

Emotive Figures as “Shown” Emotion in Italian Post-Unification Conduct Books (1860-1900)

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Abstract: Within a digital corpus of 20 Italian post-unification conduct books (1860 to 1900), *UAM CorpusTool* is used to perform a manual annotation of 13 emotive rhetorical figures as indices of “shown” emotion (*émotion montrée*, Micheli 2014). The analysis consists in two text mining tasks: classification, which identifies emotive figures using the 13 categories, and clustering, which identifies groups, i.e. clusters where emotive figures co-occur. Emotive clusters mainly discuss diligence and parsimony—personal values linked to self-improvement for which reader agreement is not taken for granted. In this corpus they function as “moving” values, that is, values acting recurrently as contexts for “argued” emotion (*émotion étayée*, Micheli 2014).

Résumé: Dans un corpus numérique de 20 livres de conduite post-unification italiens (1860 à 1900), *UAM CorpusTool* est utilisé pour annoter manuellement 13 figures rhétoriques émotives en tant qu’indices de l’émotion “montrée” (Micheli 2014). L’analyse consiste en deux tâches d’exploration de texte: la classification, qui identifie les figures émotives à l’aide des 13 catégories, et la mise en grappes, qui identifie des groupes, c’est-à-dire des grappes où coexistent des figures émotives. Les grappes émotives discutent principalement de la diligence et de la parcimonie, valeurs personnelles liées à l’amélioration de soi, pour lesquelles l’accord du lecteur n’est pas pris pour acquis. Dans ce corpus, elles fonctionnent comme des valeurs “émotionnantes,” c’est-à-dire des valeurs agissant de manière récurrente comme des contextes pour l’émotion “étayée” (Micheli 2014).

Keywords: “Argued” emotion, conduct books, emotive figures, exclamation, Italy, nineteenth century, Lausberg, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca, “shown” emotion, values

1. Introduction

Within the pragmatics of politeness, research on norms and values has recently sparked an interest in conduct books. Conduct books contribute to the conventionalisation of politeness norms; they extract conventions by observing social practices and legitimise them further (Terkourafi 2011; Paternoster and Saltamacchia 2017; Culpeper 2017). Conduct books also tend to be particularly moralising. They use values in order to justify conventions as compulsory. This happens in two ways: values contribute to the conventionalisation process of specific norms, and they also help to maintain the moral order generally by raising moral awareness (Kádár 2017). Italian nineteenth-century conduct books are laden with explicit moral evaluations, as Paternoster and Saltamacchia (2019) have shown for fashion rules. With regard to hairstyles, e.g., “un’acconciatura eccessiva indica vanità e leggerezza” (‘excessive adornment points at vanity and frivolity’ Cianfrocca 1878 [1872], p. 14)¹. Tasca, a historian, calls Italian nineteenth-century conduct books “galatei morali” ‘moral conduct books’ (2004, p. 109), but this is a pleonasm as *galatei* typically promote Catholic ethics, which sets them apart from other advice literature, like etiquette books.

In the textual genre of advice literature, which explicitly states an instructive purpose (in titles, prefaces, prologues) and contains explicit instructive language throughout, “instructiveness” is “most salient” (Tanskanen and Skaffari et al. 2009, p. 6). The reader of instructional literature is expected to be compliant. In the texts considered here, however, this is not always the case. Surprisingly, the exposition is often interrupted by persuasive passages, which try to involve the reader by means of an emotive discourse. There are numerous rhetorical questions, exclamations, vocatives, interjections etc., treating topics where disagreement is expected. In other words, certain topics—mainly concerning moral values—trigger an increased persuasive effort shaped as an author-reader dialogue. This observation sparks the following question: which values attract this emotive style? Are there, in other words, values that prove controversial in the context of Italian post-unification

¹ All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

conduct books? To answer this question, I conducted a quantitative rhetorical analysis of emotive figures based on a manual annotation of the corpus. The analysis ultimately aims to inventory “moving” values. In the corpus, these values are recurrently presented with an emotive style. This paper fills a double knowledge gap in that conduct books are not often subjected to stylistic analysis and they are not often thought of as containing controversial content.

The historical context and the corpus are introduced in section 2. Section 3 situates my contribution in the context of the growing interest in emotions in linguistics and argumentation, particularly in reference to Christian Plantin’s (2011) and Raphaël Micheli’s (2014) notions of “shown” emotion and “argued” emotion. Using definitions of emotive figures from classical rhetoric and argumentation-based approaches to rhetoric, taken respectively from the compendia by Heinrich Lausberg and by Chaïm Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca, I provide examples for the rhetorical figures used in the analysis. Section 4 presents the manual corpus annotation completed using UAM CorpusTool. Section 5 discusses the results of two text mining tasks: classification and clustering. The first task consists of tagging emotive figures in the text, and the second one identifies text segments that are similar, that is, those with a high density of emotive tags or clusters. Emotive clusters are then used to identify “moving” values, that is, values acting recurrently as contexts for “argued” emotion. Section 6 discusses these “moving” values from the point of view of the historical context. The values that most frequently attract an emotive style are diligence and parsimony, which are personal values linked to self-improvement, and, to a lesser extent, social values such as respect for other people. These values appear to be controversial, that is, reader agreement is not taken for granted. The analysis shows that long after the unification of Italy, work and thrift stay “moving” values, and this corresponds to the wider public debate over poverty and public assistance. The concluding remarks offer possible directions for further research.

2. Italian post-unification conduct books

Nineteenth-century Italy was inundated with conduct manuals. Tasca (2004) counts 186 original titles, resulting in at least 450 different editions. This boom can probably be explained by the desire of the emerging bourgeoisie to replace the aristocratic ceremonial code with a new, more rational and utilitarian code of conduct (see Saltamacchia and Rocci 2019 on the use of *ragione* “reason” as a keyword in an 1802 Italian conduct book). Conduct book numbers peaked in the decennia following the unification of the country. This paper proposes to work with the 20 most successful (that is, the most reprinted) conduct books published between 1860-1900, during a period in which, after several decennia of war and turmoil, the ruling class was keen to establish social peace. Within the nation-building effort, conduct books were seen as reliable tools to create a new national identity based on social values deemed necessary for polite interaction (fraternal love, solidarity, etc.) and personal values deemed necessary for the economic development of the new country (diligence, thrift, etc.). Conduct books were socially inclusive. Typically, post-unification conduct books were written by men belonging to the cultured bourgeoisie: teachers, headmasters, priests, philanthropists. They addressed either school-going children or adult members of the lower middle class who were invited to share the values and lifestyle of the bourgeoisie. Conduct books functioned as reading material in schools, but they also circulated in parish libraries and libraries for the people. They were intended for a consumer of limited means; they were affordably priced, and they discussed activities only requiring a modest financial outlay such as visits, walks in the park, theatre, churchgoing, greetings, conversation, and table manners (Botteri 1999; Vanni 2006).

The twenty selected conduct books form part of the *Corpus di galatei italiani ottocenteschi* (CGIO, under construction, compilers Annick Paternoster and Francesca Saltamacchia). Using the optical character recognition software *Abbyy Finereader 12 Professional* (and manual correction), the compilers made searchable files of the 50 most reprinted conduct and etiquette books of the long nineteenth century (1800-1920). For this paper, I have used

20 conduct books appearing in the first 40 years after the unification of Italy (1860-1900). Numbers peak in the 1870s and then decline. For the first decade of the twentieth century, GGIO only contains 1 conduct book (next to 4 etiquette books). Table 1 lists the texts in chronological order, with the numbers of editions until 1920—the end date of our corpus. Chiavarino (1897), remarkably, is in print until 1960. Table 1 includes a word count and a sentence count, both established with the file information function in *UAM Corpus Tools*.

Author, Year, Title	Editions	Words	Sentences
Cristofori, Francesco. 1864. <i>Le norme del vivere civile. Avvertimenti per fanciulli e giovinotti</i>	2	8,825	364
Gatta, Matteo. 1869 [1865]. <i>Galateo ad uso dei giovinetti d'ambo i sessi</i>	2	30,419	1,134
Cajmi, Carlo. 1869 [1865-7]. <i>Nuovo galateo. Consigli di un nonno a' suoi nipoti</i>	3	71,972	2,241
Gattini, Luigi. 1870 [1869]. <i>Il galateo popolare</i>	4	28,044	1,103
Pellegrino, Gaetano. 1870. <i>Il galateo del giovanetto convittore</i>	3	27,617	1,603
Bruni, Oreste. 1870. <i>La vera civiltà insegnata al popolo</i>	5	51,555	2,841
Rodella, Costantino. 1871. <i>Enrichetto ossia il galateo del fanciullo</i>	2	25,003	997
Gallenga, Giacinto. 1871. <i>Codice delle persone oneste e civili ossia galateo morale per ogni classe di cittadini</i>	3	130,592	3,915
Grossardi, Gian Carlo. 1879 [1875]. <i>Galateo del carabiniere</i>	2	24,795	592
Rossi, Clemente. 1921 [1878]. <i>Il tesoro delle giovinette</i>	4	72,411	3,565

Cipani, Giovanni Battista 1884. <i>Piccolo galateo pei figliuoli del popolo</i>	2	5,963	235
Fornari, Ermelinda 1888. <i>Fanciulle per bene. Galateo per le fanciulle</i>	1	36,291	1,910
Demartino, Federico 1897a [1888]. <i>Manuale dei doveri di civiltà informato ai sensi della S. Scrittura</i>	3	23,512	1,601
Cortinovis, Pietro 1889. <i>Regole di civiltà e buona creanza per uso de' convitti</i>	2	10,552	475
Grelli, Carlo 1889. <i>Piccolo galateo ad uso degli istituti educativi d'Italia</i>	2	6,247	258
Righi, Benvenuto. 1889. <i>L'educazione del giovanetto</i>	3	13,190	666
Commodari, Pasquale. 1893. <i>Precetti di civiltà</i>	8	6,419	337
Pasquali, Pietro. 1897. <i>Il rispetto. Libretto di buone creanze</i>	4	12,270	931
Chiavarino, Luigi 1897. <i>Il piccolo galateo ad uso specialmente degli istituti di educazione</i>	10	23,088	1,330
Krier, Bernhard J. 1900 [1894]. <i>L'urbanità. Venti conferenze tenute agli allievi del collegio vescovile di Lussemburgo</i>	2	48,588	2,342
Total	67	657,353	28,440

Table 1. Texts included in the corpus (1860-1900)

As noted, this corpus of conduct books containing mainly school manuals—only four authors, Bruni, Gallenga, Grossardi, Gattini, address adults—belongs to the genre of instructional literature where an authority is giving instructions to a passive learner. However, rules and values are presented with a different style.

Rules consist in long lists of directives. Directives form a fuzzy, indiscreet category, with the illocutionary force ranging from orders to requests and advice. Although the expert is in a position to be direct and use imperatives, the majority of the rules are mitigated and use distancing politeness (Brown and Levinson’s negative politeness, 1987 [1978]). Mitigation is predominantly achieved by the use of “shields” (Caffi 2007), that is, the author, but also the reader, is “hidden” behind impersonal verbs, passives without agent, diluted “we” and general statements. With the distancing style, it is as if the reader is moved into the background. Values, however, are expressed with assertives, although the exposition is often interrupted by a rhetoric of reinforcement. In these cases, the authors do not assume agreement from the reader. Although values are mainly used as *endoxa*—shared social beliefs that require no further argumentation—there are many cases where specific values are the object of increased persuasive effort framed as a dialogue with the reader. The monologue becomes, so to say, a dialogue, and the reader moves into the foreground. There are many overlaps with Brown and Levinson’s positive politeness (or *rapprochement* politeness).

3. Emotive figures

Both mitigation and reinforcement are emotive in nature (Caffi and Janney 1994; Caffi 2007, pp. 138-139). I will adopt Caffi’s terminology: emotive language is interpersonal, intentional, and strategic, whereby involvement—in reference to Hübler 1987—is seen as a continuum that spans across distancing and *rapprochement* moves. This paper is on emotive *rapprochement*. Caffi, whose approach is eminently interdisciplinary, reserves “emotional” for spontaneous, intrapersonal manifestations of our inner self, but she acknowledges that emotions also follow certain socio-cultural rules (2007, p. 130).² Plantin, writing in French, quotes Frijda’s (1993) distinction between *communication émotionnelle* (spontaneous, studied by psychology) and *communication émotive*, which

² For an exploration of the cognitive aspect of emotions like “scripts” or “schema-like structures” with regard to impoliteness (anger, sadness), see Culpeper (2011, pp. 56-59).

is strategic and intentional, only to dismiss it arguing that the presence of real emotions cannot be studied by linguists—he uses *émotionnel* and *émotionné* quite indistinctly for all manifestation of emotion in language (2011, pp. 140-142).

Whilst *pathos* has had a place in rhetoric since Aristotle, the discussion of rhetorical figures and, specifically, emotive rhetorical figures within argumentation theory has been fairly recent.³ Ground-breaking work has been done by Christian Plantin (2011) and Raphaël Micheli (2014). Figure 1 shows Plantin’s distinction between *émotion nommée*, which does not need any inferencing work on behalf of the recipient since the emotion is “said” directly by an emotion term (for example, the verb “to fear”), and two other cases where emotion is signified indirectly and needs inferencing by the recipient. On the right, emotion is inferred from semiotic manifestations pointing to the presence of an emotion in the speaker; on the left, emotion is inferred in the opposite direction, that is, from a situation typically linked to a specific emotion.

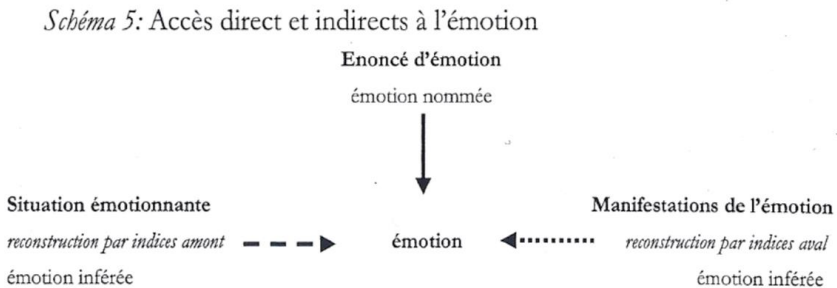


Figure 1. The semiotisation of emotions, reproduced from Plantin (2011, p. 144).

³ An alternative method to study emotions is Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005) in which evaluative terms are said to be based on affect because they express either attraction or repulsion. Appraisal was adapted for emotions by Bednarek (2008).

Micheli rephrases this distinction into *émotion dite* “said,” *montrée* “shown” and *étayée* “argued” (2014, p. 12; for the English terminology see Serafis and Herman 2017). Although the three types of semiotised emotion are intertwined in complex ways, this paper focuses on “shown” emotion as a way to access “argued” emotion. Lexical and syntactic strategies of “shown” emotion in Micheli (2014, chapter 3) include elliptic clauses, exclamations, interjections, nominal sentences, right dislocation, and cleft sentences. “Shown” emotion can also be “transphrastic” and affect text segments containing more than one sentence by means of repetitions and parallelisms (Micheli 2014, pp. 99-103). Bednarek notes that “language as emotion or emotional talk relates to all those constituents (verbal, non-verbal, linguistic, non-linguistic) that conventionally express or signal affect/emotion (whether genuinely experienced or not, and whether intentional or not)” (2008, p. 11). “Shown” emotion is, thus, a matter of conventionalisation.

The conventionalised status of emotive discourse is demonstrated by rhetoric. In his compendium of literary rhetoric, Heinrich Lausberg includes, within the thought figures, two similar groups of figures: “figures oriented towards the audience” and “emotive figures” (1998, §§ 758-779; §§ 808-851). The figures in the first group “intensify the speaker’s contact with the audience” using devices of “address” and “question” and they are “emotive” (Lausberg 1998, § 808).⁴ Figures of address include, for example, the apostrophe (the address of a third party), and figures of question include, for example, the rhetorical question (*interrogatio*) and mock dialogue. The second group contains “primarily emotive figures” (L 1998, § 808) such as *exclamatio*, *evidentia* (detailed description), and *sermocinatio* (where a third party takes the floor). Even the most cursory glance at Lausberg’s sources reveals the longevity of these figures, which have been conventionalised since antiquity. Similar figures form part of Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca’s *New Rhetoric* where they are classified as figures of “communion” and “presence” (2013 [1969], pp. 171-179). Figures of communion, say proverbs, “bring about communion with the audience” (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca 2013

⁴ For concision, Lausberg is hereafter abbreviated to L.

[1969], p. 172; p. 177 for proverbs)⁵. With such figures, like “apostrophe” and rhetorical questions, the speaker “endeavors to get his audience to participate actively in his exposition, by taking it into his confidence” or “inviting its help” (P&OT 2013 [1969], p. 178). Figures of presence “make the object of discourse present to the mind” (P&OT 2013 [1969], p. 174), that is, it becomes foregrounded in the mind of the hearer by means of, for example, repetition, sermocination, dialogism, and *hypotyposis* (a synonym for *evidentia*). Plantin in turn analyses Lausberg’s emotive figures in connection with Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca’s figures of communion aptly concluding that these figures involve the audience by transforming a monologue into a dialogue (2009, pp. 10–11). Similarly, writing on the emotive effect of *evidentia*, Cigada states that the interruption of a one-way exposition by foregrounding the recipient is “most efficient” when using “dialogical sequences” (2008, p. 51). Emotion and fictional dialogue are, so it seems, intricately linked; in rhetoric, fictional dialogue is the conventional way to convey “shown” emotion and involve the recipient.

When it comes to the corpus, it must be noted that these figures were part and parcel of the nineteenth-century education system. Alessandro Manzoni, for instance, frequently uses emotive figures in the dialogues of his 1840 novel *I promessi sposi* ‘The Betrothed.’ Kullmann (2006) argues that the figures used in the novel form part of the rhetorical manuals used in the schools frequented by the author. After unification, Manzoni’s novel was used in schools as an example of good style (Polimeni 2011). This paper works with the following emotive figures: exclamation, rhetorical question, mock dialogue, vocative, suspension points, *evidentia*, italics for emphasis, irony, interjection, apostrophe, sermocination, repetition, and proverbs. The list was established empirically and includes only categories that were effectively found in the corpus.

In what follows, I provide definitions with examples taken from the corpus.

⁵ Hereafter P&OT.

1) Exclamation is the “expression of emotion by means of isolated, intensified *pronuntiatio*,” which “in a similar way” is “proper to *interrogatio*” (L 1998, § 809):

Quanto è bella una famiglia dove il cuore e la mente ordinata possono ispirare codesta armonia! How beautiful is a family where the heart and the orderly mind can inspire harmony! (Cajmi 1869 [1865-7], II, p. 17)

2) The *interrogatio* or rhetorical question is the “expression of an intended statement in the form of a question to which no answer is expected since, given the situation, and from the point of view of the speaking party, the answer is supposed to be self-evident” (L 1998, § 767). For Lausberg, this device is meant to “humiliate” the opposing party, but this is certainly not always the case. In this example about a wealthy man who refuses to educate his children, the figure aims to increase common ground:

È forse questo, dimando io, amore alla famiglia? Così accettiamo ed usiamo i doni di Dio?

Quale utilità recano a se stessi e agli altri, uomini di tal genere? E un padre può egli esser felice di tale abiezione della propria prole? Is this perhaps, I ask, love of one’s family? Is this how we accept and use the gifts of God? How is that kind of man useful to himself and to others? Furthermore, can a father be happy if his children are left in such an abject condition? (Bruni 1870, p. 32)

3) Mock dialogue (or dialogism, *subiectio*) is a “monologue” with “question and answer” included “to enliven the line of thought” (L 1998, §771):

Sapete cosa dovete fare voi? Dovete leggere e mettere in pratica ciò che troverete esposto in questo Galateo. Do you know what you must do? You must read this Galateo and practise what you’ll find set out in it (Pellegrino 1870, p. 3).

4) Vocatives address the reader. Although the latter “belongs to the normal audience,” the vocative has the effect of “an apostrophe since it is unusual and, moreover, snatches the reader concerned away from the anonymous mass of readers, and therefore turns away from the anonymity of the readership” (L 1998, § 763):

O mogli! la gentilezza è il pregio vostro, dopo l'onestà, maggior d'ogni altro. O wives! After honesty, kindness is your greatest virtue (Gallenga 1871, p. 44).

5) The number of dots in suspension points is not fixed and up to seven dots are possible. Suspension points can represent reticence. Among the motives for reticence, Lausberg lists respect for the audience and “omission of content offending against the sense of shame,” which can create “emphasis” (L 1998, § 888). The “development” is left “to the hearer” (P&OT 2013 [1969], p. 487). Suspension points can also indicate a pause to mark out a passage as important and create suspense. In this case, seven dots emphasise marital problems:

Talvolta può avvenire che i casi della vita guastino quel sereno orizzonte che sempre dovrebbe splendere al disopra delle famiglie;..... Sometimes it may happen that the events of life spoil that serene horizon, which should always remain clear above families;..... (Cajmi 1869 [1865-7], II, p. 15)

6) *Evidentia* is “the vividly detailed depiction of a broadly conceived whole object [...] through the enumeration of (real or invented) observable details” (L 1998, §810). Through the “experience of simultaneousness,” the speaker “places himself and the audience in the position of the eyewitness (L 1998, §810; see also P&OT 2013 [1969], pp. 176-177). Simultaneity calls for the present tense, which can “produce a very strong impression of presence” (P&OT 2013 [1969], p. 177; see L 1998, § 814 on *translatio temporum*). This example criticises family men who are polite in society but aggressive at home:

Eppure io odo dei gemiti, delle grida: odo un agitarsi in quelle stanze, un romoreggiar di voci incomposte che in isconcia guisa si urtano, si assaltano. Il suono mi colpisce di villane parole, di brutali ingiurie... Oh Dio! in quella famiglia qualcuno piange, qualcuno si dispera! Yet I hear groans, shouts: I hear an agitation in those rooms, a rumble of agitated voices, which clash in an obscene manner, assault each other. I am stricken by the sound of rude words, of brutal insults... Dear God! in that family someone is crying, someone is in despair! (Gallenga 1871, p. 38)

7) Italics for emphasis are a device of text composition in texts where typographic composition is usually kept to a minimum (Tasca 2004, p. 117):

Che dire in fine di coloro che abusano continuamente dei *liquori*? Non parliamo del disgusto che recano a chi sta loro intorno, con quel fiato puzzolento di rum e di acquavite, da far venire le forze di stomaco. What to say, in the end, about those who continually abuse *liquor*? Not to mention the disgust that they bring to those around them, with their breath stinking of rum and brandy, enough to make one retch (Bruni 1870, p. 79).

8) Irony functions similarly to reticence. As a given meaning is expressed antiphrastically, it is up to the reader to work out the intention of the author. The author counts on the fact that the reader will spot the irony, “Thus irony cannot be used if there is uncertainty about the speaker’s opinions” (P&OT 2013 [1969], p. 208). Irony with this high degree of self-evidence is used to “demonstrate the absurdity of the opponent’s analytical terminology” (L 1998, §902). This passage ironises about Catholic journalists who write vitriolic attacks against their anticlerical opponents:

A questi scrittori che vanno in così soave maniera evangelizzando i popoli su pei giornali e pei romanzi, io direi colla buon’anima del Giusti: “fratelli, voi iscambiate l’acqua dei vostri rigagnoli con quelle del Giordano [...]” To those writers who are evangelising the peoples in such a gentle manner in newspapers and novels, I would say with Giusti⁶ – God have his soul: “Brethren, you are mistaking the water from your rivulets for the waters of the Jordan” (Gallenga 1871, p. 317).

9) Interjections are almost always accompanied by an exclamation mark. According to Leo Spitzer in *Italienische Umgangssprache*, they are generated not by logic, but by affect. They are like “absolute music,” “closest to trombone sounds” as they come straight from the soul (Spitzer 1922, p. 2). Children must not lie:

Se poi la bugiarda è una fanciulla, ah! che schifo! Poveretto l’uomo a cui la sorte serbolla in moglie! Imagine the liar is a

⁶ Giuseppe Giusti was an Italian poet (1809-1850) who satirised on the Austrian occupants during the *Risorgimento*.

young girl, ah! how disgusting! Poor is the man whom fate gave her as his wife! (Cajmi 1869 [1865-7], II, p. 68)

10) With an apostrophe, the orator unexpectedly addresses a third party. It is a highly emotive figure “since it is an expression, on the part of the speaker, of a pathos [...] which cannot be kept within the normal channels between speaker and audience; apostrophe is, so to speak, an emotional move of despair on the part of the speaker” (L 1998, § 762; P&OT 2013 [1969], p. 178). London desperately needs warmth since its inhabitants only care about work:

O benefici raggi del sole, splendetevi, splendetevi su quella terra di tanto lavoro feconda, accendete quelle fantasie, animate e riscaldate quei cuori, date a quei petti i santi palpiti, i sublimi entusiasmi, date loro la vita, l’amore: la vita e l’amore dell’arte, della gloria. Splendetevi, o benefici raggi, splendetevi! O beneficial rays of the sun, shine, shine on that land so rich in work, light those fantasies, animate and warm those hearts, give to those breasts sacred heartbeats, sublime enthusiasms, give them life, love: life and the love of art, of glory. Shine, o beneficial rays, shine! (Fornari 1888, pp. 61-62)

11) With sermocination a third party unexpectedly takes the floor. Sermocination “has a certain connection with *evidentia*” and is “the fabrication of statements, conversations and soliloquies or unexpressed mental reflections of the persons concerned” (L 1998, §820). Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca treat this as “imaginary direct speech” (2013 [1969], p. 176). Here, Bruni attacks the laziness of wealthy individuals:

Neghittosi tutta la giornata, continuamente vanno dicendo: “Oh io non voglio confondermi veh! non voglio inquietudini! Chi vuol vivere e star bene pigli il mondo come viene e non si occupi di niente.” All day they are idle and continuously go on to say: “Oh I do not wish to be muddled, you see! I do not want to be bothered! He who wishes to live well and feel good must take the world as it comes and not concern himself with anything” (Bruni 1870, p. 106).

12) Repetitions are used for “reinforcement, generally with emotional emphasis” (L 1998, § 608). For Perelman and Olbrechts-

Tyteca, the “simplest figures for increasing the feeling of presence are those depending on repetition” (2013 [1969], p. 174).

Ecco gli effetti dolorosi della mancanza in generale di educazione e massime dell’educazione del cuore. Ecco gli effetti dei pregiudizi figli dell’ignoranza che a nostra vergogna e gravissimo danno domina ancor sovrana in Italia. See here the painful effects of the general lack of education, specifically, that of the heart. See here the effects of prejudice, born of ignorance, which, to our shame and very serious detriment, still dominates in Italy (Gattini 1870 [1869], p. 27).

13) Proverbs are a figure of communion (P&OT 2013 [1969], pp. 165-167; p. 177). One source contains metadiscourse on proverbs. Bruni’s conduct book (1870) has the following subtitle: *consigli ed esempi tratti dai proverbi e dalla storia* ‘advice and examples taken from proverbs and history.’ The author specifically addresses working-class people and uses proverbs because they are already known by his recipients: “Che più noto dei proverbi, delle massime ch’esso ha in bocca ogni momento?” (‘What is more known than the proverbs, the maxims that the people use at every instant?’ Bruni 1870, p. VIII):

Bisogna tagliare il mantello secondo il panno. Se uno che guadagna due lire al giorno, ne spende tre, ce ne ha una di debito; e questa come la rimetterà? Cut your coat according to your cloth. If one earns two lira a day and spends three, he has a debt of one; and how will he pay that back? (Bruni 1870, p. 56)

This passage shows the extent to which emotive figures can accumulate. Ermelinda Fornari writes for little girls, *fanciulle* and she is unhappy about the way they treat their grandparents⁷:

⁷ Oggi, o fanciulle, vi sorride la vita, l’animo vostro è tuttora gaio, la vostra salute fiorente, l’avvenire vi si mostra cosparsa di fiori, ma non sarà sempre così. A poco a poco diverrete più deboli, svaniranno le illusioni e le gioie spensierate e finalmente, vecchie e cadenti, vi curverete sotto il peso degli anni e degli acciacchi. È triste, è vero? Quel tempo è molto lontano per voi, pure dovrà giungere un dì. Ditemi, o care, non vi pare che in quell’età deserta di gioie, in quell’età oppressa da tanti fisici dolori, non debba essere di grande conforto il vederci amati, curati e sorretti da chi gode tutta la pienezza ed il vigore della vita? Pure non avviene sempre così. Oh quante e quante volte i poveri nonni vengono addolorati dagl’ingrati e spensierati nipoti!

Today, girls,¹⁾ life smiles at you, your soul is still joyous, your health flourishes, the future shows itself strewn with flowers, but it will not always be that way. Gradually you will become weaker, illusions and carefree joys will vanish and finally, old and frail, the passage of time and ailments will weigh you down. It is sad, surely?²⁾ This time may seem very far off, yet, one day, it will inevitably come to you. Tell me, dear girls, does it not seem to you that at an age deserted by joy, at an age oppressed by so many physical pains, it should be of great comfort to see ourselves loved, cared for and supported by those who enjoy all the fullness and vigour of life?³⁾ However, it does not always happen that way. Oh how many, how many times poor grandparents are hurt by their ungrateful and thoughtless grandchildren!⁴⁾

“You are old — you are old-fashioned — you are gloomy — you do not know what progress teaches us — in your day you had nothing but ignorance”⁵⁾ — These are the phrases that hurt those white-haired and venerable heads, these are the ruthless words that upset those poor hearts full of affection, these are the comforts that are often given to dear people, who already have a foot in the grave!⁶⁾

It is sad, it is cruel, it is inhuman.⁷⁾ Examine your conscience — dear girls — can you say frankly that you have never given an old man cause for grief, either by responding with ill-grace to his just observations, to his wise advice, or by mocking him because of his crooked arm, his trembling hand, half-sighted eye, his obtuse

“Siete vecchi — pensate all'antica — siete uggiosi— non conoscete ciò che a noi insegna il progresso — ai vostri tempi non c'era che ignoranza” — Ecco le frasi che colpiscono quei capi canuti e venerandi, ecco le spietate parole che turbano quei poveri cuori pieni d'affetto, ecco i conforti che sovente si danno a care persone, che hanno già un piede nella fossa!

Ciò è triste, è crudele, è inumano. Fate il vostro esame di coscienza — care fanciulle — Potete dire francamente di non aver mai addolorato un vecchio, o rispondendo col mal garbo alle sue giuste osservazioni, a' suoi saggi consigli, o beffeggiando in lui l'omero curvo, la tremante mano, l'occhio semispenso, l'ottuso udito, la voce contraffatta dal mancare dei denti? Purtroppo non lo credo.

hearing, his voice counterfeited by the lack of teeth? Sadly, I do not believe it.⁸⁾ (Fornari 1888, pp. 54-55).

- 1) vocative *o fanciulle*
- 2) rhetorical question
- 3) vocative *o care*, repetition *in quell’età*, rhetorical question
- 4) interjection *Oh*, repetition *quante* and exclamation
- 5) sermociation
- 6) repetition *ecco*, irony *conforti* and exclamation
- 7) repetition *è*
- 8) vocative *care fanciulle*, *evidentia l’omero curvo*, *la tremante mano*, *l’occhio semispento*, *l’ottuso udito*, *la voce contraffatta dal mancare dei denti*, and mock dialogue

The passage contains a group of emotive figures; it is, in other words, an emotive cluster promoting the value of “respect for the elderly.”

4. Methods

I used the manual annotation tool *UAM CorpusTool* 3.3g (retrieved from www.corpustool.com; O’Donnell 2008; 2009). This is a powerful, user-friendly, and flexible software for the annotation of corpora. I chose *UAM* as it allows the user to develop his/her own annotation scheme with a hierarchy of features. It also allows for annotation of multiple texts—here 20 conduct books—with the same annotation scheme thus facilitating comparison. Finally, it allows the user to annotate each text at multiple levels from a single word to entire sentences and paragraphs. Other features include comparative statistics across subsets and levels, and storage of all annotation in stand-off XML files for easier sharing. For research based on the *UAM CorpusTool*, see <http://www.corpustool.com/cgi-bin/uamctShowPubs.cgi>, which lists studies on a variety of topics such as syntax analysis in EFL, metaphors, mitigation devices, author stance, requests, lexical development, appraisal theory, etc. For a study in the context of argumentation see Palmieri and Miecznikowski (2016).

For the current project, the text analysis consisted of two tasks. The first task pertained to classification, where texts segments

were classified using known categories. A purpose-built annotation scheme was designed using the 13 categories of emotive figures listed above. Of course, different figures operate at different text levels—some pertain to single words (interjections), some to the sentence level (rhetorical question), while others still can operate at transphrastic level (*evidentia*). To facilitate comparison, every figure was annotated at sentence level. This works well even for lexical elements as there is usually one vocative or one interjection per sentence. A sentence containing more than one proverb or more than one case of emphasis was annotated as one unit. For potentially transphrastic figures (*evidentia*, sermocination, apostrophe, repetition), sentences were annotated separately in order to gauge the extent of the figure. When a sentence contained multiple different figures, say, an interjection and an exclamation, multiple tags were inserted. I annotated quotes, but not reported speech as this is another (lower) discourse level.

In the corpus, figures regularly appear together, as seen in the example cited above. A second task consisted in adding a layer to the annotation scheme that indicated whether each figure was part of a cluster or not. There is an important reason for performing this second task. According to Micheli, who performs qualitative analysis, the presence of a cluster—*faisceau* in the original—increases the likelihood that these emotive figures effectively express emotion, and therefore he has chosen his examples based on the “congruence of signs” (2014, p. 68). Consequently, in order to find “moving” values, rather than working with figures occurring in isolation, I chose to work with groups of figures since clusters are more reliable indicators of the presence of emotion than isolated emotive figures, as noted by Micheli. Based on known structures (categories of emotive figures in the current annotation), clusters are homogeneous groups in which the objects are more similar (in some sense) to each other than to those outside the group.⁸ Simply put, clusters of emotive figures are thought to be more similar than text segments with emotive figures occur-

⁸ My use of the term “cluster” differs from the meaning used within lexical analysis, where clusters, or N-grams and lexical bundles, stand for repeated sequences of N groups of words.

ring in isolation, or text segments with no emotive figures. My manual annotation is similar to text clustering, that is, “the task of finding similar documents in a collection of documents” where “clusters can be documents, paragraphs, sentences or terms” (Allahyari et al 2017).

I looked for segments where emotive figures were in the same immediate vicinity. Often a non-emotive (i.e. expository) sentence may separate emotive ones, but I still counted this as one emotive cluster as long as it was covering the same topic. The challenge was to determine which groups were too small to be considered a cluster. As a rule of thumb, a group was considered a cluster when it covered at least one paragraph (where a paragraph is seen as a text segment forming a unity from the point of view of content). The shortest cluster is a one word paragraph, containing an exclamation and suspensions points: “Errore!...” (‘Mistake!...’ Krier 1900 [1894], p. 11). Its typographic separation adds impact. Emotive figures immediately adjacent to a paragraph considered a cluster were included in the cluster provided they prepared/continued the topic. Only Pellegrino (1870) and Cajmi (1869 [1865-7]), whose paragraphs sometimes cover more than one page, posed a problem. With long paragraphs, I retained segments covering more than half of the paragraph. In sum, the clustering task mined emotive paragraphs.

The corpus was annotated three times, and I kept an annotation diary to improve consistency.

5. Results

The corpus contains 6,065 emotive figures. As a rough indication, of a total of 28,440 sentences, a fifth (21.33%) are affected, although one sentence can include more than one emotive figure. This is a remarkable result, given that the texts form part of instructional writing. In Table 2, the second column shows the result of the first text mining task, classification, i.e., the sum for each category, without regard to clustering. Exclamations and rhetorical questions dominate, with each having more than 1,000 occurrences. There is a noticeable gap of 547 items between the second and the third category. Of a total of 28,440 sentences, the sum of the

two first categories (2,440) amounts to 8.58% of all sentences. Lausberg had, indeed, noted that exclamations and rhetorical questions are very similar. In decreasing order, the top six devices are exclamation, rhetorical question, vocative, proverbs, italics for emphasis, and mock dialogue. The seven least frequent figures are, again in descending order, interjection, sermocination, repetition, suspension points, *evidentia*, irony, and apostrophe. For every rhetorical figure, columns 3 and 4 of Table 2 show which proportion is inside or outside a cluster.

Emotive figure	Total (= 100%)	Inside a cluster	Outside a cluster
exclamation	1312	714 or 54.42%	598 or 45.58%
rhetorical question	1128	638 or 56.56%	490 or 43.44 %
vocative	581	196 or 33.73%	385 or 66.27%
proverbs	545	224 or 41.10%	321 or 58.90%
italics for emphasis	535	159 or 29.72 %	376 or 70.28%
mock dialogue	392	175 or 44.64%	217 or 55.36%
interjection	358	224 or 62.57%	134 or 37.43%
sermocination	330	239 or 72.42%	91 or 27.58%
repetition	316	264 or 83.54%	52 or 16.46%
suspension points	273	166 or 60.81%	107 or 39.19%
<i>evidentia</i>	122	100 or 81.97%	22 or 18.03%
irony	113	62 or 54.87%	51 or 45.13%
apostrophe	60	55 or 91.67%	5 or 8.33%

Table 2. Frequency and distribution of emotive figures in the corpus

The text clustering task produced two results, the first of which was unexpected. First, the distribution of the emotive figures

shows that certain figures have a tendency to appear inside clusters and others outside clusters. This is not a result I set out to demonstrate, and this was noted after the clustering was completed. Some figures predominantly appear outside clusters, especially italics for emphasis (70.28%) and vocatives (66.27%). However, for the majority of emotive figures (9 out of 13), more than half of occurrences, are within a cluster, with peaks for sermocination (72.42%), *evidentia* (81.97%), repetition (83.54%), and apostrophe (91.67%). In column 3, from top to bottom, the percentages seem to increase whereas in column 4, they seem to decrease. In other words, the less frequent emotive figures seem to have a tendency to occur within a cluster (column 3). Their more common counterparts tend to appear more often outside a cluster (column 4).

Figure 2 shows the relationship between columns 2 and 3 of Table 2 on a bar chart, with the addition of a trendline. A trendline is a best-fit straight line showing the general direction followed by a group of measurements. The relationship between overall frequency and membership of a cluster is as follows: the lower the frequency of an emotive figure, the higher the percentage of its occurrences inside a cluster.

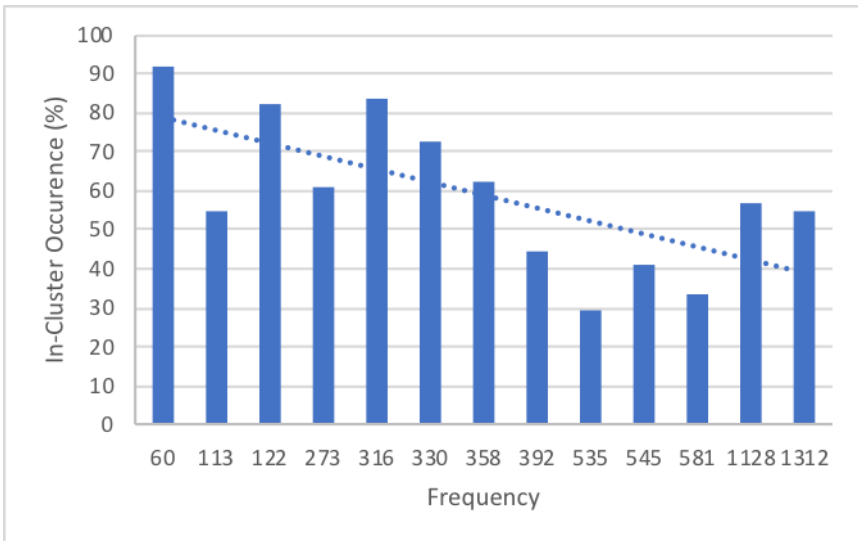


Figure 2. Relationship between overall frequency of emotive figures and percentage of their in-cluster occurrence

In Figure 2, the vertical axis represents percentages of emotive figures positioned inside a cluster. The horizontal axis indicates the frequency of emotive figures, ordered from less frequent on the left (apostrophe) to most frequent to the right (exclamation). The trendline is downwards indicating that the more common a figure, the greater the likelihood of its appearance outside a cluster. The rarer a figure, the greater the likelihood of its appearance within a cluster. Less common figures, therefore, are quite specific indicators of emotive clusters. For example, if an apostrophe can be identified, in nine cases out of ten it will be inside a cluster. Given that clusters are more reliable indicators of the presence of emotion (as noted by Micheli 2014, see above), *ipso facto*, emotive figures with low recurrence are more reliable indicators of the presence of emotions. This result could have interesting implications for the mining of emotion using emotive figures, but more research, with a larger dataset, is required.

Second, clusters allow for greater reliability in the identification of topics that form the object of shown emotion. Given that some topics repeatedly attract emotive clusters, this is possibly an access route to *émotion étayée* (“argued” emotion, Micheli 2014), because it enables the discovery of topics conventionally associated with emotions (in other words, the topics are *émotionnant* “moving,” see Figure 1). Table 3 shows how often a given topic—almost always a value (or its opposite)—attracts an emotive cluster.

Number of clusters	Values
8	Diligence at work
6	Parsimony
5	Respect for fellow theatregoers; religion; education; slander; gambling (including playing the lottery)
4	Introduction; conclusion; diligence at school; gratitude; importance of virtue; excessive love of entertainment; insincerity; respect for the elderly

3	Love of one’s children; love of one’s siblings; love of one’s parents; love of animals; respect for servants; respect for the dead; gluttony; drunkenness; charity; avarice; hypocrisy in religion; anger; choosing appropriate friends; compliance with doctor’s prescriptions
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Table 3. Topics attracting most emotive clusters

Four introductions and four conclusions contain emotive rhetoric indicating that emotive rhetoric also depends on the position in the text. Furthermore, there are 27 topics attracting two emotive clusters each, and 121 topics that appear only once with emotive rhetoric in segments that criticise, for example:

- hogging newspapers in a café
- bad music in church
- women attending murder trials to entertain themselves
- fear of the school dentist

One question regards the type of emotion that is being communicated. Sometimes there is a concern on the part of the author that the reader will ignore the advice. In some cases, authors express indignation. Plantin has worked on the lexical expression of indignation, linking the reason for indignation to the transgression of universal norms (the principles and values of democracy, like justice, 2012: 179-181). In order to determine precisely which emotions are semiotised in conduct books, a lexical analysis is needed of “said” emotion. However, this falls outside the scope of the present study.

6. Discussion

In section 2, it was noted that Italian post-unification conduct books promote two sets of values: the social values of politeness (understood as brotherhood and solidarity) and the personal values needed for the economic development of the country. In Table 3, personal values appear to attract more emotive clusters with the top positions occupied by diligence and parsimony—values relating to self-improvement and self-help. Other related topics are

education, gambling, diligence at school, excessive love of entertainment, gluttony, drunkenness, and avarice. Politeness is a slightly less moving value and is reflected in topics such as respect for fellow theatregoers, the elderly, servants and the dead; love for one's children, siblings, parents, and animals; charity; slander; gratitude; insincerity; and anger.

In post-unification Italy, work and study were considered effective tools for self-improvement and were strongly promoted as official values of the nation-building effort. Conversely, poverty was thought to be caused by laziness, alcoholism, gluttony, or gambling. In other words, the poor's poverty was their own fault. Begging was discouraged. This is an example of an emotive cluster praising work:

Eppure quanti sono che vogliono vivere alle spalle altrui!
Quanti sono che oziosi tutta la giornata quanto è lunga, mai non hanno un pensiero d'occuparsi di qualche cosa utile e abbrutiscono in modo l'anima loro che perdono irrimediabilmente la propria dignità.

Per questo molti si danno a vagabondare, e sudici e cenciosi, indifferentemente stendono la mano senza punta vergogna di rendersi avviliti presso la società! Anzi loro sembra di condurre una vita magnifica; non hanno un pensiero che gli affligga, e quasi inconsapevoli della loro esistenza, vanno innanzi finché la morte non gli toglie dal mondo!

E dire che col lavoro potrebbero essere stimati quanto gli altri!

Guai a quell' operaio che non ama il lavoro ! Egli è un disgraziato.

Al contrario, quanto è edificante la condotta di tanti bravi popolani i quali amando moltissimo il loro onore, sono sempre laboriosi!

Oh vivano essi felici tutti i giorni della loro dimora su questa terra!

Yet how many want to live on the back of others! How many are idle all day long, they never think of keeping busy by doing something useful and demean their soul to the extent that they irreparably lose their dignity.

For this reason, many become vagrants. Filthy and in rags, they shamelessly extend their hand without feeling any guilt for becoming society’s dejected! On the contrary, they think they lead a magnificent life; they do not have a thought that afflicts them, and almost unaware of their existence, they go on until death removes them from the world!

And to say that with work they could be esteemed just like any other!

Woe to that worker who does not love work! He is a wretch. On the contrary, how uplifting is the conduct of so many decent working-class people who are always laborious as they love their honour so much!

Oh may they live happily every day of their stay on earth!
(Bruni 1870, pp. 49-50)

The new government did not provide public assistance and care of the poor was organised by the Church or by charitable organisations. However, there was “vigorous public debate” between the Catholic ethics of compassion and state intervention on one side and the principles of *laissez-faire* and self-help on the other (Riall 2009, p. 96). There was indeed widespread Italian interest in the “self-help” movement (Bacigalupi and Fossati 2000). *Self-help*, published in 1859 by Samuel Smiles, was quickly translated into Italian, and soon inspired another bestseller, *Volere è potere* “Where there’s a will, there’s a way” (1869) by Michele Lessona, which totaled 23 editions. The emotive style affecting many topics related to diligence and respect for others shows that the implementation of these values is not taken for granted. Ultimately, these are the values on which the authors expect less reader agreement and deploy a more persuasive effort. There is intense public debate about poverty, but it is remarkable that it trickles down into conduct books most of which are addressed to children (see Paternoster 2019 on the stigmatisation of alms-asking, which was thought to perpetuate laziness).

7. Concluding remarks

Within instructional writing, conduct books are particularly moralising. Values justify social conventions, but they themselves are

usually not further justified. In this corpus, however, the exposition is often interrupted by clusters of emotive rhetorical figures promoting those values for which the author does not expect reader agreement. Through the concept of “shown” emotion, 13 emotive figures were used to perform two manual text mining tasks: classification and clustering. Classification has shown which emotive figures are most frequent. The analysis of clusters has shown, from the point of view of language choices (“shown” emotion), that some emotive figures have a tendency to appear in clusters and are thus reliable indicators of the presence of emotion. Furthermore, from a content point of view (“argued” emotion), clustering has allowed for the identification of values that are particularly prone to attract an emotive style. Core values within the nation-building discourse, such as diligence and parsimony, and to a lesser extent, respect for others, are conventionalised as “moving.” It would be worthwhile to extend the analysis to the entire CGIO and see if the same values are equally “moving” over a period of 120 years, from 1800 to 1920. Interestingly, in regard to post-unification children’s literature, Boero and De Luca discuss the sentimental treatment of the topics of poverty and suffering within a “rhetoric of the pathetic” (2012³, p. 60). Given numerous overlaps with conduct books (many authors, like Ida Baccini, practise both genres), further stylistic analysis could be used to investigate “moving” values in children’s literature. Given the public debate on poverty and self-help, this approach could be usefully extended to journalism and essays. I would particularly favour more research into the historical role of rhetorical questions and exclamations—the two most frequent emotive figures in my data. More research into the least frequent figures is needed to investigate their specificity in terms of mining “shown” emotion.

Within the scope of the current study, it has not been possible to spend more time on the internal distribution of categories. As noted, the introductions and conclusions of conduct books attracted emotive rhetoric. But how are the figures distributed within a chapter? Bruni (1870) inserts a great number of emotive devices in the middle of the chapter, with beginnings and endings presenting less emotivity. Cajmi (1869 [1865-7]) does the opposite. He starts and ends with emotive rhetoric using none in the middle of the

chapter. Similarly, it could be asked, which figures are preferred to initiate a cluster or to conclude one? One could also look at combinations of figures. Vocative, interjection, exclamation and suspension points form a frequent combination, and there might be others. Some topics attract specific rhetorical figures; for example, readers are often warned against avarice, envy, and arrogance with *evidentia*. Another interesting area of research is the distribution of rules and values. Is their rhetoric mutually exclusive (between mitigation and reinforcement), or are there overlaps? Also, some authors use more emotive rhetoric than others, and there are style differences between them. Finally, it is absolutely fundamental to compare these findings with contemporary rhetoric manuals. In the nineteenth century, rhetoric tends to move away from an elocutionary, belletristic style under the influence of Romanticism and scientific progress. In regard to the exclamation, the most frequent figure in the corpus, Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on rhetoric and belles lettres*, which was translated and used in Italy as a school manual (Kullmann 2006), recommends avoiding books with pages “thick bespangled” with exclamation marks, as it is a sure sign of a lack of passion (1783, p. 450). The fact that Blair asks to reserve emotive figures for cases of real emotion is an important methodological warrant for interpreting nineteenth-century emotive figures as “shown” emotion.

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