

Retoryka ciała i umysłu w XXI wieku

Rhetoric of body and mind in the 21st century

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Leadership and expressivity: The interplay of speech and gesture in Andrzej Duda's anti-war rhetoric

Przywództwo i ekspresywność: Słowo i gest w retoryce antywojennej Prezydenta Andrzeja Dudy

Abstract

The paper discusses the relationship between leadership and expressivity as exemplified by the Polish President's address to the Ukrainian Parliament delivered on 22 May 2022. The study draws on existing understandings of expressivity and discursive leadership as well as previous studies on gesture in political rhetoric. Co-speech gestures are discussed as an interactional resource linked to emotion and evaluation, and as an inseparable part of the speaker's public persona and identity. Following Bednarek (2011), the analysis considers the president's expressivity at the micro-, meso- and macro-level, and it identifies a range of linguistic and gestural resources with which Andrzej Duda constructs a positive involved style while "communicating emotion" and "doing intensity." The analysis also links the president's linguistic expression of ardour and gestural behaviour to leadership capabilities, explaining how "relating to the audience" and "visioning" can stir and mobilise the audience in times of war and uncertainty.

Praca omawia związek przywództwa z ekspresywnością na przykładzie wystąpienia Prezydenta RP wygłoszonego w ukraińskim parlamencie 22 maja 2022 r. Badanie czerpie z dotychczasowych ustaleń dotyczących ekspresywności oraz przywództwa dyskursywnego, a także badań nad zachowaniami niewerbalnymi polityków. W pracy zwrócono uwagę na rolę gestów towarzyszących mowie w wyrażaniu emocji i wartościowań, a także na ich udział w budowaniu publicznego wizerunku oraz tożsamości mówcy. Analiza ekspresywności Prezydenta RP, przeprowadzona zgodnie z założeniami Bednarek (2011) na poziomie mikro, mezo i makro, pozwoliła na identyfikację szeregu zasobów językowych i niewerbalnych, za pomocą których Andrzej Duda komunikuje emocje oraz buduje intensywność *actio*, podkreślając swoje zaangażowanie i pozytywność przekazu. W analizie wskazano ponadto na związek między ekspresją językową i gestywną a zachowaniami przywódczymi, wyjaśniając, w jaki sposób budowanie relacji z odbiorcą oraz kreślenie wizji mogą poruszać emocje odbiorców i mobilizować ich do działania w dobie wojny i niepewności.

Key words

leadership rhetoric, expressivity, gesture, identity, Ukraine
retoryka przywódcza, ekspresywność, gest, tożsamość, Ukraina

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Leadership and expressivity: The interplay of speech and gesture in Andrzej Duda's anti-war rhetoric

*Every thought must have weight,
every word must be impressive;
to this must be joined a delivery that is varied,
vehement, full of ardor and energy, full of real emotion*
(Cicero 2001, 2.73)

1. Introduction

Central to rhetoric in antiquity, delivery continues to be a crucial element of persuasive discourse in general, and political discourse in particular. Described by Cicero as “wholly a matter of the soul,” (2001, 3.221) that is the speaker’s identity and individuality, *actio* subsumes i.a. vocal quality, tempo, facial expressions, hand gestures, dress and demeanor, and has the potential to stir demanding audiences and the common crowd alike. Despite the significance of the embodied conduct, however, political leaders’ use of co-speech gesture is less frequently addressed in linguistic studies than verbal means of persuasion, and its role in shaping expressivity does not seem to be properly acknowledged.¹ Yet, the co-deployment of speech and gesture allows political figures to manifest emotions in socially proscribed ways (cf. Fiehler 2002), whereby they evoke emotional responses whilst convincing the audience to act in particular ways (cf. Hart 2014; Browse 2018).

1. That is not to say that verbal emotional expression in political rhetoric has not been thoroughly investigated. In fact, there are numerous studies discussing the role of affect in political genres and its likely effect on diverse audiences. Of note is, for instance, Browse’s (2018) reception-oriented account of political persuasion informed by classical rhetoric and cognitive stylistics. In his book, Browse examines “how identity, argument and emotions shape audience responses to the language of political discourse” (2018, 1) and highlights i.a. the relevance of “rhetorical ambience” constructed by tone (“the affective component of our online representations of people) and atmosphere (“the emotional quality we associate with representations of situations”) (2018, 164).

To enrich existing research into multimodal rhetoric, this paper illustrates how the recruitment of gesture by one political figure, the President of Poland, Andrzej Duda, aids his expression of the self and his construction of leadership identity in a unique address to the Ukrainian Parliament delivered on 22 May 2022, i.e., three months after Russia's invasion of Ukraine. The study provides evidence that gesture is a frequently utilized expressive resource linked to evaluative, emotional and ideological meanings, and argues that it should not be overlooked in studies of political rhetoric, even more so in circumstances which are likely to provoke strong emotion, and to resonate with audiences sharing difficult experiences.² In addition, the president's gestures are discussed in relation to leadership capabilities as well as linguistic resources with which he constructs his individual and collective identity.

2. Background

2.1 Expressivity

While variously conceptualised, expressivity has been extensively discussed since antiquity, as delivery³ (Cicero 2001; Quintilian 1920) in classical rhetoric, and in contemporary linguistics, under such concepts as e.g., subjectivity (Stein and Wright 1995), emotion and affect (Caffi and Janney 1994; Bednarek 2008), stance (Ochs 1996; du Bois 2007), evaluation (Hunston 2010; Partington et al. 2013) or appraisal (Martin and White 2005). In this paper, expressivity is viewed as an interactional entity which is “manifested, interpreted, and processed together communicatively in the interaction for definite purposes by the persons involved” (Fiehler 2002, 79). It is also regarded, in line with Bednarek (2011), as an umbrella term embracing “various kinds of expressive meanings including evaluative, emotional and ideological meanings” (2011, 37). So conceived, expressivity resides in linguistic, paralinguistic and nonverbal resources which convey evaluations, emotions and ideologies either explicitly (e.g., emotion words, evaluative lexis, ideological labels) or implicitly (e.g., use of pronouns, repetition, rhythm, loudness), in a given context and under specific circumstances (Bednarek 2011, 11).

Expressivity forms part of a person's identity: its emotional, attitudinal and ideological aspects, which, as noted by Bednarek (2011), are intertwined. Expressive identity can in turn be related to personal and social identities, both of which depend on place and time, or, put differently, the situational and historical context.

2. Cf. Browse's idea of “political resonance” (2018, 179–202) consisting in appeals to “residual political meanings,” that is shared geographical locations and collective histories (2018, 181).

3. Delivery is one of the five canons of rhetoric originally proposed by Cicero in his treatise *De Inventione*, including: invention (*inventio*), arrangement (*dispositio*), style (*elocutio*), memory (*memoria*) and delivery (*actio*).

Personal identity, established through self-construal, is discursively enacted through the momentary mobilization of identity features (Blommaert 2005). Social identity, on the other hand, is connected to group processes and concerns one's group membership and social affiliation (Tajfel 1978). Needless to say, we usually have multiple identities and which of them becomes more visible depends on the self-categorisation and our interactional goals. What follows, a person's sense of self, or self-categorization, translates into specific context-dependent behaviour which affects the impression a person makes in a certain interactional context. We may thus recognise such identities as those of a "whinger," "emotional type," or "conservative," to take just a few examples (Bednarek 2011, 19). Expressive features which make up such identities, whether of real people or fictitious characters, can be identified at three levels: individual occurrences of expressive features (micro--level); clusters of features forming expressive actions or strategies (meso-level); and temporary or stable identities and personality types (macro-level) (Bednarek 2011).

Overlapping with the notion of expressivity, intensity, similarly, forms part of one's persona and indicates engagement in the here-and-now interaction. Described as "the emotional expression of social orientation toward the linguistic proposition: the commitment of the self to the proposition," it is difficult to describe precisely because of its gradient nature and dependence on other linguistic structures (Labov 1984, 43). In English, intensity can take the form of e.g., lexical intensifiers (*she was absolutely gorgeous!*), expletive infixation (*fanbloodytastic*), or inversion (*In came Ronaldo*), and it "draws its explanatory power from its interrelationship with neighbouring categories such as scalarity, quantification and affectivity" (Hugou 2017, 3). Importantly, in addition to degree meanings, intensifiers convey the speaker's personal evaluations, attitudes or viewpoints (Bühler 1934) and, as such, they modify speech acts (Searle and Vandervecken 1985), signal the speaker's involvement toward the described states of affairs (Dorfmueller-Karpusa 1990), and modulate his or her commitment to the proposition (Cacchiani 2017, 4).⁴

2.2 Gesture and expressivity in political communication

Although their mutual relation may vary from context to context, speech and gesture⁵ can generally be perceived as co-expressive semiotic partners or "dynamically fused multimodal signal streams that feed into utterance construction and discourse coherence" (Matoesian 2010, 543). Depending on the speaker's

4. Cf. for instance the expressive force of *I'm totally f*****g confused* and *I'm confused* (Cacchiani 2017, 4).

5. Gesture is understood here as "a label for actions that have the features of manifest deliberate expressiveness," that is those that are under the speaker's control and are performed for the purposes of expression (Kendon 2004, 15). It is thus distinct from other bodily actions (e.g., scratching one's head) which are informative signals but not communicative ones (Abner et al. 2015).

rhetorical ends, however, gesture may play a subordinate role to speech, it may be superordinate, or the two modes may work equally. Used to produce situated understandings, gesture can, for instance, complement or clarify a verbal message; perform a distinct speech act; intensify commitment to an assertion (i.e., mark stance); foreground information; coordinate the rhythm of speech by parsing it into meaningful segments, or point out objects of attention in the extralinguistic world via spatial-temporal proximity (Kendon 2004, 281–282).⁶ Whatever their function in a specific context, nonverbals are a crucial component of expressive behaviour, and the failure to account for this dimension of meaning-making leaves out many of the subjective meanings conveyed in spoken interaction.

While gesture analysis can deepen our understanding of expressivity, it is relatively infrequent in linguistic studies of political discourse. Noteworthy exceptions include, for instance, Hart and Winter's (2022) recent investigation of multimodal legitimation describing gestures which accompany rhetorical tropes in anti-immigration discourse. In examining the discourse of Nigel Farage, the authors link selected topic gestures to the communication of prejudice and legitimation of discriminatory actions through denial, othering, proximization and quantification. Elsewhere, Cienki and Giansante (2014) include gesture and eye gaze in their analysis of televised debates and interviews, arguing that populist politicians are more likely than non-populist ones to frame televised talk as a conversational encounter with their viewers. The movement of hands is also the object of inquiry of earlier investigations, revealing how they coordinate the ongoing interaction (Bull 1986) or convey positive vs negative evaluation (Casasanto and Jasmin 2010). Several other studies draw attention to Donald Trump's distinctive use of hands (Sclafani 2018; Lefkowitz 2021), dubbing his gestural behaviour as "perversely compelling theater" (Hall et al. 2016, 93) or "barbed comedic entertainment" (Goldstein et al. 2020, 97) whose aim is to critique the political system and caricature opponents. In a similar vein, combining insights from Quintilian's work on rhetoric with a pragmatically-oriented analysis, Streeck (2008) argues for the inclusion of bodily expression in studies of "politics as cultural practice." Focusing on the hand gestures of Democratic Party candidates in primary debates in the US, he demonstrates how politicians' use of hands signals speech acts and marks information structure, guiding the listeners' processing and interpretation of the verbal message.

Among the studies exploring Polish politicians' semiotic expression, Antas and Załazińska's (2004) work deserves a mention. In their analysis of televised

6. Two main positions are found in the literature: the cognitive approach which sees gestures as reflective of internal psychological states (McNeill 1992) and the interactional approach according to which gestures are primarily a social tool which organises interaction (Kendon 2004). The view adopted in the current study is that the two approaches are not necessarily mutually exclusive and that gestures can both reflect emotions and facilitate interaction.

political debates, the linguists discuss gesture as an “anti-persuasive device,” noting that even if not verbalised, the participants’ negative attitude (disapproval, negation or disagreement) is decipherable from their bodily expression which in the studied context served as a defensive mechanism, rather than one which increased the persuasive force of the argument. Selected aspects of politicians’ nonverbal communication are likewise addressed in Załazińska (2013), focusing on how gesture has the potential to both reflect disagreement and provoke interpersonal conflict. When discussing the debaters’ emotional involvement, the author describes a range of baton gestures, explaining their relation to the verbal expression of interpersonal conflict, rather than a difference of opinion. Kraśnicka (2021), similarly, underlines the effect that politicians’ use of gesture and haptics has on the dynamics of interaction in a TV studio, drawing parallels between the political spectacle and the Goffmanian theatre metaphor. Stressing that one’s gestural behaviour is largely improvised, the author highlights its role in the manifestation of expressivity.

In sum, the studies discussed above provide evidence that when recruited by political figures, gesture not only enhances verbal persuasion, but also indicates the speakers’ attitudes and emotions, and their discursive positioning vis-à-vis other participants. Bodily expression can thus be linked to political actors’ construction of expressive identity, projection of confidence and control, or their lack, and the perceived effectiveness of their actions as political leaders (cf. Goethals 2005).

2.3 Discursive leadership

Recent scholarship tends to view leadership as a discursive process, rather than a fixed set of personality traits, and stresses its moment-by-moment construction through communication in context (see e.g., Fairhurst 2007; Schnurr 2008; Kloch 2019; Hafner and Sun 2021). Couched in interactional terms, it prioritises two dimensions: competence and responsiveness, that is a leader’s ability to act in an autonomous and self-determined manner and to signal his or her cognitive and emotive dispositions, and involvement with others (Fetzer and Bull 2012, 142). Discursive leadership depends on how these qualities are enacted before the “followership,” that is the group of people over whom it is exercised (Fetzer and Bull 2012). To ensure their continued support, leaders strive to project integrity, charisma and decisiveness (Fetzer and Bull 2012), which in turn requires a more-than-average mastery of communication skills. Effective leaders are in fact expected to do a balancing act: “to perform a demeanour of courage and confidence in contexts of extreme uncertainty” and “to display authentic vulnerability without appearing weak” (McGuire et al. 2020, 365).

Leadership has also become the focus of crisis communication studies, many of which shed light on how public figures inspire audiences while grappling with natural disasters such as floods, wildfires or hurricanes. For instance, looking at top-down disaster communication in the US and Australia, McLean and Ewart (2020) offer insights into the conduct of disaster officials and stress the role of public leaders in the timely dissemination of life-saving information. With the 2018 wildfires in Greece as a case in point, Triantafyllidou and Yannas (2023, 212), on the other hand, call for the acknowledgment of the “emotional and caring communication approach,” or the “ethic of caring,” and the recognition of “strategic ambiguity” in crisis communication. Elsewhere, adopting a task-based approach, Ansell et al. (2014, 422–423) conceptualise political leadership as a set of functions including: 1) sense-making, i.e., offering authoritative interpretations and testing emerging realities; 2) shaping responses, i.e., providing direction and coordinating the response network; 3) meaning making, i.e., explaining the nature of the crisis; 4) account giving after a crisis, i.e., managing inquiries and clarifying responsibilities, and 4) learning lessons from the crisis.

A host of studies have examined the discourse of political leaders during the COVID-19 pandemic. For example, Jaworska’s (2021) study of Angela Merkel’s political speeches reveals how the Chancellor adjusted her pandemic rhetoric to stress unity and urgency through the increased use of first-person plural pronouns and the high frequency of lexis denoting necessity. In the same vein, Hafner and Sun (2021) discuss the positionings which the Prime Minister of New Zealand adopted during press conferences, aiming to frame the crisis as a collective fight, underscoring the need for cooperative action, and urging compliance with governmental policies. Along similar lines, focusing on the New Zealand context as well, McGuire et al. (2020, 365) argue that leaders should unite and mobilise the public around common goals as well as present a realistic future vision framing the crisis as a solvable challenge. By the same token, Berrocal and Salamurović (2023) take a closer look at how political leaders in Central Europe and the Western Balkans manage crisis communication in political speeches. Their comparative study led them to conclude that this political genre can be usefully exploited to forge transindividual identity, to invoke a sense of community, and to promote social values.

Finally, Andrzej Duda’s public rhetoric and leadership discourse have similarly attracted scholarly attention. For instance, in his analysis of the Polish President’s electoral communication, Leśniczak (2022) identifies elements of political demagoguery including the use of symbols and slogans which evoke positive or negative emotions, flatter selected social groups and convey populist ideas to the Polish audience. In a different study, Avar (2023) draws attention to Andrzej Duda’s

speeches and statements related to NATO and transatlantic relations. Taking a critical discourse perspective, the author identifies a set of arguments with which the president discursively constructs themes such as world peace, international security or Poland's sovereignty and foreign policy. In yet another paper, Dudek-Waligóra (2022) investigates Andrzej Duda's choice of rhetorical means in his televised address broadcast on the day of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, i.e., on 24 February 2022. The study reveals that the president favours several rhetorical devices, namely, six types of repetition (polyptoton, tricolon, synonymy, anaphora, anadiplosis, accumulation), metaphors and rhetorical questions, which – taken together – make the content more vivid, memorable, and emotional.

As shown above, discursive leadership research takes as its focus the strategies and public acts with which political leaders construct their rhetorical styles, communicate their policies, and build unique identities. To date, however, not much attention has been devoted specifically to the role of gesture and its relation to political leaders' expressivity.⁷ The emotional rhetoric of the President of Poland during the early stages of Russia's aggression against Ukraine has not been thoroughly scrutinised, either. With this in mind, we will now turn our attention to how Andrzej Duda constructs himself as an empathetic leader before the co-present audience in the Ukrainian Parliament and the general public following his speech remotely. By examining key moments and recurrent patterns in his address, we will demonstrate what insights can be gained from the analysis of expressivity which recognises the role of gesture.

3. Data and method

The material used in the study, i.e., the video footage (app. 35 min.) of Andrzej Duda's address to the Ukrainian Parliament dated 22 May 2022, was accessed via presidential YouTube channel.⁸ We also relied on the Polish transcript together with its English translation which we obtained from the president's official website at: www.prezydent.pl (date of access: 10 October 2022).

In the analysis, we followed Wodak's (2012, 530–532) operationalization of politicians' performances and activities, informed by Goffman's (1956) idea of frontstage and backstage; Bourdieu's (1991) theory of habitus, social fields and capitals, and Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of 'community of practice'. We thus adopted the view that "[i]ndividual politicians construct their *identities* in different, typical and unique ways, depending on the *communities of practice* to which they belong, the various organizational contexts in which they move, their

7. But see the abundance of studies on Donald Trump's expressivity and unconventional bodily behaviour.

8. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7eBsbeFmCe8>, accessed between 10 September 2022 and 15 July 2023.

personal biographies and their national, regional and local histories” (Wodak 2012, 530). We also acknowledged that, in constructing their individual and collective identities, political actors adhere to organizational structures, routines, norms and rituals, and are attributed varying degrees of legitimacy (Wodak 2012, 530).

We specifically sought to investigate whether the Polish head of state used gesture in a patterned manner to construct his expressive identity in what clearly stood out as an emotion-laden frontstage performance. Our concern was primarily with how the co-deployment of speech and gesture contributed to his construction of expressivity at the micro-, meso- and macro-level (Table 1) and, further, with how speech-gesture patterns were related to his identity and leadership capabilities.

Table 1. Levels of analysis (adapted from Bednarek 2011).

LEVEL OF ANALYSIS	DESCRIPTION
micro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> expressive verbal and non-verbal behaviour unique to the speaker or shared with other speakers; explicit and implicit cues, e.g., self-reference, evaluative lexis, syntactic repetition, pitch variation, code-switching, precision gestures, nodding
meso	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> expressive strategies, actions, styles, e.g., positive involved style; negative detached style; clusters of cues (temporary or stable), e.g., recurrent lexical, grammatical, prosodic and gestural patterns
macro	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> expressive identity type, e.g., whinger, emotional type, feminist, conservative, leader

To achieve our goals, we carried out a manual gesture-first analysis of the video footage. We examined the local contexts in which the most prominent gestures were used, trying to detect their co-occurrences with linguistic cues. We were thus able to identify individual gestures (micro-level), speech-gesture correlations and the speaker’s style (meso-level), and the unique and collective identity which the president was constructing while speaking (macro-level). In the study, we focused on salient co-speech gestures (e.g., facial displays, nodding, hand movements and postural shifts) which, depending on context, served to repeat, substitute, complement, accent or regulate the verbal message (cf. Knapp et al. 1978). As such, they oriented the audience to what was being said and did not relate to the propositional content of an utterance (topic gestures, i.e., those relating to the semantic content of an utterance were excluded). Our presentation of interactive gestures and their relation to speech is by no means exhaustive; rather, it brings to the reader’s attention key moments and recurrent gesture-speech co-occurrences, and their relation to expressivity, a vital component of leadership. Our observations regarding the speaker’s use of linguistic devices and gestures were brought together under two rubrics: “Communicating emotion” and “Doing intensity,” where we listed distinct discursive actions composed of linguistic cues and gestures.⁹

9. Cf. Fiehler’s (2002, 86) distinction into “practices for the *expression* of experiences and emotions” and “practices for the *thematization* of experiences and emotions”. For a brief history of emotion research and an overview of approaches to “language as emotion” and “language about emotion,” see Bednarek (2008, 4–12).

To establish to what extent the speaker's embodied performance aligned with leadership capabilities, we relied on the concept of leadership developed within sensemaking theory (Ancona et al. 2007) assuming that by engaging in sensemaking, i.e., mentally structuring the unknown (Waterman 1990, 41), people turn the complexity of the world into a "situation that is comprehended explicitly in words and that serves as a springboard into action" (Weick, Sutcliffe and Obstfeld 2005, 409). In this approach, leadership qualities include not only sensemaking, that is "mapping the unknown," but also relating, that is "building trusting relationships among people and across networks," visioning, that is "painting a compelling picture of the future and what is possible" and inventing, that is "creating the structures and processes needed to move toward the vision" (Ancona et al. 2007).

The main findings are reported below.

4. Analysis

A number of distinctive expressive behaviours were identified in the Polish President's performance. What came to the fore were above all interactive, audience-directed gestures suggesting the speaker's willingness to establish rapport with the hearers, and the high frequency with which they were used. To explain the effect these gestures had, we will now discuss several illustrative examples.

To begin with, Andrzej Duda's address was preceded by a rather unusual opening: a bear hug with President Zelensky (Figure 1), suggesting warmth, emotional closeness and a strong personal bond – not the type of behaviour immediately associated with official meetings of two heads of state. This move indicated, from the very start, President Duda's emotional proximity and readiness to enter into a dialogue.



Figure 1. President Duda bear-hugging President Zelensky.

Other noteworthy gestures included the repeated use of both hands in the frontal area which permeated the president's speech (Figure 2a). The shape of his hands varied: it ranged from cupped hands, through open palms, to pointing index fingers (Figure 2b). The rhythmical vertical movement of the hands coincided e.g., with markers of necessity (*rzecz konieczna* 'necessary thing'), markers of

importance and ability (*to dla mnie wielce ważne... abyśmy mogli budować* ‘it is my great desire... that we can build’) adverbs of certainty (*rzeczywiście* ‘indeed’), negation (*nie złamali was* ‘they didn’t break you’) or visions of victory (*po tym jak pokonacie rosyjskiego okupanta* ‘once you have defeated the Russian occupiers’). With that, the speaker not only made his statements more forceful, but also appeared to rouse the Ukrainian audience. Needless to say, the hand gestures were not used in isolation, but in conjunction with facial displays (grimacing, eye movements), nodding and postural shifts, and the rhetorical effect was achieved cumulatively.

Dzisiaj, bardziej niż kiedykolwiek, wspólnie realizujemy to przesłanie. I musimy je realizować nadal w oparciu o prawdę i wzajemny szacunek. ‘Today more than ever we are living this message together. And we need to continue to do so on the basis of truth and mutual respect.’



Chcę jasno powiedzieć: tylko Ukraina ma prawo decydować o swojej przyszłości. ‘I want to say it clearly: only Ukraine can decide about its future.’



Figure 2a. Hands in the frontal area.



Figure 2b. Several variants of the hands in the frontal area.

Just as hand gestures recurred throughout the president’s speech, so did head nods which were realised either as brief vertical movements punctuating the speech or as continuous nodding, with his hands resting on the lectern, signalling power and confidence. When making single nods, Andrzej Duda introduced rhythmicity, parsing information into clear units and accentuating key points. The single nods were often correlated with syntactic repetition and direct addresses to the audience, as in Figure 3 (*Mówicie, że... To prawda.* ‘You say that... This is true’). Continuous nodding, in turn, co-occurred for instance with verbal acts of gratitude or the audience’s applause.

Mówicie, że Polska otworzyła granicę
 To prawda. Mówicie, że Polska dała Ukrainie ...
 To prawda. Że Polska niesie pomoc i nie
 przestraszyła się To też prawda. Mówicie,
 że Polska otworzyła swoją granicę.... I to też
 jest prawdą.



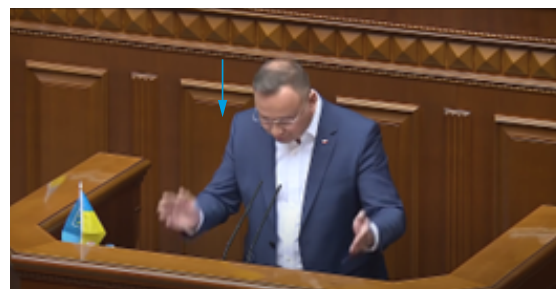
‘You say that Poland has opened its borders ...
 It is true. You say that Poland has supplied ...
 It is true. You say that Poland comes to assistance
 and has not been intimidated... It is also true.
 You say that Poland has opened its borders ...
 This is also true.’



Figure 3. Nodding.

Relational work was also evident when President Duda, not infrequently, bowed to the audience and/or touched his chest. In this way, he projected humbleness and showed appreciation of the Ukrainians’ deeds. This aligns with how nodding is perceived in Polish culture, where it tends to be co-deployed with expressions of gratitude during official encounters (cf. Jarzabek 2016, 120). In addition, by putting his right hand on the chest, the president appeared to be touched and vulnerable, possibly enhancing the audience’s perception of his honesty and integrity.¹⁰ Again, the example shown in Figure 4 was not an isolated case as the hand-over-heart gesture recurred, coinciding e.g., with words of gratitude (*Dziękuję za to z całego serca*. ‘I thank you wholeheartedly’), supportive comments (*Są naszymi gośćmi*. ‘They are our guests’), or the silence which followed.

Jednak to nie my jesteśmy bohaterami,
 to wy nimi jesteście.
 ‘However, we are not the ones who are
 heroes; you are the heroes.’



10. Cf. the findings of experimental studies on the effect of the hand-over-heart gesture on the perception of the speaker’s honesty (Parzuchowski et al. 2014; Leng and Wu 2019).

[silence]



Figure 4. Andrzej Duda bowing to the audience and touching his chest.

Focalising and importance marking were achieved with precision gestures, as in Figure 5, where the precision grip is co-deployed with the slow and emphatic articulation of the words: *podkreślam: staję, by podziękować* ‘I stress: I stand to say ‘thank you’’, accompanied by intense facial displays and head nods. What is striking about this and subsequent part of the presidential address are the multiple instances of the expression of gratitude. At such moments, President Duda switched from the *I* to the *we* perspective, thus both representing himself (*Dziękuję Wam dzisiaj za to, że bronicie Europy* ‘I thank you today for defending Europe’) and speaking on behalf of the Polish nation (*Dziękujemy Wam z całego serca!* ‘We thank you wholeheartedly!’). With the numerous acts of gratitude (we found 19 tokens of *dziękuję/dziękujemy* ‘I/we thank (you)’) coupled with the appreciation of the Ukrainians’ deeds (resistance, dedication and heroic defence), he put them on the pedestal, while stressing solidarity.

Staję przed dostojną Radą Najwyższą jako
Prezydent Polski, by podziękować
‘I am standing here before the High Council
as the President of Poland to say ‘thank you’,’



– podkreślam: staję, by
‘I stress: I stand’



podziękować
‘to say ‘thank you’



Figure 5. Precision grip.

Last but not least comes what we have termed the “victorious posture” (Figure 6), that is the president’s bodily display of pride.¹¹ It was meaningful that President Duda assumed this posture during unfilled pauses, when no words were being uttered (giving the listeners a chance to mull over what he had just said), and invited applause, which he indeed received. At such moments, his hands were resting on the lectern, sometimes with his arms slightly bent. The president moved his head from left to right and back again to embrace all listeners, or produced a series of head nods, sometimes with his eyes being closed.



Figure 6. Victorious posture.

The video footage, of which only a small portion is shown here, revealed certain regularities in the president’s expressive behaviour which, as indicated in Section 3, was categorised either as “Communicating emotion” or “Doing intensity.” The first category embraced such discursive actions as: 1) Reference to the here-and-now emotion felt by the speaker; 2) Display of warmth and closeness; 3) Display of gratitude; 4) Display of pride; 5) Display of anger; 6) Cheering; and 7) Recollection of emotional moments from the past. Illustrative examples for each of the above are provided in Table 2. Worthy of attention is one of the opening lines, setting the tone for the whole speech, when the president uttered the words: *Jak mam teraz mówić, kiedy wzruszenie blokuje mi krtań?* (‘How can I speak now when I am overcome with emotion?’), while touching his throat (the type of utterance referred to as an “experiential declarative formula” in Fiehler (2002)). The examples that follow similarly illustrate the interplay of speech (focusing

11. As Tracy and Robins (2008, 517) note, the nonverbal expression of pride may be a way of alerting others that the proud individual merits increased acceptance and status. They also remind (after Leary et al. 1995) that pride is linked to socially valued achievements which justify an individual’s enhanced social position.

chiefly on positive emotion) and interactive gestures which enhanced the verbal expression of emotion, or even replaced it.

Table 2. Communicating emotion – selected examples from Andrzej Duda’s address.

ACTION	LINGUISTIC CUES	GESTURE
Reference to the here-and-now emotion felt by the speaker	Jak mam teraz mówić, kiedy wzruszenie blokuje mi krtań? 'How can I speak now when I am overcome with emotion?'	touches the throat
Display of warmth and closeness	[silence]	bear hug
Display of gratitude	Dziękuję Wam z całego serca! 'I thank you wholeheartedly!'	hand on the chest head down
Display of pride (<i>victorious posture</i>)	Mówię o tym z dumą, bo Polska udzieliła Ukrainie wsparcia. 'I am saying this with a sense of pride: Poland offered Ukraine support.' [silence]	head up nods his head closes his eyes both hands on the lectern <i>victorious posture, blissful look (eyes closed)</i>
Display of anger	A nam, Polakom i Ukraińcom, szkodzą! 'And act to our detriment: Poles' and Ukrainians' alike.'	<i>angry look</i> clenched fist moving up and down
Cheering	Niech żyje wolna, suwerenna, niepodległa Ukraina! 'Long live free, sovereign, independent Ukraine!'	nods his head
Recollection of emotional moments from the past	Ale przypomnijcie sobie tamte radosne dni. 'But recall those joyful days.'	looks around nods his head

What we classified as “Doing intensity,” on the other hand, subsumed such actions as: 1) Relational work (rapport building); 2) Expression of necessity, desirability, and/or requirement; 3) Expression of volition, intention and/or commitment; 4) Stressing ‘nowness’ and/or urgency; 5) Stressing scale and/or extent; 6) Expression of negative evaluation; 7) Expression of certainty and/or insistence. Their instantiations can be seen in Table 3 which calls attention to the division of labour between the linguistic cues and the co-speech gestures. There is reason to believe that the president manifested these behaviours with the awareness that they would be perceived and interpreted by the audience as emotional expression of high intensity (cf. Fiehler 2002, 87). We can also approach Andrzej Duda’s communicative behaviour in agreement with Fiehler’s (2002, 84) functional perspective on “emotions as evaluative statements.” In this view, emotive behaviour involves displays of one’s positioning on X (situation, other person, self, events/circumstances, articles, mental productions), on the basis of Y (expectations, interests/desires, social norms/morals, self-concept, picture of others), as Z (in agreement, not in agreement). To take an example,

the statement: *Wiem, jak strasznych czynów dopuścili się w Buczy i innych miejscach barbarzyńscy najeźdźcy* ('I know what atrocious deeds were perpetrated in Bucha, and in other places by barbaric invaders') can be described as a negative evaluating statement about others' actions, based on social norms and morals, not in agreement. Naturally, this evaluation was expressed not only verbally, but also through bodily behaviour (*angry look*, facial grimace, *warning finger*).

Table 3. Doing intensity – selected examples from Andrzej Duda's address.

ACTION	LINGUISTIC CUES	GESTURE
Relational work (rapport building)	Pokazałaś, Ukraino, że jesteś – jak mówi Twój hymn – kozackiego rodu. Jesteście wielcy! 'You have shown, Ukraine, that you are – as your national anthem has it – of Cossack stock! You are magnificent!'	head down hand on the chest hands apart, frontal area moving up and down pointing to the audience (going beyond the body frame)
Expression of necessity, desirability and/or requirement	Nie wolno nam tej szansy zmarnować. 'We must not waste this opportunity.'	<i>warning finger</i> half-open mouth hands apart, frontal area moving up and down pointing to the audience (going beyond the body frame)
Expression of volition, intention and/or commitment	Ja osobiście nie spocznę, dopóki Ukraina nie stanie się członkiem Unii Europejskiej w pełnym tego słowa znaczeniu. 'I personally will not rest until Ukraine becomes a member of the European Union in the full sense of the word.'	hammer-like move of his hand open-palm hand, eye level pointing to the audience
Stressing 'nowness' (here/now) and/or urgency	Dzisiaj, ¹² bardziej niż kiedykolwiek, wspólnie realizujemy to przesłanie. 'Today more than ever we are living this message together.'	hands apart, frontal area moving up and down cupped hands apart pointing with his index finger frontal area
Stressing scale and/or extent	To wielka, dziejowa, historyczna szansa i wielki, dziejowy, historyczny przełom. 'This is a great historic opportunity and a great historic breakthrough.'	nodding moves his hands up and down with clenched fists cupped hand, moving up and down, slowly opening hands apart, frontal area pointing to the audience
Expression of negative evaluation	Wiem, jak strasznych czynów dopuścili się w Buczy i innych miejscach barbarzyńscy najeźdźcy. 'I know what atrocious deeds were perpetrated in Bucha, and in other places by barbaric invaders.'	<i>angry look</i> facial grimace <i>warning finger</i>
Expression of certainty and/or insistence	Nie mam co do tego żadnych wątpliwości! 'I have no doubt about it!'	nodding hands apart, frontal area moving up and down

12. We found 27 tokens of *wielki* meaning 'great'/'magnificent'. The figure excludes these occurrences of *wielki* which signalled negative evaluation, as in e.g., *wielkie zło* 'great evil'.

It should be pointed out that Tables 2 and 3 show only selected examples and, further, that emotional intensity was achieved cumulatively, as a result of a more-than-average aggregate of highly expressive resources: linguistic, paralinguistic and gestural. It should again be reiterated that the gestures accompanied not only speech which thematised emotion (emotion talk), but also these stretches of talk which were delivered in an emotional manner (emotional talk). What emerged as prominent was not so much the type of gestures used by the president throughout his performance (except for the bear hug, which is rather unusual in the parliamentary setting), but their considerable accumulation.

5. Conclusions

The foregoing analysis has shown that gestural behaviour is an inseparable part of expressive identity, determining a speaker's persona, or public image, as constructed minute by minute in spoken interaction, and contributing to "rhetorical ambience" (Browse 2018). At the micro-level, Andrzej Duda's address was brimming with expressive devices, be it evaluative nouns and adjectives (e.g., *Jesteście wielcy!* 'You are magnificent!'; *barbarzyńscy najeźdźcy* 'barbaric invaders'), exclamations (e.g., *Niech żyje wolna, suwerenna, niepodległa Ukraina!* 'Long live free, sovereign, independent Ukraine!'), syntactic repetition (e.g., *Mówicie, że Polska otworzyła granicę To prawda. Mówicie, że Polska dała Ukrainie ... To prawda.* 'You say that Poland has opened its borders ... It is true. You say that Poland has supplied It is true.') or other semiotic forms (e.g., bear hug, vertical hand movements, head nods, *warning finger*; touching the chest, *victorious posture*), which cumulatively produced the effect of high intensity. President Duda spoke vehemently and imbued his speech with great ardour and energy, varying the loudness of his voice as well as modulating tempo and stress, guiding the audience's perception of the ideas and themes addressed in his speech.

Viewed from a wider angle, both the linguistic resources and the gestures recruited by the president during the performance in question contributed to his projection of the self and his emotional style of delivery. At the meso-level, the president's speech, serving as a call to action, exhibited features of a positive involved style and sought to instil a sense of pride and togetherness. At the macro-level, Andrzej Duda constructed two identities: the unique identity of the "President of Poland," the head of state who is an empathetic leader pledging support to those in need, and the collective identity of one of many Poles acting as Ukrainians' allies, which he claimed by speaking on behalf of the Polish nation adopting the first-person plural perspective (as in *A nam, Polakom i Ukraińcom, szkodzą!* 'And act to our detriment: Poles' and Ukrainians' alike' or *Dzisiaj,*

bardziej niż kiedykolwiek, wspólnie realizujemy to przesłanie. ‘Today more than ever we are living this message together.’). It became apparent that under the circumstances, the president saw the need to demonstrate high intensity in order to stir and mobilise the Ukrainian audience and, at the same time, to project the image of an effective and empathetic leader to his global followership.

When considered in relation to leadership capabilities, the president’s performance clearly served the purposes of “relating” and “visioning”. While trying to make sense of the post-invasion reality, Andrzej Duda aimed to build a trusting relationship with the addressees by appealing to shared values, goals and ideologies (as in the above-mentioned examples) and by evaluating positively Ukrainians’ actions (as in e.g., *Pokazałaś, Ukraino, że jesteś – jak mówi Twój hymn – kozackiego rodu. Jesteście wielcy!* ‘You have shown, Ukraine, that you are – as your national anthem has it – of Cossack stock! You are magnificent!’ or *nie złamali was* ‘they didn’t break you’). He also sought to paint a compelling picture of the future, making the victory over Russia seem more plausible (as in e.g., *po tym jak pokonacie rosyjskiego okupanta* ‘once you have defeated the Russian occupiers’). His leadership identity was being forged moment by moment through his communicative behaviour, marked by emotionality and high intensity. It may thus be posited that by speaking confidently about the Russians’ atrocious crimes and stressing vehemently solidarity with the invaded nation – and using gestures which enhanced these meanings – the Polish head of state performed “a demeanour of courage and confidence” (McGuire et al. 2020, 365) required of leaders in contexts of extreme uncertainty. On the other hand, by praising the Ukrainians and showing modesty with “humble” and appreciative gestures, he appeared to display “authentic vulnerability without appearing weak” (McGuire et al. 2020, 365).

Last but not least, it should be borne in mind that expressions of emotions, in whatever shape or form, may or may not reflect the speaker’s actual internal states. It may well be the case that they are determined not so much by his or her genuine emotions, but by display rules which specify what manifestations of emotionality are socially acceptable and suited to a specific occasion (such as e.g., a public appeal to a nation affected by armed conflict). That said, determination of the relationship between the Polish President’s expression and his actual emotion was not the purpose of the current study. Instead, it aimed to identify the expressive means which Andrzej Duda used to publicly construct his leadership rhetoric at a pivotal moment in European history defined by the Russian assault on Ukraine. It also sought to demonstrate the expressive potential of gesture which, like linguistic choices, forms part of the speaker’s identity and is an inseparable part of

impassioned political speeches, especially those that aim to unite and mobilise the audience in times of war, crisis or instability.

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