgen Streeck (2008, 173) notes that in the dynamics of this gesture, "when the hands are held for a moment in this position, the function of the enactment changes to that of an invitation of response" (cf. Kendon 2004, 275-281; Müller 2004). In any case, the form-orientation association specific to the hand's gestures determines various semiotic configurations that trigger interpretation scenarios as to the intent of the political actor who performed such a gesture.

As regards the persuasive aspect of gestures, it is well known that "credibility and persuasiveness are simultaneous outcomes, both of which are directly influenced by nonverbal variables" (Burgoon, Birk, and Pfau 1990, 164). In any case, nonverbal behavior can contribute to the "persuasive efficacy" (Burgoon, Birk, and Pfau 1990, 164) of messages. Specialty studies have shown that "greater vocal pleasantness, kinesic/proxemic immediacy, kinesic dominance, and kinesic relaxation were associated with greater persuasiveness" (Burgoon, Birk and Pfau 1990, 163). According to Isabella Poggi and Catherine Pelachaud (2008, 413), the persuasive value of gestures "seems to be contained more in the 'expressivity'

parameters than in the global meaning of the gesture, and more in the inferences the gesture encourages than in its literal meaning".

3. Ideological orientation of political actors and functions of gestures

In a study analyzing hand gestures in the case of the former French Prime Minister during 1997 and 2002 and former candidate for the French presidential election in 1995 and 2002, Lionel Jospin, Geneviève Calbris (2003) notes a certain symmetry between the gestures performed with the left hand and its ideological orientation. At that time, Lionel Jospin was a representative of the Socialist Party, therefore affiliated with the political left-wing. Every time he hinted or talked about left-wing political issues, he carried out movements with his left hand (Calbris 2003, 67 as cited in Poggi and Vincze 2009, 87).

Isabella Poggi and Laura Vincze (2009) observed a similar phenomenon when analyzing the gestures performed by Ségolène Royal in an interview for France 2. The former Socialist candidate in the presidential election in France in 2007, Ségolène Royal uses "very consistently uses her right hand while speaking of the right, the rich, the speculation, while she uses her left hand while mentioning the poor, the workers, or the middle class" (Poggi and Vincze 2009, 87). Poggi and Vincze (2009) analyze this behavior from two perspectives. The first is about the *communicative function* of the discourse. Basically, we are talking about the political actor's intention to persuade the audience in one way or another. From this perspective, political actors need it "to get access to the Persuadee's mind: to be understood" (Poggi and Vincze 2009, 89). Practically, "hands and head may contribute to the comprehensibility of political discourse by continuously indicating whether the Speaker is talking of the left or the right" (Poggi and Vincze 2009, 89). Such a continuous effort on the part of a political actor to perform this type of isomorphism (gestures-ideological orientation) can lead to a "subtly evaluative import" effect from the public in the sense desired by the politician (Poggi and Vincze 2009, 89). The second aspect discussed by Poggi and Vincze (2009) refers to the fact that the gestures have multifunctional behavior (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001; Kendon 2004; Allwood et al. 2007; Müller 2013). They serve both as *cognitive* and *communicative* functions. In the situation discussed, Poggi and Vincze (2009, 89) advance the hypothesis that the French politician's gestures have "primarily a cognitive, not a communicative and persuasive function". The gestures performed by Ségolène Royal appear to accompany the verbal discourse "mainly to help herself retrieve the corresponding images, concepts or words" (Poggi and Vincze 2009, 89).

Daniel Casasanto and Kyle Jasmin (2010) propose a new perspective for understanding how the political actors manage the relationship between left and right hand gestures and the verbal discourse, respectively the political message. The two researchers, specializing in cognitive neuroscience, analyzed the discourse and gestures from the final debates of the 2004 and 2008 US presidential elections, which involved two right-handers (John Kerry, Democrat; George W. Bush, Republican) and two left-handers (Barack Obama, Democrat; John McCain, Republican). Casasanto and Jasmin (2010, 1) were more interested in the relationship between hand gestures and the emotional dimension of messages than in the ideological orientation - hand gesture relationship. According to the two, the results show a less known and explored connection between *action* - most probably understood in terms of the pragmatic value of the performed hand gestures - and *emotion*, in the sense of the positive or negative content of the message: "Speakers associate positive messages more strongly with dominant hand gestures and negative messages with non-dominant hand gestures". The political affiliation of Candidates, usually associated with left-right orientation, did not influence the pattern of research: "according to the candidates' gestures, the implicit mapping from the left and right hands to valence varies according to bodily characteristics, not politics" (Casasanto and Jasmin 2010, 3).

4. Research methodology

The protagonists of the two TV debates from November 2014, were Victor Ponta (PSD), Prime Minister of Romania at that time, and Klaus Iohannis (PNL), Mayor of the city of Sibiu and leader of the ACL coalition at that time. The analysis corpus was made up of six communicational sequences, selected from the two TV debates, with a total duration of approximately 5 minutes. All six communicative sequences were selected on the basis of clearly defined criteria: homogeneity, common theme/subject, and the criterion of strategic messages (Drăgan 2017b, 41). Thus, we performed a multimodal analysis for the selected sequence according to the mentioned criteria. We have built a model of multimodal analysis that capitalises on previous experiences of multimodal research of discursive interactions specific to political discourse. We recall the steps of this multimodal model of analysis (Drăgan 2018, 203-205): differently:
   1) The annotation of verbal resources, gesture resources and cinematic resources using ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator).
   2) Identifying semiotic types of gestures.
   3) Attributing function to gesture (Colletta et al. 2009, 61-62).

4) Identifying the relationship of gestures with corresponding verbal discourse (semantic relations).
5) Identifying the semiotic resources (including gestures) that political actors use to manage the relationship between gestures and ideological orientation.
6) Selecting frames in which political actors perform relevant gestures from this perspective (gestures - ideological orientation relationship).
7) Analysis and interpretation of results.

The data were annotated and analysed using ELAN (EUDICO Linguistic Annotator), a multimedia annotation tool developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics in Nijmegen, The Netherlands. To study the gestures, we used The MUMIN coding scheme as the starting point, developed in the Nordic Network on Multimodal Interfaces (Allwood et al. 2007). In addition to the MUMIN coding scheme, for the annotation of hand gestures, we used a coding system used in the analysis of the various forms of political communication (Maricchiolo et al. 2012, 408; Gnisci et al. 2013, 881). In order to identify the "relational meanings" (Rovența-Frumușani 1999, 193) that appear in the interactions between the semiotic modes – especially the correlations between gestures and corresponding verbal discourse – we used the taxonomy of semantic relations proposed by Colletta et al. (2009, 62-63). It is noteworthy that for every communication situation that has been the subject of our analysis, the gesture-word correlation has been disambiguated in the context by comparing the informative content of the verbal discourse to that conveyed by the gestures performed by that political actor.

The selected communicational sequence focused on the "fight against corruption", a theme similar to those covered by the sequences analyzed in the previous study. Therefore, we were guided by the following research questions in our analysis:

RQ1. What are the semiotic resources used by the political actors involved in the discursive sequence analyzed in order to communicate and construct the meaning, and what are the differences in the relationship between gestures and the ideological orientation of the political actors?

RQ2. How do political actors build their discursive strategies from the perspective of managing the relationship between gestures and ideological orientation?

5. Research results

In the following two examples (Figure 1, respectively Figure 3), we present the results of the research for each political actor involved in the two TV debates from

November 2014. Every frame captures a particular aspect of the gesture - ideological orientation relationship, being selected on the basis of the multimodal analysis conducted with the ELAN software (see Figure 2 and Figure 4).

a

b

c

d

Figure 1. The relationship between gestures and ideological orientation in the case of the candidate affiliated to the left wing, Victor Ponta: a, b, c - gestures executed with the left hand; d - gesture executed with the right hand.

The first gesture (see Figure 1a) is executed by Victor Ponta while giving the following statement: "the minimum guaranteed income of 350 lei is completed from the state budget on top of the social insurance budget.". The second gesture (see Figure 1b) is executed while Victor Ponta gives the following statement: "I represent the USL, you represent nothing". It is about a fragment which forms part of the same analysed sequence, more precisely from its final part. The third gesture (see Figure 1c) is executed while the candidate affiliated to the left wing gives the following statement: "CSM (Superior Council of Magistracy) guarantees the independence of justice. Stop interfering with CSM, because the President has

other duties". The last gesture presented, the fourth (see Figure 1d), is executed while Victor Ponta gives the following statement: " CSM guarantees, and that's good". The examples presented so far are part of the communication sequences selected from the presidential debate at B1 TV station on November 12, 2014.

Figure 2 shows the timeframe with the ELAN interface that captures the first situation analyzed from the perspective of the gesture - ideological orientation relationship in the case of the candidate affiliated to the left wing, Victor Ponta (see Figure 1b). Without entering into details, the semiotic resources that the representative of the political right-wing uses in the analyzed discursive sequence to communicate and build meaning can be observed.
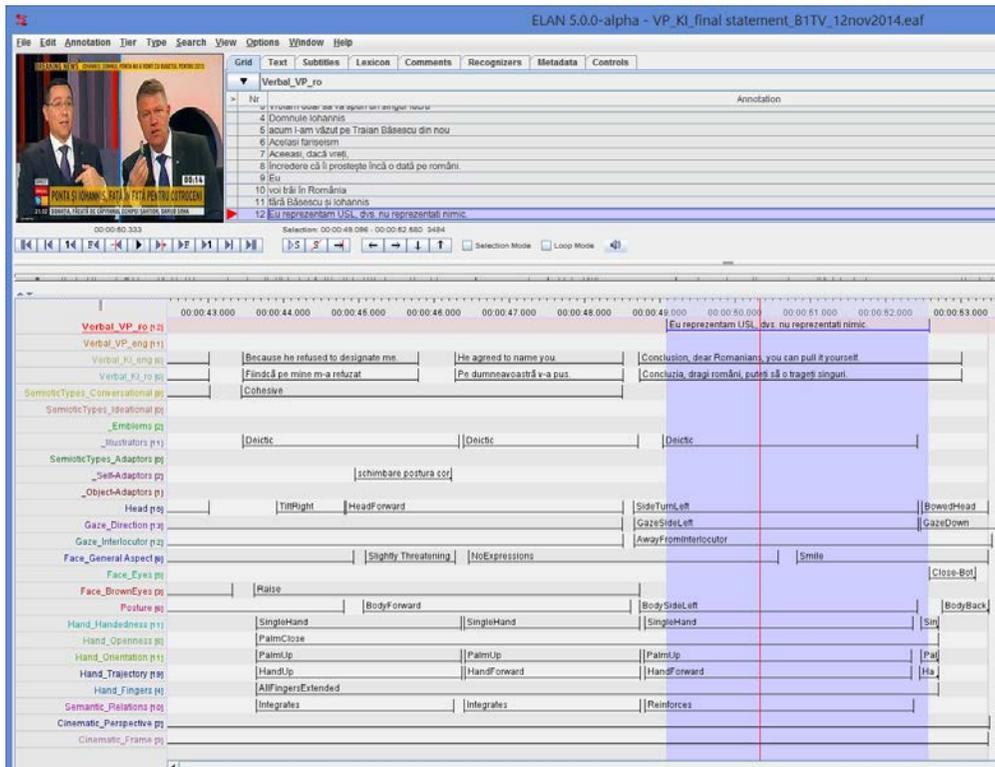

Figure 2. Frame with ELAN Interface – Victor Ponta's statements about himself and his opponent, B1 TV, November 12, 2014

In Figure 3, we present the relevant timeframes for the analysis of the relationship between gestures and the ideological orientation in the case of the candidate affiliated to the political right-wing, Klaus Iohannis.

Figure 3. The relationship between gestures and ideological orientation in the case of the candidate affiliated to the political right-wing, Klaus Iohannis: a, b - gestures executed with the right hand; c, d - gesture executed with the left hand.

The first gesture (see Figure 3a) is executed by Klaus Iohannis while giving the following statement: "Conclusion, dear Romanians, you can pull it yourself". This is a fragment of the first sequence analyzed in the presidential debate at B1TV on November 12, 2014. The second gesture (see Figure 3b) is executed by Klaus Iohannis while giving the following statement: "When you are at Victoria Palace, you have your own office. In here, the country is your office". This phrase belongs to a sequence selected from the first debate broadcast by Realitatea TV station, on November 11, 2014. The following two gestures (see Figure 3c, 3d) of Klaus Iohannis are *deictic*, being relevant for the economy of the debate:

> Klaus Iohannis: But if we are speaking, however, about actions that define us as politicians, let's focus please on this image a little bit. This is a nice picture of a group which was formed in January 2011 around Mr. Constantin Nicolescu, at that time President of the Argeş County Council.

We can see there Mr. Ponta, Mr. Năstase, ... and many other very well-known members of the PSD Party, who were talking at that time about political persecution, saying that this Gentleman, who in the meantime was prosecuted and discharged from his position, should not be disturbed from doing his job there. This, in my opinion, is not called independence of justice, but rather obstruction of justice.

B1 TV station, November 12, 2014

Figure 4 illustrates the timeframe with the ELAN interface that captures the first situation analyzed from the perspective of the relationship between the gestures and the ideological orientation in the case of the candidate affiliated to the political right-wing (see Figure 3b).
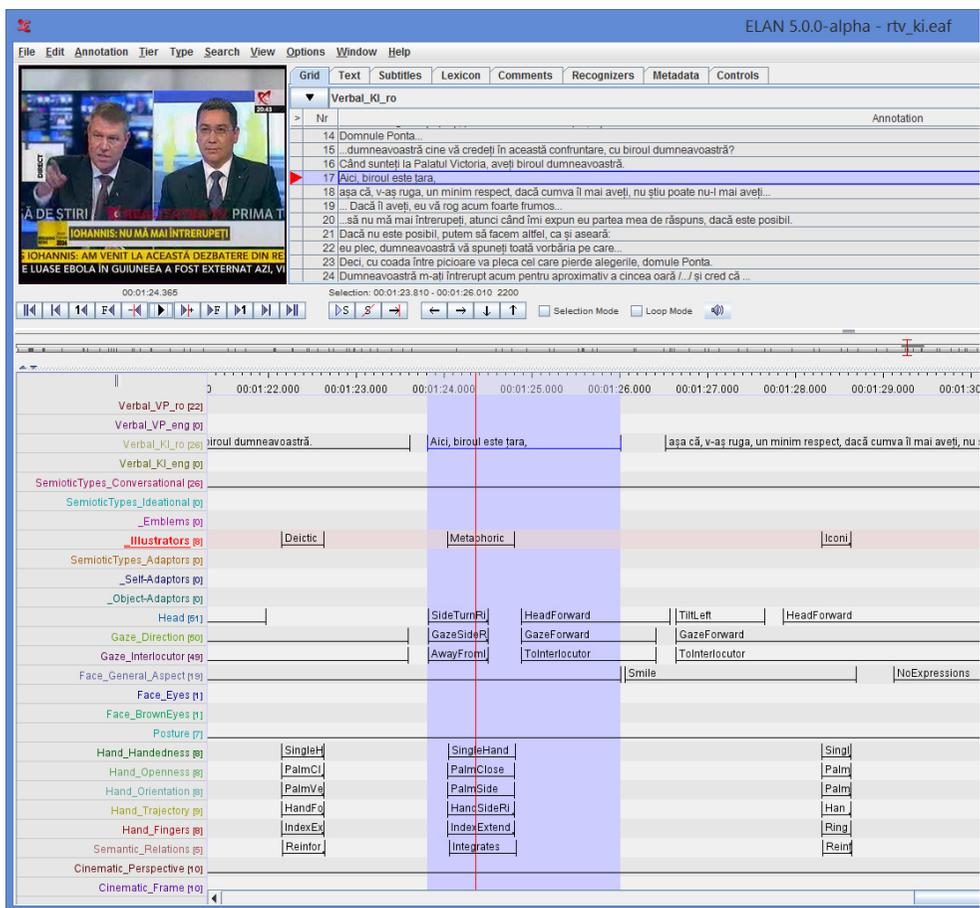

Figure 4. Frame with ELAN Interface – Klaus Iohannis's statements about his opponent, Realitatea TV, November 11, 2014

6. Analysis and interpretation of results

The situations presented in these two examples (Figure 1, respectively Figure 3) capture relevant moments to our discussion regarding the relationship between gestures and the ideological orientation of the candidates. Practically, they help us find the answers to the first research question. We will further detail this aspect. At the same time, we analyze the discursive strategies of each political actor in terms of managing the relationship between the gestures and the ideological orientation.

It can be easily seen that in the first example (Figure 1), the first three gestures performed by the candidate Victor Ponta (Figures 1a, 1b and 1c) are left-handed gestures. As can be seen, whenever the left-wing candidate, Mr. Victor Ponta, makes one of these three gestures, he refers to issues pertaining to the "left-wing": gesture a – the social insurance budget, gesture b – USL, gesture c – constitutional order (CSM, guarantor of the independence of Justice). He makes the last gesture with his right hand (see Figure 1d). This time, Victor Ponta makes the gesture to resume a previous assertion, i.e. "CSM guarantees, and that's good", blatantly pointing out the text of the Constitution to his opponent.

In the above-mentioned situations, it is not the typology of gestures that matters, all the gestures subject to discussion having deictic value (pointing gesture family) – but rather their relationship with the ideological orientation of the candidates making them. We analysed all the situations when Victor Ponta, the left-wing candidate, made reference to issues pertaining to the "left-wing", in all the six sequences selected from the presidential debates in November 2014. In the majority of such situations (in three of the four cases) an isomorphism was identified between the gestures made with the left hand and the ideological orientation of candidate Victor Ponta.

We have discussed earlier about this type of isomorphism (section no. 3). Geneviève Calbris (2003) noticed a relationship of the same kind in the case of Lionel Jospin (The Socialist Party) (p. 67, as cited in Poggi and Vincze 2009, 87). Moreover, Isabella Poggi and Laura Vincze (2009, 87) noticed a similar phenomenon with respect to the gestures made by Ségolène Royal (former Socialist candidate in the French presidential election). Poggi and Vincze (2009) suggested the fact that the political actor attempts to persuade the audience in the sense of understanding their speech and of correctly performing the identification from an ideological perspective. Through their gestures, they continuously provide clues like "the speaker refers to the left- or the right-

wing" (Poggi and Vincze 2009, 89). Such clues can determine the audience to perform their assessment in a certain direction, that of the reading that the speaker prefers. Additionally, Poggi and Vincze (2009) suggested that when reading the interaction between gestures and verbal speech, we should build interpretation scenarios that take into consideration all the possible functions of such gestures in the respective communication situation. In our situation, the dominant function of gestures is *communicative*. Victor Ponta, the left-wing candidate, makes explicit references in his verbal speech to left-wing subjects and events.

The situations presented in the second example (see Figure 3) provide support when analysing the relationship between gestures and ideological orientation with respect to the right-wing candidate, Mr. Klaus Iohannis. When making gestures with his right hand, Klaus Iohannis refers to: a – "To conclude, dear Romanian people, […]"and b – "In here, the country is your office" (Figure 3a and 3b). Both references are built rather on a dominantly communicative function, as emotional calls for change. Both are oriented towards the audience: "dear Romanian people", "the country". Such orientation is not clearly defined, seeming ambiguous. One cannot state whether there is a significant relationship between the gestures made with the right hand and ideological orientation as regards candidate Klaus Iohannis. Alternatively, when making gestures with his left hand, Klaus Iohannis solely refers to subjects and events pertaining to the political left-wing: "members of the PSD Party", "PSD Party barons", "Corruption" as theme etc. In this situation, one can discuss about a significant relationship between the gestures made by Klaus Iohannis (right-wing candidate) with his left hand and his ideological orientation.

7. Conclusions

In this article we tried to describe, analyze and interpret the differences that arise among political actors, from the perspective of how they manage the relationship between gestures and ideological orientation in the presidential debates from November 2014.

In the majority of situations subject to analysis, when referring to "left-wing" issues, the left-wing candidate, Mr. Victor Ponta, makes gestures with his left hand. Practically, in the context of the November 2014 debates, we have seen that we can discuss about an isomorphism between the gestures performed with the left

hand and the ideological orientation of the left-wing representative, Victor Ponta (Drăgan 2017b, 44). Moreover, the gestures carried out by the candidate affiliated to the political left-wing have been accompanied by positive messages (Drăgan 2017b, 42). From this point of view, the results are similar to those obtained in other studies (Calbris 2003, 67, as cited in Poggi and Vincze 2009, 87; Poggi and Vincze 2009, 87).

Alternatively, when making gestures with his left hand, Klaus Iohannis, candidate affiliated to the political right-wing, solely refers to subjects and events pertaining to the political left-wing (Figure 3b). Practically, he selects from the relationship between gestures and ideological orientation only negative aspects pertaining to the actions of his opponent, consistent with his political orientation. He seems to say to the audience: "the representatives of the political left-wing are responsible for the negative facts that I am talking about, and my opponent belongs to that political family". In other words, he is not interested in the coherence between his gestures and his own political orientation, but in projecting negative representations of such relationship into the eyes of the audience. Consequently, regarding the candidate affiliated to the political right-wing, Klaus Iohannis, it was not possible to establish a significant connection between the gestures executed with the right hand and the ideological orientation, although the messages were predominantly positive.

Another conclusion concerns the dominant function of the gestures performed by the political actors in each of the two communication contexts. As we observed earlier, due to the fact that the political actors explicitly refer in the verbal discourse on easily identifiable events and topics, with the intention of persuading the audience in one direction or another, the communicative function is the dominant function of the gestures in all the communication sequences analyzed. Moreover, most of the gestures performed by the political actors in both communication contexts are pragmatic gestures through which political actors attempt to present events and themes from a certain perspective, with the intention of persuading the audience. Most of these gestures have deictic value and are part of the *pointing gesture family* (Drăgan 2017b, 44).

We can assert that the political actor whose semiotic behavior will appear more predictable, whose meanings will be congruent with the meanings of the verbal discourse, and which will have a balanced dynamics of the relationship between gestures (semiotic resources) and ideological orientation, can create a more pronounced sense of preference. In fact, it will look more convincing in front of the audience, and its messages will have a higher persuasive potential. The fact

that we used a professional multimodal analysis tool, ELAN software, allowed us to annotate and dynamically analyze the semiotic behavior of the political actors involved in the analyzed sequences in a comparative manner.

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