ETHOS IN TED TALKS: THE ROLE OF CREDIBILITY IN POPULARISED TEXTS

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Abstract. *This paper investigates the importance of credibility in TED (Technology, Entertainment, Design) talks, which are popularising speeches aiming at Knowledge Dissemination.*

Drawing upon Gili's (2013) theory on credibility, which grounds credibility on the three roots of knowledge, affectivity, and shared values, this work analyses how credibility is established in this new tool of popularisation that breaches the typical 'scientist-mediator-audience' triangularisation, bringing scientists directly into contact with their audiences.

Through the analysis of the use of personal stories and anecdotes, familiar language, visuals, exemplifications, and reference to everyday life, this study shows how these techniques are used by TED speakers to establish on-the-spot trustworthiness by appealing to emotions and values, revealing that in this genre of popularisation, credibility is achieved more through trustworthiness and similarity, connected to Gili's normative and affective roots of credibility, than through authority and reputation due to mere knowledge.

The work further suggests that the success of these talks depends on how the speakers are listened to, remembered, and perceived as credible promoters of knowledge dissemination, but also on how they contribute to the audience's approach to science, not as something distant and separate, but as a heritage belonging to both professionals and layperson.

Key words: *TED talks; Credibility; Scientists-Audience interaction; Communicative competence; Popularisation; Knowledge Dissemination*

1. INTRODUCTION AND AIMS

This paper investigates the importance of credibility in TED (Technology, Entertainment, Design) talks, which are popularising speeches aiming at Knowledge Dissemination.

Research on popularising texts has been usually based on a 'canonical view' of popularisation according to which there is a clear-cut distinction between scientific and popularised texts (Grundmann & Cavaillé 2000). This standpoint implies that science is built on a hermetic language that needs to be 'translated' from the science world to a popularised context, where the audience is seen as an 'ignorant' mass for which the scientific community has the power to decide what has to be known and what not. This viewpoint is based on a triangular communication space, composed of scientists, the audience, and text producers. The latter are mediators, usually journalists, who master an original technical/scientific language and are able to 'translate' a scientific discourse into everyday language (Berruecos Villalobos 2000). However, it must be said that this is quite a reductionist approach to popularisation, as it raises a barrier between the scientific community and the audience.

Recently, the scientific/popularised discourse dichotomy has been questioned and new approaches have been established in a perspective that popularisations are not a form of 'vulgarization', or 'translation', but rather a recontextualization of scientific content (Calsamiglia 2003: 141). Moreover, scientific communication, previously conducted through press, radio, and television, is increasingly finding new outlets online. This is the case with TED, a non-profit organisation devoted to the dissemination of 'Ideas worth Spreading'[1]. It began in 1984 as a conference devoted to the dissemination of technology, entertainment, and design, but in 2006 it started hosting videos of the conference talks on its website, eventually becoming a new spoken web-based genre. Its videos are provided with a transcript, a translation into a number of languages, a blog, and a comment area, giving rise to a phenomenon of genre and modality mixture.

TED constitutes an innovation within innovation, as it is a new tool of popularisation that breaches the typical 'scientist-mediator-audience' triangularization, bringing scientists directly into contact with their audiences. From this point of view, it is very interesting to analyse the process of interaction between specialists and laypersons, as the scientists have to find a way to be understood, respected, and remembered by their audience.

In other words, the speaker needs to establish his credibility with his audience, to be trusted and to communicate his/her ideas in the most effective way.

2. CREDIBILITY AND ITS ROOTS: A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK APPLIED TO TED TALKS

Aristotle (Rhetoric, A 2, 1356a 1-20) defined credibility (ethos) as a personal quality, a person's moral feature, which characterises those who are consistent, honest, sincere, and trustworthy. However, as Gili (2013:1) explains, contemporary psycho-social reflection has changed this perspective: credibility is not merely a personal characteristic, but rather a quality that is also the result of a relationship; it is not only based on the speaker's self-image, but especially on credibility that the audience gives to the speaker.

As Gili points out, credibility can be based on three different roots, that is to say three 'reasons' for which we can recognise someone as credible: knowledge, affectivity, and shared values. The first root is constituted by knowledge and expertise. This kind of credibility raises the speaker's authoritativeness, as s/he is seen as a reliable possessor of knowledge. In the modern western culture, scientists are those who embody this form of

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[1] TED website: <www.ted.com> (Last accessed: January 2014).

credibility. In this case, credibility is an extrinsic quality given by a person's education, experience, public role, and publications, which qualify him/ her to speak on a certain issue.

However, in the science popularisation field of TED talks, credibility that comes from mere knowledge and expertise is only one of the dimensions involved. In order to convey credibility, knowledge must be sided by some other dimensions of expertise, which are what distinguish the role of those scientists who decide to disseminate their research as TED speakers. In fact, in order to present an efficient Ted talk, speakers are not simply required to master the content of their research or speech: it is also necessary to know how to communicate these contents. Communication must be tailored for a broad audience, because the audience is not made of the speaker's ideal audience of professionals. It includes laypersons, the potentially world-wide audience who watches these videos through the internet.

During a TED conference, these speakers must not only transmit their knowledge, having the linguistic ability of conveying it for a professional and non-professional audience, they also have to have a 'dramatic' competence (Goffman 1959). These talks are not a sterile summary of scientific discourses, as at a typical scientific conference. They are characterised by dynamicity, in that they convey energy and emotional involvement, but also immediacy, a reduction of the interpersonal distance with the audience, by involving them directly in the speech. This aspect of expertise is strictly related to the second and third root of credibility, which are two fundamental aspects for establishing credibility during a TED talk.

In fact, the second root of credibility is constituted by affectivity. These speeches try to create a direct and emotional connection with the audience, in order to not only inform the audience about a topic, but also to enhance the audience's will to make a change and to disseminate knowledge in turn. When these speakers want to create a positive bond with their audience, the audience responds emotionally to an issue and identifies with the speakers' point of view, creating a connection between the two parties. This is a very powerful tool to establish credibility, as it can be used to move the audience to decision or action. The more the audience feels connected to the speaker, the more efficacious the speech will be. A good speaker must be able not only to inform the audience about his/her findings, but also to create an emotive contact, which can also be reinforced by a shared background of ideals and values.

The last root of credibility concerns values. It is the kind of credibility we assign to those people who share our values or embody the values having greater respect and consideration in our society. These values in TED do not only concern the scientist's professional values, but also the general social values that also guide the contact with the audience. Thus, in TED, credibility related to knowledge must be absolutely integrated with normative credibility (i.e. related to values) and, even more, on credibility related to affection (i.e. Gili's 'third root of credibility'), based more on entrustment than on specific skills. This is why TED speakers are required to have a long preparation period, with the aid of speech specialists that help the speakers learn to manage specific techniques.

One of the most famous TED speech gurus, Andrew Dlugan (2010), proposes four strategies enhancing credibility: similarity, authority, reputation, and trustworthiness. Similarity is the ability to make the audience identify with the speaker; reputation is the belief of the expertise that the audience thinks the speaker has; trustworthiness is the ability to be consistent with the message; and authority relates to the formal or informal authority that the speaker conveys to the audience.

TED talks use quite unique strategies to establish credibility. In this genre of popularisation, trustworthiness and similarity, which are connected to Gili's normative and affective roots of credibility, seem to be more relevant than authority and reputation due to mere knowledge. In the following sections we will analyse the strategies used by TED speakers to enhance their credibility among the audience in order to be listened to, remembered, and recognised.

3. CREDIBILITY ENHANCING STRATEGIES APPLIED TO TED TALKS

As discussed by Dlugan, a crucial point about credibility is that it can be established before, during, and after a speech. If the speaker is well-known and his/her reputation is already established, the audience's perception of the speaker is already mainly formed before the speech. This type of speaker, for instance organizational, political, religious, educational authorities or older people tend to attract more audience. The greater a person's authority, the more likely the audience is inclined to listen and be persuaded. However, the peculiar aspect of TED is that it is open to anyone willing to spread their ideas, and so it includes not only well-known people, but also laypersons. In these cases, credibility is purely established during the speech and after.

Most of the credibility is achieved through affectivity and values, trustworthiness and similarity, rather than through reputation and authoritativeness. The peculiar strategies used to establish credibility through the roots of affectivity and values more than mere knowledge will be discussed below.

3.1. Tell personal stories or anecdotes (Trustworthiness)

One of the main characteristics of TED talks used to establish credibility through affectivity is their strong emphasis on the oldest of human practices: storytelling.

New audiences desperately look for real and trustworthy information. Audiences seem to not want information from textbooks anymore, they prefer to listen to who is directly involved in research, technology, and science. They not only want to listen to innovative ideas, but they also want to know why an issue personally matters to the speaker. In other words, audiences are no longer interested in general and distant stories, they prefer short, personal, and direct stories which have an affective impact.

TED talks are successful especially because they include stories that touch the audiences' inner chords, making them 'care'. When TED speakers decide to add a story to their talks, they mainly choose from their personal experiences that express the values they feel deep down to their core. Differing from other forms of popularisation, they use emotion over logic, personal experience over published academic truth, evocation over explicitness, and informality over formality. In these cases, credibility is raised by telling stories or anecdotes which demonstrate that the speakers have first-hand, emotive involvement in what they are going to talk about. Most of the speeches set off from personal stories or an anecdote, which generate an emotional response to the remarkable event and add trustworthiness to the speaker's words. For instance:

(1) During 41 years of teaching biology at Harvard, I watched sadly as bright students turned away from the possibility of a scientific career or even from taking non-required courses in science because they were afraid of failure. These math-phobes

deprive science and medicine of immeasurable amounts of badly needed talent. (E.O. Wilson: Advice to young scientists- April 2012)

(2) I grew up in a house that was the traditional African American home that was dominated by a matriarch, and that matriarch was my grandmother. She was tough, she was strong, she was powerful. She was the end of every argument in our family. She was the beginning of a lot of arguments in our family. She was the daughter of people who were actually enslaved. Her parents were born in slavery in Virginia in the 1840s. She was born in the 1880s and the experience of slavery very much shaped the way she saw the world. (Bryan Stevenson: We need to talk about an injustice- March 2012)

The pragmatic function of these personal stories is to establish credibility among the audience, as they are used to introduce the speaker's identity (through 'who am I' stories) and the genuine purpose for which the speaker is going to give the talk ('why am I here' stories), while capturing the audience's attention and creating empathy.

In particular, 'who I am' stories, as can be seen in examples (1) and (2), reveal who the speaker is as a 'person', giving a powerful insight into what really motivates him/her. They can create credibility appealing to the affectivity root of credibility, as they involve an emotional connection with the audience, revealing that the speaker is 'just like them'.

Another type of story increasing credibility is 'why I am here' stories, used to tell not only the general purpose of the talk, but especially the speaker's genuine motivation for being there, in order to create deep empathy with the audience. The goal is to show that the speaker is reliable and that s/he wants to work with the audience to achieve a common goal, as can be seen in example (3):

(3) So it got me thinking, what if I told you my history was story, how I was born for it, how I learned along the way this subject matter? And to make it more interesting, we'll start from the ending and we'll go to the beginning. And so if I were going to give you the ending of this story, it would go something like this: And that's what ultimately led me to speaking to you here at TED about story. (Andrew Stanton: The clues to a great story- February 2012)

By demonstrating that the speaker is emotionally and deontologically involved in what s/he is saying, beyond mere authoritativeness and reputation, the audience is more likely to believe the speaker on an interpersonal level.

Therefore, personal stories and anecdotes are used to establish credibility between the speaker and the audience by appealing to emotions and values, revealing what they both share as human beings, exhorting the audience to make a change.

3.2. Familiar language and audience engagement (Similarity)

Credibility can also be raised with a thorough analysis of the traits shared with the audience, in order to highlight them during the speech.

This aspect takes us to the analysis of audience engagement, which concerns the way speakers address their audience, acknowledge their presence, connect to them at different levels and involve them as discourse participants (Hyland 2010: 125). When the audience perceives the speaker as 'one of them', it tends to consider him/her closer to their experience, and this increases the speaker's credibility.

In TED talks, the enhancement of credibility through similarity is mainly achieved by means of inclusive linguistic elements, such as the use of the personal pronouns 'we' and 'us', or also through the direct involvement of the audience.

For instance, in the following excerpt from El-Feki's talk "HIV: How to Fight an Epidemic of Bad Laws", the topic of the TED talk is presented as an issue of common concern when the speaker asks a personal question to her audience:

(4) Time for a quick show of hands. Who here has been touched by HIV – either because you yourself have the virus or you have a family member or a friend or a colleague who is living with HIV? Hands up. Wow. Wow. That's a significant number of us. (El- Feki, HIV: How to Fight an Epidemic of Bad Laws, 2012)

This question involves the audience concretely and personally. The hand rising reveals that most of the audience is concretely touched by the issue. The use of the inclusive pronoun 'us' in "that's a significant number of us", creates a sense of unity in the group, breaching the usual speaker/audience barrier. This similarity and inclusiveness increases the speaker's credibility among the audience. Her tone, volume, and pace mirror her emotions. She uses a loud voice when conveying anger for 'bad' legislation. Sadness is conveyed through a softer voice when introducing the videos of examples of people experiencing the consequences of 'bad' legislation. Frustration is expressed through sighs and hand gestures. All these elements reveal how involved she is in what she is saying during her speech. It is also interesting to note that during this talk, the speaker eliminates all physical barriers between her and the public. For the entire talk, she is never behind the lectern and she constantly moves closer to the audience. This enhances her connection with the audience and thus her credibility.

Moreover, rather than preferring a complex incipit that may be difficult for a general audience, the speaker prefers to set the register of the speech and the target audience at a level comprehensible for all, using language familiar to the audience.

In fact, in this type of popularisation talk, it is also very important to use very simple and familiar language in order to enhance credibility. A very good example of this point is Tony Porter's "A Call to Men". In this talk, the speaker uses very simple, straightforward and familiar language to describe the collective socialisation of men as the "Man box":

(5) Growing up as a boy, we were taught that men had to be tough, had to be strong, had to be courageous, dominating – no pain, no emotions, with the exception of anger – and definitely no fear; that men are in charge, which means women are not; that men lead, and you should just follow and do what we say; that men are superior; women are inferior; that men are strong; women are weak; that women are of less value, property of men, and objects, particularly sexual objects. I've later come to know that to be the collective socialization of men, better known as the "man box". See this man box has in it all the ingredients of how we define what it means to be a man. (Tony Porter "A Call to Men", 2010)

Using this very simple language, full of examples, the speaker magisterially alternates light comments where he says that "there are absolutely wonderful things about being a man, but at the same time, there's some stuff that is just straight-up twisted" , and heavy statements or stories, ending his talk with a very straightforward vision of the future: "I asked a 9 year-old boy, what would life be like for you if you didn't have to adhere to this Man Box, he said to me, 'I would be free.' Thank you folks." Familiar language thus helps the speaker create a connection with the audience, breaching the speakers-audience barrier.

3.3. Use of visuals, examples, and references resonating with the audience (Similarity)

Visuals, exemplifications, and other techniques are an important element of TED talks as their aim is popularisation, to reach laypersons that do not have the theoretical tools to understand complex scientific discourses. TED talks tend to put particular emphasis on these elements because the speaker tries to engage and entertain the audience through vivid visuals and examples that not only have a big impact among the audience, but they also enhance the speaker's credibility through similarity, as the audience will also start thinking that the speaker is just like them.

A good example of how these elements are used to enhance credibility is Wernicke's talk "Lies, Damned Lies, and Statistics (about TED talks)" (2010). It is an entertaining and humorous meta-talk on the use of examples and visuals used by TED speakers. He uses statistics to deride the topics usually presented at the conferences. At the beginning of his talk, he shares the top five most common words in the title of the most popular talks. The top five were "you", "happiness", "brain", "French", and "coffee". Then he makes a joke, saying that if speakers really want to give a good talk, they should talk about how "French coffee spreads happiness to your brain":

> (6) Let's look at the list of top 10 words that statistically stick out in the most favourite TED talks and in the least favourite TED talks. So if you came here to talk about how French coffee will spread happiness in our brains, that's a go. (Laughter) (Applause) Whereas, if you wanted to talk about your project involving oxygen, girls, aircraft – actually, I would like to hear that talk, (Laughter) but statistics say it's not so good. (Sebastian Wernicke "Lies, Damned Lies, and Statistics (about TED talks)" (2010)).

The audience laughs at this, as it is obviously not a very organised sounding topic. However, it is a way to use statistics in a humorous and thus entertaining way, and it gives the audience energy, which makes them more enthusiastic about what he was saying, because they feel that he is similar to them, and he can be trusted.

Another way of increasing credibility among the audience is participation: many speakers put emphasis on the fact that TED is a 'community', and thus they try to share the event experience with the audience. In other words, they increase credibility by incorporating something from the 'TED experience' into their speech. Mentioning other speakers or the event as a whole makes the audience see the speaker as "one of them", and a silent bond forms.

For instance, in his presentation, Watson (2005) recalls a preceding talk, weaving it into his material:

> (7) Jeff Hawkins, this morning, was describing his attempt to get theory, and a good, big theory, into the neuroscience. And he's right. This is a problem. Harvard Medical School once – I was at a talk – director of the lab said, "In our lab, we have a saying. If you work on one neuron, that's neuroscience. If you work on two neurons, that's psychology". We have to have more theory, and it can come as much from the top down. Thank you very much. (James Watson: How we discovered DNA, 2005)

Many references are for Chris Anderson, the organiser of the events. He is frequently referred to as a sort of 'guru' of the entire event:

(8) Well, I thought there would be a podium, so I'm a bit scared. Chris asked me to tell again how we found the structure of DNA. And since, you know, I follow his orders, I'll do it. But it slightly bores me. And, you know, I wrote a book. So I'll say something – I'll say a little about, you know, how the discovery was made, and why Francis and I found it. And then, I hope maybe I have at least five minutes to say what makes me tick now. (James Watson, "How we Discovered DNA", 2005)

These references enhance credibility as the speaker creates a bond with the audience, who feel that they can trust the speaker's words because he involves the sense of community, far away from the concept of a passive audience that characterises typical scientific knowledge discourse.

Another strategy used to increase credibility among the audience is the use of quotations, because a reputable source enhances credibility by association. They can increase the trustworthiness, similarity, authority, or reputation among the audience of the moment, depending on the source used. Some examples are given below:

(9) A fact came out of MIT, couple of years ago. Ken Hale, who's a linguist, said that of the 6,000 languages spoken on Earth right now, 3,000 aren't spoken by the children. So that in one generation, we're going to halve our cultural diversity. He went on to say that every two weeks, an elder goes to the grave carrying the last spoken word of that culture. So an entire philosophy, a body of knowledge about the natural world that had been empirically gleaned over centuries, goes away. And this happens every two weeks. (Phil Borges on endangered cultures, 2006)

(10) So let's look at what this last century has been to see where we're going. Over the last hundred years, the average human lifespan has more than doubled, average per capita income adjusted for inflation around the world has tripled. Childhood mortality has come down a factor of 10. Add to that the cost of food, electricity, transportation, communication have dropped 10 to 1,000-fold. Steve Pinker has showed us that, in fact, we're living during the most peaceful time ever in human history. And Charles Kenny that global literacy has gone from 25 per cent to over 80 per cent in the last 130 years. We truly are living in an extraordinary time. And many people forget this. (Peter Diamandis: Abundance is our future, 2012)

Quoting experts and statistics backs up the speakers' claims, reinforcing their arguments and trying to persuade the audience. Using experts' opinions makes the speaker's position seem more credible, and statistics make an argument seem more conclusive and valid. This allows the audience to look up to the speaker as to a credible, making them more persuasive.

Finally, most of these talks are accompanied with very captivating visuals, which open many more pathways than words alone. Videos, pictures, graphs, and other animated visuals are an integrated part of these talks, giving more strength to the entire presentation. For instance, in El- Feki's speech aforementioned, visuals play a main role in appealing to the audience. She uses exemplification strategies, which along with the initial scenario, help the speaker give arguments to her speech. A great analogy that the speaker uses is between the isolation generated by AIDS and the leper during the seventeen hundreds, accompanied with an image of a leprosarium:

(11) Today we can prevent the transmission of HIV. And with treatment, it is a manageable condition. We are very far from the days when the only practical response to dreaded disease was to have banished the afflicted – like this, 'The Exile of the Leper.' (El-Feki, HIV: How to Fight an Epidemic of Bad Laws, 2012).

The speaker reveals a great mastery of visuals. Her diagrams are all very clear and intuitive; they help the audience understand every sequence and process, in a meaningful sequential order. Her carefully crafted and focused diagrams almost always enhance the comprehensibility of the speech using progressive disclosure.

Thus, the aid of visuals and other delivery techniques magnify TED speakers' credibility by creating an emotional bond with the audience, matching delivery and gestures to emotions aroused by the non-verbal impact of images.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This work has highlighted the importance of credibility as one of the main features of TED talks.

It has been shown that the innovative aspect of the science popularisation field of TED talks is that knowledge- expertise is only one of the dimensions that raise credibility, and not the main one: it is enhanced more through trustworthiness and similarity, which are connected to Gili's normative and affective roots of credibility, than to authority and reputation connected to mere knowledge.

As TED talks breach the typical 'scientist-mediator-audience' triangularisation, bringing scientists directly into contact with their audiences, speakers need to establish their credibility on-the-spot, to be trusted and to communicate their ideas in the most effective way.

Efficacious TED speakers must also know how to create an emotive contact with the audience. This can also be reinforced by a shared background of ideals and values that do not only concern the scientist's professional values but also the general social values that guide the contact with the audience. It has been seen how one of the main characteristics of TED talks used to establish credibility through affectivity is storytelling. In these cases, credibility is raised by telling stories or anecdotes that demonstrate that the speaker has first-handed emotive involvement in what s/he is going to talk about. By demonstrating that the speaker is emotionally and deontologically involved in what s/he is saying, beyond mere authoritativeness and reputation, these stories touch the audience's inner chords, and thus it is more likely that they will believe the speaker on an interpersonal level.

Another aspect that has been analysed is that in TED talks, credibility can also be achieved by means of inclusive linguistic elements, such as the use of the personal pronouns 'we' and 'us', the direct involvement of the audience, and the use of a very simple, familiar language. Moreover, the inclusion of experts' opinions makes the speaker's position seem more credible, while statistics make an argument seem more conclusive and valid. This allows the audience to look up to the speaker as to a credible person and thus to be more persuasive.

Finally, the examples reported have shown how visuals, exemplifications, and other techniques are an important element of TED talks, as their aim is to reach laypersons who do not have the theoretical tools to understand complex scientific topics. They magnify the speaker's credibility by creating an emotional bond with the audience, matching vocal delivery and gestures to emotions aroused by the non-verbal impact of images. Thus, it can be said that TED talks as a popularising genre demonstrate that mere knowledge is only one of the aspects that enhance credibility.

In a world in which formal cultural institutions no longer detain the centrality and monopoly of knowledge dissemination and many other educational agencies have arisen, the role of knowledge dissemination communities is being challenged on several fronts. This has led to the challenge of not only regaining credibility with audiences, but also to the redefinition of the role of knowledge disseminators per sé: the science community has to redraw the canonical perception of its own role, the way in which it is personally lived and its interaction with the audience. The success of knowledge dissemination depends on how these speakers are perceived by the audience as people who not only promote knowledge dissemination, but also contribute to the way in which the audience approaches science, not as something distant and separate, but as a heritage belonging to the whole community.

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ETOS U TED GOVORIMA:
ULOGA KREDIBILITETA U POPULARIZOVANIM TEKSTOVIMA

Ovaj rad istražuje važnost kredibiliteta u TED (Tehnologija, Zabava, Dizajn) govorima, koji su popularizacijski govori čiji je cilj širenje znanja. Na osnovu Žilijeve (2013) teorije o kredibilitetu koja tvrdi da temelji kredibiliteta počivaju na znanju, afektivnosti i zajedničkim vrednostima, ovaj rad ispituje kako je kredibilitet uspostavljen u ovom novom oruđu popularizacije koje krši uobičajeni 'naučnik-posrednik-publika' trougao, dovodeći naučnike u direktan kontakt sa njihovom publikom.

Kroz analizu upotrebe ličnih priča i anegdota, poznatog jezika, vizualizacije, primera, i veze sa svakodnevnim životom, ovaj rad pokazuje kako TED govornici koriste ove tehnike kako bi uspostavili momentalno poverenje oslanjajući se na emocije i vrednosti, što otkriva da se u ovom žanru popularizacije kredibilitet postiže više kroz poverenje i sličnost, što je povezano sa Žilijevim normativnim i afektivnim korenima kredibiliteta, nego kroz autoritet i reputaciju zbog samog znanja.

U radu se dalje tvrdi da uspeh ovih govora zavisi od toga kako publika sluša govornike, kako ih pamti i shvata kao verodostojne promotere koji šire znanje, ali isto tako i od toga kako oni doprinose pristupu publike prema nauci, ne kao nečemu dalekom i odvojenom, nego kao nasleđu koje pripada kako stručnjacima tako i laicima.

Ključne reči: *TED govori; kredibilitet; naučnici-publika interakcija; komunikativna kompetencija; popularizacija; širenje znanja.*