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A Study of Identity Construction in Political Discourse

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Abstract

This thesis interrogates the construction of identity and self-presentation strategies in the discourse of the current President of the United States of America, Barack Hussein Obama. The study seeks to answer questions about how the President constructs the various identities evident in his discourse, what kinds of resources are drawn upon, and how the resulting identities contribute to gain the support of the audience and the progression of political discourse in general.

The present study sheds light on the construction of the personal, relational and collective identities utilising a pluralistic mixed-method approach. It draws upon the tools provided by corpus linguistics alongside a more fine-grained, narrative-based critical discourse analysis. The qualitative analysis offers a methodological synergy based on the insights of research conducted in critical discourse analysis, sociolinguistics and narrative analysis.

The study investigates not only the way identities are constructed and defended, but also their significance in shaping the professional image of the President as a caring and self-made leader. Moreover, the study examines the construction of attitudinal identity in Obama's discourse, whether in reflecting upon his own attitude or in reference to the collective identity of the American people or the Democratic Party as a whole. The study concludes with a consideration of the potential significance of the present research, along with suggestions for future research explorations.

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Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The primary aim of this thesis has been to examine the constructions of identity in the discourse of Barack Obama and to interrogate the key linguistic patterns associated with self-presentation through quantitative corpus analysis and qualitative narrative analysis. This thesis focuses on political communication, taking a critical discourse analysis approach to investigating the political speeches of Barack Hussein Obama. Perloff (2014: 30) defines political communication as a process by which language employed by leaders, citizens and the media produce (un)intended effects on the attitudes and behaviours of individuals. Leaders need to construct claims in a persuasive manner in order to affect people's attitudes in support of those held by the speaker (ibid: 317). One way of achieving this aim for politicians is through constructing identity in accordance with values and altruistic intentions, which is a way of telling the electorate who they are, what they stand for and what they, as leaders or potential leaders, want to achieve (ibid: 319-20). In this study, I am examining the way that Obama uses language to construct his identity as a presidential candidate, as President and as a Democrat by expressing attitudes to legitimise his policies, during his presidency and post-election speeches and also whilst fighting for presidency against Mitt Romney and John McCain. The data spans the period from 12/02/2008 to 17/06/2013.

Throughout this chapter, I provide a rationale for examining Obama's speeches and I introduce the relationship between discourse and politics to demonstrate briefly the role played by discourse in the political domain. Then, I discuss the relationship between critical discourse analysis and identity in linguistic studies to justify studying identity construction employing the tools offered by critical analysis. After that, I state the main research aims and problems, introducing the gap in the knowledge that is filled by this study. The chapter ends with an overview of the main chapters of the thesis.

1.2 The Significance of Obama's Discourse

According to Degani (2015:1), Barack Obama happened to be the right person in American politics at the right time for Americans. The American people, after two terms of Republican administration, were eager to start an era of 'promised renewal' (ibid). In addition to this, another reason that makes Obama the object of the present study is that other researchers have highlighted the significance of his rhetoric and his skilful use of linguistic devices throughout the 2008 election campaign, such as Alim and Smitherman (2012), Remnick (2010) and Degani (2015).

Remnick (2010: 189) explains that Obama is excellent at absorbing and synthesising arguments as his words 'seemed to prove an innate disposition for crafting messages that can speak to and inspire many different Americans […] to demonstrate his sensitivity for recognizing the real problems affecting people'. Furthermore, Degani (2015: 1-2) states that his election campaign in 2008 focused on 'hope' and 'change' which responded directly to the wishes of the American people as his speeches 'seemed to demonstrate his sensitivity for recognizing the real problems affecting people […] They showed his pragmatic approach in making reasonable proposals to face problems effectively' (2015: 2). Thus, it is interesting to examine the way he employs language to draw a unique image for himself and construct his identity in conformity with the promised renewal the Americans have been waiting for since he seems to have used a different discourse marking a new era of consent and cooperation rather than coercion.

Given the significance of working with a coherent and representative amount of data, this study seeks to examine the construction of identity in a corpus of Obama's political speeches built in accordance with the research questions stated later in this chapter. The corpus will be referred to from this point forward as The Obama Corpus. Moreover, the particular application of a mixed-method research design in this study, combining critical discourse analysis and corpus linguistics, offers a novel way of approaching the data.

1.3 Discourse and Politics

Various studies have been conducted to account for the role of language in politics, including Riggins (1997), Fairclough (2000) and Joseph (2006), to name but three. Language is the main tool through which politicians can express their plans and

ideologies and justify their political acts and plans. Thus, language in the political domain has been a key focus of interest for discourse analysts since it serves as a channel through which actions, changes, and manifestations can be conducted through linguistic acts.

Discourse is defined in this study as the communication of thoughts by expressing proposed actions, policies and ideologies and their validity and positive outcomes to society in a certain social field of action. Therefore, discourse is not only the expression of a message but also the employment of language in conveying values that enhance that message as shown in 2.3.4. One social field of action is politics. When it is characterised in relation to other domains of discourse or language, it is referred to as a genre. Wodak (2006: 175) provides a useful definition where she states the following:

> Discourse can be understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts, which manifest themselves within and across the social fields of action as thematically interrelated semiotic, oral, or written tokens, very often as 'texts', that belong to specific semiotic types, that is, genre.

Within the domain of politics, language use plays an important role in indicating beliefs and political ideologies as well as the heavily interrelated construction of identity and group relations. According to (Schäffner, 1996: 201), every action in the political domain is 'prepared, accompanied, controlled, and influenced by language. We could add other verbs to this list such as, guided, explained, justified, evaluated, criticised'. These are the expressions politicians will use when running for election and are struggling for power – 'whose will, whose choices will prevail' – is a fundamental basis of exploration in the relationship between power and politics (Joseph, 2006: 17).

To understand what characterises political discourse in general, it is essential to explain briefly how this field can be defined. For a discourse to be considered political, Schäffner (1996) identifies two determining features. The first is that it is thematic, that is, related to themes within the domain of politics, such as: political activities, political ideas and political relations. The second is that it is functional: It performs functions within the political field of action such as self-presentations, legitimation, vote-getting,

constituting, reconstituting public opinion, and so on. A third point that needs to be added to this context is that political discourse is institutionally contextual. In other words, if political ideas and functions are not expressed in a political and formal setting, then it cannot be considered political. The importance of the contextual setting of political discourse has been clearly emphasised by van Dijk (2004: 339), who states that political discourse can be defined in terms of political discourse structures as well as political context.

Political discourse involves the use of language to communicate themes and perform functions in a political setting, where formal norms apply, to achieve goals and do political business (Perloff, 2014: 31). Thus, in providing an analysis of political discourse, the analyst needs to examine the themes discussed. If they involve taking certain actions, he/she needs to consider the way a politician tries to persuade the audience of the efficiency of those acts, especially if there is a probability that they might be objected to. Judging such acts is usually proposed in terms of what is right or wrong and what is good or bad as the analysis in chapter 5 shows.

1.4 Critical Discourse Analysis and Identity

Critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA), is concerned with how social and political inequalities are embedded within discourse. For example, in exploring gender identities, an analyst is interested in the way ideologies reproduce unequal aspects of masculinity and femininity since ideologies exist within societies and exert a social force to constrain the way men and women think about themselves (McKinlay and McVittie, 2011: 9). Identity can be defined as the way individuals or a collection of social groups consider their relation to other groups and to society (Bloor and Bloor, 2007: 20-21). But this definition is never stable; it keeps changing as individual groups change socially and psychologically throughout time. Thus, it can be said to signify a changing element and this is applied to all categories of identity, whether social or personal (Wodak et al., 2009: 11). Within a political context, identity is of a special significance, as speakers tend to align with different political groups, highlighting positive aspects and placing one's own self in opposition to the 'other' groups to gain support for the intended group.

The main cornerstones of CDA are language, power and ideology, which all relate to identity construction through language. Language is part of identity construction as it is about meanings which are 'the outcomes of agreement or disagreement […] a matter of convention and innovation, always to some extent shared and always to some extent negotiable' (Jenkin, 1996: 4). The relation of power to identity and language appears in the fact that language is used by powerful people to draw clear boundaries between what is commonly referred to as 'Us and Them', because the notion of identity revolves around similarities and differences between individuals and social groups (Wodak, et al., 2009: 11). An ideological perspective is explicitly or implicitly provided 'through various kind of categorisation' as differences among social groups are evaluated (ibid: 217).

Having briefly explained the relationship between identity and CDA, it is worth also stating that identity relates to the key theoretical concepts of stance and evaluation (further information provided in Chapter 2). The basic gap in literature addressed in the current study relates to Bednarek's (2005) claim about stance and evaluation and builds upon her work. Bednarek (2006: 26) argues that there is hardly any valuable stance research that contributes to the analysis of evaluation, because the first is a competing term for the second and there are only practical considerations for not employing the term stance instead of evaluation. In this study, I present a framework introducing the ways in which the two terms represent different conceptualisations and how they can be integrated in a way that contributes to the construction of attitudinal (ideological) identity. The framework is discussed in section 2.3.3 and further explanation of how stance and evaluation are employed is supported by the analysis presented in chapter 5.

1.5 Identity, Corpus Approaches and Narratives

Few studies have used corpus analysis in examining identity construction in discourse, therefore, a thorough evaluation of identity from a corpus-linguistic perspective is required especially through conducting concordance analysis. For instance, Baker (2006:

9) states that identity researchers have often shied away from using corpora. This can be due to the fact that identity-related research tends to be more located within social sciences and humanities research domains which tend to be more qualitative in nature, whereas corpus linguistics is often conceptualised as primarily a quantitative method of analysis (ibid: 8). Recent studies including Fisher, (2013), L'Hote, (2014), Degani (2015), and Baker et al. (2012) have used corpus linguistics in addressing identity through keyword analysis and have moved towards a qualitative analysis of narratives, values and metaphor. The present study adds to the previous studies on identity cited about as it employs concordance tools in searching for identity construction through language. Corpus linguistics has a great deal to offer to the study of political discourse. Therefore, in summary, the current research is designed to apply corpus tools with CDA to address the construction of attitudinal identities in the discourse of Barack Obama, via exploring The Obama Corpus and the narratives identified in the same corpus. Analysing concordance lines can provide a clear insight into the linguistic strategies adopted to construct group or individual identity.

1.6 Overall Aims and Research Questions

As already stated, the present study examines identity constructions and strategies of self-presentation in the political discourse of Barack Obama. This study intends to achieve the following overall aims:

1. Build a representative corpus of Obama's speeches based on the significant political issues that he dealt with since his election campaign in February 2008 through to the end-date of the data sample in June 2013.
2. Survey The Obama Corpus to identify the most commonly occurring words associated with the use and distribution of personal pronouns through utilising corpus linguistic tools.
3. Analyse a series of linguistic features which emerge from the corpus to investigate how they contribute to identity construction and self-presentation.
4. Explore the role of narrative performance strategies in constructing identity in the narratives.

Through applying a mixed-methods approach, this work aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Using the quantitative measurements of frequency and collocation, what are the significant collocates co-occurring with personal pronouns and what roles these collocates can play in constructing identity?
2. By applying mixed-method design, how are stance and evaluation expressed as linguistic resources contributing to highlight the ideological identification of Obama and his administration as representing social actors in discourse from CDA perspective?
3. What types of identity categories does Obama draw upon as he presents himself when constructing his arguments in narratives?
4. Restricting the focus of evaluation in narratives, how does historical present and reporting discourse, whether of the self or the opponent, contribute to constructing stance and positive self-presentation and negative-other representation as evaluative elements?

The overall intention is for this research to add new empirical data to the fields of corpus linguistics and critical discourse analysis as well as advancing research in political leadership communication. The concepts of corpus linguistics and the scope of critical discourse analysis and how these two can be combined to design a mixed-methods research approach is presented with a step-by-step guide to the methodology presented in Chapter 3, including an accessible explanation as to the way that the analysis is conducted. The main contribution provided by the present scholarship is presenting a framework for the construction of attitudinal identity showing the role performed by stance and evaluation in revealing hidden ideologies in political discourse. As I show in Chapter 2 studies have dealt with each concept separately relating stance with epistemic legitimation and attitudes with evaluation. The framework presented draws upon these different linguistic resources to account for the construction of attitudinal (ideological) identity in political discourse based on reading concordance lines in Chapter 5. The study then moves towards more qualitative analysis where tense variation and discourse representation are examined to explore the way evaluation and stance in narratives are

employed to presenting social actors and attitude expressions. The methodological originality is evident in adopting a mixed- research approach in achieving triangulation. Corpus tools are applied with CDA perspectives in exploring the use of personal pronouns in expressing subjectivity with epistemic or deontic stance resources in evaluating a position or an attitude proposed by politicians. In the following section, I outline the structure of the study as a whole.

1.7 Thesis Overview

The aim of the present chapter is to introduce the subsequent chapters relating them to the significance of the research questions raised in this study. Chapter 2 addresses the most significant, up-to-date research into identity and critical discourse analysis. The chapter begins by exploring the concept of critical discourse analysis and the main approaches to analysing data, in addition to the criticisms directed against it. The main goal is to provide a justification for using CDA approach in analysing attitudinal (ideological) identity because CDA explores the role of language in relation to power and ideology among social groups. Then the focus shifts to addressing the concept of identity and its relation to the self in political discourse. Subsequently, it introduces a framework of constructing attitudinal identity and the formation of social groups and argues that corpora can be used to compare the discourse and ideologies of different social groups. The chapter ends with reviewing theories of self-presentation and identity construction in narratives. In Chapter 3, I provide a detailed discussion of the mixed-methods approach taken in the present study, along with an outline of the particular method employed. The main goal of mixing CDA and CL is to avoid the misconceptions associated with applying each approach alone and to achieve engagement with large amount of data and maintain scientific rigour. I highlight the main methodological issues that have arisen in the course of corpus building and during the study's design.

Directly following Chapter 3 are three analytical chapters, which address the main research questions stated earlier. Chapter 4 is concerned with identifying the key themes evident in The Obama Corpus through conducting frequency and collocation analysis. As stated earlier, the study moves towards analysing identity construction in the corpus as the semantic domain of social actor's representations proves to be common in The Obama

Corpus. Chapter 5 is directed towards investigating the collective and individual representation of the self through attitudinal expression and knowledge expression. Chapter 6 investigates the construction of identity and self-presentation through examining tense variation and reported speech in the narratives identified in The Obama Corpus.

Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the key findings that emerge in the analysis, focusing on political speeches as social practice. The study is brought to a conclusion in Chapter 8 where I summarise the overall research findings, consider some of the problems in the research design, and make a series of suggestions for future research, based on the findings of the present study.

Chapter Two
Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to locate the original research presented in this thesis within three broader thematic approaches. The first section presents the critical discourse dimension of identity studies by showing the connection of these studies to the critical approaches to discourse analysis. The second deals with the concept of identity in general and introduces an overview of the construction of identity based on the integration of stance and evaluation as they contribute to the production of attitudes. The third section presents aspects of identity construction in narrative data.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

This section aims at showing the aspects of critical discourse analysis that relates to the analysis of political discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA) has become a well-established field in recent decades. However, as Baxter (2010: 126) states, it is not universally considered a theory, a sub-discipline of discourse analysis or a methodological approach. In fact, CDA scholars have taken different views regarding its conceptualisation in the last two decades. For example, Fairclough (1995: 1) views CDA as a framework, theory and a method for exploring language in its relation to power and ideology. van Dijk (1993: 249) describes it as the study of relations of discourse, power, dominance, and social inequality. Woods (2006: 51) defines CDA as an approach to language and discourse taking an overt political position by reproducing the workings of established social and political structures and aiming at challenging accepted patterns of inequality, oppression, and repression. In a recent study, Fairclough, et al. (2011: 357) state that CDA may be best seen 'as a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agenda'. This is a suitable way of exemplifying CDA because CDA studies in general start with a social problem or a research topic (such as discrimination, racism, and Middle-East politics) and seeks to identify the complex ways in which

language works within the scope of the specified problem and within a variety of institutional and specific discourses (e.g., in education, government, media, and organisations). This review shows that there is no unified definition of CDA as there is a wide range of critical approaches which can be categorised as CDA (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 4). Yet, these approaches all share an interest in power, domination, ideology and inequality, which are the cornerstones of CDA. To best describe the CDA movement, we need to examine the way the terms 'critical' and 'discourse' are defined and viewed by CDA advocates.

The term 'critical' can have different interpretations and meanings in different contexts. Its use in CDA resulted from the influence of Marxist and later The Frankfurt School's critical theory, 'in which the critique is the mechanism for both explaining social phenomena and for changing them' (Fairclough et al., 2011: 358). Bloor and Bloor (2007: 12) indicate that critical analysis of discourse differs from non-critical analysis in that it provides a critique of social practices. It attempts to make explicit the importance of language in the social relations of power and examines the way meaning is created in context, the role of the speaker/writer's purpose and stance in constructing discourse. Hammersley (2002: 244) states that the term refers to research forms that assume the following:

1. Any phenomena must be analysed against the background of its wider social context.
2. In producing knowledge of society, critical research reveals what is hidden by ideology which can be pervasive and contributes to preserving the status quo.
3. A critical approach produces knowledge about understanding how society is and how it can and ought to be.
4. By acting on the basis of critical theory we can produce change in the world which is fundamental in character such as facing oppression.

The points mentioned above explain and elaborate more on the idea of critiquing social practice proposed by Bloor and Bloor (2007: 12). They simplify the notion of CDA as a form of intervention in social practice and social relations by openly and explicitly positioning it on the side of the dominated and oppressed group and against the dominating one (Fairclough et al., 2011: 358).

CDA views 'discourse' as a form of social action (Fairclough, 1995: 135; van Dijk, 1997: 8) and/or social practice (Chilton, 2005: 22; Fairclough et al. 2011: 357) involving language use which constructs social reality, such as objects, institutions, identities, social relations, etc. This definition encapsulates the central principles of CDA as listed by Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 258-284) and highlights the relationship between language and society, the nature of which is to be understood first to comprehend the critical perspective of CDA. To simply describe the makeup of any society, we can say that it encompasses various social relations, group memberships and the formation of social and political institutions within which other types of social relations and structures exist. All these may be conceived as social action (Chilton, 2005: 23). This brings us back to the main part of the definition, 'form of a social action,' as it implies that discourse is 'a form of society'. This scholarship conceptualise the term 'discourse' as the use of language to perform social action and construct social reality which defines and reproduce the social relations of power and ideology among members of social groups. Therefore, this study uses CDA to address the question of ideological identification in political discourse.

The way I describe society in this study involves reference to social relations among people, identities and institutions and the way they are perceived by members of society is reflected in their use of language as social reality. Power relations among social members and ideologies that construct them are a direct corollary of discourse (interaction) among members in society. Teubert (2010: 121-122) views that society is a discourse construct as there cannot be a society without interaction among its members: 'what makes up society is not the people themselves but their interaction'. This means that society is constructed through verbal interaction that reproduces social relations of power and inequality among its members because members comprehend these relations through interaction. Teubert, in commenting on discourse as a social practice, prefers to turn the relationship around to view society as a discourse construct while distancing himself from the view of discourse as a social practice. To me, this is a one-to-one relationship; that is, discourse is constructed by society members and at the same time is a social practice. Discourse is a social practice and/or action performed by members in a society without which we cannot say a society exists, simply because language does not exist in a vacuum. Taking a political context as a partial illustration of a society, members are made aware of each other's positions through speech acts and declarations such as

nominating a president, or declaring a position to be run by someone. It is through these practices that power relations and ideologies are comprehended by members in a society.

This discussion reflects on the dialectical relationship between a certain discursive event and the diverse elements of situations, institutions and social structures in that, on the one hand, each one shapes the other. On the other hand, discourse constitutes situations, identities and relations among social groups within discursive events. Therefore, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially shaped (Fairclough et al., 2011: 358). Being a form of social practice refers to the existence of a one-to-one 'dialectical' relationship between the discursive events, situations, institutions and the social structures which shape that event. As for being socially constitutive, this means that discourse has the capacity of forming situations, objects of knowledge, social identities of social actors or social groups and their relationship with each other. It maintains and plays a role in transforming the state of affairs that exist among social actors, which is the status quo. These features of discourse have resulted in its description as being socially consequential which, in turn, gives rise to the issues of power, as it means that discourse is socially influential in that it helps sustain, reproduce and contributes to transforming the social status quo (ibid). This means that discourse constitutes unequal power relations as a configuration of the social world and is shaped by them. But, how do these two relate to ideology?

Power relations are implicated in the way that we linguistically conceptualise things, which reflects our ideological consideration of objects in the social world. Speakers, as they operate within specific discursive practices, categorise behaviour, actions, and attributes in a way that expresses their own attitudes towards them. For example, immigration, which refers to the movement of people across political boundaries, is defined by language users as a 'flood' or 'invasion' (Chilton, 2005: 24). Within some contexts, this is motivated by the special interests of inclusion and exclusion of social groups. Thus, discursive practices may produce ideological effects in that they (re)produce unequal power relations through the ways 'they represent things and position people. So, discourses […] may be racist, or sexist, and try to pass off (often falsifying) assumptions about any aspect of social life as mere common sense' (Fairclough, et al., 2011: 358). Commenting on this discussion, it is obvious that attitudinal identity is reflected in the way we evaluate an object in the world which involves expressing our

ideological stance explicitly or implicitly based on power relations that exist among text producers and the audience. Therefore, as the second research question states, this study is concerned with how evaluative elements and stance resources reflect the ideological disposition of speakers. Moreover, the review on attitudinal (ideological) identity presented in section 2.3.3 shows that the few studies have dealt with the role both stance and evaluation in identity construction, which justifies the research questions introduced in section 1.6 and the significance of the framework of attitudinal identity construction presented in the current study.

In sum, CDA aims at showing how language users construct exclusionary attitudes and practices by confirming certain attributes including social roles, behavioural practices and the physical appearances of social actors and groups (Chilton, 2005: 24), as the nature of the social world is constituted by power, inequality, exclusion and inclusion, representation and misrepresentation. All of these ideological implications and the relations of power underlying them are sometimes invisible to people, and CDA aims to uncover these aspects of discourse as social practice (Fairclough, et al., 2011: 358). That is to say, CDA is not attracted by that ideology 'on the surface of culture' (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 8). Rather, it is the more hidden everyday beliefs disguised in linguistic features such as nominalisation, conceptual metaphor, or analogies that attract linguists' attention and which are more closely related to the representation of social actors and actions in discourse. By uncovering these dispositions, CDA supplies social criticisms based on firm linguistic evidence, which is politically committed and based on detailed textual analysis (Stubbs, 2002: 204). Here lies the meaning of the criticality of discourse; it is not critical only in the analytical sense but also in the sense of uncovering relations of inequality and power. Therefore, the research questions are addressed towards exploring personal pronouns as means of exclusion and inclusion (De Fina, 2003) and they can be representative of different meanings (Fisher, 2013: 163). Moreover, this discussion justifies the frameworks of positive self and negative-other presentation and the representation of social actors I draw upon in conducting data analysis. In what follows, I give a short overview of theoretical developments involving CDA research.

2.2.1 Critical Linguistics

CDA has arguably emerged from critical linguistics (Fairclough, et al., 2011: 361), which appeared in the late 1970s, initially in the classic publication of Fowler et al. (1979) *Language and Control*. Fowler et al. (1979) produced an analysis designed to explore the implicit ideology coded behind the explicit propositions in relation to the context of social formation in public discourse. Their tools for the analysis were a selection of descriptive categories including Halliday's (1978) ideational and interpersonal structures and other linguistic traditions such as speech acts and transformations (Fowler, 1996: 3). Critical linguistics is focused on the way language and grammar function as 'ideological instruments' – how people, events, places and actions are categorised (Machin and Mayr, 2012: 2). That is to say, who and which action is backgrounded and foregrounded or excluded from the text (representations) and how these choices affect the meaning of the texts.

Critical linguistics suggests that all representation is 'mediated, moulded by the value-systems that resides in the language (the medium) used for representation; it challenges common-sense by pointing out that something could have been represented some other way, with a very different significance' (Fowler, 1996: 4). This 'significance' cannot be understood without reference to the social context in which language is used and its implications for beliefs and relationships, as there is a lack of constancy between linguistic structures and their significance. Significance (ideology) 'cannot be read off the linguistic forms that description has identified in the text, because the same form (nominalisation, for example) has different significances in different contexts' (ibid: 9). This explains the insistence of CDA scholars on the inseparability of language and society in that the macro social structure of any society is always relevant to the analysis of discourse. The key for critical linguistics is that these significances (ideologies) are not communicated directly and aim at uncovering them through close textual analysis based on the selection of tools identified by Halliday (1987). That is why it is closely associated with systemic functional linguistic (SFL) theory. Critical linguists used SFL descriptions to carry out their analyses of discourses drawing on the description of transitivity to reveal patterns in the construal of experience, showing, for instance, how journalists can create selective experiential 'angles' on events that get reported in the news (Matthiessen, 2012: 441). Such linguistic forms (such as transitivity, nominalisation, metaphor, etc.) have proven to be useful points of entry for a critical semiotic analysis of social inequality. In

conclusion, systemic functional linguistics provided a theoretical basis and offered a 'supportive intellectual and political climate work' (Fowler, 1996: 5) for critical linguistics.

In this section, I aim at showing the significance of SFL's view of ideologies and its connection to the interests of CDA scholars. One of the main aims of the present scholarship is to reveal the role played by stance and evaluation in constructing attitudes and expressing ideologies. The material in this section provides a justification for the linguistic features, such as nominalisation and modality, present in Obama's discourse drawn upon in Chapter 5 in uncovering hidden ideologies.

2.2.2 The Dialectical-relational Approach

The dialectical theories of discourse and transdisciplinary approaches to social change are developed in the work of Norman Fairclough (2003, 2004, and 2006). He (2009: 162) views discourse in various senses: 1) meaning-making as an element of social processes; 2) the language associated with a particular field or practice (e.g. 'political discourse', 'academic discourse'); 3) a way of constructing aspects of the world associated with a social perspective (e.g. 'neo-liberal discourse of globalisation'). Discourse in its more general and abstract sense is viewed as a meaning-making process as stated in (1). At this level, Fairclough et al. (2011: 357) suggest the term 'semiosis' to include visual and verbal forms of communication including words, pictures, symbols, design, colours and gestures to distinguish the way he views discourse in (1) from the other two senses. According to the other two aspects, discourse is viewed as a category for identifying ways of representing aspects of social life (e.g. the discourse of Republicans vs. Democrats on education, health care, immigrants).

As stated earlier, CDA is interested in discourse and its relation to other social elements. That is why this approach is integrated with interdisciplinary frameworks in most of Fairclough's works. For example, Fairclough (2006) uses a framework of 'cultural political economy' which combines a form of economic analysis, a theory of the state and a form of CDA. His recent work also examines neoliberalism in UK Labour Politics (2000) and in relation to New Capitalism (2004), the notion of community in international security (2005), and concepts of globalisation (2006). In each case, CDA is integrated with sociological and social research to examine to what extent changes in

these areas are changes in discourse and to investigate the socially transformative effects of discursive change (Fairclough et al., 2011: 362). I will explain the second point in relation to orders of discourse later in this section.

In this approach, the CDA analysis is interested in two dialectical relations:

1 Abstract social structures and concrete social events (institutions, organisations) and other forms of social practices as they mediate the relationship between these two levels of social reality (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999). The semiotic dimension of social practices (fields, institution, and organisation) is orders of discourse and that of social events is texts (Fairclough, 1992).

2 Semiotic and other social elements within structures, practices and events. This relation is conceived in ways of acting and interacting (genre), ways of representing aspects of the world (discourse) and ways of being (constitution of identities) (Fairclough, 2009: 164).

'Orders of discourse' refers to the structured sets of discursive practices which appertain to particular social domains. Relationships between discursive practices within and across institutions can be restructured over time as a result of mixing discourses and genres in texts. CDA examines the effects of discursive change in terms of the 'creative' mixing of discourses and genres in texts (Fairclough, et al., 2011: 363). For example, the use of conversational practices in public discourses has led to the 'conversationalisation' of public discourse and shifting the boundaries between public life and ordinary life. Discursive changes such as this one have brought CDA closer to contemporary social research on social and cultural change.

This section discusses the relation that links discursive events and social practices and institutions to clarify the role of public discourse as ways of interacting and representing the world which leads to the constitution of identities. The present study, as in section 2.3.3, shows the way expressing attitudes and communicating ideologies can lead to the formation of different social groups based on the position individuals takes regarding the proposed belief.

2.2.3 Socio-cognitive Approach

This approach adds a cognitive dimension to the study of language. It claims that discourse mediates between cognition and society. Cognition fills the gap of considering mind in CDA studies (Chilton, 2005: 22), that is, the socio-cognitive interface of discourse [mind –discursive interaction– society] where mind corresponds to cognition and interaction corresponds to discourse in general. van Dijk (2009: 65) views the cognitive and social dimension as the defining local (textual) and global context of discourse, where context refers to the subjective representations of the participants about 'the-for-them-now' relevant properties of communicative event (ibid: 66) which adopt discourse to the social environment to be situationally appropriate (ibid: 65). Van Dijk (2008a) calls this representation 'context models' defined as the mental definition of the situation.

Within this framework, van Dijk (2009: 66) views society as the configuration of situational structures (participants' roles, identities, relation, and interaction) at the local level and societal structures (groups, classes and their ideologies and power relations) at the global level. Context models mediate between discourse and social structures at all levels of analysis (van Dijk, 2008). Reisigle and Wodak (2001: 24) praised this approach as it provides an account of the discursive manifestations of group relations. However, they state that van Dijk pays little attention to historical and social aspects of discourses such as prejudice and discrimination which are based on group relations. In response to this, van Dijk (2009: 66) claims that at this side of the triangle (context), we spot the outcomes of discursive injustice in the form of social inequality. In addition to this, he (ibid) locates the cultural and historical dimensions of discourse and social structure as well as their cultural variation and historical change.

Contexts models are organised by a schema consisting of fundamental categories such as spatiotemporal setting, participant (identities, knowledge and ideology) and the ongoing social action (van Dijk, 2009: 74). Two of these are related to a representation of the physical and situational context while the participant category is more related to the features reflected in participants' discourse. The participant category seems more fundamental in the study of discourse because its sub-features are constructed and reside in text and talk. Not to ignore the fact that developing a theory of context is constructed through the interpretations of the participants (van Dijk, 2008a), which are attained

through ‘knowledge of the world’ (van Dijk, 2005a: 85) stored in the episodic memory and the semantic sociocultural memory (van Dijk, 2009: 64). It refers to the shared consensus of beliefs among social groups (van Dijk, 2008b). It is through this knowledge that members come to acquire a sense of their identity and develop their ideology, attitudes and norms as different types of social representations (van Dijk, 2009: 78).

Van Dijk (2005a: 77-83) lists what he calls ‘k-strategies’ for different kinds of knowledge. Personal knowledge refers to the private experience not shared by others unless communicated. If they are recalled in discourse, speakers must recall a previous context model featuring the relevant information. Interpersonal knowledge is experienced by two or more individuals who share the context model in which the relevant information was shared. Group knowledge is socially shared in two cases: group experience told to new members in various forms of collective stories or movies and the general, abstract knowledge acquired by group members (e.g., a social movement, professional group). Institutional knowledge is a social (un)official one shared by members in institutions or organisations. National knowledge is shared by citizens. Cultural knowledge is shared by members of the same culture and is considered the common ground for all other types of knowledge based on language, religion, history, habits, origin and appearance; ‘it is abstract and hence not about concrete historical or social events’(van Dijk, 2005a: 80). Simply what is called ‘knowledge about the world’ is cultural knowledge as it encompasses all other types of knowledge. The notions of context models account for social cognition as it mediates between society and discourse; social cognition encompasses the K-strategies shared among members’ (participants’) ideologies and roles.

It can be said that social cognition in van Dijk’s terms is a cover term for the social practices that mediate between social structures and the concrete social event (communicative) accounted for in Fairclough’s approach. The cognitive aspects that van Dijk represents here imply that these k-strategies already exist in human memory as acquired through social experiences. For him, actions and ideology are both social and mental phenomena as he shows in his studies on racism (2005b), ideology (1998), and context (2008a). This section has shown how the available knowledge involved in contexts models about participants’ roles and identities can affect the way social actors

construct their images as a legitimating strategies in support of the proposed claims as shown in Chapter 5.

2.2.4 The Discourse-historical Approach

The discourse-historical approach (DHA) was developed in Vienna by Ruth Wodak and other scholars working in the tradition of Bernsteinian sociolinguistics and the Frankfurt School. This group understands the notion of 'critique' in CDA as gaining distance from the data and embedding them in the social context while clarifying the 'political positioning' of participants and focusing on self-reflection (Resisigl and Wodak, 2009: 87). For them, the concept of critiques is integrated in three aspects related to 1) the local context in the text (text or discourse-immanent critique), 2) the demystifying of the character of discursive practice (social-diagnostic critique), and 3) the future communication process (future-related prospective critique) which contributes to the improvement of communication (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 32-35).

Supporting van Dijk in terms of knowledge and context, advocates of this approach highlight the existence of a dialectical relationship between certain discursive practices and fields of actions: situations, institutional frames, and social structures (Wodak et al. 1999: 7-8). Moreover, they consider discourse as a form of social practice from a particular viewpoint (Fairclough, 1995: 14) which is also perceived by the discourse-historical approach (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). They define the term 'dialectical' stating that contextual settings form and influence discourse which affects discursive and non-discursive social and political processes and actions; that is, discourse constitutes and is constituted by these practices (Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 22). By employing the DHA, Wodak (2009: 89) states that 'we investigate multifaceted phenomena in our societies', implying that the study of language is only a part of the whole project and the research must be interdisciplinary. Therefore, in order to understand the phenomena under scrutiny, CDA analysts who developed the DHA perspective consider different sources of data and consider them from various analytical perspectives. In observing discourse on climate change, for example, they consider data related to topics and sub-topics of other discourses such as health and finances. They do so because they conceive of discourse as 'primarily topic-related' and hybrid: a 'new sub-topic can be created at

some points' (Wodak, 2011: 40). The criteria they follow in collecting the data are restricted by specific periods of time, specific political units (e.g. religion, nation state), specific actors and discourse, specific fields of political action, and specific semiotic media and genres (Wodak, 2009: 98). In this way, they account for a variety of context-dependant practices within specific fields of actions.

For DHA, ideology is viewed as mental representations, attitudes, opinions and evaluations shared by a social group. Thus the approach seems to build on the terminology of the socio-cognitive approach. It considers ideologies as a significant means for maintaining and transforming power relations through discourse in various ways: by controlling access to specific discourse and by establishing hegemonic identity narratives. It aims at demystifying the hegemony of discourses and uncovering ideologies that establish or fight dominance (ibid: 88) by the powerful social group because, according to DHA, language gains power through the way powerful people make use of it (Wodak, 2011: 35). It is through ideologies argued for in discourse that power relations are maintained and reproduced by social groups. This claim is based on the way advocates of this approach regard 'power' – 'the possibility of having one's own will within a social relationship against the will and interests of others' (Wodak, 2009: 88). Ideologies residing in texts help gain and maintain power relations. This evaluates the significance of the framework presented in Figure 2 (section 2.3.3), where I show how arguing for an attitude through stance and evaluation helps to establish it further as individuals align themselves with it, and how this leads to the formation of a group in support of or against it. This applies to political discourse when politicians attempt to gain support of their people.

This approach was specifically designed for an interdisciplinary study of post-war anti-Semitism in Austria and was devised to 'enable the analysis of implicit prejudiced utterances' and to locate and uncover the 'codes and allusions contained in prejudiced discourse' (Fairclough, et al., 2011: 364). It has been variously applied to investigate identity politics and decision-making patterns in EU organisations, the exploration of social change in EU countries (Krzyzanowski and Wodak, 2008), identity construction in European Politics (Wodak, 2007) and the right-wing politics in Austria (Wodak and Pelinka, 2002). Exploring identity construction in the EU, Wodak (2011) analysed interviews of EU members in terms of four topics: unemployment, the role of EU

organisation, day-to-day working life and the interviewee's personal history. In this way, Wodak (2011) claims it was possible to collect information about the attitudes and ideologies and the daily experience of the interviewees. It is found that some EU members tend to position themselves as individuals pushing through specific political agenda, or illustrate political knowledge, or speak with reference to their political group while emphasising the 'we' in referring to an ideological community of practice (Wodak, 2011: 80-84). Thus, in the current study, I draw upon strategies of DHA because it relates to analysing identity in relation to attitudes and ideologies and it involves perspectives of the various CDA approaches discussed in the current chapter.

2.2.5 Argumentation and Rhetoric

The aim of this section is to introduce the significance of legitimating argumentation in political discourse as a reflection on the ideological identification of speakers. The approach of argumentation and rhetoric is commonly associated with research on political discourse, particularly because discourse of this genre is mainly delivered for the purpose of persuasion – the art of rhetoric. Rhetoric tends to be used alongside words such as art, wit, display, and persuasive (Charteris-Black, 2014). Political discourse as a form of public speech is almost always a competitive one. It is a rich environment where one can explore the hunt for power among politicians and candidates.

Fairclough et al. (2011: 365) emphasise that, due to CDA's interest in power relations and inequality, theoretical and applied research in the area should devote itself to the language of persuasion and justification. The last decade has witnessed a number of studies that explored the incorporation of legitimisation strategies in political discourse. Van Leeuwen (2006) has proposed his theory of legitimisation, which although was designed based on school textbooks, found its way to application in political discourse. Based on this socio-semantic approach to discourse strategy, van Leeuwen and Wodak (2007) postulate the grammar of legitimisation which has been used to reveal the many racist ideologies underpinning immigration policy (van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). Discourses are ideologically laden and legitimisation involves reproduction of power (van Dijk, 1998). Van Dijk indicates that legitimation is 'one of the social functions of ideologies' (van Dijk, 1998: 225). If a speaker indicates his belief in certain

issues, he is expressing his ideological implication. Portraying one's own beliefs and actions as beneficial and based on mutual benefit and understanding makes the argument presented more persuasive. For me, legitimisation is a vehicle through which speakers express a sense of who they are by aligning themselves to morals, values and authority (legitimisation strategies) and at the same time they rely on these to communicate ideologies that help them transform and maintain relations of power among themselves and their social groups and other groups.

Legitimisation, as a feature reflected in discourse, mediates between (inter)subjectivity and ideological stance resources (Marin-Arrese, 2015); as a result of this, power is maintained. Although some studies have included self-presentation as legitimation strategies, I argue that all legitimisation strategies are about presenting who you are and legitimisation encompasses the identity of the speaker. Legitimisation strategies involve justifying a claim by drawing upon the power of authority, and expressing stance when providing reasons for stance-taking (van Leeuwen, 2006). Here lies the significance of constructing arguments in legitimating claims and policies in political discourse. For example, Reyes (2011b) draws upon a framework in CDA including analytical tools from systemic functional linguistics. He explains the use of the discursive strategies and structures in two instances of speeches given by George W. Bush (2007) and Barack Hussein Obama (2009) in justifying the US military presence in Iraq and Afghanistan. The study investigated the differences in the usage of legitimisation strategies between these two leaders. It was evident, according to Reyes's study (2011b), that the two political figures use similar strategies in promoting their political and defence agendas but they differ in their style of presenting their arguments. The study shows that the differences vary from the use of complex sentences to the use of simple syntactic structures, direct and indirect speech, familiarity indexicals such as personal pronouns and certain colloquial expressions. Another difference between these two figures, as Reyes (2011b) shows, exists in the nature of the actions themselves. Bush would always claim that there was a link between al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein to legitimise his military actions against Iraq. On the contrary, Obama claims that the Iraq war was unpopular from the beginning since it was proven that no link exists between the Al-Qaeda and Saddam; he uses this claim to legitimise the military presence of the American

troops in Afghanistan, while stating clearly that a distinction is to be drawn between Afghanistan and Iraq to represent himself differently from his predecessor.

Drawing upon his socio-cognitive approach in relation to legitimisation strategies, Van Dijk (2005c) presents a theoretical framework he conducted in a study dealing with properties of speeches given in the Spanish Parliament in 2003 by the Spanish Prime Minister, Jose Maria Aznar, on legitimating the support he provided for the USA in setting attack against Iraq. It is a multi-disciplinary approach that relates the cognitive, discursive and socio-political phases of parliamentary debate. Moreover, he emphasises the necessity of considering the 'political implicature', defined as inferences based on political knowledge and on the context of the speeches under study, along with analysing the common features of ideological and political discourse, such as positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation and other rhetoric devices. In this study, van Dijk (2005c) indicates that Aznar uses, in addition to the moves that are classical in political and ideological text and talk, a number of argumentative and rhetorical ploys, such as the use of numbers, internationalism, authorities, consensus, comparisons and examples justifying his current policies and actions.

With regard to the notion of political implicature which is based on 'inferences from combined general knowledge and models of the current political situation' (ibid: 89), van Dijk suggests that it means that social actors need to share knowledge of the political situation in Spain as defined in their 'episodic' mental models. Thus, participants need to share knowledge about the context models controlling the speech of Aznar, such as setting, participants, and aims and so on. He highlights two main functions of political implicature as 'subtexts' of the speeches and the way the speaker wants his audience to comprehend his message: first, they define the political functions of the speech in the political process, and focus attention on especially the role of Aznar as a prime minister as well as the legitimacy of his administration and its international policies; second, they perform the function of derogation and attacking the opposition in the public sphere.

Ieţcu-Fairclough (2007) supports van Dijk's emphasis on political knowledge available as part of political cognition; she argues that the success in legitimising claims can be achieved through strategic manoeuvring in argumentation as well as through the existing knowledge about social and economic circumstances, and political culture. The

term ‘strategic manoeuvring’ refers to the efforts of participants engaged in argumentative discourse to achieve the rhetorical aims of effectiveness and reasonableness (van Eemeren and Houtlosser, 2009: 4-5). Ieţcu-Fairclough (2007) uses CDA in combination with analysis of argumentation in investigating forms of strategic manoeuvring as a tactical element of legitimisation. Although she makes no clear reference to political implicature and knowledge, in her study of legitimisation strategies on behalf of two presidential candidates in the 2004 Romanian election, she indicates that a legitimising argument in favour of one candidate or another will not seem far from acceptable. This is based on the knowledge of what problems are already recognised, on how believable that recognition of problems will appear to the audience and how the abilities of the candidates seem to approach these speculative problems. Similar claims have been proposed in another study where Ieţcu-Fairclough (2008) relates legitimisation as a political strategy to strategic manoeuvring to meeting the ambivalent commands of the political field. In her study, it is concluded that reasonable arguments can be seen as matching the practical demands of the situation. Moreover, judgment of legitimacy in the political field should be positioned in actual social and political contexts and approached ‘in terms of the shared beliefs and norms of a given community and in terms of how they attempt to transform these contexts’ (Ieţcu-Fairclough, 2008: 415).

More recently, a number of studies have developed and applied argumentation theory and rhetorical analysis in analysing political speeches. For example, in a case study of Cameron’s European Union speech, Charteris-Black (2014) introduces critical approaches for exploring argumentations in political discourse through examining social agency, modality and metaphor, and draws on notions of topoi and arguments from DHA. More specifically, Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) have introduced a practical reasoning framework for analysing structures and evaluation of political discourse. They argue that practical arguments have circumstances and goals as premises and values are employed as means to an end. They argue that analysing and evaluating arguments in this genre can strengthen the CDA approach in its orientation to question power and inequality. For example, they state that people representing premises choose discourses that are connected to the social position of their group. Moreover, they suggest that testing arguments can form a solid basis for the analysis of manipulation in discourse, especially in evaluating beliefs as true or false, harmful or beneficial.

In a recent study, Degani (2015) has applied a mixed-methods approach in investigating arguments of moral values in political discourse. The author draws on Lakoff's (1996) Strict Father and Nurturant 'parent' models of political morality. The approach starts with applying semantic analysis to identify moral values in a corpus of Obama's 2008 election campaign speeches. The analysis revealed the following: Obama frames political issues in line with nurturant values which are grouped into general categories: care, we, social rights, fairness, opportunity, protection, responsibility, and freedom. He has a preference for a rhetorical strategy of storytelling to construct his image as the embodiment of the American Dream. After identifying values with the rhetorical strategies conveying them and their frequency in the corpus, the analysis considers their linguistic encoding with emphasis on the role of literal and metaphorical language in expressing moral values. The analysis reveals that they are encoded literally; therefore, the focus shifts to values that are expressed metaphorically to identify their source domain. The study shows that there is a limited set of source domains basically including construction; motion and orientation (e.g. 'build the economy', 'fix the education system', 'lift up the poor'). The third step of the analysis is concerned with the contextual use of highly frequent lexical items (gender and family terms) and how they help construct the political message. This step shows that the word *woman* is used more than *man* in cases where he refers to tough and hard-working women who struggle because of economic crisis and gender discrimination. In conclusion, in order to apply Lakoff's model of value exploration in political discourse, semantic analysis helps locate the expression of values and their frequency across paragraphs and trace them back to their source domain. This shows how the quantitative data leads to further qualitative analysis in a corpus of speeches. The discussion presented above shows that corpus linguistics has a great deal to offer CDA studies as the following section illustrates further.

2.2.6 Criticisms of Critical Discourse Analysis

As with any other method of analysis, CDA has been the subject of criticism and questions that relate to its theoretical underpinnings and to the methodological applications it provides. Starting with the theoretical underpinnings of CDA, Slembrouck (2011: 40-41) indicates that this approach 'continues to be unclear about its exact preferences for a particular social theory.' This is true in that CDA draws on a diverse

range of theories as a means towards triangulation. In response to this, Weiss and Wodak (2002: 7) state that drawing on theories or constructs from different philosophical or sociological thinkers are used as tools to achieve a theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools. Because of this, the findings of CDA studies can be related to a variety of philosophical and sociological concepts, which represent the strength of the approach rather than a weakness (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Weiss and Wodak 2002). Chilton (2005: 22) claims that CDA lacks a cognitive theory that accounts for the effect of social cognition on discourse and vice versa. This gap is already addressed by van Dijk's (1990) framework of social cognition which is defined as shared social representation of group members such as stereotypes or ethnic prejudices which, same as socially shared knowledge, are essentially reproduced in society through discourse and are largely acquired, used and changed through text and talk. Furthermore, van Dijk (2002) developed the same concepts into a theory of political cognition which refers to political knowledge as a concept that mediates between society and discourse.

The methodological shortcomings lie in the method of actually collecting data and their interpretation. CDA is criticised for lacking scientific rigour because it deals with 'fragmentary' and 'exemplificatory' text types (Fowler, 1996: 8) and data analysis tend to reflect the analysts' subjective preconceptions (Orpin, 2005: 38). Stubbs (2002: 209) states that 'there is very little discussion of whether it is adequate to restrict analysis to short fragments of data, how data should be sampled, and whether the sample is representative.' When this criticism has been directed against CDA, many discourse analysts, such as Wodak (1996), van Dijk (1993) and Hoey (1996), have already argued for the need of a more systematic approach applied across more representative samples of discourse. Similarly, Verschueren (2001: 60) accuses CDA of 'subjecting the media, as well as other institutions, to a circus trial, playing fast and loose with the observable facts in order to support preconceived claims' and of completely ignoring the immediate context which determines the type of interaction (Verschueren, 2011). In response to this, Breeze (2011: 513) claims that work in CDA operates in a top-down manner through exploring language data from the perspective of a social relations theory or through highlighting interesting aspects of language linked with a particular theoretical view, instead of covering multiple dimensions of texts to understand how language works in a particular setting.

CDA practitioners call for triangulation to develop multiple perspectives on a phenomenon under scrutiny (Wodak, 2007: 203) and to create 'constant movement back and forth between theory and data' (Meyer, 2001: 27). Therefore, CDA is accused of dealing with macro contexts to investigate how those concepts can be applied to micro interaction (Breeze, 2011: 513). However, this lies within the interests of CDA and this is what the word 'critical' means. CDA is concerned with how social phenomena such as ideology, racism and inequality are reflected in discourse and how these represent macro topics that relate to the social context in which the discourse is produced (Fairclough *et al*, 2011).

The concept of 'critical' has been a controversial subject that led to criticism of CDA. Martin (1992) accuses CDA of observing undesirable social phenomena and producing persuasive material on why they are offensive without suggesting practical action (cited in Tenorio, 2011: 196). Martin (2002: 196-7) therefore calls repeatedly for positive discourse analysis to balance CDA, stating:

> If discourse analysts are serious about wanting to use their work to enact social change, then they will have to broaden their coverage to include discourse of this kind – discourse that inspires, encourages, heartens; discourse we like, that cheers us along. We need, in other words, more positive discourse analysis (PDA) alongside our critique; and this means dealing with texts we admire, alongside those we dislike and try to expose.

To respond to this critique, first of all we need to remind the reader that analysing discourse does not necessarily imply suggesting practical actions. CDA analysts unveil hidden ideologies and manipulative devices that tend to maintain relations of power and inequality (Wodak and Meyer, 2009: 21). Their work starts with a social problem such as racism, inequality or suppression, and the simplest thing they offer is to raise people's awareness of the way these problems are employed in texts. To suggest a practical action about a social problem is not within the field of CDA. Second, justifying the need for positive discourse analysis, defined as a type of discourse 'that cheers us,' seems inadequate. It suggests that Martin misinterprets the word 'critical' to mean 'negative' which has nothing to do with CDA. Wodak and Meyer (2009: 2) suggest that this is a frequent misunderstanding of the aims of CDA and of the term 'critical' which does not

mean ‘negative’ as in common usage. Fairclough (1996: 54) states that calling the approach ‘critical’ signifies that our social practices and language use are governed by causes and effects of which we may not be aware under normal conditions: ‘the invisibility of their ideological assumptions, and of power relations which underlie the practices helps to sustain these power relations.’

I argue that CDA advocates exaggerate by defining the aim of CDA as changing the world or starting with a social problem to provide a solution such as empowering the oppressed and creating a better world, such as (Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard, 1996: ix). Kress (1996: 15-16) admits that this aim has not been met yet. Toolan (2002: 224) argues that changing the world requires a prior analysis of it; he states that it is not self-evident that an analysis of a racist discourse will lead to a change in the world, as when it comes to changing people’s attitudes or patterns of reading, we cannot be confident about what means to use and what texts to interrogate. Yet, uncovering hidden ideologies and unveiling strategies of hegemony and domination contribute to raising people’s awareness of these and other manipulative devices; this is the only way CDA helps create a better world where people are not easily suppressed or dominated by the powerful.

Similar to any approach, CDA has its advantages and disadvantages and its advocates have attempted through triangulation and interdisciplinarity to provide a solid analysis of discourse. Breeze (2011: 520) suggests that it is unfortunate to undermine CDA by methodological flaws and theoretical shortcomings. Indeed, in general, CDA offers a useful paradigm for bridging the gap between language phenomena and the workings of power in discourse.

By reviewing the concept of CDA and its main approaches, I have shown that CDA in its focus on the role of language in relation to power and ideology is centred on the constitution of identities. For example, I have stated that ideology is viewed in CDA as the representation of attitudes, beliefs and opinion evaluated by social groups. Thus, attitude expression, since it reflects on the ideological predispositions of speakers, implies attitudinal (ideological) construction of identities. Therefore, the first research question in section 1.6 focuses on personal pronouns as means of inclusion and exclusion among social groups, while the second question is concerned with the way the linguistic resources of attitudinal (ideological) identity construction are employed through conducting

concordance analysis. The third and fourth questions are directed towards the local linguistic context in which stance and evaluation perform the function of positive-self presentation strategies and make explicit the identity categories drawn upon in the data.

2.3 Identity in Discourse

2.3.1 Defining Identity

The aim of this section is to introduce the way identity is viewed in the present study to provide an explanation for focusing on stance and evaluation as resources for identity construction. The concept of identity is broad due to its different conceptualisation in different contexts. It is important in any study dealing with identity as an object of analysis to reach a better understanding of it and its manner of conceptualisation for the purpose of analysis (Fisher, 2013: 34).

Producing definitions of identity is considered problematic because the term is too broad to fix in one definition; it is flexible and dynamic in that it fits in a broad range of phenomena including nations, group affiliation and membership, subject positions and socio-historical belief systems (Vignoles, et al. 2010: 2). This explanation can be considered in two respects: 1) Identity is somehow hard to define because the concept is of a dazzling variety and diversity both in foci and terminology given its relation to different contexts. De Fina (2011: 265) explains this diversity stating that it is an individual property that emerges through social interaction, resides in the mind and social behaviour and can be 'anchored to the individual and to the group.' Although two years later De Fina (2013) refutes the idea that identity resides in the mind of the individual, she still emphasises that it has its locus in social interaction as a process of construction. 2) The flexibility and dynamism of the concept of identity implies that it is multi-rooted, by which I mean that it is rooted in almost every domain of social practice and social relations and at multiple levels as Vignoles, et al.'s (2010: 20) definition states. For example, we can talk about identity within the family domain, the academic context and the political context, each of which is different from the other. Therefore a study dealing with identity needs to provide an understandable conceptualisation for the purpose of the analysis it provides. Bednarek (2015: 357) speaks about the multi-aspectual nature of

identity construction. She states that there are two ways in which identity is multiple, in that it has multiple types and it can be studied in multiple communicative contexts such as institutions, narratives, conversations, spatial and virtual identities (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006).

If we consider different domains of life, we may conceive of different types of identity: family relations (relational identity) and social positions (presidential, educational identity etc.). Arguably this simplifies the concept somewhat to one of having a sense of belonging to multiple social groups that the self acquires with varying and modifiable degrees as a result of acquiring different types of belongingness. For example, a president can give fatherly-like speeches, while a teacher in class can be more of a friend or a mother. This is one of the key reasons why there seems to be no neutral way of characterising the concept of identity.

In summary, thus far, we can argue that identity is flexible in its formation, depending on how people conceive of it and accordingly how they perform or enact their identity to fit in to the demand of an 'almost infinite array of contexts' (Cohen, 2010: 69). This enactment of identity is dependent to an extent on an awareness of an explicitly or implicitly existing 'other.' It is through interaction that people start negotiating their place in the world, depending on the context of the situation in which they are involved. Therefore, identity is constituted and reconstituted through discourse and interaction according to different contexts and situations. Different aspects contribute to understanding the concept of identity, therefore methods of its conceptualisation and concrete manifestation is subject to the researcher's choice, depending on the context of the study.

2.3.2 Identity as a Project of the Self

Many studies have tried to develop an understanding of the concepts of identity and self. For instance, Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 19) state that the self is 'created' by the gathering of knowledge and experience in the mind. This implies that the creation of the self is a cognitive phenomenon. Oyserman, et al. (2012: 71) support this view stating:

> The term 'self' refers to a warm sense or a warm feeling that something is 'about me' or 'about us.' Reflecting on oneself is both a common activity and a mental feat. It requires that there is an 'I' that can consider an object that is 'me.' The term self includes both the actor who thinks ('I am thinking') and the object of thinking ('about me') […] The self can be considered primarily a memory structure such that the *me* aspect of self has existence outside of particular contexts and social structures. In contrast, the self can be considered primarily a cognitive capacity such that what constitutes the *me* aspect of self is created inside and embedded within moment-to-moment situations.

In relation to this view, Riggins (1997: 3) conceptualises the term self by defining what he calls 'the external other' or 'the social other' which refers to 'all people the Self perceives as mildly or radically different.' Thus, self is a mental construct that can be represented by how people know themselves since they have a store of memory involving autobiographical memories (Fivush, 2011) and a lot of experience resulting from social practices and cultural templates (De Fina, 2003). Taylor (1989: 143) states that the inductive empiricist view, which highlights the capacity of the mind in isolating and subjecting experience to objective control, paved the way for the construction of independent subject. He further states that the rationalist view constructed a 'sovereign' subject capable of remaking himself by disciplined action (1989: 159).

This capacity centrally supports the project of the self (Benwell and Stokoe; 2006: 19), which contrasts with the view that theorises the subject as innate, sensible and without cognition which involves social representations and practices. Other views of the self, found in psychoanalytic theories, highlight the cognitive aspect. Lacan (1977), for example, accounts for the way individuals identify themselves with groups and blend into social life. He argues that a central stage in the socialisation process is the acquisition of a shared system of discourse occurring consciously or unconsciously and subject to the illusion of coherent identity (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 20). This entails conformity to shared social rules and social representation of the group to which a human agent belongs. The individual is affected by the social world, which among other external factors prevents the consciousness from being free and 'requires an imagining of and submission

to the other' (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 24). In support of this, Hall (2004: 51) states that 'an individual self-consciousness never exists in isolation […] it always exists in relationship to an "other" or "others" who serve to validate its existence.' Accordingly, the self identifies with the surrounding group, and once it develops a sense of belonging, it starts identifying itself in terms of 'differences' from the other according to the activities in which one participates (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 25).

The interaction between self and identity is seen here in that identity is 'part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership in a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel, 1981: 255). An individual's way of life depends on the social norms and the moral landscape of rights and duties; therefore, society co-authors human beings' lived narratives and plays a vital role in the construction of their identity (Somers, 1994). The nurturing of the self on value-bases is centrally reflected through language, but there are other means that communicate individuals' identities, such as the manner of dressing or appearance, which are not attitudinal. For example, a person with long beard is not necessarily a terrorist or a devoted Muslim. Therefore, I prefer to narrow the definition of identity proposed by Kroskrity (2000: 111) where he states that 'the linguistic construction of membership in one or more social groups and categories' refers only to attitudinal identity; that is, according to their verbal expression of attitude, stance and evaluation, speakers are identified as belonging to one group rather than the other.

It can therefore be summarised at this stage of the discussion that identity is not only a cognitive constituent, but it is also formed by elements of social cognition such as values, beliefs and social representations of the group. I argue that knowledge and experience constitute the self-perception of identity through the socialisation processes. Self, as defined earlier in this section, is the recipient of experience attained through engaging in social practices, the effect of which leads to identity awareness and/or subjectivity. The discussion presented so far provides an account of the notion of identity as a socio-cognitive phenomenon resulting from interaction and involvement in everyday communicative situations where social representations are acquired, comprehended and developed through the expression of beliefs and attitude and taking stance reflecting on the way speakers conceptualise an object in the world. The following section presents further elaboration on the notion of identity adopted in this study.

2.3.3 Attitudinal Identity Construction in Text and Talk

This section aims at reviewing the relevant studies that relate to stance, evaluation and subjectivity in attitudinal identity construction. Identity resides in text and talk. Speakers consciously and/or unconsciously express a sense of who they are through evaluating an object, positioning the self and aligning with other subjects and through membership categorisation and affiliation; therefore, identity claims are classified under 'the rubric of stance-taking' (Johnstone, 2009: 31) as the expression of emotions, attitudes and opinions. Stance is among the several linguistic strategies of constructing identity; it is 'a basic building block in the construction of social identities' (Bucholtz, 2011: 238). Stance is defined as a public act by a social actor, comprising the smallest unit of social action, accomplished through evaluation of an object, positioning and aligning the self with other subjects 'with respect to any salient features in the sociocultural field' (Du Bois, 2007: 163). It corresponds with an aspect of evaluation on the one hand (Hunston, 2011: 22) and it is clearly connected to the notion of subjectivity on the other hand, as it is concerned with self-expression (Bednarek, 2006: 20). Subjectivity is expressed by a speaker's point of view as invoked through epistemic stance resources (Marín-Arrese, 2015: 267) such as the use of personal pronouns in combination with verbs expressing some degree of certainty and commitment.

The connection between these three concepts (stance, evaluation and subjectivity) is further comprehended as we examine the ways in which each of these are constructed and expressed. Stance is expressed as being mainly attitudinal, epistemic or stylistic (Biber et al., 1999: 974; Conrad and Biber, 2000). The first two are closely associated with the concept of stance and involve an evaluative viewpoint, while the latter adds extra information about the degree and the manner in which the stance is expressed. Conrad and Biber (2000: 60) state that 'style stance' is expressed through adverbs such as *honestly, literally*, and *briefly*. It is the speakers' comment on the communication itself and is not always recognised as an evaluative category because the two terms are stated as different and competing (Bednarek, 2006: 26). Thus, when we talk about epistemic or attitudinal stance (a small unit of opinion expression) these encompass evaluation as a contributing factor in a larger phenomenon of interaction among social groups (Hunston,

2011: 12) while style stance involves evaluation but not an opinion or attitude since it comments on the communication itself.

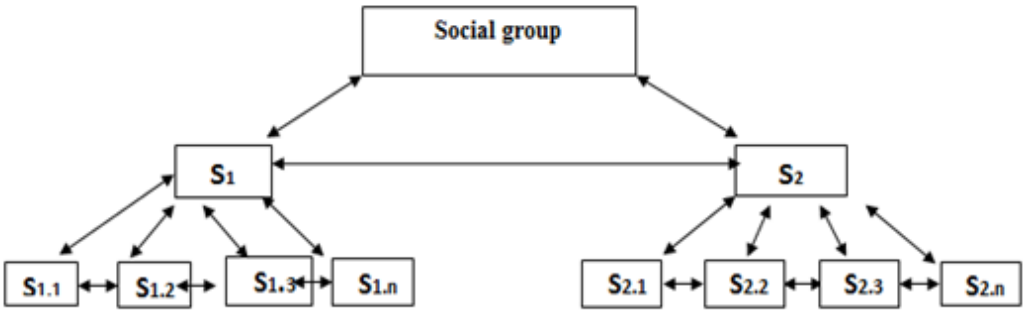
Hunston (2011: 12) states that evaluation is subjective, relating to personal opinion, which corresponds to the concept of attitudinal stance, conveying speakers' attitudes, feelings and value judgment including emotions and evaluations (Biber et al., 1999: 975). Thompson and Hunston (2000: 1) evaluate opinions as positive and negatives while attitudes are classified as 'ways of feeling' (Martin and White, 2005: 42). Because we talk about evaluations as opinion and stance as attitudinal, this brings us to the concept of ideology since evaluation and attitudes interact to form the subjective expression of self. This claim is based on Bamberg (2009) who talks about 'ideological identity' in terms of position (emotional/ideological point of view) and on Bucholtz (2011: 238) who highlights the role of stance in the construction of social identity. Similarly, these studies showcase the insights that a linguistic analysis of evaluation offer identity research (cited in Bednarek, 2015: 259). Hunston (2011: 12) states that evaluation construes an ideology shared by a social actor and falls within a social framework located within a value system. This justifies another feature of evaluation as being intersubjective; this is where it meets with stance as shown in Figure 2.

Building on these studies and Hunstons' work on evaluation, Bednarek (2015: 259) indicates that attitudinal/ideological identity refers to those aspects of identity that relate to positive and negative value judgments and positions. Exploring the role of evaluation in identity construction in Australian television programmes, Bednarek (2015: 259) uses the phrase 'expressive identity' as a cover term to encapsulate a range of aspects of identity construction including emotions, attitudes and ideologies, which have strong elements of subjectivity. More specifically, she uses the term to classify identity into attitudinal, emotional and ideological categories, aiming to show how such textual features serve to construct the attitudinal personae. Bednarek (2015: 259) considers explicit and implicit evaluations as strategies of identity construal. She (ibid.) draws on Hunston's work on evaluation as a starting point to show that speakers can use linguistic means to express values and construct 'a particular identity at a given time in a given situation for a specific audience' (ibid) which relates to positive and negative value judgments and subject positions including the way a person or a group aligns or disaligns

with others (for understanding the relation of this to political discourse, see the example presented below 'war against Iraq').

Bednarek (2015: 260) builds on the work of Hyland (2009) and Barlow (2013) and claims that social aspects of identity construal involve the communal norms of registers, text types or genres in addition to the communal norms associated with social groups. She further claims that corpus studies comparing language from different speakers (S1, S2, etc.) of similar social groups across different kinds of contexts can be employed in exploring the interchange among personal and social aspects of attitudinal identity construal, as in Figure 1:

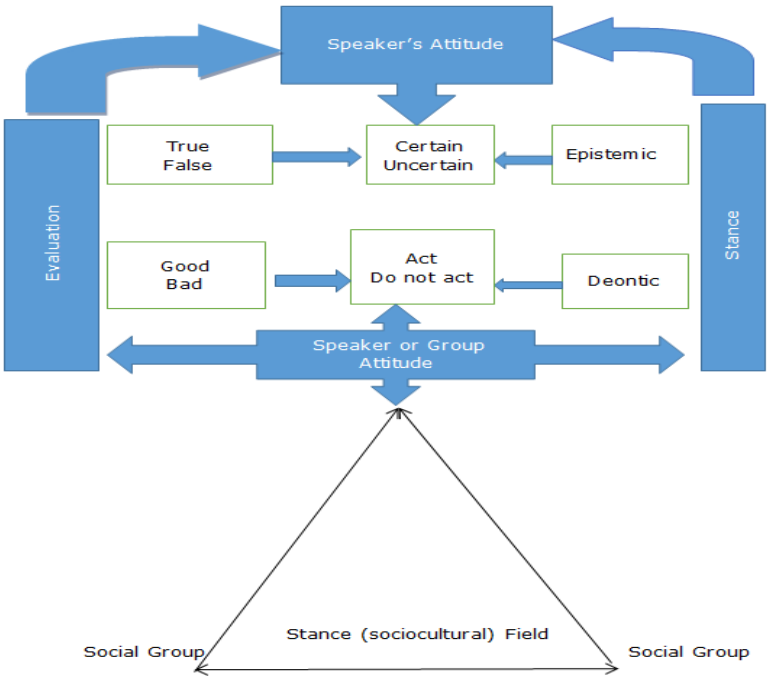
Figure 1 Comparing Corpora: social groups, individuals, genres (Bednarek, 2015: 261)



In Figure 1 above, Bednarek (2015) illustrates the way corpus analysis can approach the intersection between individual and social aspects of attitudinal identity construction, based on her study investigating evaluation in constructing this type of identity. As previous research shows, both stance and evaluation play a role in constructing this type of identity; what is required here is an understanding of how these two interchange to construct an attitude at the level of speakers' utterances, and how listeners come to support or dismiss an attitude as they measure it according to their social judgment. To put it simply, we need to show how adopting the speakers' stance and evaluative position can lead to the creation and domination of an attitudinal social group.

Figure 2 below shows how a speaker's argument can be established through evaluation and stance-taking and how that leads listeners, based on the way they evaluate an object and the stance they take, to adopting or rejecting an idea. Given the inter-subjectivity of stance and evaluation, more people come to support or reject the same idea and the result is two opposing groups oriented towards an object (attitude), forming the stance or the sociocultural triangle. The figure below shows how stance and evaluation form a speaker's attitude and at the same time shows how individuals and social groups evaluate the same attitude and take a stance towards it. Figure 2 below provides the root for the model presented by Bednarek in Figure 1:

Figure 2 The instersection of evaluation and stance in the construction of attitudinal identity



The figure above can illustrate how adopting attitudes can lead to the formation of attitudinal social groups. When a speaker presents an idea (e.g. war against Iraq for suspicion of cooperation with Al-Qaeda and weapons of mass destruction) he/she may present it (going to war) as being on a cline between good/ bad and true/false parameters.

He/she may also discuss to what extent the attitude of its being good/bad, and true/false is certain. The same principle applies to the reasons for going to war: Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction is judged as good/ bad and/or certain/ uncertain; its relation to Al-Qaeda is similarly evaluated on the basis of evidence (certainty) and evaluation as to whether they form a threat to the world or not. According to these evaluations of desirability and certainty, people take an epistemic stance based on how certain they consider the desirability of a position and develop a deontic stance as to whether they take an action or not, that is, to support the attitude or not. Listeners judge an advocated attitude based on their own social judgments. Discussing Muzafer and Carolyn Sherif's (1967) social judgment theory, Perloff (2014: 331-2) claims that people judge an attitude based on their viewpoint rather than on the merits of the arguments stating:

> If the communicator is generally in sync with what they believe, they accept the message and may even feel strongly about the issue. If the speaker takes a position that seems to diverge from their opinion, they distance or contrast the speakers' position from their own and reject the communicator's argument.

Thus, people evaluate an attitude by taking a position between good/bad and certain/uncertain based on their own social judgment and decide whether to support or oppose a speaker's position. This is where evaluation and stance work intricately in the construction of attitude and as more people come to support a position, the group grows wider and may dominate the other. When two social groups or individuals are oriented towards an attitude, we will have the stance triangle as shown in Figure 2.

Thus, Figure 2 shows how evaluation and stance combine to construct an attitude at the individual level, which is how an individual receives a message, evaluates it based on his/her value judgment and develops a stance towards it. Du Bois (2007: 163) states that in stance-taking, an individual evaluates an object, positions a subject (usually the self), and aligns with other subjects. Similarly, evaluation indicates 'where you and I stand in relation to an object and in relation to each other' which relate to the ideological aspect of evaluation (Hunston, 2011: 23). For this reason, stance and evaluation are considered subjective and intersubjective. Ideology is viewed as mental representations, attitudes, opinions and evaluations shared by a social group. Bednarek (2006) reviews parameters of evaluation which seem to be located on a cline between true/false

parameters and good/bad parameters. There are evaluative expressions that lie between being true or false, depending upon the degree of certainty according to which an object is evaluated.

In political discourse, as it is the case with other genres, any policy or decision can have its drawbacks and advantages. So there is a cline between good and bad parameters. While speakers tend to present their decision as the right thing (good), listeners make judgments regarding the claim, measuring it against their values and positioning themselves as to whether a policy is closer to being good and how this is guaranteed, or how certain, which is related to stance, an individual is of the usefulness of applying a policy. Here is the intersection point between the epistemic/deontic stance and evaluation in the construction of attitudinal identity. As located in the centre of the diagram, attitudes are expressed in terms of the truth of the proposition and the degree of commitment to the truth value. Attitudes represent one of the axes of the stance triangle, or the sociocultural field, towards which individuals and social groups are oriented.

Johnston (2009: 31) describes the sociocultural field as the stance field or triangle which consists of two social actors and an object towards which these two actors are oriented. This accounts for stance as a small unit of an action, but if we consider the possibility of this stance triangle spreading towards more social actors, we can imagine the triangle as being composed of two opposing social groups oriented towards an object. The concept of the stance shared by members of each group obtains a wider meaning to count as the ideology of that group. Evaluation as a semi-equivalent of stance constitutes the ideology shared by a member or a group depending on the scope of the stance triangle. This explains Hunston's description of evaluation as being subjective and intersubjective because: 1) evaluation has the function of interacting with a social other (2011: 12) whether an individual or a group, and 2) building and maintaining relations is one of the functions of evaluation (Thompson and Hunston, 2000: 8). These relations are achieved and maintained through interaction, which is another function of evaluation (Hunston, 2011: 12) and it is through this interaction between the three axes (evaluation, attitude, stance) that speakers express alignment and position themselves in relation to their attitudes regarding an object. Starting with Hunston's assumption stated earlier, Bednarek (2015) has linked evaluation explicitly to identity through exploring the use of personal pronouns and evaluations as linguistic resources construing the attitudinal identity, which encapsulates position and positive and negative value judgments to align with others and

construct shared communities of attitude. Bednarek (ibid) explored the way speakers construe themselves with respect to their values on the Australian scientific radio programme *Ockham's Razor.* The study (Ibid) have illustrated the way speakers use attitudinal aspects of their identity for defining themselves as unique and as group members. The study has demonstrated the link between the evaluative expressive features and the construction of the linguistic personae.

Drawing upon aspects of (inter)subjectivity, Marín-Arrese (2015) shows that stance resources can perform an epistemic legitimation strategy in referring to speakers' positioning with regard to beliefs and knowledge that justify their claims in making an assertion in the parliamentary discourse of Tony Blair, represented in the oral evidence they presented to the Selected Committee of the Iraq war inquiry and that of Jose Aznar in the parliamentary Inquiry on the Madrid bombings of March, 2004. She (ibid.) states that speakers apply strategies of epistemic legitimation to hide deception. Epistemic legitimation is defined as speakers' attempts in offering 'guarantees for the truth of their assertion in various ways of evidence' (Hart, 2011: 6). One of these attempts is the use of evidential expressions defined as 'the representation in language of sources, evidence or authority for the truth of a representation' (Chilton, 2004: 22). Marín-Arrese (2015: 263) argues that both politicians exercise epistemic control by making 'conscious' choices to mitigate or enhance the force of their assertions; such as (im)personal factive predicates (e.g. I know…, the truth is…), and epistemic expressions of subjective beliefs (e.g. I think, I would say). Marín-Arrese (2015) and Bednarek (2015) have dealt with stance and evaluation separately with respect to identity construction. Therefore, the current study provides an account of the role played by both stance and evaluation as linguistic resources drawn upon in The Obama Corpus as shown in the framework presented earlier in Figure 2.

As aforementioned, it is through stance and attitudes that people are divided into groups based on their alignments and their positioning of self; individuals develop a sense of who they are through attitudes and beliefs about goodness and badness. In this study, I explore epistemic stance choices and how they index subjectivity and attitude through identifying their co-selection.

In this section, I illustrate the relation of CDA to identity, more specifically attitudinal identity, which involves studying ways of being. As I stated earlier, argumentation and legitimisation represent ways of approaching discourse from a critical perspective. In this study, I focus on the role of stance and evaluation in presenting arguments in discourse to construct attitudinal identity. From this perspective, this study can be considered as one of critical discourse that explores means of exclusion and inclusion in representing social actors exemplified by personal pronouns, as highlighted in the first research question. Moreover, using corpus linguistics and CDA, this study has made a contribution to the recent research that links the evaluative expression and stance resources to the presentation of personae and the construction of identity as stated in the second research question. Further contribution is evident in showing the role of evaluative expression as narrative performance devices in foregrounding, backgrounding information and suppression of social actors in positive self-presentation as stated by the third and fourth research questions.

2.3.4 Political Discourse and Identity

Stating the way identity is viewed and exemplified in the present study, I aim in this section to state the significance of studying identity construction in political discourse. Political discourse is mainly about rhetoric – the art of persuasion – and manipulation, as politicians tend to adopt manipulating or persuasive uses of language that are not common to the public (Chilton and Schäffner, 2011: 304). Politics is a struggle over dominance enacted as a struggle for the dominance of political language (Fairclough, 2000: 3) among political actors to gain power and support of the public. Political discourse as a genre functions as a tool for achieving dominance, as Fairclough (2000: 3) puts it – a 'struggle to achieve dominance of political position over others […] is partly enacted as a struggle for the dominance of political language'. Language is one means of doing politics as 'in the constitution of social groups' which leads to the meaning of politics in its broad sense (Chilton and Schäffner, 2011: 303). Thus, it is not only the expression of the political message that makes politicians attractive to voters, but also the communicative style in conveying certain values that enhance the political message (Fairclough, 2000: 4).

According to Fairclough (2000:6), communicative style is one of the aspects of political language, which are as follows:

1. Leaders' communicative style
2. Discourse associated with a social or political group with which voters can align or dis-align
3. The way language is used in the process of governing, which is basically related to legitimating policies and decision-making processes.

Language (speech) is the medium for practicing the art of politics, whereby politicians position themselves to get what they want and beyond what they need (Joseph, 2004: 347). Thus, a political message is centred on the audience's values in order for a politician to positively present himself or herself and gain support. As political language is widely mediated, politicians have become media personalities and they need to manage their image carefully to suit a variety of audience roles as described by Bell (1984). Bell (1984:159) states that a single speaker designs his/her style differently and differences in a single speech are 'accountable as the influences of the second person (the physical audience) and some third persons who compose the audience to a speaker's utterance.' Thus, audience roles are designed according to whether they are addressed, ratified or known by the speaker. These features are mainly indexed to the addressees as the second person. The third persons are called 'auditors' and include who are present, known, ratified but not directly addressed. Those who are present but not ratified are called 'overhearers', while those whose presence is unknown are 'eavesdroppers.' According to Bell (1984: 162) speakers accommodate their style to meet the addressee's style, values and needs. This highlights the first aspect of political language stated earlier. Politicians' style is developed in accordance with the values and needs of not only the physical audience but also overhearers and eavesdroppers. Considering these types of audiences as different social groups whose values and social judgment are to be considered, political realities are constructed in text and discourse according to the general epistemological stance that springs from shared value perception and ideologies of social groups. It is through the way politicians design argument in communicating their stance and evaluate it in correspondence to their claim that the people's attitudes are reshaped.

One focus of linguistic research in political discourse is based on the strategic use of political keywords for achieving political aims. For example, changing the name of Labour into New Labour was considered by Fairclough (2000: vii) as a manipulating technique to control public perception and not merely a reflection of a change in political ideology. With regard to metaphors, an analysis of the 2005 immigration debate discourses in the UK identifies metaphorical expressions such as 'limitless flow of immigration' and 'tidal wave of asylum seekers.' These expressions, especially metaphors relating to movements, tend to be manipulative by suggesting continuity and unstoppability (Woods, 2006: 65-66). Such strategic operations with words have been the focus of linguistic analysis under the headings of 'semantic battles' and 'annexation of concepts' (Chilton and Schäffner, 2011: 308); for example, 'hijacking' terms from political opponents to relate them to a value such as solidarity and freedom and give them a new meaning in such a way that will be identified with that value (ibid.). Similar spin techniques include manipulation of information through drawing attention to information A while blurring information B, selective use of facts, phrasing of language in a way that presents unproven information as facts, and the deceitful use of metaphor, euphemism, names and slogans to influence and colour the perception of the audience of certain events and actions. Thus, language can be manipulated to achieve aims related to reshaping ideologies and attitudes of voters as an attempt to delegitimise political opponents and their supporting groups' ideologies. Stance and evaluation as shown in Figure 2 play a role in manipulating language by accommodating stance and evaluation in accordance with the values of the audience.

The aim of the current section is to reveal how political discourse relates with CDA. The first involves dimensions not generally apparent to the public and CDA deals with uncovering how power and domination are achieved in discourse. This is where CDA meets with political discourse, as CDA researchers aim to study the dimensions of power abuse and domination among social groups. Central to CDA studies are investigations of self-presentation strategies adopted by politicians to manage their image favourably to the public in order to achieve political goals and gain support.

2.3.5 Self vs. Other in Self-Presentation Research

This section aims at showing the relation that links self-presentation to the expression of ideological predispositions and how that leads to the formation of opposing and supporting groups. Constructing identities in discourse involves telling who *we* are and who *they* are and presenting a comparison between the two. As illustrated in Figure 2, individual and opposing groups, as they adapt different views, are the product of aligning with different ideologies and beliefs. Struggles over dominance and power are partly enacted through discourse (Fairclough, 2000: 3), resulting in arguments such as why we are right and they are not and why we shall prevail and they shall not. Arguments such as these are communicated to gain support of the public and enlarge one's own group. Therefore, self-presentation is achieved in relation to a certain 'Other' which is used to refer to all people the Self 'perceives as mildly or radically different' (Riggens, 1997: 3). So these terms may be perceived as unique individuals (I/you) or collectives (we/they). Self-presentation discourse then is a discourse of similarities and differences and in order for a person to develop self-identity, he may align with 'a range of positions within a system of differences' in a way that self and other are interrelated to an extent that one cannot avoid talking about Them when talking about US (ibid: 4-6).

Todorov (1982: 185) states that the relation between the two terms are identified in terms of three dimensions: evaluation or value judgment according to which the other is deemed good or bad, social distance – physical or psychological – the self maintains from the Other, and knowledge about the history and the culture of the Other (Cited in Riggns, 1997:5). These dimensions play a role in the way speakers present the Self depending on whether they prefer to align themselves with the other or when the two are in competition. The emphasis will be on highlighting their negative traits which is a 'usual' characteristic of ideological and political discourse (van Dijk, 2005c: 65) especially in campaigning discourse. Politicians express evaluation as they draw a favourable image of themselves by persuading the public to support their policy and react against that of the opponent. Evaluating the other (candidate or party) is used with a persuasive function where politicians appeal to the public 'expressing negative evaluation of the opponent, while … presenting a positive self-image via positive evaluation' (Cabrejas-Peñuelas and Díez-Prados, 2014: 161). Although political discourse in general and political speeches in particular have been the object of extensive research (e.g. Bull and Fetzer, 2006; Cabrejas-Peñuelas and Díez-Prados, 2014), very few have explored evaluation as a

persuasive strategy in relation to identity construction in a specialised corpus of political speeches. Claims related to the two other dimensions in addition to evaluation are to be expressed by politicians by stating 'the rightness of their claims' (Simon-Vandenbergen, 1996: 408); that is, they claim the truth of their statements by using lexical and grammatical devices indicating certainty. This is where the stance meets with evaluation as shown in Figure 2. In the study presented in Chapter 5, I examine the use of personal pronouns with two verbs of emotional commitment: *believe* and *know* as they indicate that the speaker has knowledge of and is personally involved in the issues he/she presents (Cabrejas-Peñuelas and Díez-Prados, 2014: 160).

Self-presentation research has revealed a number of strategies of presenting self. For example, van Dijk (2006) presents his theory on manipulation and indicates clearly that manipulation involves highlighting one's own good things and the opponents' bad things. As an element of persuasive rhetoric, Wodak (2011: 42) indicates that positive self and negative other presentation require legitimation strategies through which positive and negative attributes are justified. It is clear that these two strategies can be used for legitimising purposes but in order to be presented in an argument they need to be supported with reasons and justifications; that is, they are legitimising techniques that should be legitimised. For instance, with the existence of a regime that fails in maintaining security, growth and welfare, a religious association or group like Al-Ikhwan ul Muslimen in Egypt may state that they are the best candidate since they represent Islam as authority in the Middle East on the one hand and they 'are supposed to' have fear of God and not corrupt on the other hand. Thus, such a group using religion as authority to label themselves as not corrupt would be a justification for their rebellion against the regime in Egypt and for considering themselves as representing a legitimate authority [we are not corrupt vs. they are corrupt because we are religious while they are not] (van Dijk, 2006). This supports Wodak's ideas of social actors' representation in discourse – mainly the question of how social actors are represented and named and the reasons for naming them as stated among other questions later in this section.

Van Dijk (2006) considers these strategies as discourse structures that can play a role in affecting people's minds in favour of the speaker's own interests and policies while blaming the negative events on the Others such as opponents, immigrants or

enemies. van Dijk (2006: 373) states that these strategies can be applied at discourse levels as follows:

- Overall interaction strategies: positive-self and negative-other presentation.
- Macro speech acts implying our 'good' acts and their 'bad' acts: such as accusation and defence.
- Semantic macrostructures: topic selection: such as (de) emphasising negative/positive topics about Them/Us
- Local speech acts that implement and sustain the global ones: for example, proofs of accusations.
- Local meanings indicating Our/Their positive actions: provide many/few, general/specific, vague/precise, explicit/implicit details, etc.
- Lexicon: selecting positive words for US and negative words for THEM.
- Local Syntax: activisation, passivisation, nominalisation that (de)emphasise Our/Their positive agency and responsibility.
- Rhetorical figures: hyperbole and euphemism for positive and negative meanings, metonymies and metaphors emphasising Our/Their positive/negative properties.
- Sound and Visual Expressions: using large and bold visuals or loud sounds for emphasising positive or negative meanings. Besides, ordering the positive and negative meaning whether from first to last or top to bottom.

Drawing upon these methodological assumptions, Wodak (2008) presents a methodological approach to inclusion and exclusion from a discourse historical perspective (Reisigle and Wodak, 2001). These two approaches are highlighted here because one can easily say that van Dijk's assumptions contribute to some extent in providing answers to the five methodological questions that are highlighted in Wodak's discourse historical approach. The second reason is that one of the discursive strategies involves justification for labelling social actors with positive or negative attributes.

Wodak (2008: 302) states that the following questions have proven to be relevant to theoretical and methodological approaches to inclusion/exclusion. These questions are:

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
2. What traits, characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to them?

3. By what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to legitimise and justify the inclusion/exclusion of others?
4. From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attribution, and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they intensified or are they mitigated?

The answers to these questions involve the main strategies for the discursive construction of identities of in-groups and out-groups which imply the use of positive self-presentation and negative presentation of others (Wodak, 2011: 40). Utilising these questions as a toolkit in analysing a text, a researcher can approach the representations of social actors and individuals. As systematic ways of using languages, strategies of self and other presentation are considered as a means towards achieving a social and political goal as shown in Figure 3 from Wodak (2007) below:

Strategy	**Objectives**	**Devices**
referential/ nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	Membership categorisation Biological, naturalising and Depersonalising Metaphors and metonymies Synecdoches

Strategy	Objectives	Devices
predication	Labeling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits Implicit and explicit predicates
argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
perspectivation, framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement Positioning speaker's point of view	Reporting, description, narration or quotation of events and utterances
intensification, mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances

Figure 3: Discursive strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation (Wodak, 2007: 663)

As shown in Figure 3 above, the four strategies underpin the justification for inclusion or exclusion of individuals and social groups and the construction of identities. First, there are referential or nomination strategies through which social actors are represented. They

may involve membership categorisation devices, such as references to tropes, naturalising and impersonalising metaphors and metonymy. Closely related to nomination strategies are predictions through which social actors are characterised; these strategies are realised by evaluative attribution of positive and negative traits. As the attribution of the traits is to be further justified by speakers (Simon-Vandenbergen, 1996: 408), argumentation strategies are used to legitimise and justify the attribution of traits. The fourth strategy is the perspectivation, framing or discourse representations. This refers to the way speakers express their point of view via narration, description and quotation of utterances; that is, speakers express their involvement in discourse and position their attitudes about an object. Fifth, intensifying versus mitigation strategies are used to qualify the epistemic propositional status through intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of utterances; that is they contribute to 'sharpening or toning down' the discursive presentation (Wodak 2008: 42). Wodak (2011: 40-42) highlights the significance of these strategies as aspects of the presentation of social actors. These strategies are the starting point upon which the view of constructing attitudinal identity presented earlier in Figure 2 is originally based. Thus, as Charteris-Black (2014:130) states, the DHA seeks to demonstrate what a name may imply and how it contributes to US and THEM relations. For example, in the 1950s a group of Turkish immigrant workers were called guest workers, or 'Gastarbeiters'. This term suggests excluding them from being full German citizens. Another example of naming and more associated with prediction is the word 'Pickey'. This name is most closely linked with negative traits as it is associated with the lower class and in this way it can be analysed as a form of intensification (ibid: 130-32).

The section on identity in discourse provides an overview of the main linguistic resources that can be drawn upon in construction identities in discourse. Self-presentation strategies involves evaluating action and attributes according to which a personae can be defined (third and fourth research questions). Similarly, legitimisation strategies involve stance taking and the expression of attitudes and evaluations which fall within the defining scope of attitudinal identity (second research question).

2.4 Identity in Narratives

The aim of this section is to introduce the conceptualisation of narrative as a starting point for the selection of narrative extracts for further qualitative analysis. The section involves a review of the available studies exploring tense variation and discourse representation to highlight the contribution of this study to the available research with regard to the evaluative performance of tense variation in narratives functioning as internal evaluation and the effect of discourse representation in constructing identity and ideological expression in political discourse.

2.4.1 Narrative Conceptualisation

The above discussion illustrates the difficulty in providing a satisfactory answer to what constitutes a narrative. Goodwin (1990: 231), for example, prefers to channel this vagueness associated with narratives into a framework for studying alternative approaches to narrative analysis, rather than seeking to define it. Instead, we may turn to what characterize narratives. Toolan (2001: 8) states that narratives contain the following six characteristics:

1. A degree of artificial fabrication or constructedness that we do not usually find in spontaneous conversation, but is pre-planned with previous performance of it;
2. A degree of prefabrication—narratives contain bits that we have seen or heard before;
3. A trajectory—narratives go somewhere and are expected to go somewhere with development and a resolution or conclusion provided;
4. A teller who is always important no matter how back-grounded or invisible
5. Narratives richly exploit displacement, which is the ability of human language to refer to things or events that are removed in space or time from the speaker or the addressee; and
6. Recall of events and happening that may be remote from the teller and his audience not only spatially, but also temporally (Ibid: 4-5).

Performing narrative analysis depends on the purpose behind producing a narrative. Narrative can be considered as an argumentative component (Voss, Wiley and Sandak, 1999: 237) when used persuasively. Narratives also serve an organizing principle of

human action (Sarbin, 1986: 9) when describing the mental act of sense making and meaning-making as a cognitive process of meaning making and sense making (Bruner, 1990). In the political domain, narrative can be defined as 'the organization of thought through language, internalized or externalized, which serves to create a sense of personal coherence and collective solidarity and to legitimize collective beliefs, emotions, and actions' (Hammack and Pilecki, 2012: 78).

Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 143) state that narrative analysis is a way of examining people's lives through the stories they tell. They (ibid: 42) consider it as an effective analytical tool that mixes macro- and micro- levels of analysis, and further specify what they consider as the central features required for characterising a piece of discourse as a narrative (2006:133):

> Narratives have a teller and a trajectory: They are expected to 'go' somewhere with a point and resolution. They have beginnings, middles and ends, and include the recounting of events that are displaced spatially, and, crucially, temporally. For a stretch of talk or text to be categorized as 'narrative', it has to incorporate basic structural features, including a narrator, characters, settings, a plot, events that evolve over time, crises and resolutions.

Although many studies conduct narrative analysis, there is no universally agreed way for exploring the target data under scrutiny. As observed by Riessman (1993: v), the previous work performed in the field 'remains silent' about ways of approaching long extracts of spoken and written discourse possessing narrative form (Cited in Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 142). This implies that there is no single correct way of approaching data. In exploring self-presentation, I combine the Labovian framework as representation of the structural aspect of narratives with Ochs' and Capps' approach, which focuses on narrative content. I also trace where tense shifts occur in terms of structure and content. Following the same frameworks in identifying narratives, I explore the role of discourse presentation in both foregrounding and backgrounding identity claims, and in highlighting self-presentation.

2.4.2 Narrative Historical Present

The historical present tense (HP) refers to events which 'began and ended at some point previous to the moment at which the narrative is being told'; this verbal tense is common in narrative discourse, and is often referred to as 'dramatic' or 'conversational' narrative present (Wolfson, 1982: 3). Using HP can alternate with the simple past tense without change in the referential meaning. Wolfson (1987: 216) argues that it is one of several 'performative' features of oral narrative, occurring in conjunction with other performative devices such as direct speech, motions and gestures, asides, repetition, expressive sounds, and sound effects. The function of this performative feature is to describe the experience from the speaker's point of view, and to 'dramatize' it. It therefore encodes 'shifts between the story world and the interactional world' to indicate involvement or distancing in relation to the interlocutors and/or the narrated events (De Fina, 2003: 24). These linguistic techniques of performance relate to the 'internal evaluation' in Labov's framework. In the present study, I add the shift into habitual present tense to HP because, as the data shows, it similarly involves a speaker's perspective and the evaluation of events. This tense shift occurs when the speaker breaks the flow of the story-telling to communicate their evaluation of the preceding event. This technique enhances the reportability of the story, and keeps the narrator's view point clear within the events narrated.

These shifts in tense involve not only simple verbal forms, but also the aspectual forms appearing within the perfective and progressive tenses. The HP substitutes past tense and past progressives to express duration and imperfective aspect with no change in reference. Although Wolfson's (ibid.) definition states that both tenses report events that occurred in the past, I follow Fleischman (1991: 82) in taking the stance that they are not equivalent, for the selection of the present tense in narratives always involves some special information. As the tense of narrative discourse is almost always in the past, the use of the present serves to report events that are happening in front of the speakers' eyes to bring vivid illustration of the movement of the events to the audience. This can be true for texts produced for persuasive purposes, and not in other naturally-occurring narratives which do contain shifts to historical present. This may be one of the reasons that this view has been rejected by Comrie (1986) and Fludernik (1991) as well, because historical present has 'one particular meaning and they additionally imply that whenever the context is as specified, the present tense must occur' (Fludernik, 1991: 367).

In a study of tense shift in 'danger of death' narratives, Harvey (1986) shows, in contrast to Wolfson's (1982) claims that HP are used to make the audience feel they are reliving the experience, that HP signals that the narrator is unconsciously reliving an intensely personal experience. The use of HP may thus serve to signal to the audience the arrival of the crucial part of a story, or the purpose underlying its telling. One of the reasons I focus on reported speech and HP in this study is that these linguistic phenomena are interrelated in that reported speech construction involves tense shifts and as the analyses show instances where a reported speech construction involves HP. Similarly, Harvey (1986) provides instances of close danger speeches where the teller of a story uses HP in reporting his wife's utterances and his own utterances. Although some events are reported in past tense construction, other descriptions involve using existential processes with HP 'there is ...' In conclusion, HP and reported speech both are performative features of narratives and this shared feature is the reason I focus on them in investigating the narratives within The Obama Corpus.

2.4.3 Narrative and Direct and Indirect Speech

Reported speech is a performance device which conveys implicit stances towards characters and events, and implies distancing or involving oneself in relation to the narrated events and the audience (De Fina, 2003: 24). Quoting, whether used directly or indirectly, in political narratives is a strategy adopted by politicians to align themselves with other social actors, and to present multiple selves or other social actors. Quoting can have multiple functions in political narratives. Politicians use quotations to appeal to the audience's emotions, and also to bring other's ideas to support their own arguments by showing that role models share their views. This intentional alignment with powerful figures provides an authoritative legitimation to their claims and policies. Direct quotes and indirect quotes have different discourse functions which lie in the speakers' attitude towards the reported speech. These different functions are highlighted in a number of studies. For example, Mayes (1990) claims that direct quotations are used to dramatize and emphasize key elements in the narrative. Indirect quotations, by contrast, function to either background unimportant information, to clarify information and/or to correct errors. Speakers reporting direct quotes commit themselves to the form and content of

the original message, while indirect statement indicates commitment to content but not form. Based on Mayes' (ibid.) claim, direct quotes seem more central to the study of narratives. The surface realisation of the reported speech reflects the differences between direct and indirect speech. Schiffrin (2002: 334) observes that direct quotes demand grammatical shift replacing 'the quoted person, not the quoting person as the deictic centre'. This shift is accompanied by another shift in tense within the quotation itself.

Within narrative discourse, reported speech can have a narrative and non- narrative function, depending on the context in which the reported utterance occurs and the information provided by the preceding meta discursive statement. In keeping with the definition of a narrative event proposed by Labov, Vincent and Perrin (1999: 294) suggest that a narrative function can be attributed to a reported utterance if it identifies a speech event among a past series of events restricted by temporality and causality of the sequential actions reported in a story. To them, an utterance is narrative if it contributes to the development of the story and is used for a narrative purpose. In addition, it seems that the speaker's way of narrating events plays a role in attributing a narrative or non-narrative function to an utterance. A reported utterance possesses a non-narrative function if the speaker uses it to support an argument, evaluate an action, and give examples, or to add expertise, voice and authority to any claims being made. Thus, any legitimising or argumentative utterance has a non-narrative function, while utterances which move the story events chronologically retain the sense of narrative functionality.

Speakers in narratives can self-quote or quote others, bringing in different voices to the story world in an attempt to develop the point of view behind telling the story. This integration of multiple voices is possible 'even when there is no other dialogue and the information could have been conveyed in a different form' (Macaulay, 1987: 20). Hamilton (1998: 63) gives an important role to directly reported speech in the construction of identity, stating that 'the construction of directly reported speech in which the narrator shows not only what is said, but how it was said, is a very powerful tool in constructing the identity of the figure in the audience minds'. In my view, indirectly reported utterances are no less significant than direct quotes. Reyes (2011a) proposes strategies through which politicians try to shape people's beliefs and values. His study investigates the achievement of politician's goals by evoking different voices as classified as speaker's roles by Goffman: The role of narrator, interlocutor, and character. Reyes

(ibid: 146) states that politicians tend to enact these three personas, while performing these three roles on stage settings, which ideologically positions the speaker with the events narrated (narrator), the audience (interlocutor), or the people being quoted (character), depending on specific political goals of the individual. Moreover, bringing these voices to support political arguments can serve as an appeal to the emotions of the audience and to the strong beliefs that form and shape the identity of a specific audience.

As stated earlier in this chapter, the self can be constructed in narratives through self-presentation strategies. Presenting others through reported speech is an indirect way of presenting the self in relation to a significant other, especially when the other is negatively represented. This has the effect of creating two contrasting images in the audience's mind of good and bad characters by presenting self and other quotes, whether directly or indirectly. Arguably, it seems that what gives priority to the direct quotes is that direct quotes emphasise the agency of the person involved in the reported utterance and the reported action. As stated by Schiffrin (1996: 174-175) 'responsible agentive role is iconically captured through the use of directly reported speech'. Only in direct quotes the speaker's agency as a producer of the reported utterance is highlighted, whereas indirect speech highlights the agency of the quoted speaker.

2.4.4 Narrative Identity

The self is a narratively constructed entity, and every access to the self is mediated by narratives (Zahavi, 2007:184). Narratives are modes through which identity perception is communicated and are closely connected to how identity is constructed in this respect since they are considered as 'the primary settings for identity construction' (Schiffrin, 2006: 104). The self is attached to the surrounding world through 'a system of beliefs or a way of construing the world that makes life predictable rather than random' (Kriesberg, Northrup, and Thorson, 1989: 55) and group membership can play a key role in maintaining identity constructions. Simply put, individuals participate in the construction of their own autobiographies or narratives, taking into consideration the contexts in which they are located (Bruner, 2002); they choose and plan their futures in terms of the views of others (Carr, 1986). Commenting on Carr's point of view, Allison (1994: 108-9) argues that individuals exist narratively and are 'better understood as story-livers rather than as storytellers.'

The point to be emphasised in this context is that self/identity claims are always reflected in the narratives an individual is producing, whether narrating his/her own story, or dealing with an episode or event in the life of someone else. By telling a story, the speaker constructs a claim contextualising it in the form of actions performed by the characters in the story to make relevant the claim the speaker intends to convey for the here-and-now of the conversation. Inserting the self of the teller in a storyline makes it open to interpretation and examination from different angles (Bamberg, 2005: 223) because 'the practice of narration involves the "doing" of identity, and because we can tell different stories we can construct different versions of the self" (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 138). The point of view represented in a narrative where characters are ordered is most often meant to represent the point of view from which the speaker represents him-/herself. Similarly, the claim constructed in the narratives is lodged by the speaker for him-/herself in terms of who he/she is (Bamberg, 2005: 223).

In sum, regardless of whether narratives deal with one's life or someone else's life, narratives always reveal some aspect of the speaker's identity. A narrative is defined as any retelling of past and previous experience with the purpose of communicating a certain point of view which is the outcome of interweaving conditions, intentions, beliefs and emotions. From this definition, we can say that the point of view as a dimension of narratives is an equivalent of evaluation. Similar to evaluation, a point of view can be stated explicitly through asides, soliloquies and other predictions and implicitly through structuring the plot of the narrative (Ochs and Capps, 1996: 26).

2.4.5 Positioning in narratives

Most narrative theorists emphasise that we live in a 'story telling society' (Denzin, 2000), and that every individual's life is a story with important events, the sense of which is made clear through society. Through one's own storytelling, an individual comes to define his/her own identity. This is a question that evolves through time until one understands and interprets his-/herself through interaction and experience. Thus, the self is constituted through life history narratives; selves become coherent and easily understood through narratives or through the 'biographical' work that they do (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 42). Narratives are understood as constituents of reality (ibid).

Therefore, selves and identities are said to be constituted in narratives as 'storied selves' since most research in narratives treats them as constitutive of reality.

Taking the view that life unfolds as narratives with multiple story lines, the importance of the actions of people is determined by actors' positions (Harré, 2010: 52); that is, speech acts that people are heard to produce are determined by the positions they are occupying in the narrative – their assigned and claimed rights and obligations to make use of the discursive tools (Harré and van Langenhov, 1999). Rights and duties are the moral standards of correctness and normative frames within which people live, feel, act and perceive. Positions are the 'clusters' of beliefs about rights and duties and the 'moral landscape', consisting of practices such as praising, ignoring or taking notice of someone (Harré, 2010: 53). Who one is depends on the values, ideals and goals one has; it is a question of what is significant and meaningful for one which is conditioned by the community of which one is part (Zahavi; 2007:181); this is where identity and morals are related. From this point, narrative analysis is combined in recent years with positioning theory which offers to make connections between macro-discourses and micro levels of interactions (Benwell and Stokoe, 2006: 43). The meeting point between positioning theory and narratology lies in the facts that:

1. The prevalent storyline of the narrative can be determined, to some extent, by the 'local assignments of rights and duties'.
2. Identity is constitutive by narratives; what you are depends on the roles you play, which in turn depends on how you are positioned – the rights and duties you are able to achieve and exploit effectively (Harré, 2010: 54).

Positioning theory offers a connection between identity and power relations (Benwell and Stoke, 2006: 43) and confirms that people may resist, modify or refuse subject positions to maintain individual agency in identity construction (Bamberg 2004). This depends on the ideals individuals hold as ideals define identity and acting against them means disintegration of one's wholeness as a person (Zahavi, 2007: 194). This theory is more related to Goffman's (1981) notion of *footing* which signals speakers' discursive identities. In this study, I draw on the notion of speech presentation in narratives rather than on footing.

2.4.6 Arguments in narratives

In political discourse, narratives are used as argumentation devices. Speakers narrate a story where the position of the protagonist makes the point of the speaker clear to the audience. Some speakers set out the historical narrative facts of a case to outline their main arguments, 'the way these facts are laid would frame whatever arguments might follow' so the speaker utilise the narrative 'to establish key information in a way that will provide a springboard for his main argument' (Charteris-Black, 2014: 17-18).

The aim of narrative analysis is therefore to examine narratives as interpretive devices through which people represent themselves and their worlds to themselves and to others, in addition to the ways in which 'specific narrative sequences function within wider narratives to help storytellers make argumentative points' (De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2011: 97). One way of creating meaning in discourse is through attention to arguments embedded within discourse, so the meaning of elements of the story is based on what they are contrasted, compared or associated with to propose a claim as controversial or disputable. Schiffrin (1990: 40) has shown that argumentative stories are told to back up controversial claims. As such positions are often represented by 'opinions, beliefs, judgments, and feelings', narratives therefore are included to support the speaker's opinion. Narratives analysed in the present study are included to make Obama's position clear to the people and to support his point of view. Drawing upon the representation of opinions and beliefs when presenting arguments in narratives, the present study seeks to identify the different identity categories Obama draws upon while narrating stories as stated in the third research question. Restricting the focus to evaluative elements in narrative performance, the study aims at analysing the linguistic contexts where reference to the self or the other is made through examining historical present and reported discourse as stated in the fourth research question.

2.5 Overall Summary

This chapter presents an overview of the different theories and approaches within the sub-disciplines of linguistics and how my research will contribute to these fields. In summary, my research contribution will focus upon the significance of integration and functions of stance and evaluation in the construction of attitudinal identity, as well as the revelation

of interpersonal aspects of identity being part of the hidden ideologies that CDA studies aim to investigate. This chapter has overviewed the complex relation of identity to social representations and social practices as considered a source of subjectivity and self-perception. It has reviewed the contribution of CDA studies in uncovering hidden ideologies in texts and explains how ideologies contribute to the construction of identity. Lastly, it moves towards the representation of identity studies in narratives and presents examples of narrative textual features through which speakers' attempts to construct their identities are uncovered through specifying historical present and discourse representations.

In this chapter, I have presented CDA approaches showing their relation to ideology and power on one hand and to the notion of identity justifying the reason for adopting a CDA perspective in answering the research questions specified earlier. Reviewing recent work on the relation of identity to stance and evaluation as elements reflecting on the ideological predisposition of speakers, I have presented a framework showing how both concepts are intricately employed as linguistic resources in texts to express attitudes and how adopting it can lead to the formation of new opposing or supporting groups. The framework is further illustrated through addressing the second research question answered in Chapter 5.

Chapter Three
Methodology

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I introduce and give a detailed account of the research methodology adopted in the present study. The main aim is to show how the study is designed to address the research questions stated earlier from a CDA perspective informed by corpus linguistic methodology. This chapter has two sections. In the first section I provide a brief account of the main implications of applying a mixed-methods approach in research design, and a brief overview of the different ways of designing mixed-methods research. In the second section I discuss the use of corpus linguistics as a research method, that is, the application of corpus linguistic tools to produce quantitative data, and the choice of the reference corpus that is compatible with The Obama Corpus. The procedures for choosing texts and data collection are provided, in addition to including some background and contextual description of the texts and the audiences to which they are addressed. Then, I discuss the qualitative aspect represented by narrative analysis highlighting the analytical focus of the narrative analysis when examining the qualitative data. The chapter ends with a summary of the mixed-method strategies adopted, and situating these methodological and analytical procedures within the overall scope of this project.

3.2 Mixed-Methods Research

The mixed-methods paradigm has been defined as 'the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines 'qualitative and quantitative elements' (Johnson and Onwugbuzie, 2004: 17). Recent work (e.g. Holmes and Marra, 2002) has shown how qualitative and quantitative paradigms can be combined for a better understanding of

interactants' norms and practices in discourse. Bryman (1992) indicates that mixed methodologies can be applied in cases where qualitative techniques can facilitate the quantitative and vice versa; that is, where they are of equal emphasis. Moreover, applying a mixed method will help attain logical rigour of research which can be achieved when a qualitative analyst uses quantitative techniques (Seale, 1999). Mixed-methods research enables researchers to provide a stronger evidence base for studying a research problem than either quantitative or qualitative research alone, as each informs the other and contributes in examining the linguistic phenomenon under investigation. Using both approaches combines the strength of qualitative and quantitative research (Dörnyei, 2007), thus eliminating weaknesses associated with using one approach alone and increasing the validity of the research results.

It is important to point out that a mixed-method design does not guarantee 'necessarily better research' (Brannen, 2005: 183). If it lacks 'principled mixing', the methods adopted are mixed in a way that makes their strength prevalent, and is centred on the research topic or question (Dörnyei, 2007: 167). Different research designs have been identified by scholars such as Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003: 680), and Creswell and Plano Clarke (2007: 59-79). Creswell (2009: 211-216) identifies six main mixing strategies summarised as follows:

1. Sequential Explanatory Strategy: This involves collecting and analysing quantitative data in the first phase. The initial results are built on and lead to the collection and analysis of qualitative data in the second phase. In this way, any quantitative results are interpreted by a follow-up qualitative data analysis.
2. Sequential Exploratory Strategy: The quantitative data analysis is used to interpret the qualitative findings.
3. Sequential Transformative Strategy: This involves two phases with a theoretical lens. Both phases of this strategy can be qualitative or quantitative, and the second builds upon the initial phase. The theoretical lens (e.g., gender, race, social science theory) is introduced in a proposal, shapes a research question designed to explore a problem (e.g., inequality and injustice), creates sensitivity to collecting data from marginalised groups, and ends with a call for action.

4. Concurrent Triangulation Strategy: Qualitative and quantitative data are collected and compared to determine a difference, convergence, or a combination of both. The mixing is achieved in the interpretation or discussion section where the data are merged (transforming one data type to another for comparison) or the results of two datasets are integrated or compared side by side in the discussion.
5. Concurrent Transformative Strategy: This approach is guided by the researcher's use of a theoretical perspective, and the concurrent collection of qualitative and quantitative data. This perspective is reflected in the research questions and aims of the study, and is based on ideologies such as critical theory and conceptual or theoretical framework.

In summary, mixed-methods research allows for a 'diversity of views' and 'stronger inference' (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2003: 674) and is one way of achieving triangulation as a feature of a good research design (Cohen and Manion, 1994: 233). Triangulation means 'carrying out two or more approaches as a means of checking results[…]triangulation can be used as an alternative to traditional measures of reliability and validity, enabling researchers to overcome limitations associated with a single method or their own biases' (Baker and Levon, 2015: 223). The application of Creswell's (2009) strategies stated above can be easily achieved when different types of triangulation are considered. Denzin (1970: 472) states that triangulation can be achieved by the following:

1. Applying more than one sampling method for data collection (data triangulation),
2. The involvement of more than one researcher (investigator triangulation),
3. The use of more than one theoretical stance (theoretical triangulation)
4. More than one methodology (methodological stance).

In the present study, two methodologies are combined to achieve the aim of triangulation. Although critical discourse analysis is mainly qualitative, analysts can utilise quantitative methods (Wetherell et al., 2001) such as frequency and keyword measures (e.g., Fairclough, 2003). This study uses triangulation through combining critical discourse

analysis (hereafter, CDA) and corpus linguistics (CL) tools, on one hand, and then combining CDA with a narrative analytical approach. The following section presents the specific approaches adopted, starting with a consideration of corpus tools and presenting the limitations of a corpus approach.

3.3 Corpus Linguistics

Corpus linguistics is the study of form and function of language involving the use of computerised corpora in an analysis (Partington, et al., 2013: 5). McEnery and Wilson (1996: 1) consider corpus linguistics as a methodology, not a discipline while Hunston and Francis (2000: 14) argue that it is 'a method or a group of methods and a kind of data rather than a theory'. However, scholars such as Biber (2009) and Tognini-Bonelli (2001) do not share the same viewpoint arguing that its role goes far beyond being merely methodological and actually represents an independent discipline. McEnery et al. (2006: 7) claim that linguistic disciplines are concerned with investigating a certain aspect of language use, while corpus linguistics is more concerned with the way corpora are applied in language studies. They further state that it has a theoretical status, but it is not a theory itself.

However, it is the position of the researcher that determines the approach adopted in a corpus study (Cheng, 2012: 6); in this case, whether CL functions as an independent discipline or a method. For example, if corpus linguistics is used to test available linguistic frameworks against evidence in the corpus, then its use is methodological and the approach is considered as corpus-based. Contrastively, if the approach is devoted towards developing theories of language use, then it is viewed as a discipline whose studies are termed as corpus-driven (Ibid.). In this study, corpus linguistics is adopted as a research methodology rather than an independent branch of linguistics or a theory.

McEnery et al. (2006: 111) state that corpus linguistics is essentially quantitative, while discourse studies are primarily qualitative. Corpus linguistic tools are, therefore, adopted in the present study to account for the quantitative research approach. Partington, et al., (2013: 8) states that the quantitative nature of corpus linguistics arises from the search for and belief of the value in recurring patterns. Corpus linguistic analysis is based

on frequency (past observation) as well as probability (future predictability). In other words, observing regularly-occurring patterns assists the analyst to predict how other, as yet unanalysed, chunks of language 'will behave', and to hypothesise a description of the ways in which larger parts of discourse are constructed (ibid).

3.4 Representativeness, Balance and Sampling

In building a corpus, its overall representativeness needs to be considered. Representativeness relates to how a corpus sufficiently represents a particular language variety. It is a fluid concept, and is often dependent upon researcher intuition. To make an approach more systematic, corpus builders attempt to construct a representative corpus following certain criteria, however, this does not necessarily guarantee representativeness. This is evident in the way corpus linguists define representativeness. Leech (1991: 27) states that a corpus is 'thought' to be representative of a language variety if the findings can be generalised to that variety. This is achieved by including the full range of variability (Biber, 1993: 243). These findings are usually generated after the corpus is built and 'the results of corpus analysis can be used as feedback to improve representativeness' (McEnery, et al., 2006: 14). Moreover, corpora are usually updated and new texts may be added so representativeness is an issue that continues to be debated. These ongoing discussions are taken into consideration when achieving balance and choosing a sample, as shown later in this section.

Much of the criteria used in achieving representativeness are principally external. External criteria are defined situationally, regardless of the distribution of the linguistic features. Internal criteria, on the other hand, are linguistically defined to take into account the distribution of such features within texts. According to McEnery et al. (2006: 14), internal and external criteria correspond to Biber's (1993: 243) situational versus linguistic perspectives. Biber uses the terms *genres* or *registers* to refer to situationally defined text categories, and *text types* to refer to linguistically defined ones (cited in McEnery et al.: 14). Although external criteria are preferred to internal ones, there are studies propose that internal criteria can also be used to measure representativeness (Otlogetswe, 2001: 5, Berber-Sardinha 1998). However, according to McEnery, et al. (2006: 14), it is problematic and circular to adopt internal criteria because they are based on the distribution of linguistic features. They argue that if these features are

predetermined in advance, there is no point in conducting a corpus analysis because a corpus is designed to study linguistic distribution. Therefore, many other scholars (Biber 1993: 256, Atkins et al., 1992) support the view that external criteria are preferred keeping their linguistic characteristics independent of the selection process.

Representativeness also depends on balance. Presently, there is no reliable measure of balance in corpora, existing as a notion reliant on intuition and best estimates (McEnery, et al., 2006). One way to achieve balance is by classifying and characterising text categories (ibid) and in this way stratifying the corpus beforehand (Nelson, 2012: 60). Although achieving balance is useful, it is rarely an essential feature of a corpus (McEnery et al., 2006: 16). Moreover, Atkins, et al. (1992: 6) suggest that it is unwise 'to wait until one can scientifically balance a corpus before starting to use one, and hasty to dismiss the results of corpus analysis… because the corpus used cannot be proved to be balanced as any corpus - however unbalanced - is a source of information'. In section 3.8, I explain how I make efforts to achieve balance and representativeness while building The Obama Corpus.

Since a corpus is a sample of language use, representativeness and balance are inherently associated with sampling. The theory of sampling aims at securing 'a sample which …will reproduce the characteristic of the population, especially those of immediate interest' (Yates, 1965: 9). McEnery, et al. (2006: 20) describes three methods of sampling: simple random sampling, stratified random sampling and demographic sampling. In simple random sampling, all sampling units (a book, periodical, newspaper) are numbered and the sample is chosen by selecting random numbers. Stratified random sampling occurs when the whole population is divided into homogeneous groups (strata) and each stratum is sampled randomly. Demographic sampling is achieved by categorising units on the basis of speaker/writer age, sex and social class. The decisions made in all three approaches to sampling are made randomly, and this makes each of them no less representative than the other. Sampling itself is considered problematic in corpus linguistics for three reasons: the population from which a sample is drawn is poorly defined, there is no obvious sample unit which can be used to define a population, and the researcher can never be certain to have accounted for all instances (Clear, 1992: 21).

One way of achieving sampling is by including a wide range of genres as sub-corpora to help make the whole corpus represent the variety of language. In this way, large corpora can be used as a norm; a benchmark against which sub-corpora and more specialised corpora can be attested in terms of keyness. For instance, the composition of the British National Corpus (BNC) makes it representative of English language usage. Its functionality as a Modern English lexicon and a reference corpus to generate a finite number of linguistic patterns makes it representative; however, no corpus can represent the infinite variety of English in actual use (Harvey, 2013: 65). Each of its genres includes texts written by different authors to different audiences and for different purposes whether academic, persuasive, or informative in intent.

The genre of media discourse includes a range of text types such as newspapers, online newspapers, advertisements, even books written on media. Each one of these types has recognisable features that render them distinctive by comparison to – and within - other text types by degrees of variability. For example, different newspapers contain texts written at different periods and by different authors. Koester (2010: 69) provides a similar argument stating that within a single genre there may be sub-genres which can have a different sub-variability as when samples are produced by different organisations or by different people: 'if all the samples come from just one organisation, the corpus will be representative of the genre as used in that organisation, but not of the genre as a whole.' Based on this argument, language studies restrict their focus and keep their data more specialised, using larger corpora as a reference for the lexicon and language patterns that cannot objectively be judged as representative. Another point to be made in this respect is that studies using large corpora have the potential to produce findings, and attribute them to the corpus, while they may be more typical of only one or two genres or sub-genres in the corpus.

From the discussion presented above, we can conclude that all of these features of corpora are dependent on intuition, which makes the issue of representativeness highly debatable among scholars. Even strong supporters of representativeness in corpus design, such as Leech (2007: 145) suggests that even without achieving the feature of representativeness 'a corpus retains the merit in showing up language as it is attested in real life'. This stance contrast with other linguists such as Kilgarriff and Grefenstette

(2003) who argue that each corpus is representative of nothing else but itself. Further information about attempts for achieving representativeness is provided in section 3.8.

3.5 Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Studies

This section aims at representing the significance of applying corpus approach with a CDA perspective in discourse studies. CDA remains a point of continuing discussion and debate in linguistic scholarship (see section 2.2.6), especially on methodological grounds. In this section I argue for the usefulness of utilising an integrated corpus linguistics approach (CL) in conducting CDA studies. CL contributes in strengthening the weaknesses attributed to CDA such as lack of rigour, representativeness, and failure to generalise CDA findings. These benefits may account for why corpus approaches to CDA have grown in popularity in recent scholarship. This section discusses how corpus linguistic tools have the ability to provide useful insights into critical discourse studies.

Proponents of this combined approach have put forward several advantages of it. Mautner (2009: 123) states that the potential of CL rests on three factors: it allows analysts to work with large amounts of data, and it enables them to broaden their empirical base and reduce the researcher's bias. CL software additionally provides quantitative and qualitative information on textual data through computing frequencies, statistical significance, and presenting data extracts of individual occurrences for further qualitative assessment of collocational environment, salient semantic patterns, and identification of discourse functions. Baker and Levon (2015: 222) further elaborate the benefits of a CL approach, stating that a large amount of data is more likely to make the findings more reliable and limits the criticism that CDA analysts 'cherry-pick' to prove a preconceived point. They further observe that 'CL yields findings based on frequency patterns which enable researchers to indicate commonly realised…discourses in society.'

A number of studies have effectively combined CDA and CL methods for linguistic analysis. For example, Orpin (2005) combines the two methods by comparing frequencies of words, phrases, and collocational syntactic patterning in a corpus of British newspapers including *The Guardian, The Independent and the Times*, and the (now defunct) tabloid *Today*. Within these sources, the words semantically related to corruption such as *corruption, sleaze, bribery, graft, malpractices, impropriety, nepotism,* and *cronyism* are examined. Orpin (2005) identifies the geographical locations

the words refer to, and compares the connotation meanings of these words. The findings show that noticeably negative connotations are used to represent activities in countries including Malaysia, Italy, and India, while the same activities are referred to with less negatively connotative words in the international pages of the British press. The instances are then compared against the norms of language use as reflected in the 323-milion-word Bank of English. Orpin (2005) then draws on CDA theory to interpret the ideological stance regarding the public concern about the private ownership of public assets, the growing dissatisfaction with the (then) conservative government, and a shifting awareness from abroad to Britain. Orpin (ibid: 59) concludes the study by declaring that corpus methodology complements but does not replace the qualitative analysis and supports CDA assertions with reliable and empirical evidence.

In another study (Al-Hejin 2015), keywords and concordance lines are used to account for the representation of Muslim woman in the BBC news. Al-Hejin (2015: 4) states that CL helps both overt and less overt observations to emerge from data via statistical criteria rather than subjective observations. Al-Hejin (2015) employs analytical tools from the discourse-historical and socio-cognitive approaches and combines them with corpus-based methodologies to investigate the semantic macrostructures associated with Muslim women. The corpus findings show that Muslim women are represented according to regional coverage including countries such as Iraq, Afghanistan and Palestine, and this is largely due to war and conflict. The second semantic macrostructure revealed by the keyword semantic categorisation is war and crime, where the Muslim women are patients (victims) in the majority of the cases. They are represented as actors in a smaller proportion (2.1%), where they are likely to be suicide bombers. However, the concordance reveals a verbal pattern in which Muslim women are *sent, deployed* and *used* and in such cases they have no agency. Al-Hejin (2015: 21) evaluates the quantification offered by calculating keywords not only as a starting point to guide the qualitative analysis in less subjective ways, but also 'as one that was reemployed throughout the analysis to document the extent to which a given linguistic phenomenon was present in discourse.'

Additionally, Salama (2011) combines CL (keywords and collocation) and CDA tools to examine the re-contextualisation of the Wahhabi-Saudi Islam across 9/11 opposing discourses. Salama (2011) compares the lexico-semantic relations between

collocates of *Wahhabi*, *Wahhabi's,* and *Saudi* in Stephen Schwartz's (2002) *The two faces of Islam: The House of S'aud from Tradition to terror* and Natana Delong-Bas's (2004) *Wahhabi Islam: From Revival and Reform to Global Jihad*, with the aim of showing how authors build their arguments with regard to Bin-Laden's ideology and the Wahabi teaching. The corpus tools helped in recognising the textual foci in the two books by extracting keywords of the two texts and computing the collocates of the relevant keywords *Wahhabi*, *Wahhab('s)* and *Saudi*. On the methodological level, Salama (2011) claims that CL can, in general, provide objective criteria for recognising textual phenomena in research and collocation, in particular its micro-textual environment (as provided through studying collocation) for macro ideology-making processes across opposing discourses. Calculating keywords and collocational significance using CL methods has been of significant values to the subsequent qualitative stages of the study.

More recently, corpus linguistics has been compared against qualitative approaches to CDA in a study conducted by Baker and Levon (2015), which examines the representation of different groups of men in the British press. Each researcher worked independently using different approaches: one using corpus-based techniques and the other focusing on qualitative analysis. The corpus analyst (Baker) used a corpus of 44.1 million words of newspaper articles and the qualitative analyst (Levon) used a down-sampled set of 51 articles. They aimed at investigating whether similarities or differences between the research findings are due to using different methodologies. Their investigation revealed a set of shared (converging) and complementary (different but contributing to a wider picture) findings, in short, findings unique to a corpus approach complement the unique findings derived from a qualitative analysis, and vice versa. The researchers conclude that experiments of this type will help shed light on the benefits and drawbacks of different approaches to CDA.

In conclusion, the discussion presented above shows that corpus linguistics has a great deal to offer CDA studies. The originality of the methodology designed in the present study arise from exploring stance and evaluation from a critical discourse perspective using corpus tools. As I have stated in Chapter 2 there are studies that dealt with evaluation using corpus such as Hunston (2002), Bednarek (2005, 2015), but they have explored it in academic and media discourse. My methodology's originality lies in

the employment of corpus tools to explore the integration of stance and evaluation in texts to construct attitudinal identity from a CDA perspective.

3.6 Corpus Linguistics and Political Discourse

The main aim of this section is to provide justification for the way CL tools are applied in the present study by providing discussion of the main ways of conducting corpus analysis in political discourse. Generally speaking, using corpus linguistics in analysing political speeches makes it possible to analyse the idiolect of specific leaders. In the previous section, I discussed the advantages of applying corpus method in CDA studies. This section illustrates what CL can add to the study of political speeches. Ädel (2010: 595) provides four examples of corpus techniques in the context of political discourse: 1) analysing how X is talked about (here X referring to a social group or policy), 2) making corpus comparisons, 3) analysing sets of linguistic features marking a particular style, and 4) analysing keywords.

Many linguists are interested in how entities, social groups, or actors are talked about in political discourse. For example, Mulderrig (2012) combines a corpus-based approach to CDA to examine the way the pronoun *we* is used in the New Labour discourse to legitimise policy decisions through consensus. The researcher claims that combining the two methods is motivated by the need for a systematic approach to CDA to 'facilitate an iterative analysis of different government' (ibid: 702), and that this approach directs the analyst's attention in unexpected but often fruitful directions. The study shows that *we*, especially when followed by the mental process *know*, is used to construct the illusion that consensus is 'assumed by claiming the mental processes of "us all" (2012: 721) and the effect of placing claims after the verb *know* is to reify the beliefs that underlie them. This seems manipulative, given that *we* is used in other instances exclusively suggesting the government's response to imperatives arise from a shared consensus on contemporary policy landscape of global competition. Such pronominal use may construe logic of competitiveness between social groups, in terms of *we* as opposed to *you*, or it may convey a shared vision of social need, which has an implication on the way national identity is shaped and conceptualised. Similarly, Flowerdew (2004a) examines a corpus of 140 speeches, interviews, press conference delivered by Tung Chee-hwa, after the return of Hong Kong from Britain to Chinese sovereignty on July 1, 1997. Flowerdew's

findings show that although Tung speaks positively about economy, he often refers to the state of the Chinese rather than Hong Kong's economy. Moreover, his discourse emphasises the belief of the Hong Kong people in Confucian values and their Chineseness in an attempt to establish a new identity for them.

Corpus linguistics allows researchers to make comparisons between multiple corpora containing language use for different speakers. Miliza and Spinzi (2008), for example, compared George W. Bush's discourse against that of Tony Blair in a corpus of speeches delivered in 2005. They investigated how the two leaders use multi-word units involving the lemma TERROR, and found that Bush prefers the phrase *war on terror* collocated *with allies* and *friends*, while Blair uses the phrase *fight against terror* collocating nouns such as *co-operation, solidarity, unity* and *support.* They conclude by stating that these findings indicate the different cultural and political identities of the speakers and their different objectives (2008: 346). Another option for comparison is to examine the discourse of two political opponents or speakers with opposing views on a political issue. Savoy (2010) designed a US political corpus comprising 245 political speeches given by Barack Obama and John McCain. The researcher conducted a frequency analysis to examine the difference between the discourses of the two politicians between 2007 and 2008. The corpus statistics enabled the researcher to observe the distribution of the texts showing that Obama delivered more speeches during the specified period except for April and May 2008. Although McCain's vocabulary tended to have a similar size, the number of word tokens per author and date show that Obama reduces the volume of his speeches in 2007 in comparison to 2008, which have a mean length slightly larger than McCain's speeches. In 2007, the mean of Obama's speeches was 3,402 and in 2008 it was 2,457 which is nearly the same mean for McCain's speeches (2,349). The mean for McCain's speeches remained stable across the two years (ibid).

Another corpus linguistic technique used in political discourse is analysing sets of linguistic features marking a particular style. Ädel (2010: 597) states that statistically significant variation in the stylistic features across the corpus provides information about the change in the genre over time. For example, Pearce (2005) investigated indicators of formal/informal style, including nominalisation, personal pronouns and common lexical items, in UK party election broadcasts between 1966 and 1997. The study's findings were

used to support the claim made about the general increase in informalisation in political discourse in the twentieth century. In another study, Sotillo and Wang-Gemmp (2004: 91) focus on a combined quantitative and qualitative analysis of a 46.300 word corpus of online political discussions. They examined personal pronouns, hyperbole, word collocation, and verb collocation, and draw on a CDA framework to examine the discursive practices in power relations, social class, and conflicting political ideologies.

Studying keywords is a popular approach to the analysis of political discourse. An example of how keywords can be compared across specialised corpora is found in L'Hôte (2014), and Fairclough (2000). L'Hôte (2014) uses keywords as a starting point towards identifying key semantic concepts in a corpus of the New Labour and a corpus of Labour Party for the purpose of comparing the two discourses. The keywords and the key semantic domains provide more information about the evolution of the discourse of the party from the Second World War to the present day' (ibid: 37). Fairclough (2000) contrasts discourse samples from the same political party but from different time periods-specifically preceding and following reform. According to Fairclough (2000: 40-1) comparing the keywords of the two discourses illustrates the individualist discourse of the New Labour compared to the traditional collectivism characterising the 'old' labour party.

As this discussion presented here suggests, corpus linguistics has a demonstratively effective application not only to CDA studies but also in studies dealing with the political discourse as a genre. The current study takes advantage of the variety of corpus linguistic tools and combines between frequency and collocation as quantitative tools to use as an entry point for a qualitative analysis on the micro-representation of identity construction in The Obama Corpus. Before addressing the second research question whose answer will be provided by the concordance analysis in chapter 5, the study explores the quantification and distribution of personal pronouns in The Obama Corpus as in the first research question as a starting point toward the qualitative analysis of the data.

3.7 Data Selection: Introducing The White House and The Obama Speeches Websites

This section aims at describing the source of the texts analysed in this study and providing a basis justifying the data selection as an attempt to achieve representativeness of The Obama Corpus. The data for this study are Barack Obama's political speeches (12/02/2008 to 17/06/2013), which are taken from The White House website (https://www.whitehouse.gov/). This website is an online source for users seeking current presidential news, statements, documents, biographies of The White House elected and appointed officials, and historical information about The White House and its occupants. It has been run by The White House Office since 25/10/2009. The site is designed to be user-friendly, interactive with colourful graphics, a section for tours and photo gallery. It combines current news and policy statements from the Administration with historical information related to both the building and the executive office of the presidency. This is updated on a daily basis through announcing what is happening on the same day (see Figure 4).

Figure 4: The Home Page of The White House Website

As we can see in Figure 4, there is a 'happening today' headline that describes current events. All the screenshots presented in this section are retrieved from the website on 27/10/2015. The current content of the website is provided in sections called Briefing Room, Issues, and the Administration. The Briefing Room provides news releases and

the text of press briefings, the President's weekly address, presidential executive orders, memoranda, and proclamations, presidential speeches and statements (this is where the data including the 2012 election speeches come from), press briefings, the President's and Vice President's daily schedules, legislation, which comes before the president, and a listing of the status of many presidential nominations and appointments as seen in Figure 5. The Issues section summarises the Obama administration's policies on major topics, such as defence and immigration.

Figure 5: The Briefing Room

The Issues section includes information on hot-button issues and are organised by thematic content (immigration, defence and security, and economy) based on what topics are listed among the top issues, as seen in Figure 6:

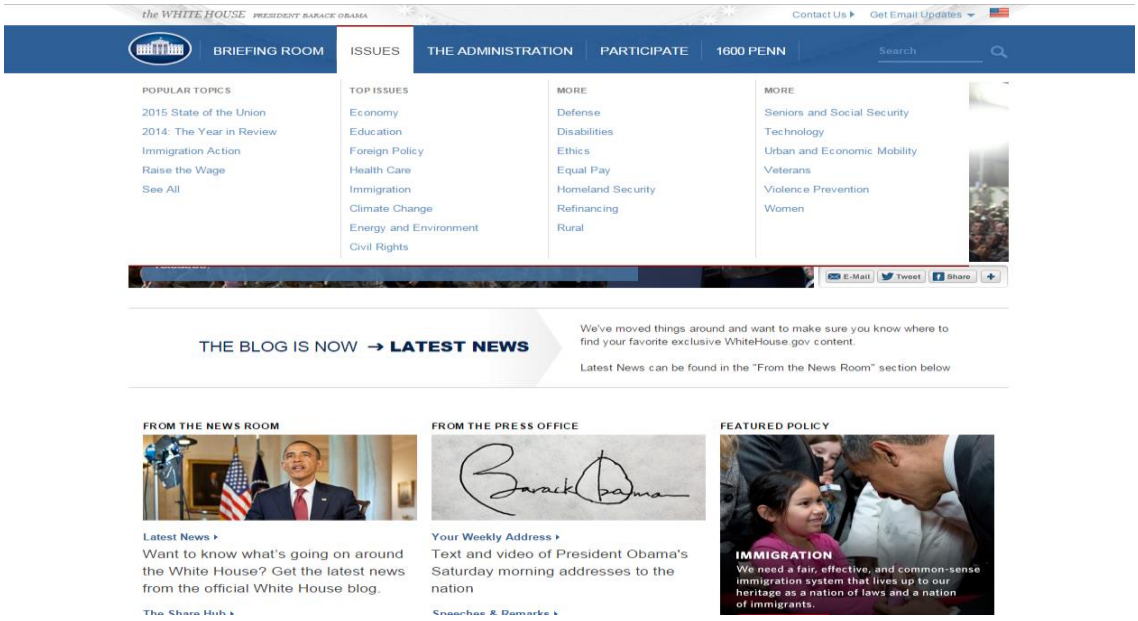


Figure 6: Issues Section

The Administration section contains biographies of Cabinet members and leading White House staff. The White House section provides historical information about the mansion and other buildings, biographies of past presidents and first ladies, information about The White House tours and events, and more. The Our Government section provides an overview of the structure of the American federal, state, and local government. The White House website also includes an internal search engine and links to relevant social media pages. The search engine helps a researcher access the information they require but there is some processing required for selecting texts for analysis For example, if you type in the search bar (Obama's speeches+ the year), you get all the speeches delivered during that year and you will have to search for speeches related to the topics you are interested in. This is because the speeches are arranged according to the date of their delivery rather than their subject matter.

However, this website only includes Obama's presidential speeches. Speeches he delivered during 2008 election are taken from a different website dedicated to his speeches, *www.obamaspeeches.com*. This website is organised into one column listing the speeches in chronological order from 2002-2009, ending with his inaugural speech as shown in Figures 7 and 8 below:

Figure 7: The Opening of the Obama Speeches Website starting with his most recently archived inaugural speech

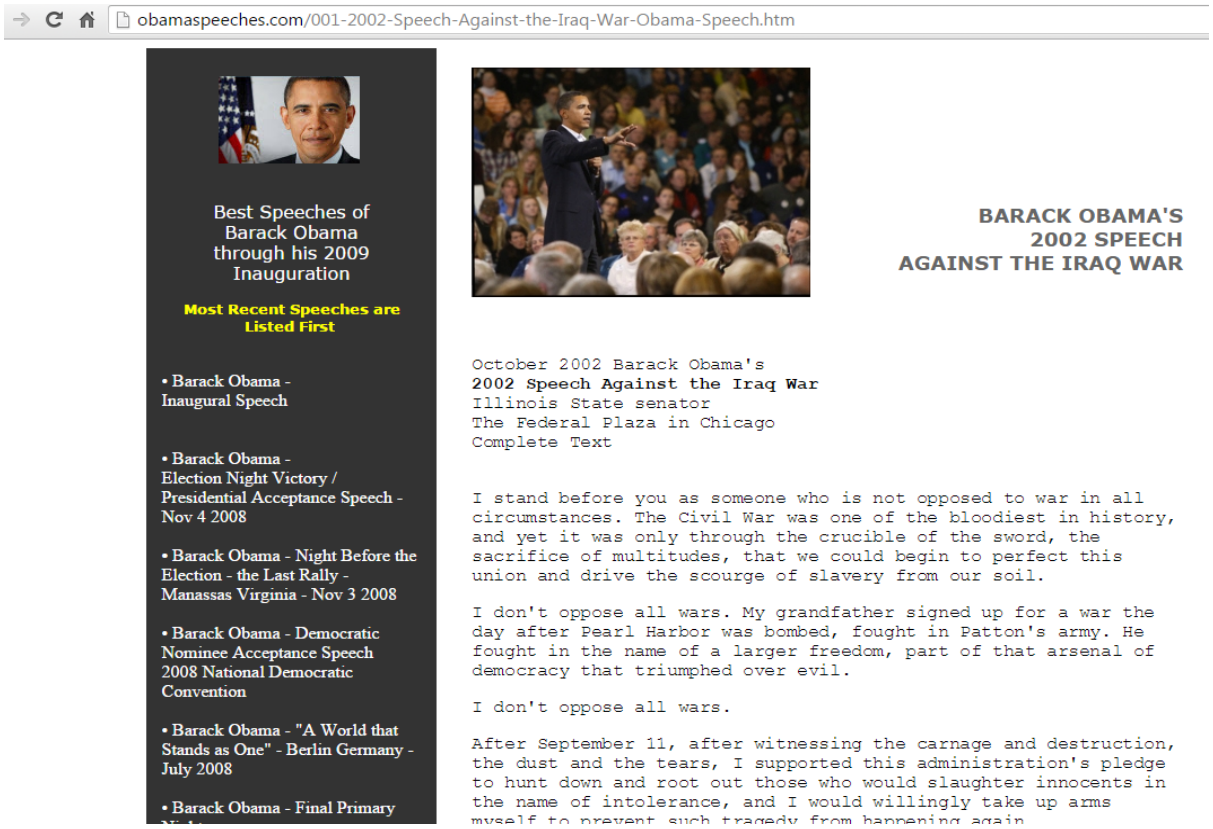


Figure 8 The opening of the Obama speeches website starting with the first speech (Against the war in Iraq)

Speeches are arranged in a column on the left-hand side. It is easy to scroll down looking for the text you want. Moreover, as Figures 7 and 8 show, the website has not been recently updated because it only includes speeches Obama delivered before his presidency, hence the need to add speeches from the White House websites.

3.8 A Specialised Corpus: Data Collection and Design

A specialised corpus is a collection of texts that are domain-specific and designed to represent a sub-language (McEnery et al. 2006: 59). Although this type of corpus is said to be small, there is no agreement on the size of a specialised corpus. There is the question of how specialised and how small a corpus can be. Linguists differ in the number of words they give about the word count of specialised corpora. According to O'Keeffe (2007: 4) a spoken corpus is large if it contains over a million words and a written one is quite small if it is fewer than five million words (Cited in Koester, 2010), while Koester (2010: 67) claims that many corpora, even the written ones 'are a great deal smaller than that.' For high-frequency items, a relatively mid-sized corpus can reveal powerful findings (Ibid), for example Koester's (2006) 34,000-word corpus of American and British office talk and Farr and O'Keeffe's (2002) 52,000 corpus of post-observation teacher trainee interaction (POTTI).

There is an agreement that the size depends on the language variety the corpus is intended to represent and what research questions are to be asked of it (McEnery and Wilson 2001, McEnery et al. 2006; Harvey 2013). This means that corpus size depends on the purpose of the research. In the present study, my goal is to explore the use of personal pronouns in Obama's discourse. Guided by the research aim, I designed a small corpus containing 69,272 words to conduct a small-scale study investigating pronouns use in The Obama Corpus. Similar existing studies use small corpora: Bednarek (2006) investigates the distribution of evaluative meaning in 70,000 word corpus of hard news stories, Semino and Short (2004) analysed speech and thought presentation in a small corpus of 80,000 words each of prose fiction, news reports, and autobiographies, and Bednarek (2008) uses an 85,000 word corpus comprising conversation, news reports, and academic discourse. Cutting (1999, 2000) uses only 25,000 words of students' conversations to study in-group identity. Moreover, specialised corpora are more

localised and though they vary in size, they do not have to be very large to yield reliable findings. Specialised lexis and structures can appear with regular distribution when dealing with a small amount of data than in a large general corpus (O'Keeffe, et al., 2007: 198).

The current study is based on a corpus of 69,272 words constituting speeches delivered from 12/02/2008 to 17/06/2013 because this is a sufficient time frame for attaining a sufficient amount of data for scrutiny. I argue that the relatively small size of the corpus is appropriate for the present investigation, for grammatical words such as pronouns, prepositions and auxiliary and modal verbs are very frequent and can be studied using a small corpus (Carter and McCarthy, 1995, cited in Koester, 2010: 66). Studies of lexical items are focused on their frequency and distribution which can be contrasted with other items belonging to the same category (McEnery et al. 2006: 72). This type of analysis requires larger corpora in comparison to the high-frequency grammatical items. Moreover, corpus size and design is determined to a significant extent by practical considerations (Hunston, 2002; Adolphs, 2006; McEnery et al., 2006). For example, although the data are freely accessible from the websites, I was in a position to read the texts, identifying their main topics and then storing the selected text in a separate file, which was a time-consuming process. Even when working with small corpora, researchers cannot help being selective; the larger a specialised corpus is, the more difficult to provide a rich and accurate description of language use (Harvey, 2013: 74). On the one hand, it is neither practical nor possible to scrutinise every textual feature, and the selection of a specific set of features produces a partial analysis. On the other hand, corpus tools set limits on the amount of data such as concordance lines that can be extracted (McEnery et al., 2006: 72).

The Obama Corpus is designed on the basis of certain parameters delineating a specialised corpus as outlined by (Flowerdew, 2004b: 21):

1. Specific purpose for compilation, e.g., to examine a grammatical or lexical word.
2. Contextualisation, e.g., particular setting, participants, communicative purpose
3. Genre, e.g. political
4. Types of texts/discourse, e.g., casual conversation, monologue.

5. Subject matter/topic, e.g., economy
6. Variety of English, e.g., Learner English

The first two of these points relate more to the interest of the researcher and the research aims, while the others more closely relate to the nature of the texts included in the corpus. The genre is political discourse, and the text types are monologue speeches where Obama is the only one holding the floor. The topics are, as shown in the Table 3.1, election campaigning, immigration, security, economy. Speeches Texts are selected based on these topics for several reasons. First, on the White House website, there is an Issues section, which involves hot-button and significant issues and by the time the data was collected these topics were at the top of the issues list (see Figure 6). Second, these topics are among the main challenges that Obama has had to deal with since the start of his presidency. Third, I used these topics to correspond to the 'external' (McEnery, et al., 2006: 14) or the 'situational' (Biber 1993: 243) criteria of corpus design as they enable the researcher to choose texts according to subject matter rather than on the distribution of certain linguistic features. Fourth, choosing texts from amongst these topics helps investigate self-presentation and identity construction in a variety of texts rather than sticking to speeches related to one theme. Fifth, topics can be a practical choice for sampling the corpus (Adel, 2010: 602). For example, I sampled my corpus based on the topic of each sub-corpus such as economy, security, immigration and election speeches.

In assigning a number of texts to each sub-topic, I ensure that complete speeches are chosen, rather than trying to build equally-sized samples. Running a number of statistical tests, Biber (1990) found that personal pronouns are among the common features which are relatively stable in their occurrences across an 1,000-word sample and to decide on the number of text samples needed, Biber found that linguistic tendencies are to some extent stable with five texts (cited in Koester, 2010: 70).

The Obama Corpus includes 5 to 6 text samples under each topic except for the economy sub-corpus, which includes only four text samples: the Payroll tax cut, the Buffet Rule, the Earmark reform, and the Disclose act. The reason for this is that the website included many speeches about each topic and having noticed that ideas repeated themselves across these texts, I avoided using texts with repeated titles. This aligns with Koester (ibid.), who illustrates that although half of the sub-corpora constituting the

corpus of American and British Office Talk (ABOT) have between seven to eleven text samples, there are others including fewer than five. This smaller corpus size may yield unreliable results for the economy section but as I am interested in a high frequency item, it is not imperative to have a large number of texts for each sub-corpus.

I additionally agree with Koester (ibid.) that certain criteria are not easily met, such as having text samples with at least a 1000 word count, ensuring that any sub-corpus contains at least 1000 words. For example, the total number of words constituting Texts 12 and 19 in Table 3.2 contain fewer than 1000 as they are part of a larger sub-corpus related to economy. In looking at the White House website, the other economy-related text samples seem to have a relatively similar length. This is likely due to the fact that they are delivered in a workplace context, as both are addressed to staff members and politicians in the White House itself. Moreover, spoken and some written texts, especially in workplace contexts, do not generally amount to more than 1000 words (ibid.). All the speeches constituting The Obama Corpus have been delivered in workplace contexts. Thus, the most important consideration in designing The Obama corpus is that each sub-corpus includes complete speeches, and that each sub-corpora contains no less than 1000 words. Table 3.1 below presents the word count for each sub-corpus constituting the Obama Corpus under study.

Table 3.1 The sub-corpora of The Obama Corpus

No.	Sub-corpus	Number of speeches	Word count
1	Election 2008	5	10.443
2	Economy	4	5.177
3	Immigration	5	15.453
4	Security	6	21.176
5	Election 2012	5	17.023
total	Five sub-corpora	25 texts	69.272

Several titles have been identified under each topic. These titles are used as the basis for the sampling technique chosen. For example, Table 3.2 shows six titles grouped

under the overarching theme of 'Security'. The White House website includes many texts with the title 'New strategy of Afghanistan and Pakistan', and the one in the table is selected randomly from this collection of texts. This step is repeated for each new topic. Thus, we can say that these titles are used to group each sub-corpus into text categories, and a random text sample was drawn from each category. This sampling strategy is similar to an extent to 'stratified random sampling' (McEnery, et al., 2006: 20).

Table 3.2 lists all the texts included in The Obama Corpus. Background information is provided detailing in which topic each text is grouped to, whom it is addressed, date of delivery, and overall word count.

Table 3.2 Texts constituting The Obama Corpus

No.	Speech	Topic	Audience	Date	Word count
1	Potomac Primary night	election	public	12/02/2008	1.866
2	San Antonio Primary Night	election	public	4/3/2008	1.834
3	Pennsylvania Primary Night	election	public	22/4/2008	1.999
4	North Carolina Primary Night	election	public	6/6/2008	2.342
5	Coronation speech	election	public	20/1/2009	2.402
6	Comprehensive immigration reform	immigration	public	1/7/2010	4.163
7	Comprehensive immigration in Texas	immigration	public	10/5/2011	4.259
8	On Immigration in the white house (Rose Garden)	immigration	Press Reporters	15/6/2012	1.249
9	Comprehensive Immigration	immigration	public	29/1/2013	3.068

10	On Immigration Reform (East Room)	immigration	Multiple	11/6/2013	2.714
11	Earmark economic reform (Eisenhower executive building)	economy	public	11/3/2009	1.358
12	Disclose Act (Rose garden)	economy	Addressed to the Senate/ press reporters	26/7/2010	813
13	Payroll Tax cut	economy	The Senate	22/12/2011	1.013
14	The Buffet rule (with millionaires and their assistants)	economy	Press reporters	11/4/2012	1.993
15	Ending war in Iraq	security	Marines/Army Leaders	27/1/2009	3.637
16	New strategy of Afghanistan and Pakistan	security	Ambassadors / political figure	27/3/2009	3.290
17	On national security	security	multiple	21/5/2009	6.474
18	Iran Sanctions (Diplomatic reception room)	security	news reporters	9/6/2010	1.095
19	New Start (Roosevelt room)	security	staff members	18/11/2010	977
20	On Middle east and North Africa	security	global Audience/ political Figures	19/5/2011	5.703
21	Campaign Event Cincinnati	election	public	4/11/2012	3.882
22	Remarks in Madison	election	public	5/11/2012	3.529
23	Final campaign rally, De Moines	election	public	6/11/2012	4.012
24	Election Night	election	public	7/11/2012	2.240
25	Election Rally in UW Madison campus	election	public	4/10/2012	3.360

Further clarification of notations included in Table 3.2 is required regarding certain texts. Attached to speech 14 is the statement 'with millionaires and their assistants' because these people were standing on the stage with Obama while delivering his speech. Their presence was meant to indicate that the rich support the Buffet Rule. The Buffet Rule reform means that the rich – defined as those who earn over a million dollars annually – should pay a higher share of their income in tax than middle-class families pay. Obama appeared on the stage with a group of millionaires as a persuasive attempt to indicate that his reform is supported by the wealthy.

Additionally, the Audience column in Table 3.2 also shows that some speeches have been addressed to multiple or global audiences. Instances where two groups are separated by a forward slash indicate that the speech was addressed to more than one group. The message conveyed in speech 12 was meant for the Senate, but the physical audience were press reporters. Speech 20 is addressed to global audience; this means that that the content deals with policies related to different countries. For instance, in this speech, Obama urges Bashar Al-Assad to either accept democratic reform or step aside, and tells Bahrain's rulers that mass arrests and brute force are at odds with the universal rights of Bahrain's citizens. This speech is thus addressed to various groups around the world, and is clearly meant to be heard by a global audience. Speeches No.10 and 17 are additionally addressed to multiple audiences. Speech 10 was delivered in a place where the audience involved a group of immigrants, members of the public, and press reporters. Speech 17 is addressed to a large audience including several members of Obama's cabinet such as Robert Gates, Hillary Clinton, Eric Holder, Janet Napolitano, and Leo Panetta. The next section introduces the use of a reference corpus used as benchmark against which The Obama Corpus is compared.

3.9 The American National Corpus

As stated in section 4.1, frequency analysis requires comparison of the frequency of words in the study corpus with a reference corpus (RC) serving as a comparative

benchmark. Hunston (2002: 68) notes that the main concern is to compare a specialised corpus to a larger one. There is a great deal of debate but no agreement among scholars with regard to how big a reference corpus (RC) should be. Berber-Sardinha (2000) claims that the size of the reference corpus should be approximately five times larger than the study corpus because it yields a larger keyword list, while Tribble (1999: 171) and McEnery *et al*. (2006: 308-311) argue that the size of the RC is relatively unimportant. Similarly, Scott (2009) conducts a study which attempts to identify what makes a good or bad RC and asserts that the size of the RC does not cause a significant difference in keyword results.

Due to the numerous differences in the use of the language varieties of American and British English, the British National Corpus (BNC) would not be an ideal RC against which to compare The Obama Corpus. The reference corpus used here instead is the American National Corpus (ANC), which is intended to be a twin corpus of American English comparable in size and content to the BNC. The ANC is more compatible with The Obama Corpus because it contains American English texts from 1990, a time frame enabling the ANC to contain electronic texts such as emails and webpage e-talks. The time frame and the variety of English make the ANC the more compatible RC with the corpus under investigation. The table below provides a clear description of the main component corpora forming the American National Corpus.

Table 3.3 Texts Categories in The ANC, adopted from Reppen and Ide (2004: 107)

Channel	Text category	%
Written	Books (41% informative texts for various domains and 14% imaginative texts of various types)	55
	Newspapers, magazines and journals	20
	Electronic (emails, web pages, etc.)	10
	Miscellaneous (published and unpublished)	5
Spoken	Face-to-face/phone conversations, speech, meetings	10

As a result of examining the data, it is clear that the corpus includes texts where there is a combination of elements of written and spoken style such as you *know*, and *hello*, *everybody*. Thus, we cannot say that the data are totally conversational, as Obama's

speeches are written to be delivered or spoken. We can say that the data are written in a discourse whose elements range from those of conversational discourse to elements of delivered talk with a varying degree of spoken variety. Table 3.3 shows that written and spoken varieties of English are the basic sub-corpora combined in building the ANC, and the written is accounting for approximately 50% of the corpus. Although the percent of the written variety is higher than that of the spoken, I still argue that choosing this reference corpus is justified if we consider the fact that The Obama Corpus consists of texts which are written to be delivered rather than spoken.

3.10 The Analytical Process

This section provides a step-by-step description of the main procedures followed in conducting the present study. My approach to studying The Obama Corpus is based on the 'methodological synergy' advocated by Baker, et al. (2008: 247) which shows that qualitative data can be quantified, and that quantitative findings require interpretation in the light of existing theories (Ibid: 296). My study adopts this 'methodological synergy' in my examination of the strategies of positive and negative presentation and identity construction. Conducting this analysis involves combining a case study-based narrative analysis and a narrative-based discourse analysis in examining identity in relation to reporting speech.

The CDA approach I adopt in conducting the analysis focuses on the textual, discourse immanent level, and in examining categories and strategies developed by the discourse-historical approach of CDA for analysing positive and negative presentation (Reisigl and Wodak, 2011). These strategies involve inclusion and exclusion, prediction, argumentation, mitigation, intensification, and discourse representation or strategies of framing (including but not limited to reporting, narration and quoting of events and utterances). This analysis, therefore, focuses on the discursive construction of identity through the use of modality to express certainty or predictions, as well as expressing the speaker's evaluation and degree of commitment to a particular proposition, evaluative and emotive adjectives, and other lexico-grammar markers that are used in justifying a stance. These strategies are studied through concordance analysis. As the concordances

provide a limited context, I conducted a qualitative narrative analysis in efforts to provide a complete account of how these strategies are employed in The Obama Corpus.

Moreover, I study the linguistic strategies of constructing identity through examining personal pronouns and how they are used in the representation of their referents. This can lend itself to uncovering strategies of positive self-presentation and negative other presentation, a process which itself involves identity construction. In the subsequent chapters, the theoretical and methodological frameworks established here are put into practice. The analytical steps proceed as follows:

1. I conduct a frequency analysis as a starting point towards investigating the corpus to highlight the linguistic features evident such as high rankings of personal pronouns.
2. Because frequency does not reveal saliency, I generated a full list of significant collocates to identify the key concepts evident in the corpus. Key concepts are the starting point for restricting the focus of subsequent analytical chapters. I conducted collocation analysis of the words under scrutiny. As the collocation profile reveals a large number of words, it is difficult to investigate all of them. So, I use statistical calculation to identify statistically-significant collocates and to further restrict the focus of the study. Then, collocates are grouped into semantic fields to see the semantic preference of the words under examination. Investigating the semantic preferences (the attributes of a node's collocates) provide a clear insight into the function of the node within the particular discourse (Baker, et al. 2008).
3. Then, I conduct concordance analysis for further examination of linguistic features in co-texts which is a qualitative analysis embedded in the quantitative description of the data.
4. Once the qualitative analysis through reading concordances is done, I conduct a further qualitative analysis using the method of narrative analysis adopted in a case study of identity construction through tense shifts and narrative-based discourse analysis of reporting speech across the narratives.
5. Finally, I draw relevant conclusions from the combination of the qualitative and quantitative findings for the data analysis.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, this study integrates qualitative and quantitative approaches in which the quantitative analysis draws on techniques from corpus linguistics such as concordances and frequencies of occurrence within the texts. Using this combination of approaches, this study examines self-presentation strategies and identity construction in the discourse of Barack Obama. The main focus of the analysis is to identify thematic categories that appear in The Obama Corpus (Chapter 4), and the use of pronouns in constructing collective and individual identity (Chapter 5). I moreover conduct a narrative analysis combining a variety of analytical approaches to investigate self-presentation and identity construction in the telling of personal stories (Chapter 6).

3.11 Analytical Framework

This section introduces and describes the analytical framework I adopt to interrogate recurring linguistic and discursive features in The Obama Corpus. As stated earlier, this study combines a corpus approach and discourse-based narrative analysis in an overarching example of a mixed-methods approach. The study presented in Chapter 5 applies quantitative techniques leading to a qualitative exploration of the use of personal pronouns in narratives within The Obama Corpus in Chapter 6. The main focus of the first part of the study is examining the function of personal pronouns in the construction of attitudinal identity. The second part of the study explores the way positive self-presentation is conducted in relation to the negative other-representation through Obama's narration of life events. Identifying narrative elements in the corpus, I limit the focus to two linguistic features in exploring self-presentation and identity construction: tense-shift - with an extensive focus on historical present - and reporting discourse. In addition to personal pronouns, these linguistic features contribute to analysis at both the lexical and the interactional levels of narration. De Fina (2003: 23) states that the former refers to the use of specific words and expressions, while the latter refers to the 'devices and strategies used by narrators to index their stance and attitudes both towards their own texts and other interlocutors'. Personal pronouns, in addition to verbs and syntactic constructions, belong to the lexical level, whereas tense-shift and reporting speech belongs to the interactional level. Thus, the current study starts by exploring specific

pronouns at the lexical level, and moves towards a qualitative analysis of strategies at the interactional level; this is significant because the construction of identities in this study is tied to both linguistic element and communicative or rhetorical strategies.

3.11.1 Personal Pronouns

At the lexical level, I intend to explore the use of personal pronouns in relation to the expression of attitudes and beliefs as they co-occur with verbs of cognition. For the purpose of this study, analysis of cognitive verbs is limited to *believe* and *know*. Generally, personal pronouns are selected for further scrutiny because they are used to identify the self and others and when used with certain verbs and syntactic structures, imply different degrees of responsibility and engagement (De Fina, 2003: 24).

Personal pronouns are of particular importance in political speeches. First, personal pronouns provide a useful means for including and excluding others (Fisher 2013, De Fina 2003, Wilson 1990). Personal pronouns perform the same function of expressing inclusion and exclusion in political interaction as Wilson (1990: 76) observes that the distribution of I/We (exclusive and inclusive) is clearly marked in political interaction, and this is perhaps not surprising. Second, in political speeches, they can also be used to highlight superior 'good' qualities of the speaker and his or her political party, and to separately identify the inferior 'bad' qualities of their 'other'. Third, their usage can arguably be seen to reflect the speaker's perception of the social distance between themselves and the audience, which can vary based on the speaker's choice to show solidarity, equality, or power relations. Fourth, pronouns can be representative of different meanings. Fisher (2013: 163), for example, argues that the reference of *we* is limitless as it can refer to 'first, second and third person entities'. *We* is used both inclusively to include the audience and exclusively to refer to either the speaker themselves or the speaker and an affiliated group. I suggest that there are cases where *we* can be used to mean *I*. If a politician is asked before getting elected about his plans, if he says *we*, then he may mean *I* and substitute it with *we* for the purpose of highlighting his own importance. Emejulu (2010: 8-9) states that Obama constructs himself as a facilitator of a shared vision of his people who are depicted as a unified collective sharing common

dreams for the future as in: 'We are the ones we've been waiting for. We are the change we seek . . . We are the hope of the future'.

In this study, I examine personal pronouns in the construction of attitudinal identity through concordance lines, and move towards analysing their exploitation through strategies of self and other presentation in narratives. Employing corpus tools, I demonstrate their contribution to identifying collocating verbs of cognition and how that plays a role in the construction of attitudinal identity. In doing so I am guided by Wilson's (1990: 56) view that choices of personal pronouns are indicative of how a politician views the world, and how politicians manipulate their meanings to express ideological perspectives. From a quantitative approach, I then examine personal pronouns in the narrative discourse of Barack Obama particularly when they co-occur with tense shifts in historical present and reported speech.

3.11.2 Narrative Analysis

In addition to the corpus analysis, this study includes a narrative analysis of Obama's speeches. I conduct a qualitative analysis of the selected narratives using Labov's (1972) framework of elements of oral narratives, combined with those of Ochs and Capps (2001). The reason for this combination is that I found that Labov's elements to be largely structural in focus, which alone does not seem to contribute as much to the construction of identity within texts. Ochs and Capps' elements, by contrast, reflect the content of narratives much more than their structural components.

The aim of conducting narrative analysis is to see how Obama constructs different identities and positive self-presentation in his narratives. These narratives are 'interactive' in that they allow for personalised engagement between the speaker and the audience, thus narrowing the gap between interlocutors. I use the word 'interactive' because I have observed that Obama's narratives include linguistic elements that reflect the features of a conversation such as *you know*, or the direct address of the audience through the second person pronoun *you*. The presence of conversational features in these texts is contextually unsurprising, because the narratives are being delivered as a part of formal speeches where audience interaction is considered fairly important. The narratives analysed in this study are immigration and election texts because other texts did not seem to include narratives. Particular emphasis in the analysis is placed on Obama's attempts

to legitimise his presidency for the White House office through presenting himself positively in comparison to his opponents, and the background information available about himself and his opponents.

The narrative approach I utilise adopts the view that narrative analysis should examine not only structural features but also the sociolinguistic elements surrounding them (Gimenez, 2010: 199). As the construction of identity in the data is the main focus of this study, I searched for linguistic features in texts where Obama seems to present himself through the narration of personal stories, whether about himself or about a third party such as immigrants, soldiers, or an opponent. Studying narratives can reveal psychosocial functions, the most significant of which is maintaining a sense of identity and self-empowerment (Viney and Bousfield, 1991). Thus, conducting a narrative analysis is found to be more in line with the survey findings, as they assist in the attribution of functionality to the social aspect of identity construction.

In conducting the narrative analysis in this study, I argue that political speeches are a significant arena through which identity is constituted and reconstituted. I therefore examined identity construction through stylistic variation (including variation in tense and speech representation), as it is considered as a strategic means by which speakers can activate meaning potential and construct identity at different points in the sequentiality of discourse (Coupland, 2001). Based on this view, the narrative analysis I present in this study shows that there are context shifts accompanying shifts in verbal tense. With these shifts, Obama tends to display a particular portrait of himself for a particular context and tends to construct an in-group identity through narrating stories about himself and immigrants. Speech representation is also included in the process of analysing narratives because reporting discourse, in my view, contributes to identity construction in giving voice to characters and providing the audience with knowledge of how the author positions himself with regard to a specific issue. Moreover, the linguistic structure of representing discourse involves tense alteration and the analysis shows cases where tense is not shifted in indirect discourse and kept in present where it performs similar functions to those of the historical present in narratives.

In analysing tense shifts, I draw upon Labov's (1972) structural components of the texts as a first stage of the analysis to test its occurrence within the overarching structure

of the texts. This is to trace tense shifts in the components identified by Labov (1972) presupposing that people can develop a sense of who they are in narrative forms and emphasizing the forms of self-experience, which are constituted within narratives. I then highlight the context in which these tense shifts occur and distinguish the type of alteration taking place, whether from past to present or vice versa. The same step applies to the alternation from the present or any of the perfective tenses. The context of these tense shifts is examined through analysing displacement in the clauses where tense shifts occur, following Labov's classification of clause types in narratives as either free, coordinated, or restricted clauses (for more information see section 6.3.1). When providing a detailed commentary about what the analysis of tense variation tells us in relation to identity construction, I draw upon Ochs and Capps' (2001) components as necessary. Using their narrative framework provides insight into the inner state of the protagonists' mind in narratives, and their either planned or unplanned actions.

With regard to discourse representation in Obama's narratives, I decided to employ Leech and Short's (2007) framework of speech and thought presentation. Further information about the framework and reasons for using it is provided in Section 6.3.2. My central aim is to investigate how speech representation functions in foregrounding and backgrounding information identified in election and immigration texts and how these contribute to the social actors' representation in the narratives. Another aim of this study seeks to examine the textual realization of speech representation to see whether it is interpretable in relation to the linguistic contexts of the reported utterances. In conducting my analysis, I first identify the kind of utterance presentation, whether speech or thought, then I categorise each type of utterance according to Leech and Short's (2007) classification system, clarifying where necessary the reason for each decision. I then provide an explanation of how the discourse representation in the narratives contributes to the construction of identity and positive self-presentation. The main reason for using the framework is that its components seem to lend themselves more easily to representing social actors in narratives, and in backgrounding and foregrounding information which are central to critical discourse analysis. Representing speech directly or indirectly involves backgrounding or foregrounding the exact content of the proposition; further explanation is provided in Chapter 6.

3.11.3 Narratives

The term 'narrative' has been defined differently and from a wide variety of perspectives. This diversity, in approach to narrative inquiry, is based on its roots with disciplines ranging from literary theory to psychology and anthropology. Labov and Waletzky (1976: 28) define narrative as being a sequence of clauses which contain at least temporal juncture. Earlier, Labov (1972) defined narratives as a linguistic structuring and telling of events according to the order in which they occur. These definitions seem to describe the form of a narrative, while saying little about its content. Citing Edwards (1997: 274ff), Holmes and Marra (2005: 197) argue that this definition seems to impose structure rather than reveal it, and that the items specified in the framework cannot be easily applied to every text. Lobov's definition prioritises the chronological order of the events constituting a narrative, while the framework makes no indication to spatial reference and the argument the narrator is trying to make. The transformation of experience in the form of a story, in my view, may have limited effect on listeners if it does not intersect with the main point behind telling the story and with its main themes. There is a need to know the message of a narrative, one which needs to be inferred by analyzing major themes and the points of view. To avoid misconception of these definitions, Toolan (2001: 8) defines a narrative as "a perceived sequence of non-randomly connected events, typically involving, as the experiencing agonist, humans, or quasi-humans, or other sentient beings, from whose experience, we humans can learn". This definition highlights the defining features of narratives as sequenced events containing characters who overcome a crisis to reach a resolution and progression. A crisis or complication and its resolution may involve a life lesson or experience that the narrator retells in order to make his point of view clear to the audience. Ochs and Capps (1996: 23-24) observe that most scholars highlight two basic dimensions of narratives, temporality and point of view. To me, these dimensions also imply the presence of the structural categories attained by Labov (1972) in his discussion of abstracts, orientations, complicating actions, resolutions and the coda. The chronological order of a narrative states when, and who the characters are and at what point in time, while a narrative's point of view involves the narrator's evaluation of the events, whether in clauses external to the narrative or when the speaker makes comments on a minor event in an internal evaluation.

Labov's model is criticized for its reducing narratives to chunks in which the content remains unanalysed (Benwell and Stokoe; 2006: 136). To avoid this criticism, Wooffitt provides his X-Y device for identifying the story line. Wooffitt's X-Y device follows a particular two-part format: 'S was doing X, when Y' (Jefferson 2004), where X is the protagonist existing under normal circumstances, and Y is the unexpected event. This device enables the analyst to study narratives by focusing on 'rhetorically-organized structure of stories' (Benwell and Stokoe; 2006: 136). The X and Y components function as an umbrella covering the inner component of the story; that is, they serve as an entry point into the identification of the components of Labov's model, but leave the coda and the evaluation as the point of view unspecified. Another criticism of the Labovian approach is put forward by Herman (2001). In considering the significance of spatial reference in narratives, Herman (ibid. 535) suggests that temporality is a necessary but not sufficient condition for narratives (Herman, 2001: 535), while spatial reference is a 'core property of stories' (Holmes and Marra, 2005: 195).

Furthermore, Labov's framework indicates the existence of a complicating action but provides nothing that relates to the character and protagonist's reaction to it. Ochs and Capps' (2001: 173) list of narrative components is added to this study because it provides more information regarding the inner state of the protagonist particularly with their forced or otherwise unplanned actions. Their list provides the angle through which the analyst can examine how the self is reflected in the narrative, and starts with the setting (involving information about time and space, whether physical or psychological), unexpected events (trouble), psychological or physical responses (description of inner psychological and emotional states), unplanned actions (unintended or nongoal–oriented behaviour), attempts (reported behaviour initiated to solve the unexpected behaviour), and consequences (the repercussions of the psychological or physiological response). Although Labov's components are oriented around structure rather than content and the constituents he labels are not applicable to all narratives, Labov's work provides a base for narrative structure. It is up to the analyst to add or modify the components of the narratives they study. For example, Harris (2005: 219) agrees with Edwards (1997: 274ff) and Holmes and Marra (2005: 197) in that Labov's definition approaches narrative from a structural perspective. However, Harris (2005: 219) argues that its emphasis on referential (verbal sequence of clauses matches sequences of events) and temporal

(clauses are temporally ordered) sequences makes the framework suitable for studying the language of trials. Nevertheless, she does not stick to Labov's coding system, instead, she reproduces her own modifications to narrative structures in courtroom discourse. Her discourse specific modifications including orientation, core narrative, elaboration and paint, correspond to Labov's original elements of orientation, complication action, evaluation, and coda. The argument about Labov's framework as related to structure only justifies the use of Ochs' and Capps' framework in combination as its component has more to do with content rather than structure only.

3.11.4 Analytical Approaches to Narrative

As we have already seen in Chapter 3, narrative, in its simplest form, is a genre of discourse, consisting of telling a story in a temporal sequence and involving characters, events and actions. In this chapter, I define narratives as the retelling of past events with the purpose of expressing a viewpoint about and of the speaker. This definition is in line with a more sociolinguistically-oriented definition offered by Linde (1993: 21). Working with life stories, Linde defines a life story as 'all the stories and associated discourse units, such as explanations and chronicles, and the connection between them, told by an individual during the course of his or her lifetime' (1993: 21). She further indicates that stories which make a point about the speaker, not the world, are tellable (i.e. they have a reason to be told). Following Thornborrow and Coates (2005) and Mullany (2006), the terms 'story' and 'narrative' are used interchangeably in this thesis as they both tend to share the same form, content and structure.

The definition of narrative is based on to the two dimensions emphasised by Ochs and Capps (1996: 23-24) as essential to any narrative: temporality and point of view. The authors (ibid: 21-22) state a 'multiplicity of selves' can be represented in the same story. In narrating stories in temporal sequence with additional evaluative remarks, people represent their 'selves' in relation to their emotional and physical environment and through which they 'come to know [themselves], apprehend experiences and navigate relationships with others' (ibid).

Ochs and Capps' (2001: 173) list of narrative components is added here because it has more to provide regarding the inner state of the protagonist and his/her unplanned action. It provides the angle through which the analyst can examine how the self is reflected in the narrative. The list starts with the following:

1. The setting (involved in information about the time and space, whether physical or psychological);
2. Unexpected event (trouble);
3. Psychological or physical response (description of the inner psychological and emotional state);
4. Unplanned action (unintended or non-goal-oriented behaviour);
5. An attempt (reported behaviour initiated to solve the unexpected behaviour); and
6. A consequence (the repercussion of the psychological or physiological response).

Following Armbruster and Meinhof (2005: 41), my analytical assumption is based on the narrative model of identity presupposing that people can develop a sense of who they are in narrative forms and emphasising that forms of self-experience are constituted within narratives. In conducting the analysis in the present chapter, for reasons stated in 6.3, I focus on two textual features of narrative performance: historical present and speech representation.

To examine the historical present alternation with the narrative past in the structural components of narratives, I draw upon a particular model of narrative: the framework of oral narrative developed by Labov (1972). Labov's model serves to identify the basic structure of a narrative and to examine the sequence of its clauses. Labov and Waltzky (1967) identify four types of clauses that maintain strict temporal sequence. These are as follows:

1. Free Clauses: these can be displaced without disrupting the clause and event sequence. They have the potential of being moved anywhere in the text.
2. Narrative Clauses: they are temporally ordered clauses that occur in a fixed presentational sequence.

3. Coordinated Clauses: these are linked narrative clauses that can be reordered in terms of the narrative sense, that is to say, the order in which they are reported is freely reversible without alteration to the basic narrative.
4. Restricted Clauses: they are less fixed to the sequence than a narrative clause, but less free to be displaced than a free clause.

Based on the different functions that the clauses above can perform in a narrative, Labov (1972: 359-60) identifies six categories, each of which serves to address a hypothetical question about narrative structure and fulfils a different function:

1. ABSTRACT (What was this about?): A short summarising statement, provided before the narrative commences. It signals that the story is about to begin and brings it to the listener's attention that the teller has a story to tell
2. ORIENTATION (Who is involved in the story, and when and where did it take place?): This category helps to identify the time, place, persons, activity and situation of the story.
3. COMPLICATING ACTION (Then what happened?): This is the core narrative category which provides the 'what happened' element of the story. Clauses constituting the complicating action are temporally ordered narrative clauses in the simple past or historical present.
4. RESOLUTION (What finally happened?): This is the final key event of a story. It forms the last of the narrative clauses that began the complicating action.
5. EVALUATION (So what?): This category functions to make the point of the story clear. It can be external or internal (embedded within clauses). It includes: intensifiers; modal verbs; negatives; repetition; evaluative commentary; embedded speech; and comparisons with unrealised events.
6. CODA (How does it all end?): This signals that a story has ended and brings the listener back to the point at which s/he entered the narrative.

In examining speech presentation, I incorporate Leech and Short's (2007) framework of speech and thought presentation into my analytical approach. This framework was originally developed to analyse fictional data, but it has been used by many scholars for non-literary analysis, including political and media discourse (e.g.

McKenzie 1987; Roeh and Nir 1990; and Semino and Short 2004). Additionally, investigating the different components of the framework, especially narrative representation of speech acts (NRSA) and narrative representation of speech (NRS), I can see that they play a role in backgrounding and foregrounding information and exclusion and suppression of social actors which are relevant to CDA and identity construction in texts. The scale of the framework classification is mentioned in detail in 6.3.2.

As stated earlier in this chapter, stories are identified in immigration texts and election campaign texts. The analytical focus is on Obama's stance as to why the story has been included by Obama and his speech-writing team; that is, why it is tellable, and how it relates to the way he presents himself and to his position about the values which, as Obama claims, form the American national identity. It is noted that Obama tends to define the American identity in terms of the principle of the American Creed which involves commitment to the principles of freedom, equality, justice and humanity for which American patriots sacrificed their lives and fortunes. Commitment to these values is the major requirement for being an American according to the principles of the American Creed. Similarly, narratives extracted from election texts are analysed to account for the representation of the political self in terms of the negative representation of the political opponent. That is to say, in election texts there is an emphasis on Obama as being the best candidate in comparison to his rivals.

3.12 Corpus Tools for the Analysis of Discourse

Sauntson and Morrish (2011: 77) claim that a corpus-based study commences with an analysis of word frequencies to uncover information themes across a corpus. Additionally, the keyword function provides information regarding the 'aboutness' of texts. Harvey (2013: 56) states that such a procedure provides a starting point for further qualitative-based analysis, such as examining the semantic environment in which

significant lexical items of interest occur. This is the approach I adopt in my analysis of The Obama Corpus, using word frequencies, collocations and concordances. Using the software programme WordSmith Tools (Version 6, Scott, 2012), I employ these tools to identify discourse patterns in The Obama Corpus. This software allows users to compare wordlists and measure collocational relations. It is a well-established method which has been used by a number of researchers conducting discourse-based analysis, including Baker (2010b), O'Halloran (2009), and Seals and Charteris-Black (2010).

3.12.1 Frequencies/Wordlists

Forms of corpus-based analysis are based on frequency analysis (Baker, 2010a: 103). In order to produce a wordlist, the software searches for every word in the corpus, the number of its total occurrences, and how many different types appear in the corpus (Evison, 2012: 123-124). The significance of a wordlist lies in its ability to provide quantified evidence of the markedness of certain discourse and attitudes (Baker, 2010a).

Wordlists generated in WordSmith Tools provide, in addition to frequency percentages, other calculations such as mean word length, number of sentences, paragraphs, headings and the average number of words in each text. These lists display the number of instances for each word form and the percentage it represents of the entire corpus, which enables comparison of corpora by generating lists for each corpus. Such information is useful in determining features of a text or language variety (Scott, 2001: 47), and enables researchers to decide which word-forms to analyse from a more objective basis (McEnery et al., 2006: 147).

Moreover, the frequent use of certain words demonstrative in a wordlist can indicate a tendency towards a certain stance and attitudes as a way of making sense of and representing the world (Harvey 2013: 56). Partington, et al., (2013), for example, shows how a comparison of word frequencies in UK newspapers from 1993 and 2005 sheds light not only on developments occurring over the time period in society and politics but also on changes in newspaper prose style, stance towards the reader, and newspaper organisation and production techniques. Similarly, Baker (2010a: 126) explored the frequency of 'homosexual' and 'heterosexual' in the British National Corpus

(BNC). He finds that these terms occur 821 and 377 respectively in the BNC. He explains the higher frequency of the former is due to problematizing homosexuality as an abnormal state of affairs.

Although word frequency is considered the first important step in corpus analysis, it may provide merely statistical information that helps confirm expectations surrounding the genre of a text (Baker, 2006: 124). That is, wordlists provide information about frequency rather than saliency, a measurement produced by the analysis of keywords.

3.12.2 Keywords

Another type of frequency analysis involves the calculation of keywords (Baker, 2010b: 104). Scott (1997: 236) defines a keyword as 'a word which occurs with unusual frequency in a given text…by comparison with a reference corpus of some kind'. Scott's definition assigns the feature of 'unusual frequency' for a word to be a keyword. This may include unusually frequent or unusually infrequent words, while Hunston (2002) defines keywords by stating that they are 'words which are significantly more frequent in one corpus than another' (p. 68); this prioritises positive keywords (frequent) over the negative ones (infrequent). Baker (2010b: 104) takes a similar position in defining keywords as those which occurs statistically more frequently in one corpus when compared against another reference corpus. The difference between frequency lists and keyword lists is that the latter provides a measure of saliency rather than frequency, thereby guiding the researcher towards a narrower selection of salient words for close examination in their context of use (Baker, 2006: 125). The advantage of this measure is that it removes the *a priori* biases of the analysts from the identification of significant and interesting themes (Harvey, 2013; Baker 2004).

Keywords lists are used to serve as a step towards the more qualitative discourse analysis, as it indicates the propositional content of a text (Stubbs 2010: 24). Narrowing down the data directs the researcher's attention towards selecting and analysing fewer words to investigate in detail, thus, making it easier to begin the analysis with a manageable amount of words which are statistically more significant than those items

contained in a raw frequency list. Harvey (2013: 58) moreover states that a keyword analysis is used by a number of researchers to identify speakers' and writers' positions in texts, which uncovers unexpected information about the beliefs and values expressed in a variety of contexts. For example, Baker (2010a) uses keywords to study the rhetorical strategies utilised in constructing arguments within parliamentary debates. Investigating a 130,000-word corpus of the British House of Commons debates related to changes to anti-sport legislation (2002-2003), he (ibid.) compares the way arguments are constructed by speakers addressing the banning of fox hunting. He found that speakers use distinct keywords in order to express their stances. The study shows that anti-hunt speakers use word *barbaric* and its collocates such as *cruel*, *bloodthirsty*, and *obscene* to construct their arguments 'in terms of moral repugnance' (ibid: 137). Pro-hunt speakers, on the other hand, used words such as *criminal*, *freedom*, and *sanctions* in efforts to portray Britain as a free country, and the proposed law both criminalises innocent people and deprives them of their rights.

In order to generate keyword lists, frequency lists are produced for both the study corpus and the reference corpus using WordSmith. Then, using the keyword option, both frequency lists are selected and the tool compares those lists to generate a keyword list, which can be ranked by frequency or keyness. Moreover, Scott (2008) observes that keywords measurements compare the frequencies of two groups of words with their expected frequencies. If the difference between the actual and expected frequencies is substantial, then the relationship between the two items is statistically significant.

3.12.3 Collocation

Collocation refers to both the statistically significant co-occurrence of words, and a statistical procedure. It helps reduce the relatively large amount of available information into a manageable amount for analysis (Baker, 2010b: 107) as it guides the analyst towards significant collocates for further exploration. Collocation tools offer an objective methodological element, and this area of study has arguably benefited the most from advances in corpus linguistics (McEnery et al., 2006: 147). Collocation, as Baker (2006: 96) states, is a 'way of understanding meanings and associations between words which are otherwise difficult to ascertain from a small-scale analysis of a single text'.

Examination of collocates provides an opportunity to address 'progressively more detailed levels of inquiry' (Harvey, 2013: 61). Lists of generated collocations highlight salient significant words and their collocation profiles which include positional information which facilitates the analysis of phraseological or syntagmatic units (Harvey, 2013: 148). Collocation reveals the relationship between lexical items and other lexical items, and the attitudes of the language user associated with a particular term. For example, the word *bank* collocates with lexical words such as *blood, account,* and *river* (Baker, 2010b: 107-8). These words tell us something about the semantic uses of *bank* but it may also collocate with other grammatical words such as *the, to,* and *of,* which indicate the grammatical patterns of the word. This shows that collocation reveals words which are in syntactic relation with the search term. Similarly, Baker (2006) investigates the collocates of *spinster* and *bachelor* in the BNC. He illustrates that both words share the same semantic attribute but have different associational meanings. For example, *bachelor* collocates with *eligibly, party, flat* which have a more positive connotation than the collocates of *spinster*. He (2006: 114) states that the benefit of conducting collocational analysis is that it supplies analysts with salient lexical patterns in relation to a certain subject from which a number of discourses can be realized.

The approach to collocation taken in this study considers collocation as 'a co-occurrence pattern that exists between two items that frequently co-occur in proximity to one another' (McEnery and Hardie, 2012: 123). Based on this approach, collocation is conceived as a methodological expansion on the concordance, which emphasises the role of frequency and the statistical significance of collocation (Ibid). Thus, the essential requirements of collocational analysis includes the need for identifiable co-occurrences, specification of word span, the number of co-occurrences, positional information (where the collocate appears with respect to the node), distinction between grammatical and lexical words, and the distribution of collocates across source texts (McEnery et al. 2006: 148).

There are different ways of calculating collocation with regard to the statistical significance of collocates. For example, the mutual information score gives priority to the exclusivity of collocation; that is to say, the two words must appear together (Baker 2010b: 108). However, this approach gives priority to less frequent words with restricted collocation (Hunston, 2002: 74). Other ways such as the log-likelihood algorithm gives

priority to highly frequent collocates (Baker, 2010b:108). For the purpose of this study, I have decided to calculate collocation significance using the log-likelihood measure because it is an efficient means of identifying a mixture of both lexical and grammatical words (Baker, 2006: 102). Using Wordsmith Tools's log-likelihood algorithm, the collocates I derive are obtained from a span of five places to the left and the right of the node for reasons I will specify in Chapter 5. This span can assist in the investigation of extended units of meaning and what Hunston (2002: 75) calls 'clause collocation', which refers to the co-occurrence of one clause with another.

Collocational information highlights the different senses that a word can have, however, it is not enough to show the association of meaning and phraseology. Hunston (2002: 76-77) shows the meaning of *leak* in the physical sense to be either a substance as subject (*the oil leaked out)* or the container as subject *(the tank leaked oil).* The metaphoric meaning is revealed in a similar way: *the news leaked out* and *he leaked the news.* However, this sense has an extra pattern with *to* which the physical one seems to lack, as in *he leaked the document to his boss* where *leaked* means 'give'. Hunston (ibid) claims that this pattern can be uncovered only from the concordance lines.

In addition to the above discussion, and because collocational statistics can assist the analyst in summarising some of the information that may be found in concordance lines (Hunston, 2002: 75), I use collocation analysis as an entry towards concordance-based analysis.

3.12.4 Concordances

A keyword list alone does not provide information about the meanings and linguistic functions of keywords. Examining a keyword in the context of its occurrence can reveal additional aspects of its meanings, a process assisted by concordances. Baker (2010b: 106) states that a concordance consists of a list of a word or a phrase examined with a few words of context on either side, utilised to investigate how the word tends to be used. Thus, concordances are useful in uncovering patterns of collocation through examining a wider linguistic context to identify 'what is actually being communicated interactively by the use of the word or expression being examined' (Partington, *et al*., 2013: 18).

Researchers can observe the co-occurrences of a certain word through concordances as they list the lines containing that word within a given corpus. So, they are able to observe the linguistic environment in which a word occurs, and can be used to verify any linguistic feature attributed to that word-form (McEnery, et al., 2006: 147). Generating concordances for these pronouns has resulted in an overwhelming amount of information. Baker (2010b: 107) suggests that adopting a statistical procedure for calculating word relations can be useful in reducing such information to a manageable amount. But such large quantities of concordance lines make it fairly time-consuming to look closely at each individual concordance line, even those narrowed down by prior collocational analysis. Hunston (2002: 52) comments on Sinclair's (1999) approach of examining concordances, where 30 lines are taken at random for the identification of emerging patterns and prosodies, a process repeated for subsequent 30-line batches until new information ceases to appear. Hunston (ibid.) claims that adopting this method is 'hypothesis testing' in which selecting a small number of lines is considered as a basis for a set of hypotheses about patterns. Other searches are then carried out to both test the existing hypotheses and to form new ones.

After generating concordances, I calculate word relations and then look at the significant lexical and grammatical collocates. The focus is then restricted to investigating the phraseological patterns associated with the two cognitive verbs *believe* and *know*, which are statistically significant collocates of the pronouns in question. This choice made it easy to look at all concordance lines where *'we believe/know'* and '*I believe/know'* appear, and to observe their co-selections. The choice of these verbs is justified as they are frequent and significant collocates of *I* and *we*. This procedure is applied in order to address the second research question stated in 1.6.

3.13 Limitations of Corpus Linguistics

This section presents a brief account of the criticisms of using a corpus linguistic approach. It should be mentioned that this is the case with every research approach in that each approach has positives and negatives, and this is not to undervalue the advantages of applying corpus tools in a discourse study. Broadly speaking, corpus approach

limitations seem to lie in certain issues related to representativeness, relation to context, and language description.

An important consideration in conducting a corpus approach is that representativeness is not a concept that can be objective in its evaluation (Tognini Bonelli 2001: 57). No corpus can represent anything other than itself. Corpora built so far have contained a number of genres, which, while considered a good measure of representativeness, still encounters issues relating to the number of genres and text samples to indicate. Biber (1993: 243) identifies two types of variability for achieving representativeness: situation, which refers to the range of genres and registers present in the corpus, and linguistic variability, which focuses on the distribution of linguistic features across the corpus. However, even with these variables, there is no objective approach by which researchers can guarantee the representativeness of the corpora built so far. Therefore, a single criterion for achieving representativeness in corpus design has not been universally agreed upon by most linguists in the field.

Another criticism of CL is that the software employed in a corpus approach can deal with the textual traces of the process of meaning creation, but cannot provide an account of the 'interplay of linguistic and contextual factors whereby discourse is enacted.' (Widdowson 2000: 7). Widdowson (2004: 124) claims that corpus linguists 'cannot… directly infer contextual factors from co-textual ones and use textual data as conclusive evidence of discourse.' This is further echoed in Baker (2006: 18) who states that traditional corpus techniques cannot provide answers to production-related questions such as who authored a text, under what circumstances, or for what motives. This also applies to questions related to textual impact and interpretation: who bought, read, and accessed the text, and their responses to that text (ibid.). Thornbury (2010: 276) suggests that in order to avoid the problem of lack of context, one can work with 'smaller, more localised corpora…where contextual data is rigorously specified.' This is another argument in favour of using smaller corpora for conducting discourse studies.

It is worth mentioning that selectivity is one of the main features of applying a corpus approach. While using corpus tools reduces the researcher's bias, the researcher still has to process the resulting data and limit the study to lexical items that relate to the research questions. Another limitation of corpus methods relates to language description.

The computerized analysis of texts reveals facts about language behaviour that are inaccessible to intuition or elicitation. It reveals facts about language usages which, though part of users' competence, are not evident to language users (Widdowson, 2000: 6). Although he concedes that this does not invalidate its contribution to linguistic analysis, it means that the approach provides a partial account of real language use in that 'the linguistics attested is just as partial as the linguistics of the possible' (ibid: 7). He questions the completeness of linguistic reality revealed by a corpus approach, stating that it provides a 'restricted account of the experienced language' (ibid: 5). In response to this, Harvey (2013: 67) states that the aim behind applying a corpus approach is to articulate a theory of what frequently and typically appears in texts, and that this does not invalidate the significance of irregular otherwise unusual instances of language use. Widdowson (2000: 9) also argues that corpus linguistics provides linguistic description at the textual rather than the discoursal level, and that the evidence of discourse processes provided by factual data is 'a matter of further inquiry' (ibid: 9). Commenting on this, Fisher (2013: 118) suggests that this is why corpus linguistics has come to be used in discourse studies, because the evidence provided through CL methods 'represents a starting point rather than an end in itself.' Moreover, no linguistic analysis can be complete without opening new areas of further inquiry. The corpus findings are open to further inquiry and independent verification by other researchers to see whether they might reproduce the same findings provided by the original studies (Harvey, 2013: 66).

Overall, on the basis of the discussion presented in this section, I argue that a corpus approach is complementary in discourse studies. It enables researchers to achieve a degree of objectivity by providing empirically-grounded findings that can be replicated and independently verified. In the end, quantitative data may not answer all questions posed about a given discourse, however, combining qualitative and quantitative analysis offers the most promising way forward.

3.14 Conclusion

Having reviewed the strategies of designing a mixed-methods approach, the methodology adopted here seems in line with what Creswell and Clarks (2007: 67) call 'embedded design' with a theoretical lens, in which 'one data set provides a supportive secondary role in a study based primarily on the other data'. The strategy of conducting the research is, to some extent, a sequential explanatory strategy which involves collecting and analysing quantitative data in the first phase. These initial results are built on and lead to collecting and analysing qualitative data in the second phase. This strategy defines the general bases on which I move from quantitative to qualitative analysis.

However, in the analysis presented in Chapter 5, the quantitative data are introduced before the qualitative analysis in order to provide a clear interpretation of the quantitative findings, and link them together in support of justifying the choice of the main focus of each chapter. The analysis presented in Chapter 6, which deals with the construction of identity in narratives, is purely qualitative. Thus, the mixing of quantitative and qualitative methods is not employed with the same degree of intensity throughout the analytical chapters due to the different foci of each chapter. The present study draws upon a mixed-methods approach in the sense of applying quantitative and qualitative techniques and in the mixing of different analytical approaches. For example, not all corpus analytical tools are quantitative as concordance analysis involves qualitative interpretation while frequency and collocatrion lists are more of a quantitative nature. So, there is a variety of the analytical approaches employed alongside the qualitative narrative analysis.

The second part of this chapter provides an overview of some of the key linguistic features intended to be explored in the present study. Primarily focused on the construction of identity, analysis in this chapter focuses on the use of pronouns. To further this analysis, I intend to provide a corpus-based analysis of pronouns, which will involve examining their use in context through collocations and a concordance analysis. The study accordingly moves from quantitatively analysing collocational strength into the qualitative analysis of co-selections of the pronouns in The Obama Corpus. Chapter 6 provides narrative analysis of the use of pronouns in constructing identity and self and

other presentation by focusing on linguistic features including tense shifts and instances of reported speech.

Chapter Four

A Preliminary Survey of The Obama Corpus

4. 1 Introduction

The purpose of this introductory survey is to explore the frequency and distribution of personal pronouns in The Obama Corpus. The initial findings are produced using the tools of corpus linguistics such as quantitative measures of frequency and collocation, while describing the general textual properties characterising the speeches prior to the more detailed analysis conducted in subsequent chapters.

Frequency lists are important since they offer a clear insight into the major points raised in particular domains of study such as, data present in different fields of action, whether political or social. They show how a language of a particular domain is different from that of another. Therefore, I start this chapter with frequency investigation to demonstrate the extent to which The Obama Corpus is similar or dissimilar to other varieties of English as one way of approaching the aims above. I then move towards

investigating the statistical significance of collocates and grouping them into semantic categories in order to choose words indicating subjectivity in relation to stance and evaluation for further analysis.

The initial analysis of frequency and collocation reveals that The Obama Corpus is similar to the ANC spoken variety of English in terms of both the distribution of the personal pronouns and their tendency to collocate with: 1) verbs indicating mental and psychological actions, states and processes, 2) lexical nouns which belong to group affiliation and identity-related terms.

4.2 Frequency

To take account of the most commonly occurring words in a corpus, a frequency list is an effective point of departure. I used Wordsmith Tools (Scott, 2012) to generate a frequency list for The Obama Corpus. According to Scott (2001: 47) a frequency list is useful in identifying features of texts or language variety, such as the quantity and distribution of personal pronouns. Tribble and Jones (1997: 36) consider frequency an effective step towards understanding a text because it provides information that can be used as a filtering technique to identify significant words prior to analysis (Baron et al., 2009: 41). Supporting this, Sinclair (1991: 30) notes that 'anyone studying a text is likely to need to know how often each different word form occurs in it.' Therefore, I generated a frequency wordlist for The Obama Corpus comparing it against the American National Corpus as stated in section 3.9. Table 4.4 below provides a comparison of the top 100 words of The Obama Corpus compared against the ANC. Comparing corpora is done by either comparing a small one against a larger one as is the case in the present study, or comparing two corpora of equal size. In the first type, the larger corpus is referred to as a normative corpus since it provides a text norm or standard against which we can compare. As Rayson and Garside (2000:1-2) state, this first comparison is intended to discover features in the sample corpus with significantly different usage (i.e. frequency) to the one found in general language.

As can be seen, Table 4.1 (see Appendix 2 for more words) below shows a prevalent use of grammatical words, which is not surprising, as grammatical items occupy a high level of frequency in any variety of language (Adolphs, 2006: 41; Baker, 2006: 53).

Although both corpora possess a large number of pronominal pronouns, The Obama Corpus shows a difference in the quantity and distribution of first person singular and plural pronouns *we* (1343.00 times) in 7 and *I* (733.00 times) in 10 with their objective cases *us* and *me* appearing in slots 47 and 69 successively, and the possessive equivalents of these pronouns are *our* in 9 and *my* in 68. As for second person pronouns, The Obama Corpus list shows *you* in slot 15 and its possessive equivalent being ranked at 67. Third person pronouns *they* in 22 and *he* in 59 are present within the top hundred wordlist with absence of *she* from The Obama Corpus which appears in 60 in the ANC. The objective and possessive equivalent of *he* are absent from The Obama Corpus wordlist whereas those of *they* are present; *their* is ranked at 30 and *them* appears in 73.

Table 4.1 Frequency list of The Obama Corpus compared to the ANC including spoken and written varieties

N	Word	Freq.	%	ANC Word	Freq in RC	%
1.	the	3380.00	4.88	the	1207651	0.054484632
2.	and	2566.00	3.70	of	607101	0.027390094
3.	to	2315.00	3.34	and	597941	0.02697683
4.	of	1693.00	2.44	to	534317	0.024106355
5.	that	1549.00	2.24	a	492669	0.022227356
6.	a	1407.00	2.03	in	410496	0.018520022
7.	we	1343.00	1.94	i	347943	0.015697869
8.	in	1211.00	1.75	that	340051	0.015341811
9.	our	835.00	1.21	it	255789	0.011540229

10.	I	733.00	1.06	‘s	240281	0.010840567
11.	for	732.00	1.06	is	228722	0.010319069
12.	is	720.00	1.04	for	205027	0.00925004
13.	this	613.00	0.88	you	179511	0.008098856
14.	it	597.00	0.86	was	158674	0.007158769
15.	you	564.00	0.81	with	150921	0.006808983
16.	s	519.00	0.75	on	142710	0.006438534
17.	have	486.00	0.70	as	125442	0.005659467
18.	on	481.00	0.69	have	117903	0.005319336
19.	are	466.00	0.67	but	115641	0.005217283
20.	who	439.00	0.63	be	108865	0.004911576

When compared, there is a similarity in the distribution of the pronouns between the two corpora except for the absence of the third person singular *she* in 60 and its possessive equivalent *her* in (75). Both corpora look similar in terms of their interpersonal orientation; this is evident in the high frequency of occurrences of *I*, *we* and *you* in both corpora. The Obama Corpus is supposed to be speaker-oriented, whether the speaker is talking about his own party or the government, but the high frequency of *you* in the corpus suggests a significant interpersonal feature. The ANC shows *I* as the most prevailing personal pronoun in the corpus whereas, in The Obama Corpus, *we* with its possessive equivalent *our* scores highly among other pronouns. Pronouns are among the closed system items occupying high levels of frequencies, especially the first person pronouns *I* and *we.* Yet, using pronouns has been a major feature of the language used in the political field especially for maintaining group identity.

The Obama Corpus’ frequency list shows the pronoun *we* occupying the top frequency among other pronouns as it occurs 1343.00 times in all the 25 texts. It is

characteristic of most speeches of politicians to use *we* (Chilton, 2004), whether collectively in reference to themselves and the government or inclusively in reference to themselves and the people. In this context, it is interesting to examine the way the two usages are incorporated and to study the linguistic context where the pronoun *we* is used to refer to the speaker's identity or the nation. Another point which makes the investigation of *we* important is that there can be cases where the pronoun is meant to refer to *I*. Therefore, it is hypothesised that there are many cases of the use of *we* meaning *I*. It is interesting to examine the extent to which Obama identifies himself as a president, or an ordinary person. Wilson (1990) presents a discussion of the use of personal pronouns by political speakers in terms of two conflicting pressures they usually experience. The first is felt in what he refers to as 'personality –led politics', which is common in American politics. It uses *I* when stressing personal achievements in democratic and competitive systems while, at the same time, using the pronoun *we* in order to hold themselves less responsible for actions and policies. Thus, Wilson (1990: 76) states that first person pronouns are usually used strategically by politicians (Cited in Partington, 2003: 72):

> One of the major aims of a politician is to gain the people's allegiance, to have them believe that the decisions that are being made are the right ones. At the same time […] it is also useful to have the audience believe, in some circumstances, that any actions are perhaps not only, or not fully, the responsibility of one individual. First person pronominal forms can assist the politician in achieving these contradictory aims.

Our (9), *their* (30) and *us* (47) and *them* (73) are shown in the list as having high frequency levels. These are the main pronouns which are potentially used to indicate identity and positive self-presentation and negative other-representation and membership categorisation in political discourse (Leudar et al, 2004). These types of usage are based on highlighting OUR good traits and THEIR bad traits. Similar to *we*, *Our* can be used in the inclusive sense by speakers when intentionally situating themselves and their people in relation to other social groups, countries and governments (van Dijk, 2006: 373). In this respect, the speaker and his audience are on the SELF side and enemies, opponents and other governments are on the other side (OTHER). In this way, pronouns are used to maintain the construction of identity.

Another important observation arising from the frequency list is the use of auxiliary verbs such as *is* (12), *have* (17*)*, and *are (*19), along with other auxiliaries such as *be* (27), can (31) *do (*41), and *has* (39). The present forms of these verbs indicate that the present tense is common in The Obama Corpus. The only two past tense entries are those of *was* in (52) and *were* in (94) with all other lexical and functional verbs appearing in the present tense. The present tense describes states that exist at the present time, marking their currency and relevance at the moment of production (Harvey, et al., 2007). Wang (2010: 259-260) states that using this tense helps create a close connection between the speaker and his audience, and facilitates the easy identification and acceptance of the validity of the assertion. That is to say, it assists the speaker in creating a connection with the audience.

Among other auxiliaries, the modal auxiliary *will* (21) occupies the highest level of frequency. Future modals can be used in political discourse and The Obama Corpus in two ways: to declare future plans, and to state an anticipated effect or a future state of affairs as a result of adopting a certain policy. The use of *will* in The Obama Corpus falls within describing intentions, predictions of adopting certain acts and making promises. Next to *will* in terms of frequency are *can* (31), and *must* (84). The ANC list shows *is* (11), *was* (14), and *are* (22), *were* (36) as the most frequent auxiliaries; following these are *would* (50), and *had* (49), *could* (87) and *did* (70) which are absent from The Obama Corpus' wordlist. This absence supports the claim made earlier that the present tense is the most frequent tense represented in The Obama Corpus. *Can* (53) and *have* (61), *will* (67) come next while *must* is not present within the ANC list.

Another observation is the distribution of lexical verbs in both corpora. The Obama Corpus list exhibits a common use of verbs referencing mental processes including *know* (62), *want* (75), *need* (82), and *believe* (98). The ANC list shows *know* at the top of lexical verbs in (37), *said* in (57) and the material process *get* in (81). As stated earlier, there are few past tense forms among the lexical verbs appearing in The Obama Corpus' list. These can be grouped into: material processes (*make, work, got*); mental processes (*know, want, believe, need*); and verbs of motion *(going and come*). The Obama Corpus wordlist also shows a number of lexical words which indicate nationhood: *people* (28), *America* (49), *American* (51), *country* (55), *nation* (92). Two other words referring to entities other than the speaker's side are *Iraq* (99) and *world* (97). Another semantic category that arises

from the wordlist is time, which includes the following terms: *now* (44), *here* (46), *time* (64), and *years* (70). The word *change* (66) appears in the corpus 148 times. The word *change* is significantly frequent in The Obama Corpus because it is used as a slogan for his 2008 election campaign. This is a good starting point for examining the type of change offered by the speaker and how well it is defined in the corpus. The same principle applies to the word *security* (76), which occurs 132 times in The Obama Corpus. The word *right* (79) occurs 126 times and it may fall within lexicographical words as it can be a homograph, a word with several sub-senses. The word may mean *correct* and *appropriate* or *a just claim* or it can be used as an adverb meaning exactly or precisely. The frequency list shows the word *one* (63) appearing 158 times. Numeric words are used to give information about people and things. *One* can be quite frequent in political speeches as it can express the idea of unity.

As the frequency list of the top one-hundred words in The Obama Corpus shows few lexical words, I have reanalysed the frequency data to provide more information about the content words. This approach helps to make existing semantic category more pronounced. The following tables show the frequency of grammatical and lexical words set aside to help make existing semantic categories to help focus more on content words as they are more indicative of the 'aboutness' of the text or texts (Scott, 2001). Harvey (2013: 87) states that content words better reveal 'the most important and prevalent concepts' central in any corpus. The emerging distinctiveness of The Obama Corpus is the theme of groups and affiliation, more precisely social actors and group identity as shown in the use of *we* and other nationhood-related words shown in the wordlists table. Thus, a more extensive range of common category forming words in The Obama Corpus is needed to shed light on self-presentation, and other concerns related to social actor representation and identity construction in the corpus. Looking at the top lexical and grammatical words separately provides a better point of entry for this type of analysis. Table 4.2 (see Appendix 2) shows the top one-hundred frequency-sorted content words, while Table 4.3 (see Appendix 2) shows the top one-hundred most frequent grammatical words.

Table 4.2 The top 100 most frequent content words for The Obama Corpus

No.	Word	Freq.	%	No. of Texts	%
1	people	308.00	0.44	25.00	100.00
2.	now	210	0.30	24.00	96.00
3.	here	206	0.30	22.00	88.00
4.	America	202	0.29	24.00	96.00
5.	American	192	0.28	24.00	96.00
6.	country	180	0.26	22.00	88.00
7.	know	159	0.23	24.00	96.00
7.	one	158	0.23	24.00	96.00
8.	time	158	0.23	25.00	100.00
9.	change	148	0.21	19.00	76.00
10.	years	140	0.20	23.00	92.00
11.	make	138	0.20	23.00	92.00
12	work	138	0.20	21.00	84.00
13	want	134	0.19	22.00	88.00
14	security	132	0.19	20.00	80.00
15	new	131	0.19	23.00	92.00
16	right	126	0.18	23.00	92.00
17	need	123	0.18	21.00	84.00
18	states	123	0.18	21.00	84.00

19	united	113	0.16	21.00	84.00
20	got	112	0.17	17.00	86.00

Table 4.3 the top 100 most frequent functional words for The Obama Corpus

No.	Word	Freq.	%	No. of Texts	%
1.	the	3380.00	4.88	25.00	100.00
2.	and	2566.00	3.70	25.00	100.00
3.	to	2315.00	3.34	25.00	100.00
4.	of	1693.00	2.44	25.00	100.00
5.	that	1549.00	2.24	25.00	100.00
6.	a	1407.00	2.03	25.00	100.00
7.	we	1343.00	1.94	25.00	100.00
8.	in	1211.00	1.75	25.00	100.00
9.	our	835.00	1.21	25.00	100.00
10.	I	733.00	1.06	25.00	100.00
11.	for	732.00	1.06	25.00	100.00
12.	is	720.00	1.04	25.00	100.00
13.	this	613.00	0.88	25.00	100.00
14.	it	597.00	0.86	25.00	100.00
15.	you	564.00	0.81	25.00	100.00
16.	s	519.00	0.75	18.00	72.00
17.	have	486.00	0.70	25.00	100.00

18.	on	481.00	0.69	25.00	100.00
19.	are	466.00	0.67	25.00	100.00
20.	who	439.00	0.63	24.00	96.00

Looking at the content words shown in Table 4.2, we can see that the first six slots are occupied by words related to the theme of American identity and both spatial and temporal deixis words which refer to America. The word *president* (36), which appears 84 times, also relates to the theme of identity. Studying this word provides insights into how it is used in reference to the speaker and his position, the kind of person appropriate for the tasks of presidency, and the kind of president the speaker wishes to be. This word relates to the way Obama presents his image of a president, as illustrated by the following examples:

(1) That's the country I'm so proud to lead as **your president**.

(2) In 2008, 47 percent of the American people did not vote for me. They voted for John McCain. But on the night of the election, I said to those Americans, I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help. I **will be your President**, too.

In example (1), the word is used to present the image of a leader whose pride springs from the way he defines his own country. In example (2), Obama shows readiness to listen to opposition and shares ideas with non-supporters but reminds them that he is the authority.

In addition to this, the word *American* (5) occurs in The Obama Corpus 192 times. The top 30 content words in Table 4.5 also appear in Table 4.1. Table 4.2 extends the first list to add more words to the semantic categories identified earlier. The words *Americans* (29), *families* (59), and *national* (97) can be added to the category of nationhood and social actors. Another emerging category related to governmental actors appears in the words: government (32), congress (52), and Washington (69). The first two words refer to the government, while the third one is a place name. The reason Washington is listed here is that *Washington* is used in the corpus as a governmental

location in prepositional phrases post-modifying a noun referring to politicians. The word is used in The Obama Corpus as a collective noun referring to politicians, as in:

(3) And we also believe there are some things politicians should stay out of. For example, we think that **folks in Washington**, especially men, should not try to control health care choices that women are perfectly capable of making themselves.

(4) All those kids in inner cities and small farm town, in the valleys of Ohio, the rolling Virginia hills -- kids dreaming of becoming scientists or doctors or engineers or entrepreneurs, businessmen, diplomats, maybe even a President -- they need **a champion in Washington.**

(5) We can seek to regain not just an office, but the trust of the American people that their **leaders in Washington** will tell them the truth.

(6) **Washington politicians** who want to control health care choices that women are perfectly capable of making themselves

(7) When this campaign began, **Washington didn't give us** much of a chance.

(8) **Washington is lagging** behind the country on this.

Another theme arising from the list is the high frequency occurrence of verbs of action and future achievement, such as *work, make, wants, need*, and *got* all of which appear in Table 4.1. Table 4.2 extends this list to high frequency verbs conveying other material processes, such as *got* (20), *get (*31), go (38), *let (*42), *help* (56), *made* (51), *support* (60), *take* (65), *give* (73), pay (58), *fight* (71), *keep* (74), and *put* (90). This list shows an additional three verbal processes including: *said* (37), *thank* (53), and *say* (64) and the mental process verb *believe* (27). Although the corpus has been extracted from a broad range of speeches delivered both during and after Obama's election campaign, we find that there is a high frequency levels for verbs of actions. Another observation evident in Table 4.2 is the frequent use of temporal references, such as *now* (2*), today* (33), *future* (34), *day* (55), and *year* (66). Frequent spatial references in The Obama Corpus include: *here* (3), *world* (26), *region (*79*), Iraq* (28), and *Afghanistan* (76).

Opponents are represented in the corpus through words such as, *government, Washington* and *Congress*, because in referring to the government or Washington, Obama

sets himself apart from it and identifies himself as part of the people. These actually refer to entities outside the deictic centre represented by *we*, *Americans* and *America*. There are other words referring to political opponents within the political domain, such as *McCain* and *Romney*. I am using the word opponent in reference to the way Obama positions himself in relation to political rivals. Studying these words can show how the president positions himself in relation to the Congress, sometimes mentioned through referencing the place *Washington*, the general population *people*, and other candidates in his elections – *McCain* and *Romney*.

To provide a better comparison between The Obama Corpus and the American National Corpus (ANC), Table 4.4 (see Appendix 2) presents a comparative profile between The Obama Corpus and written and spoken varieties of the American National Corpus. Political speeches are written to be spoken, and are thus supposed to carry features of both written and spoken varieties of English. The present comparison between the three corpora is meant to see to which variety Obama's speeches are most similar.

Table 4.4 Comparison of The Obama Corpus to the spoken and written varieties of the American National Corpus

N	Word	Freq.	%	ANC Spoken	Freq.	ANC Written	Freq.
1.	the	3380.00	4.88	I(NNP)	152884	the	1081168
2.	and	2566.00	3.70	and	128635	of	539793
3.	to	2315.00	3.34	The	123648	and	466737
4.	of	1693.00	2.44	you	106042	to	448519
5.	that	1549.00	2.24	it	99341	a	406057
6.	a	1407.00	2.03	to	85134	in	360853
7.	we	1343.00	1.94	a	84376	is	192975
8.	in	1211.00	1.75	uh	71176	for	180971
9.	our	835.00	1.21	's	71159	I(PRP)	177802

10.	I	733.00	1.06	of	66752	it	155671
11.	for	732.00	1.06	yeah	51388	with	133746
12.	is	720.00	1.04	in	48553	that	130759
13.	this	613.00	0.88	they	48548	was	126222
14.	it	597.00	0.86	that	47456	on	121092
15.	you	564.00	0.81	n't	43530	's	103837
16.	s	519.00	0.75	we	40077	as	98598
17.	have	486.00	0.70	know	38553	by	94409
18.	on	481.00	0.69	that	37900	be	90502
19.	are	466.00	0.67	do	36644	are	89222
20.	who	439.00	0.63	is	34933	at	86978

As can be seen, all three corpora are dominated by grammatical words. The first interesting point of similarity existing between the spoken ANC sample and The Obama Corpus is the distribution of personal pronouns. The spoken ANC corpus reveals a high frequency of first- and second- person pronominal references *I* (1), *you* (4) and the third person plural *they* (13). The Obama Corpus column shows *we* (7) as the top frequent pronoun, which is expected in any genre of political discourse. First- and second-person pronominal references come next in terms of frequency *I* (10) *and you* (15), whereas the third-person plural appears in (22). Their possessive equivalents in The Obama Corpus are *their (30), our (9)* and *your (67)* which appears in the spoken variety in (88). The objective personal pronouns frequently appear in the target corpus, as seen with *us* (47), and *them* (73). The spoken sample also shows the frequency of the objective pronoun *them* in (62).

As stated earlier, the two corpora to some extent resemble each other in terms of the subjective pronominal distribution. The results for the ANC written corpus show

similar preference for subjective pronouns: *I (*9), *you* (26), *we* (34), and *they* (31). Subjective pronouns are distributed across the three corpora with degrees of variance in The Obama Corpus, spoken and written respectively. *We*, for example, appears in the slots (7, 16, 34); *I* in (10, 1, 9); *you* in (15, 4, 26); *they* in (22, 13, 31). Third-person singular pronouns *he* appears in (59) while *she* are absent in The Obama Corpus' top hundred frequency list, while they seem to be equally distributed across the spoken and written corpora, with *he* appearing as (46, 21) and *she* as (69, 57) respectively. Their objective equivalents are equally distributed in the ANC written variety (her 70, *him* 83) and are absent from the top one-hundred words. The objective personal pronoun *us* seems very frequent in The Obama Corpus (47), whereas it is not the same with the ANC corpus. Conversely, *me* and *them* seem equally distributed with *me* (69, 83, 66) and *them (*73, 62, 80), respectively. Possessives *our* and *their* are more frequent in The Obama Corpus than in the ANC varieties. *Our* occupies slots 9 and 92 in The Obama and the written corpora, while *their* appears in 30 and 45, respectively. Neither pronoun is frequent in the spoken corpus. Other possessive pronouns are to some extent equally distributed across the three corpora. *Your* appears in slots 67, 88, and 90, while *my* appears in 68, 38, and 50. Thus, it can be said that Obama's speeches more closely resemble the spoken corpus in terms of the distribution of the first- and second- pronouns, whereas the written corpus shows a frequent use of the third person singular pronouns. The use of *us* is more prevalent in The Obama Corpus than in either of the ANC varieties.

With regard to lexical words, The Obama Corpus column shows frequent use of mental processes: *want* (75), *need* (82) and *believe* (98). Because these verbs are prevalent in The Obama Corpus compared to the ANC varieties, it may be interesting to look at them to examine the expression of attitudes and knowledge in the corpus, especially if these words are found to be frequent collocates of personal pronouns. It is notable that these mental processes are totally absent from the top hundred ANC wordlist. *Know* is not mentioned in the ANC written variety, but it does appear in The Obama Corpus and ANC spoken variety occupying slots (62) and (50), respectively. As for material processes common in The Obama Corpus, including: *make* (71), *got* (88) and *come* (93), which are more prevalent in The Obama Corpus than in the ANC varieties. Similar to *know*, *going* is also not very frequent in the written variety of the ANC. Excluding the previously recognised word frequencies, the remaining content words

occurring more frequently in The Obama Corpus in comparison to the ANC varieties are mostly nationhood and identity-related words. These include: *people*, *America*, *country*, *nation*, *world* and *Iraq*, making the notion of identity and nationhood an important theme of The Obama Corpus worth analysing further.

These raw frequency lists have provided analysis of words which are to some extent expected to be found in any example of language use, not only in the genre of political speeches. There may be other key themes which are of importance that such raw frequency detail does not help to identify because it does not provide information that can be useful to examine the content of corpora (Baron et al., 2009: 42) although useful as a starting point. Analysing the entire frequency list of 5,651 distinct word types would be unfeasible to practically survey. In order to further analyse The Obama Corpus, we turn to the quantitative analysis of collocation lists, which help restrict the focus and produce more manageable thematic data.

4.3 The Collective Self-reference *WE*

As stated in the preliminary survey of the corpus, *we* appears with high frequency level in the corpus – as shown in Table 4.4; *we* appears as the seventh word in the frequency list and it appears 1343 times in The Obama Corpus. This does not include other slots where *we* is used with other auxiliaries such as *are* and *have* in their contracted forms which WordSmith treats as single words. For example, *we're* occurs in the data 64 times with 0.09 frequency per cent. Similarly, *we've* occurs 55 times with a percentage of 0.08. If we add 55 and 64 to 1343, we will find that *we* occurs a total of 1462 times. This finding in itself is not surprising because it is a functional word, and grammatical forms are frequent in almost every variety of language (Adolphs, 2006: 41; Baker, 2006: 53). Moreover, it is a common word in political texts as it is a pronoun of solidarity and of rejection, of inclusion and of exclusion (Pennycook, 1994: 175). The advantage of using it in political speeches is that it communicates sharing responsibility (Beard 2000: 45), in that it has the listeners believe that 'any actions perhaps not only, or not fully [are] the responsibility of one individual' (Wilson, 1990: 76). In examining the occurrences of personal pronouns in the corpus, I aim to investigate which linguistic features, that involve the construction of identity, are related to expressing collective and individual beliefs and knowledge. For example, sentences with *we know* tend to have a predicate that expresses epistemic, deontic, or evaluative stance.

To achieve this, I have used the collocational tool available in WordSmith, and calculated collocational significance of words co-occurring with *I* and *we*. The statistical measure used for calculating collocational strength is log-likelihood because it can be used for the extraction of multi-word collocations and it is regarded as a 'de facto standard' in corpus linguistics (Anagnostou and Weir, 2006: 44). After identifying top collocates, I ran concordance list for *we* and selected the words *believe* and *know* when occupying the R1 position immediately following the pronoun- see Table 4.5 below. Because the number of the concordance lines of *we* was 1, 270 lines, which is a very large amount that cannot be examined in the present investigation, I have selected the lines where *believe* and *know* appear to reduce the lines into a manageable number. The same procedure is taken to reduce the number of the concordance lines generated for the pronoun *I*, which originally had a total of 683 lines.

The concordance lines presented in chapter 5 are the complete set of the lines generated by WordSmith, the total number of lines where *believe* and *know* appear immediately next to *I* or *we*. All occurrences have been included, because their number is manageable to deal with as a whole. Steps for reading the concordances are guided by the procedures provided in Sinclair (2003). The next section deals with collocates of *we*.

4.3.1 We-Collocates

The first starting point is the calculation and analysis of consistent collocates to identify which items have a relatively stable relationship with *we* because the choice of the words *believe* and *know* is based on their occurrence in terms of statistical strength. Later, the shared collocates will be grouped into semantic sets. Before studying the pronouns in context, it is useful to provide a semantic and lexical profile for them as a starting point for concordance analysis (Harvey 2013: 173). This provides a broad picture of the collocates, making it easier to list collocates according to their statistical relationship with the pronouns. It also assists in identifying words which are shared collocates between the two pronouns for further examination.

Some words get their meaning by their context of occurrence; understanding the meaning of words is achieved by comparing a given node word to its collocates. In support of this view, Stubbs (1996: 172) points out that 'words occur in characteristic

collocations which show the association and connotations they have, and therefore the assumptions they embody'. The kind of association words can have, through 'the proximity of a consistent series of collocates', is referred to as semantic prosody, which expresses speakers' attitude and evaluation (Louw, 2000: 57-58). The evaluation and attitudes expressed through semantic prosody results from this collocational relationship in that it extends beyond the meanings of a single word. For example 'personal' and 'price' are neither implicitly positive nor negative, but when they co-occur, a negative prosody may result 'personal price' particularly referring to something undesirable, as illustrated by such examples from the BNC and the Bank of English (McEnery, *et al*, 2006: 83-84).

Table 4.5 below presents the most salient collocates of *we* listed in terms of their collocational strength. The table presents the top 50 collocates with their total frequencies and the frequencies of their occurrences in left and right positions. The strength of collocation can be calculated using log-likelihood, log-log, and MI scores, which focus on low frequency content words (Baker, 2006: 102). Baker states that the best algorithm to use should be based on what types of words interest the researcher– high frequency grammatical words (rank by frequency), low frequency content words (MI, Z- score, log-log) or a combination of both (MI3 and log-likelihood) (ibid.). As the current study of Obama's language focuses on grammar and content words equally, the algorithm that I have chosen to measure collocation relation is log-likelihood, which is already built in WordSmith (version 6).

Table 4.5 and Table 4.6 (see Appendix 2 for complete tables) present the top 50 collocates arranged according to their collocation strength. I have looked for collocates across a 5-word span in either side of the node for several reasons. Firstly, word spans shorter than 5 may not be enough to account for semantic prosody and preference. Additionally, 5-word spans provide the sentence boundaries displayed as the upper limit for a collocational relation. This enables analysts to see words occupying subject, verb, object and complement on both sides of the node. It is helpful to be able to look at the subject and predicate of each sentence with some wider context showing part of previous and following sentence; this enables the analyst to account for transitivity and modality and other linguistic elements crucial for doing CDA. Furthermore, the semantic association existing between words are not only characteristic of short span collocates

but are reflected in long span ones as well. I consider short span words (co-occurring next to each other) as collocates while long ones are co-occurrences. I aim to examine these co-occurrences and see what type of association they have in relation to the pronoun under scrutiny.

Table 4.5 Lexical collocates of the pronoun we in order of collocational strength

No.	Word	Total Frequency	Total left	Total right	Log-likelihood score
1	believe	71	23	48	1.531.0
2	need	63	5	58	1.374.1
3	know	58	11	47	1.274.6
4	got	35	3	32	804.541
5	change	32	16	16	741.315
6	together	31	11	20	720.117
7	going	28	5	23	647.429
8	make	27	9	18	634.659
9	work	29	3	26	566.773
10	people	28	10	18	581.343
11	want	23	5	18	548.011
12	Keep	22	2	20	517.914

13	America	21	9	12	490.589
14	nation	21	7	14	490.589
15	country	23	11	12	487.105
16	continue	19	0	19	438.711
17	seek	19	1	18	438.711
18	time	25	19	6	433.819
19	years	19	14	5	414.148
20	face	20	1	19	391.314

Table 4.6 Functional collocates of we in order of collocational strength

No.	**Word**	**Total frequency**	**Total left**	**Total right**	**Log-likelihood score**
1	the	425	183	242	6.626.0
2	that	352	220	132	6.466.4
3	to	347	75	272	5.286.1
4	and	321	221	100	4.897.2
5	have	164	15	149	3.263.2
6	will	146	13	133	2.939.0
7	a	190	45	145	2.920.3
8	our	143	42	101	2.884.5
9	can	128	14	114	2.610.3
10	in	157	67	90	2.455.2

11	are	116	12	95	2.388.4
12	this	102	46	56	2.126.4
13	Is	81	58	23	1.726.0
14	do	71	14	57	1.531.6
15	as	80	50	30	1.518.8
16	what	63	41	22	1.374.1
17	with	69	20	49	1.368.6
18	so	70	59	11	1.352.5
19	but	61	52	9	1.238.4
20	for	65	27	38	1.156.0

Table 4.5 above shows that *we* collocates mainly with verbs of mental process: *believe* (1.531.0), *need* (1.374.1), *know* (1.274.6), and *want* (548.011). This suggests that the speaker communicates experience of the world through discourse which involves communicating beliefs, needs and awareness. The numbers in brackets refer to the log-likelihood score of each collocate. Other prominent collocates are content words indicating nationality-related concepts: *America* (490.589), *nation* (490.589), *country* (487.105), and *people* (581.343). There are also words denoting difficulty and struggle: *seek* (438.711), *face* (391.314), *afford* (388.927), *tried* (246.478), *stand* (242.771); offering help: *help* (285.882), *support* (251.697); time: *time* (433.819), *years* (414.148), *today* (340.502), *future* (277.645); achievements: *make* (634.659), *work* (566.773), *build* (269.692), *progress* (246.478), *reforms* (231.449), *win* (281.307); comparatives and evaluatives: *same* (376.140), *better* (260.885), *different* (316.683), *new* (285.413), *clear* (267.189), *right* (276.638); security: *border* (340.502), *security* (270.614), *war* (290.371); action and movement verbs: *got* (647.429), *going* (647.429), *keep* (517.914), *come* (390.393); and interjections: *yes* (269.692), *no* (290.945).

Grouping the grammatical words in Table 4.6, we have the following types of function words: articles, demonstratives, coordinators (*what, bit, so, as, when, who, why, also, where, if, or*); pronouns (*our, it, I, you*), prepositions, and auxiliaries. Table 4.6 also shows the functional verbs collocating with the first-person pronouns just as Table 4.5 shows their collocation to specific content verbs. As the pronouns collocate with content verbs, we can look at their equivalent collocates of functional verbs. The table shows how *have, will, can, are,* and *is* are the top auxiliaries collocating with *we*. These auxiliary verbs, particularly to *have* and to *be* form syntactic patterns in context representing experience of the world, and group identification, while modal auxiliaries can refer to expectations, predictions, and future policy. These functions are especially prevalent in the discourse of politicians. Table 5.6 shows *the* as the top grammatical collocate, which is not surprising because it will be frequent in any corpus; it appears in the ANC word list 1207651 times, occupying the first rank among the total number of words. Table 4.6 shows the grammatical collocations and it is provided here because 'many words have particular preferences as to which grammatical constructions they permit themselves to…they mark the relation of a word with either a functional item or particular phrases in complement position' (Bartsch, 2004: 53).

As shown in both tables above, grammatical words are statistically more significant in comparison to lexical collocates. This significance stems from the high overall frequencies of grammatical words co-occurring with *We*. However, this does not devalue the significance of the pronouns' lexical collocations.

In order to get an account of the lexical collocates, Table 4.7 below provides a profile of the lexical collocates grouped into their semantic sets following the USAS semantic tag set. I have restricted the focus of the chapter to words which are shared by both pronouns, a decision made by comparing the lexical collocates of *we* in Table 5.1 to the collocates of *I* listed in Table 4.5. I choose to study *believe* and *know* as they are collocates shared by both pronouns, are frequent and significant collocates, they relate to stance more than others and they involve the communication of attitudes and knowledge. Moreover, they can be useful for examining the evaluative or affective meanings of *We* along a wider stretch of text in the concordances.

Grouping the collocates into their semantic fields can show the relation that exists both between *we* and its collocates, and among the collocates themselves. It contributes to revealing the semantic preference - a feature of collocates – which provide insights to the conveyed semantic prosody when conducting concordance analyses. The semantic prosody is the feature of the node word attained by its interaction with collocates. Semantic prosody is related to the term's affective or evaluative meaning because the speakers' co-selection of words expresses the speakers' attitudes or evaluation (Louw, 2000: 58). Moreover, semantic grouping can uncover semantically-related words which belong to the same semantic domain, as they tend to describe the same topic.

Table 4.7 Lists of collocates of we grouped into semantic fields

Field	**Collocates**
Psychological actions, states and Processes	believe, need, know, said, see, say, want
Social actions , states and processes: Identity- related words	people, America , nation, American, country, Iraq
Time	time, years, today, future
Social actions , states and processes Helping and support	keep, support, help
Psychological actions: trying	challenges, tried, seek, face, afford, stand
Movement: moving, coming and going	going, come,
General & abstract terms: Social actions	make, work, continue, build, way, got
Ability: success and failure	progress, change, reform, win, build

General & abstract terms : Evaluative words	new, different, together, same, right, clear, better
Security	War , border

The semantic groupings identified in Table 4.7 show that sense and mental processes involve the statistically significant collocates *believe* (1.531.0), and *know* (1.274.6). *Need* comes next to *believe* but it is not examined here because it is a modal expression. *Said* and *say* are verbal processes and relate to reported speech discussed in Chapter 6. Examining *want*, its concordance lines show that it is more associated with acknowledgements and expressing gratitude rather than with expressing beliefs or making promises. *Believe* and *know* are selected because they are more related to the focus of the chapter and to the main theme of the thesis as stance markers. Table 5.1 shows that these two verbs are more frequent in the right position than the left. Because they belong to the verbal category, they are expected to frequently occupy the right-hand position as verbs follow subjects in English, and thus are expected to follow *we*. Therefore, they require attention through reading their concordances when combined with *we*.

4.5 Individual Self-reference *I*

Having considered the first-person plural reference *we*, I now consider the singular version of the first-person. This pronoun is used to give the speaker an individual voice and an opportunity to share their personal opinions apart from their party, as well as to make personal statements (Karapetjana, 2011: 3). It is related to expressing commitment which is usually introduced by a subjectifying expression indexing the attitudes of the political self (Johansson, 2008: 400). In The Obama Corpus, *I* is the tenth most frequent word, occurring 733.00 times. This brings us to investigating its use as how different it is from collective *we*. The analysis of *we* reveals Obama uses the inclusive *we* when referring to shared representations and stories among Americans. The exclusive *we* is used in reference to Obama's party, the government or both in communicating stance and justifying decisions. In examining *I*, I follow the same procedure used to analyse *we*. I

will first identify significant collocates of *I* to see if it shares the same verbs I discussed earlier with *we*, and how statistically significant they are. I then conduct a concordance analysis of *believe* and *know* in the contexts where they collocate with *I*.

4.5.1 I-collocates

In this section, I calculate the semantic relations between *I* and its collocates using log-likelihood, and then group them into their semantic preferences. Tables 4.8 and 4.9 (See Appendix 2 for full tables) list the collocates for *I* arranged in terms of their collocational strength and their relation calculated according to the log-likelihood algorithm.

Table 4.8 Lexical words collocating with I in the Obama Corpus

No.	Word	Total	Total left	Total right	Log-likelihood
1.	want	84	5	79	1.528.9
2.	know	56	15	41	1.007.7
3.	said	39	13	26	697.487
4.	believe	36	1	35	643.157
5.	say	33	10	23	588.948
6.	president	23	7	16	409.094
7.	think	22	3	19	391.177
8.	American	23	3	20	373.692
9.	today	20	8	12	355.382
10.	mean	17	7	10	284.871
11.	need	15	1	14	266.103
12.	thank	15	0	15	266.103
13.	here	15	3	12	238.583
14.	People	17	2	15	234.515
15.	just	17	2	15	223.632
16.	now	17	13	4	212.147
17.	tell	11	4	7	188.009
18.	got	10	3	7	177.119
19.	met	10	0	10	177.119

20.	Americans	10	4	6	177.119

Table 4.9 Grammatical collocates of the Pronoun I in The Obama Corpus

No.	Word	Total	Total left	Total right	Log-likelihood
1.	to	208	31	177	3.121.2
2.	the	195	70	125	2.954.8
3.	and	166	135	31	2.368.0
4.	that	152	64	68	2.874.0
5.	you	65	17	48	1.026.7
6.	This	52	16	36	934.376
7.	‘m	60	4	56	899.518
8.	will	48	2	46	861.227
9.	when	44	33	11	788.312
10.	of	63	23	40	765.943
11.	as	52	39	13	751.549
12.	because	41	23	18	733.775
13.	for	50	14	36	668.923
14.	in	58	24	34	665.889
15.	ve	37	4	33	661.253
16.	have	37	3	34	661.253
17.	am	37	7	30	661.253
18.	what	38	23	15	657.899
19.	we	36	7	29	643.157
20.	a	57	13	44	634.934

Table 4.8 shows that *I* in The Obama Corpus shares similar sets of processes with *we*. The top lexical collocates include cognitive and verbal processes such as *want* with a statistical measurement of (1.528.9), *know* (1.007.7), *said* (697.487), *believe* (6437.157), *say* (588.948), *think* (391.177), *mean* (248.871), *need* (266.103), *thank* (266.103), *tell* (188.009), *ask* (141.606). The table also shows identity-related words, such as: *president* (409.094) *American* (373.692), *people* (234.515) and *Americans*

(177.119). Table 4 also shows time and place referents including *today* (355.382), *here* (238.583), *now* (212.147), and *time* (118.714) (for more semantic groupings see table 4.10 below).

Conversely, Table 4.9 shows that the pronoun's grammatical collocates include: prepositions (*to, of, in, as, for, with*), articles, (*the, a)*, pronouns (*you, we, it*), and demonstratives (*that, this)*. The table also contains coordinators and subordinators, which include *and, when, then, because, what,* and *but*. The auxiliaries collocating with *I* are *have* and *am. Have* is used generally to refer to a perfective aspect of the presented action, whether completed or still going up to the present moment. *Am*, on the other hand, is related to self-presentation and attribution.

Table 4.10 below organises the I-collocates into their semantic fields. Mental processes of belief and knowledge belong to the psychological actions, states and processes category in the USAS sematic set. The table below involves identity-related terms which can be grouped under general actions and processes such as *people*, geographical names such as *Iraq* because the same word may be used to refer to the government, the people of Iraq, or groups and affiliations as seen with *Americans.*

Table 4.10 Semantic Categorisation of Lexical collocates of I from The Obama Corpus

Field	**Collocates**
Psychological actions, states and Processes	want, know, said, believe, say, think, mean, thank, tell, need, tell, ask, seen, love, hope
Identity-related words	president, people, American, Americans, country, chief, Iraq
Time	today, time, now, years, ago
Social actions, states and processes	got , met, ran, give, took, stand, meet, make, fighting, going, go, made
Evaluation	proud, clear
other	War, all, here, just, long, office, promise, back, thing, every,

As Table 4.10 shows, cognitive and perception verbs are prevalent among the lexical words collocating with *I*. In comparison with *we*, it is clear that both pronouns share semantic groupings of identity and cognitive verbs, some of which are - as stated earlier - stance markers.

Verbs collocating with *I* perform a self-referential function through which Obama presents himself. Lexical verbs of cognition and perception are used in combination with the first person pronoun *I* to express commitment and subjectivity, which are expressed by a subjectifying expression. Fetzer (2008: 2) classifies these verbs among typical linguistic devices referring to subjective domain along with other stance markers. More specifically, these verbs collocate with the pronoun *I* to express a subjective evaluation of self and other, and to communicate impressions and attitudes such as evidentiality and degrees of (certainty/doubt) and affect (positive and negative evaluation).

This collocational pattern is also relevant in terms of stance-taking, which concerns the expression of the speaker's feelings, attitudes, beliefs, and, more significantly in the present study, Obama's commitment to the truth value. A speaker's indexing of certainty, doubt, and reliability relates to evidentially and modality (Bednarek, 2006: 26). Moreover, communicating attitudes and value judgments, feelings, and emotions is more about attitudinal stance (Biber et al, 1999: 974) while commenting on the manner in which the information is presented relate to style stance (Conrad and Biber, 1999: 60). *Believe* and *know* are good choices for examining the way Obama expresses his attitudinal stance, especially when they collocate with *I*. It is supposed that he uses these collocations when he communicates his personal attitude, rather than expressing stance on behalf of his party. Moreover, as these verbs co-occur with personal pronouns, they carry social meaning which accordingly contributes to self-presentation and stance-taking.

In conclusion, the initial analysis presented in this chapter shows the resemblance that The Obama Corpus bears to the spoken variety of the ANC in terms of the quantification and distribution of personal pronouns. Additionally, the collocational analysis shows that first pronominal references (we and I) tend to share collocates belonging to same semantic categorisations, more specifically words related to group

affiliation, identity-related terms and lexical verbs indicating mental and psychological states and processes.

4.6 Conclusion

As stated earlier, this analytical chapter provides the reader with a survey of the overall data and the main points that will be further discussed in the next chapters. It presents an overview of the frequent words and content words highlighted in the data through generating word frequency and collocation lists. These, in turn, provide an accurate means of identifying the aboutness of The Obama Corpus and at the same time pave the way for more subsequent qualitative analysis.

A number of political discourse studies (Bramley, 2001; Wilson, 1990) describe how politicians make frequent use of the pronoun *we* in their speeches, whether in the inclusive or exclusive sense. It appears that Obama uses the pronoun frequently to achieve different aims such as sharing responsibility, maintaining identity and promoting patriotic feelings with regard to the way the audience should view their country.

In accounting for the theme of identity, there are other pronouns used along with *we* such as the possessive pronouns *our* and *their* and object pronouns such as *us* and *them.* The pronouns *I, him, me,* and *him* are distributed differently with different frequency, still their use is interesting as the speaker will use them in showing himself as the best candidate for presidency in comparison to other candidates, in this study McCain and Romney.The main concern of the present study is to examine identity construction, and the types of identity categories Obama draws upon in The Obama Corpus, in addition to examining the expressions and attitudes and knowledge, particularly as they relate to the subjectivity and identification of the speaker. This concern resulted from studying frequency and collocation lists, which helped in identifying recurring themes in The Obama Corpus.

Chapter 5

First Pronominal Reference

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I report on the use of first pronominal reference *we* and *I* in The Obama Corpus. The main focus is to investigate the way pronouns indicate inclusivity and exclusivity and how they relate to the presentation of Obama's party, the electorate, and the government. De Fina (1995) shows that pronoun selection in speech reflects different choices such as identification and involvement with the audience. For example, a speaker may use *we* as way of referring to himself/ herself as a representative of a group or organisation, whereas *I* helps express commitment and emphasizes the significance of one's authority as the most relevant feature of political speeches. De Fina emphasises that pronouns must be examined in their context to investigate their use and what meanings they are supposed to convey to the listeners (De Fina 1995: 24f). In support of this view, I follow Bramley's (2001: 2) argument that the construction of identity by politicians cannot be assumed without considering the 'sequential context' (Malone 1997: 59) which enables the listener to identify the referent of, and identification achieved by, the pronouns themselves.

The aim of the analysis was to examine the similarities and differences that exist among words in sentences whose subject is either *I* or *we*, and between the use of *I* and *we* when Obama expresses attitudes and beliefs through modality and evaluation. Modality has much to do with 'commitments', 'attitudes', 'judgments', and 'stances' which in turn relate to identification (Fairclough, 2003: 166). On the other hand, evaluation is connected to subjectivity, which is defined as the expression of attitudes, feelings, emotions, personality (Bednarek, 2006: 20). Modality is linked to evaluation in affective evaluations with mental process such as *like* and *hate*, which are comparable to

subjectively-marked modalities with mental processes such as *think, know* and *believe* (ibid: 173). The analysis reveals that stance is expressed in association with positive evaluation attributed to identity-related terms including the word *change* used in defining his administration. Co-occurring with identity-related words, *we believe* co-occurs with: deontic stance in the majority of the cases, and suppression of social actors in making altruistic promises. *I believe* is associated with epistemic stance indicating power and ability, but the evaluation is attributed to the political rather than the national self. The parenthetical *we know* co-occurs with predictions and hypothetical future indicating certainty in legitimating policies. Similarly, *I know* is used to emphasise the epistemic stance in a linguistic context where cause conjunctions are co-selected as legitimating strategy for positive presentation of the political self. Based on the reading of the concordances, the study presents a new framework showing the integration of stance and evaluation in constructing attitudinal identity (see section 2.3.3). Analysing the concordance lines reveals that evaluating an action and taking stance towards a position is accompanied either with manipulative strategies or with legitimating ones which can be a new insight into the study of political discourse. In this way, the analysis achieves one of the aims of applying a CDA approach which is uncovering hidden ideologies in texts and employment of corpus tools has helped produce an objective evaluation of the data and a reduction of the researcher's bias.

To achieve this aim, the chapter will cover two main steps. The first identifies the meanings associated with *believe* and *know,* because they are frequent and have a strong collocational relationship with the two pronouns. Additionally, when they collocate with *I* and *we,* these verbs as factive predicates expressing beliefs and knowledge become stance indicators of 'self-expression' (Bednarek 2006: 20). Because there are many significant collocates, it is simply not possible to examine all of them. Therefore, I have had to restrict the focus of this chapter to these two words. Their choice is based on their frequency and statistical values in addition to the fact that they indicate expressions of beliefs and attitudes when collocating with *I* and *we* which relates to identification. Thus, I will identify the lexical and grammatical patterns occurring with *believe* and *know,* especially those which 'express the point of view of the speaker' (Stubbs, 1996: 20). I will then analyse these patterns for the expression of stance, attitude, and evaluation. These steps can show the way Obama expresses his knowledge and beliefs in terms of

collective (when the verbs collocate with we) and individual identification (when the verbs collocate with I). Moreover, they can show how Obama communicates subjectivity, commitment, and modality, which relate to the construction of identity (Fairclough, 2003: 166).

In addition to pattern identification, this analysis also looks at the phraseological units that co-occur with *believe* and *know* when they collocate with the pronouns *I* and *we*. Phraseological units are referred to as 'extended lexical units' (Sinclair 2004a: 18-20). The underlying principle, for Sinclair, is that of *co- selection.* This term refers to the fact that meanings are not confined to individual words, because speakers do not select words individually. Instead, units of meanings are selected and each unit consists of several words (ibid: 20). The meaning of the word is influenced by the meanings of its co-selection. Therefore, the present study examines the extended units of meaning that are associated with *we believe*, *we know*, *I believe*, and *I know*, as they play a number of significant roles in the 'creation of meaning' (Sinclair, 2008: 409).

5.1.1 Sorting Concordance Lines

Before starting the analysis, it is necessary to make sorting the lines and positions of the words clear. It is difficult to spot patterns if the concordance lines are arranged in the order in which they appear in the corpus. WordSmith gives the researcher the option to sort concordance lines in various ways. For instance, the software can sort the lines alphabetically one or more places to the left or the right of the node which I follow in this chapter. In this study, the pronouns are always the node words in the concordance lines. When we refer to words to the right of the node, we use the capital letter R, while words to the left are referred to with a capital L. Numbers attached to these letters refer to the sequence of its position. For example, in referring to 'We believe America works best', *we* is the node, *believe* is R1 and *America* is R2. Similarly, in the statement *that's what we believe*, *what* is L1 and *that's* is L2.

The aim of sorting a concordance is to find characteristic lexical patterns to facilitate examining the pronouns' immediate context. When generating concordances of *we,* I clicked on *believe* specifying its occurrence in R1 position, which means the lines will appear with *believe* co-occurring with the pronoun occupying the first place to the right of the pronoun. The same approach has been applied to *know*.

5.1.2 Why *believe* and *know*?

As stated earlier, the software generated a huge number of concordances for each pronoun. This makes it difficult to look at all of them. In cases such as these, researchers reduce the amount of data by limiting the scope of the study to focus on certain words. This is not done randomly but as a series of intentional decisions where the most appropriate words are chosen for further investigation. Here, it is important to explain why *believe* and *know* are the only collocates chosen for further inquiry:

1. They relate to the research questions set for this study (how stance is expressed in relation to subjectivity and evaluation and how it contributes to the construction of attitudinal identity through positive and negative evaluation and positions?)
2. These words are highly frequent and significant collocates of both pronouns *I* and *we*, which further justifies their choice. In this way, we can examine how differently attitudinal stance is expressed based on the singular or plural self-reference.
3. Additionally, when combined with subjective-reference pronouns (I and we), they indicate subjectively-marked evaluation and modalities (Fairclough 2003: 173) and when expressing assertions, and opinions, they can 'express varying degree of tentativeness' (Cheng, 2012: 104) as the analysis will show.

Based on the points stated above, these concordances are further limited to lines where these two words occupy the position to the right of the pronouns, as this position attributes the mental processes to the pronouns themselves. The following section presents the research findings with regard to collocational strength and patterns revealed by the concordance lines.

5.2 Concordance Analysis of Stance Indicators

Having identified the semantic groupings associated with semantic preference, I turn now to studying the concordance lines of *we*, where the pronoun collocates with *believe* and *know*. As stated earlier, grouping the collocates into semantic fields makes clear the relation between the node and the collocates and how that establishes semantic

preference. This acts as a starting point for concordance analysis, where the affective meaning of the node and its relation with its typical collocates can be demonstrated as semantic preference contributes to building semantic prosody (Partington, 2004: 151). In generating concordances, the node is the pronoun under scrutiny, and then lines where the pronouns collocate with the verbs in question are selected for further examination.

5.2.1 *We believe*

This section focuses on the use of *we believe* in The Obama Corpus. Using *we* as the node word, I studied every 30 lines until I made sure no new pattern emerges. The following 34 concordance lines are extracted from the whole set of 48 lines in which *believe* appears immediately to the right of the pronoun. Because this number of lines is relatively low, I examined the whole set of lines manually, making sure those lines which are not included here do not include new patterns.

These lines are presented below, sorted alphabetically by R2 and L1. The R2 position is filled by the word immediately following *believe* in the phrase *we believe*. The L1 position is filled by the word immediately preceding *we* in the phrase *we believe* and one word to the left L1. This sorting tells us that *believe*, when collocating with *we*, tends to co-occur within phrases whose head nouns either following or preceding *we believe*. Nouns preceding *we believe* belong to identity-related terms. Nouns following the proposition tend to supress information about time and social actors, as shown in the detailed analysis below. It also shows that *believe* is followed by evaluative comparatives attributed to identity terms. This evaluation is based on the proposition in a when–clause. This requires wider contexts to show the patterns that the concordance lines cannot reveal. Detailed analysis is provided following the concordance lines:

1	investing in research for medical breakthroughs and new technologies. We believe America works best, is stronger, when everybody can count
2	engine of growth and prosperity the world has ever known. That's what we believe. But we also believe that in this country, the free market and
3	all our problems – and we don't expect it to. We believe in hard work. We believe in personal responsibility and self-reliance. But we also
4	that government can't solve all our problems – and we don't expect it to. We believe in hard work. We believe in personal responsibility and
5	country is different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike. Our message is simple: If you
6	Now, understand, look, as Americans, we believe in the free market. We believe in free enterprise. We believe in the strivers, the dreamers,
7	Americans, we believe in the free market. We believe in free enterprise. We believe in the strivers, the dreamers, the risk-takers. We know
8	fair share and everybody is playing by the same rules. That's the country we believe in. That's what I've been fighting for, for the last four years.
9	bringing about change. Back in 2008, when we talked about change we believe in, I warned people -- look, I wasn't just talking about
10	is built on the promise of freedom and dignity for every human being. We believe in a generous America, in a compassionate America, in a
11	are getting us out of a crisis. Now, understand, look, as Americans, we believe in the free market. We believe in free enterprise. We believe
12	they may. Well we are here tonight to say that this is not the America we believe in and this is not the future we want. We want a new course
13	that will allow them to fulfill their God-given potential. That's the America we believe in. That's the America I know. This is the country that gave
14	there are some things that Washington should just stay out of -- like we believe no politician -- especially a whole bunch of male politicians in
15	stronger -- when everybody can count on affordable health insurance. We believe our country is better when people can count on Medicare and
16	from a nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks. We believe people everywhere would see their economies crippled by a
17	their fair share, and everybody is playing by the same rules. That's what we believe. That's why you elected me in 2008. And that's why I'm
18	their fair share, everybody is playing by the same rules. That's what we believe. That's why you elected me in 2008 and that is why I'm
19	interests are not hostile to people's hopes; they're essential to them. We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in the region,
20	we support research into medical breakthroughs and new technologies. We believe that America is stronger -- not weaker, stronger -- when
21	health care for when she gets sick and a pension for when she retires. We believe that when she tucks her own children into bed, she should
22	of by unscrupulous credit card companies or mortgage lenders. We believe that there's a place for rules and regulations that make sure
23	That we are our brother's keeper. That we are our sister's keeper. We believe that a child born tonight should have the same chances
24	to travel the world, and someone should ask her where she is from, we believe that she should always be able to hold her head high with
25	with children in China or India for the jobs of the twenty-first century. We believe that these jobs should provide wages that can raise her
26	miles from here on a cold February morning in Springfield - because we believe that the challenges we face are bigger than the smallness of
27	of St. Louis; on the streets of Chicago or the hills of Appalachia. We believe that when she goes to school for the first time, it should be
28	there is a larger responsibility we have to one another as Americans. We believe that we rise or fall as one nation - as one people. That we
29	Israel, Jordan, and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine. We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based on the
30	by unscrupulous credit card companies or mortgage lenders. And then, we believe there are some things that Washington should just stay out of
31	hard economic times. And because these issues touch deeply on what we believe, touch deeply on our convictions -- about who we are as a
32	is about. That's not how are greatness was built. Here in America, we believe we're all in this together. We understand it's not about what
33	is, and always will be, 'the last best, hope of Earth? We say; we hope; we believe - yes we can. n.
34	be done by us, together, as one nation, and as one people. That's what we believe. You're the reason the mother in Green Bay doesn't have to

Figure 9 Screenshot 1- the concordance lines of *we believe* from The Obama Corpus

As seen in Screenshot 1, the combination *we believe* appears 17 times in initial position at the beginning of the sentence, 12 in medial position towards the middle of the

sentence, and 4 times in final position at the end of the sentence. Using the sorting features, I found that the recurrent patterns appear in R position. However, I will provide an initial analysis of the left side patterns before moving on to the more frequently observed ones on the right.

The most frequent word is *what*, appearing 5 times in L1 in lines 2, 17, 18, 31, and 34. Three of occurrences are part of the phrase *'That's what we believe',* except in 31 where *'what we believe'* appears in a prepositional phrase. In line 31, the phrase is the object of the preposition 'on' whereas 'what' in other lines functions as a relative pronoun referring to preceding nouns as in the pattern discussed below:

A recurring nominal pattern in L1 is [Noun + *we believe in*], where words occupying the noun position function as the object of preposition. Words occupying the nominal position in this pattern are words directly related to national identity including: *America* in 12, 13 and 32 where *America* appears as the head in the prepositional phrase, *country* in 8, and *Americans* in 11 and 28. Another noun is *change,* which does not seem to relate to the same semantic set appears in line 9. Therefore, a wider context is provided below to see whether the noun relates to the way Obama constructs his identity in his discourse as other nouns relating to collective identity.

1. Back in 2008, when we talked about **change we believe in**, I warned people -- look, I wasn't just talking about changing presidents; I wasn't just talking about changing political parties; I was talking about changing how our system of politics works [campaign event in Cincinnati Nov, 4th 2012].

The provided context shows that Obama makes a pronoun shift from 'we' into 'I' in the following successive clauses expressing his stance about changing the political system. Fairclough (2003: 166) states that stance is associated with identification and that what you commit yourself to is part of the process of texturing self-identity. In this extract, Obama is expressing his stance about changing how our system of politics works. This discussion shows that nouns preceding *we believe in* relate to identity-related words, and the only exception to this is the use of *change* in the example above. Its wider context shows that Obama defines *change* in terms of what kind of political system he wants to

lead as a president. His self-construction of being a president implies changing the system.

In returning to the concordance lines in the screenshot, we can see that the nouns identified in the second pattern in lines 12, 8, and 13, which are identity-related words and relate to the way Obama defines national identity, can replace the relative pronoun *what* in the first observation. The resulting formula is [*That's* + nominal reference + *we believe*] which occurs 7 times. This pattern is meant to refer back to a previous statement related to the functionality of expressing beliefs attributed to *we*. The following example is repeated in two texts. They appear in lines 17 and 18 in the concordances. This pattern, as the example below shows, functions as a kind of expansion, which elaborates on a previously identified topic.

2. **Our** fight goes on because **we** know **America** has always done best, **we**'ve always prospered when everybody gets a fair shot and everybody is doing their fair share, everybody is playing by the same rules. **That's what we believe.** That's why you elected me in 2008 and that is why I'm running for a second term as President of the United States [campaign event in Cincinnati Nov, 4th 2012].

The bold phrase, which constitutes the pattern, does not add a new element in to the picture in 'we've always prospered when everybody gets a fair shot and everybody is doing their fair share, everybody is playing by the same rules'. Rather, it provides characterisation of that picture and attributes it to the identity of the speaker and his party, which are represented by the pronoun in *we believe*. *Our fight goes on* shows that Obama refers to the competence and ability of his party through expressing knowledge and rationality featured in the underlined sentences. The bold phrase *That's what we believe* links between the expression of collective ability and the self-presentation in the last sentence. The expression of belief, in this context, contributes to evaluating collective self and exemplifying the individual self as morally worthy and honest.

Investigating words occupying the R2 position, we find that *in* appears 11 times, and *that* appears 10 times, resulting in phrases such as *we believe in hard work* in lines 3-7. These two words show the cases where *believe* occurs in transitive or intransitive forms. In the 11 times it is followed by *in*, *believe* is an intransitive verb whose position

depends on the position of the head in the prepositional phrase. The head either immediately follows the preposition or precedes *we believe* as in 12, 9, 8, 13, and 5, where the noun precedes the subordinating conjunction *that.*

The other six lines show that the nouns following *in* are mostly pre-modified by adjectives: *generous* in 10, *free* in 6 and 11, *hard* in 4, and *personal* in 3. So far, the following formulae represent the occurrence of the node with prepositional phrase:

1. [N. + *we believe in*] occurring 5 times.
2. [*We believe in* + adj. + N.] which appears 6 times.

The nominalisation in the second pattern tends to represent a process as a noun where information about participants, time and modality are deleted from the nominal form. This is different from the patterns illustrated in examples 4 and 5 below where deontic modality is expressed in relation to *we believe* and where person and time reference are present in text as Obama is excluding himself and his party from *politicians*, and the government in *Washington*. The nominalised phrase involving the pattern seems to express belief, rather than expressing strong commitment to the proposition. For example, in saying *we believe in hard work* in line 4, there is no indication of who is meant to work hard: the Democratic Party, the government, or the people. This shows how concordance sheds lights on the way Obama tends to background such information either to highlight the belief itself or to avoid making explicit promises.

Turning to *that*, its occurrences show that it functions as a relative pronoun and can be removed without affecting the meaning of the sentence, as seen in 1, 16, and 29. Its use here functions to form a parenthetical expression which denotes the speaker's subjective cognitive state, and fulfils a kind of pragmatic function in parenthetical discourse denoting epistemic modality (Fetzer, 2014: 69). As stated earlier, the first R1 pattern shows the intransitive use of *believe*. *Believe* in 14 is the only case where it is followed by a direct object. Therefore, I am interested in the THAT-clauses which function as the object of *We believe*. The concordance lines show that these clauses co-occur with conditionals and modal expressions. When using conditionals, stance is expressed with evaluative comparative adjectives attributed to identity-related nouns. The phrasal pattern following *we believe* in 1, 15, and 20 consists of: nationality-related

words + relational processes + the attributes *best*, *better* and *stronger*. The resulting formula is:

[*America* or *our country* + relational V + evaluative attributes],

preceding a WHEN-clause where *when* implies conditional meaning in all the three lines. Line 20 requires a wider context which has been provided below:

3. We believe that America is stronger – not weaker, stronger – when everybody can count on affordable health insurance [election rally in UW Madison Campus Oct.4th 2012].

The above example shows that stance is expressed in relation to modality, and conveyed through different process types. *We believe* introduces an evaluation of identity based on the achievement of the action in the WHEN- clause. It is significant to note that in the clause the identity of the actor responsible for providing the evaluated object in *affordable health care* is suppressed (presumably, Obama and the party). The implication is that Obama evaluates his health policy as affordable and being a source of America's strength which counts as the effectiveness of his plans. This shows that Obama, in illustrating the altruistic intentions of his administration, manipulates the audience by suppressing reference to himself and the party. This suppression occurs in both WHEN- and THAT-clauses, especially in the context of making promises. If we consider examples (4) and (5), we find that there is an explicit mention of *politicians* and *Washington* (referring to politicians in Washington) in an attempt to indicate their negative attributes. These attributes are used as referential strategies against which *we* (Obama and his party) are compared in that indicating the negative attributes of opponents means highlighting the positive attribute of *we.* Examples 4 and 5 are taken from the source texts of lines 22 and 30.

In lines 22 and 30, *we believe* is followed by an existential process expressed in relation to deontic modality. The resulting pattern is as follows:

[Existential process+ existent N + THAT-clause + N (politicians / Washington) + Should].

Examples 3 and 4 show a wider context of the pattern occurrence of lines 22 and 30. Labels are provided between brackets in the example and THAT- clause is in italics:

4. a. **We believe** that there's [Existential] a place for rules and regulations [existent] *that make sure our people are safe*. b. And **we also believe** there are [Existential processes] some things [existent: abstract entity] (that) *politicians should stay out of.*

[Election rally in UW Madison Campus Oct.4th 2012].

5. **We believe** there are [Existential] some things [existent] that *Washington* ***should*** *just stay out of* – like we believe no politician – especially a whole bunch of male politicians in Washington -- **should** control the health care choices women can make for themselves

[Campaign event in Cincinnati Nov, 4th 2012].

These examples show the 'existent' entities are abstract nouns: *place for rules* and *some things* but with different implications. In 4a, Obama expresses epistemic stance indicating the existence of rights and rules which help maintain the safety of Americans. There is an avoidance of expressing strong commitment to maintaining security whereas in 4b he shows obligations other politicians are not committed to. Again, there is an avoidance of expressing the existent entity by using abstract words *place* and *things* which are exemplified in example 5.

Example 5 shows how Obama expresses epistemic stance through attempting to accuse other politicians of discriminating against women. Here, Obama presents himself in relation to a 'significant other' ('Washington' and other 'politicians') through expressing strong commitment to the truth brought into text with the deontic expression *should*. The term 'significant other' (Suleiman, 2006: 57) is a fundamental requirement for self-presentation which implies that in referring to self *we* there is an implied other (They) against which (we) is compared. Here, Obama is expressing his individual - or broader still - his party's ideological stance regarding security, healthcare necessity, and gender differences. This stance is communicated collectively to negatively represent politicians opposing both him and the Democratic Party. This is an instance of many

cases where Obama distances himself from the government, and presents himself altruistically.

In the above two examples, Obama describes epistemic stance *we believe* to report activities and undesirable actions attributing them to other 'politicians in Washington'. This implies excluding himself and his party from these actions. *We believe* introduces statements reporting politicians' action, implying that *we* is excluded from the groups of politicians identified by their undesirable action. But here the exclusion is not 'radical' because radical exclusion leaves no traces in the representation, excluding both the social actors and their activities' (van Leeuwen, 1996: 38). Here, the identity of Obama is backgrounded when the phrase *we believe* introduces statements reporting the undesirable action. Van Leeuwen describes the way backgrounded actors can be textually interpreted:

> The excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given activity but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text, and we can infer with reasonable certainty (though never total) who they are. They are not so much excluded as de-emphasised, pushed into the background. (1996: 39)

The following examples show that *we believe* introduces an independent clause followed by deontic stance expressed by passivization, which is another strategy of backgrounding social actors in texts. The following two examples provide wider contexts of lines 21 and 27:

> (6) **We believe** that *when she goes to school for the first time*, <u>it **should** be</u> in a place where the rats don't outnumber the computers; that when she applies to college, cost is no barrier to a degree that will allow her to compete with children in China or India for the jobs of the twenty-first century.
>
> (7) **We believe** that *when she tucks her own children into bed*, she <u>**should** feel safe</u> knowing that they are protected from the threats we face by the bravest, best-equipped, military in the world, led by a

Commander-in-Chief who has the judgment to know when to send them into battle and which battlefield to fight on.

[San Antonio Primary Night, March 4th 2008]

Another pattern where epistemic and deontic modality are employed to construct attitudinal identity appears in 23, 24, 25, and 29. These lines show the following formula:

[We believe+ NP + Modal auxiliary],

where NP is a recipient represented as the doer of the process.

Example 8 and 9 follows this formula, discussing how someone should create jobs, which should provide wages. Creating jobs is supposed to be the outcome of good economy resulting from good reforms. Here, the actor responsible for providing jobs is omitted from the sentence. In order to avoid making a promise, Obama uses middle passive voice in order to background any references to himself and his party.

8. We believe that <u>these jobs should provide</u> wages that can raise her family, health care for when she gets sick and a pension for when she retires.

9. And if that child should ever get the chance to travel the world, and someone should ask her where she is from, **<u>we believe</u>** <u>that she should</u> always be able to hold her head high with pride in her voice <u>when she answers "I am an American."</u>

[San Antonio Primary Night, March 4th 2008]

In the last four examples (6-9), it appears that Obama avoids committing himself and promising people of any future actions through using middle voice where the agent is suppressed from the text. In Example 7, *feel safe* is V2 in [we believe when N+V1, N should V2], where V2 appears as the source of the positively-evaluated item *military*. Here, this evaluation is shown as being the outcome of a good leader in reference to Obama. Instead of promising that people will be safe, this pattern serves to express Obama's commitment to people's safety without explicitly promising to do so. In the last sentence, Obama does not mention his name but repeats his statement of sending troops away only when it is necessary to imply that he is the 'commander-in chief' who leads *the bravest military* and has a wise judgment as to when and where to fight. In example

8, *we believe* ends with evaluating the American identity using the words *head high* and *pride*. Here, *should* is introducing evaluative commentary rather than obligation. In examples (7) and (9) above, Obama moves from making a strong commitment through *believe* and shifts into a moral stance using deontic modality to introduce his concept of what constitutes being an American (a national self), and what a commander-in-chief (self-presentation) is.

As noted above, *we believe* is co-selected with deontic modality expressions and assertions in expressing stance on the part of himself and his party. The following section accounts for *we know to* see whether it shares the same co-selections with *we believe*, and to see how it functions as a stance indicator in constructing identities in texts and self-presentation.

5.2.2 *We know*

In contrast to *we believe*, the following concordances show that *we know* is associated with epistemic modality:

1 to get into the middle class. Our fight goes on because we know America has always done best, we've always
2 to get into the middle class. Our fight goes on because we know America always does its best when everybody
3 if that's true, he must need a new accountant. So now we know for sure that wasn't the real Mitt Romney,
4 change in Washington. And tonight, we're on our way. But we know how much farther we have to go. We know it
5 picked ourselves up, we have fought our way back, and we know in our hearts that for the United States of America,
6 on our way. But we know how much farther we have to go. We know it takes more than one night – or even one
7 that's shut you out, let you down and told you to settle. We know our road will not be easy. But we also know that
8 these countries may be a great distance from our shores, we know that our own future is bound to this region by the
9 law and the demonstration of its peaceful intent. We know that the Iranian government will not change its
10 from the deadliest attack on American soil in our history. We know that al Qaeda is actively planning to attack us
11 broken; you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you. For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a
12 So what would comprehensive reform look like? First, we know that government has a threshold responsibility to
13 harder and study more to compete in a global economy. We know that we need to take responsibility for ourselves
14 to keep up with soaring costs in a sluggish economy, we know that the status quo in Washington just won't do.
15 we face are bigger than the smallness of our politics, and we know that this election is our chance to change it. After
16 know that al Qaeda is actively planning to attack us again. We know that this threat will be with us for a long time,
17 contribute to their communities. They're our neighbors. We know their kids. Too often, they're forced to do what
18 surplus in history. So our ideas have been put to the test, we know they work. Now, the other guy's ideas have been
19 We believe in the strivers, the dreamers, the risk-takers. We know they've always been the driving force behind our
20 around a whole bunch of other issues. Right now, though, we know this is good for the economy -- and they went
21 book in their hands instead of a video game once in awhile. We know this. But we also believe that there is a larger
22 We also know that we have won the state of Vermont. And we know this - no matter what happens tonight, we have
23 these past four years. But here's the thing, Ohio. We know we've got more work to do. That's why we're
24 here -- in addition to listening to Bruce -- is because we know we've got more work to do. We've got more work
25 to pay for another millionaire's tax cut. So, Wisconsin, we know what change is. We know what the future
26 me. I don't need it. Those kids need it; I don't need it. So we know what change is. We know what the future
27 of change. Now, here's the thing, Cincinnati. It turns out we know what change looks like. And what Governor
28 convince you that these bad, old ideas are change. Listen, we know what change looks like, Madison, and what he's
29 tax cut. So, Wisconsin, we know what change is. We know what the future requires. But we also know it's
30 kids need it; I don't need it. So we know what change is. We know what the future requires. And we also know it's
31 has used time after time in election after election. Yes, we know what's coming. We've seen it already. The same
32 W. Bush. You don't get that matchup very often. So we know where the consensus should be. Now, of
33 the 90s? And we still haven't done anything about it. And we know why. In every election, politicians come to your

Figure 9: Screenshot 2 - Concordance lines of *we know* from The Obama Corpus

First**,** we need to state the position in which the combination occurs. In initial position-beginning of the sentence *we know* occurs 12 times, while it appears 21 times in medial position. From amongst those in the medial position, 12 of these are introduced with *yes, so, and*, and *listen*, which are not a main part of the proposition.

I will examine the lines where *we know* appears at the beginning of sentences. The above lines are sorted as two words to the right (R2) and one word to the left (L1) to see how *we know* is associated with stance-making in words that follow. This sorting tells us that *we know* tends to co-occur with predictions and hypothetical future when it takes the position of parenthetical expressions to indicate awareness of threat and challenges. The R2 position is occupied by *that* 8 times, *what* 7 times and *America* twice. The examples containing *that* as the R2 form the most frequent pattern. I will also count lines 6 and 7 as having an implied complementizer, amounting to 10 lines which involve the use of *that*. These lines show that the combination is associated with both epistemic modality, and prediction. I have classified prediction in this context into two functions involving either hypothetical future or policy predictions. Hypothetical future is related to threats and challenges in lines 6, 7, 10, 16, 23, and 24. Predictions of policies are represented with negation marker *not* in reference to a 'significant other' such as *Iranian government* in 9 and *status quo in Washington* in 14, whose actions are represented through the negative hypothetical modal verb (will not). These two types of prediction are expressed with epistemic modal expression denoting certainty and assertions as in example 10 below. The power of these predictions is intensified by the use of *we know* by politicians and government officials, who represent symbols of authority. Fairclough (2003: 167) assigns significance to this kind of prediction by stating that 'injunctions about what people must do or must not do can be legitimized in terms of such predictions about the future'. To examine how hypothetical future and prediction are expressed, a wider context is provided below:

> 10. A. We are **less** than eight years removed from the **deadliest** attack on American soil in our history. B. **We know** that al Qaeda is **actively planning** to attack us again. C. **We know** that <u>this threat will be with us</u> for a **long** time, D. and that we **must use** all elements of our power to defeat it.
>
> [on national security May, 21st 2009].

The original text of example 10 is addressed to a global audience. The example illustrates how Obama uses his authority as a leading politician, an authority endowed with power to express his prediction in the underlined phrase. The time reference of 8 years in 10A, *long* in 10C, and the comparative *deadliest* provoke emotions of fear and revenge triggered to justify the deontic stance *we must use* made in 10D. So, 10A represents a premise of the argument with D as its conclusion. The first *we* refers to all Americans sharing the same danger targeting the *American soil*. *We know* refers to the government in 10B, which links the past to the present through the assertive expression denoting certainty *is actively planning.* Obama uses the inclusive *we* to refer to the government's authority to express his "certain" prediction. The strategy of fear is further supported in 10C by predicting a certain hypothetical consequence in the underlined phrase. This legitimises the stance in 10D *We must,* referring to the government's decision. Obama uses the strategy of fear to describe a hypothetical future threat by assuring collective knowledge through inclusive *we* in a way that gives more weight to the inevitability of the future event and argues for the deontic stance he takes.

Lines 10, 12, 8, 11, 15, 16, and 19 include positive statements without modal verbs or modal markers introduced by *we know*. This is another finding where *we* is combined with mental verbs as a marker of epistemic modality, which introduces positive and negative statements considered to be intermediate between assertion and denial (Fairclough, 2003: 168). This places all the aforementioned lines within the broad category of modality. These assertive expressions and positive statements play a role in constructing the way Obama presents himself as a competent and effective speaker on behalf of his party. These features fall within the category of self-promotion as a self-presentation strategy (Schutz, 1997). The same argument applies to the patterns in 25-30. The pattern associated with *we know* and positive statement appears in lines 25-30 in the following formula:

[We know relative pronoun + N + a relational process]

Relational verbs in this pattern are *is, looks like,* and *requires*. They appear to communicate subjective assertions of the speaker's commitment to truth while *we know* gives a subjective marking to modality. This shows that *we know* is more associated with

self-promotion in instances where Obama presents himself and his party as competent and effective.

Other lines show that the combination is preceded by the subordinating conjunction *because* in 1, 2, and 5, and *for* in 11. These connectors introduce evaluative statements about the national self as in *America*, and *our patchwork heritage,* which are evaluated as *best* and *strength*, respectively. Similarly, these lines show that *we know* is associated with evaluating the collective self through expressing expectedness through the comparative adjectives *farther* in 4, *more* in 6, 23, and 24, and the conveyance of reliability through prediction and self-promotion as shown in 25-33.

The analysis has shown that *we know* identifies with predication, evaluation, and certainty, all of which fall within the category of epistemic modality. The significance of these features lies in the fact that they associate with *we know* in a way that contributes to presenting the collective and individual self in a positive manner.

5.3 Stance-indicators Collocating with 'I'

5.3.1 *I believe*

The following concordances show that *I believe* tends to occur at the beginning of new sentences. This phrase, when preceded by coordinators, indicates that the expression of belief is a comment on something which has already been said. The lines below are sorted two positions to the right (R2) and one word to the left (L1). This sorting tells us that *I believe* tends to occur as parenthetical expression co-occurring with identity-related expressions in a context of evaluating the ability of the national self. *Believe* occuppies the first position to the right of the node and the second position is shown to be occupied by *that*, *we* and *in.* In the first two lines, the structure shows that *I believe* is parenthetical, whereas the preposition shows that *believe* is an intranstive verb followed by the pronouns *you* and *our*. Examining the lines where *believe* co-occures with *we,* we find that *I believe* is associated with expressions of ability as a parameter of evaluation where the positive evaluation is attributed to the collective refrence *we* as shown in the following formula:

[I believe + we can +verb]

Lines 13 and 28 show the same pattern with the added use of negation. A wider context shows that this pattern appears in wider clause associations with *unless*. The rest of the lines where the parenthetical expression is associated with *that* involve the expression of attitudinal stance through clause co-selections as in

[I believe X because Y],

where X involves assertions and expression of comitment to the truth of the proposition. Below is a detailed analysis of the concordances.

1	process inspires trust and confidence instead of cynicism. So I believe as we move forward, we can come together around
2	and they're what I'm thinking about when I go to bed at night. I believe in you. I'm asking you to keep believing in me. I'm
3	to see it divided and distracted at this moment in history. I believe in our ability to perfect this union because it's the
4	less prosperous and less secure. I believed that then and I believe it now. And that's why, even as we've tackled the
5	mutual interests and mutual respect. I believed then -- and I believe now -- that we have a stake not just in the stability
6	the sense of compassion that drives this argument, but I believe such an indiscriminate approach would be both
7	country, as a government to finally put this issue behind us? I believe that we do. I believe that we do. I believe we are
8	fears; if we're willing to believe in what's possible again; then I believe that we won't just win this primary election, we won't
9	Congress has the power of the purse. As a former senator, I believe that individual members of Congress understand their
10	to finally put this issue behind us? I believe that we do. I believe that we do. I believe we are finally at a moment
11	threat, our government made a series of hasty decisions. I believe that many of these decisions were motivated by a
12	to keep on making this case across the country because I believe that this rule is consistent with those principles and
13	must be our common purpose. I ran for President because I believe that we cannot solve the challenges of our time
14	I've opposed the creation of such a commission because I believe that our existing democratic institutions are strong
15	frequent flyer miles. I count on Hillary every single day, and I believe that she will go down as one of the finest Secretaries
16	middle class, and we're going to keep moving forward. And I believe that our politics is not as divided as it seems
17	in Congress will come around to that view as well. And I believe that it's the right thing to do because I've been with
18	security, but because it's the right thing to do, period. And I believe that, eventually, enough Republicans in Congress will
19	the majority of Democrats are ready to move forward; and I believe the majority of Americans are ready to move forward.
20	people in that community. When they're private entities, then I believe they have to be evaluated with a higher level of
21	You can make it here in America if you're willing to try. I believe we can seize this future together because we are not
22	about. But the principles are pretty straightforward. First, I believe we need to stay focused on enforcement. That
23	issue behind us? I believe that we do. I believe that we do. I believe we are finally at a moment where comprehensive
24	and new opportunities and new security for the middle class. I believe we can keep the promise of our founding, the idea
25	offends our most basic American values is still in place. But I believe we can put politics aside and finally have an
26	to keep reaching, to keep working, to keep fighting. America, I believe we can build on the progress we've made and
27	and finally have an immigration system that's accountable. I believe we can appeal not to people's fears but to their
28	These steps are all critical to keeping America secure. But I believe with every fiber of my being that in the long run we
29	-- and we did. So you know where I stand. You know what I believe. You know I tell the truth. And you know that I'll
30	I do what I say. You know where I stand and you know what I believe. You know I tell the truth. And you know I'll fight for

Figure 11: **Screenshot 3 - The concordance lines of *I believe* from The Obama Corpus**

First, *I believe* appears in initial position of sentences 8 times, the medial position 19, and twice in the final position. There are 7 lines where a connector precedes it; as this is not an essential pattern, these lines are counted as beginning with *I believe*. Line 26 shows a vocative preceding the combination. Therefore, the strongest pattern of occurrence is in the initial position. Two additional usages of *believe* occur within the lines as a lexical verb (2, 3, and 4) because it represents the cause of the previous proposition. The verb also appears as parenthetical expression in 6, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17, 18 and 19-27.

Sorting the lines by R2 position, we find *we* seven times, *that* twelve times and *in* twice. In R3, *can* occurs five times and *our* occurs twice. Starting with *we*, the pronoun is followed by all occurrences of *can* in 22-26. In these lines, *can* is followed by a group of action verbs used metaphorically as in *seize the future, put politics aside, keep the promise of our founding,* and *build on the progress.*

All these examples have *we* as its actor used with inclusive reference. This is evident in 26 with the vocative *America*. By comparison, the subjects of the THAT-clauses in 14 and 16 are used as the exclusive referents of the possessive pronoun *our*. The referents are associated with positive evaluation expressed through assertion in our…*institutions are strong* (14), and denials in *our politics is not as divided* (16). These fall within the broad category of modality denoting a reluctance to commit oneself to truth claims. In addition to these cases, the concordance lines show other co-occurrences related with *I believe*. For example, denials implied in negative statements as in 16, except in lines 13 and 28. These two lines involve negation but a wider context show that the negation is part of clause co-selections. As the examples show, Obama uses the negative statements to emphasize his alignment with the 'values'

> *I ran for President because I believe that we cannot solve the challenges of our time unless we solve them together.*
> *But I believe with every fibre of my being that in the long run we cannot keep the country safe unless we enlist the power of our fundamental values.*

Assertions implied in positive statements as in 1, 18, and 23 are also associated with *I believe* as well as evaluative expressions, as in: *indiscriminate* and *unwise* in 6, *motivated by a sincere desire* in 11, *finest* in 15, *consistent* in 12 and *strong* in 14.

Here, the use of *in* is different from that of *we believe*, as the nouns following it in 2-3 explicitly state the social actors involved *you* with *our ability* expressing strong commitment to the truth of the proposition. A similar case re-appears in lines 7 and 10 where the expression co-occurs with *we do*. Line 3 shows that *I believe* introduces an evaluative verb *perfect*, and is followed by the cause of the evaluation marked by *because*. Line 17 shows a similar pattern where the evaluative expression *right thing* is followed by the cause of commitment. The resulting formula is then:

[I believe (in) +N+ evaluative word+ because].

Although *I believe…because* is a co-selection comprising extended units of meaning, such phraseologies cannot be an extended unit of meaning in themselves (Cheng, 2012: 145). Hunston (2002: 75) labels such phraseological patterns as 'clause collocations' and describes them as resulting from clauses being co-selected as seen in example 11. I have noted similar occurrences with *I know* in concordance lines 1 and 3, where two clauses are co-selected to contribute to stance expression. Using the notion of organisation-oriented elements and message-oriented elements (Sinclair and Mauranen, 2006), Warren (2009) identifies occurrences such as these as 'organisational framework' in referring to the way organisational elements such as conjunctions, connectives and discourse particles are sometimes co-selected. The interesting thing is that the variable items in between seem to link the collective and individual self-presentation, as shown in the wider context of line 3 in the concordances below. This example is chosen because although *believe* is stated as an intransitive verb, the noun phrase following the preposition, *our ability*, relates to the category of ability; this supports the claim I stated earlier that *I believe* is associated with positive evaluation of national self.

11. I love this country too much to see it divided and distracted at this moment in history. **I believe** in our ability to perfect this union **because** it's the only reason I'm standing here today.

[North Carolina Primary Night June 6th 2008]

Here, *our* is ambiguous whether its referent is inclusive of the people, or the Democratic Party. As it appears in an election text where Obama is expected to sell himself as the best candidate, it seems that the pronoun shifts from I to *our* when referring back to Obama. The stance expressed is evaluating *our ability* as the source of perfection which is labelled as a judgment of social esteem (Bednarek, 2007: 29). This stance is expressed in a way that shows Obama is selflessly running for the presidency, and emphasises that he is not seeking it for any sense of self- interest. This is not the only case where such pronoun shifts are noted. Similar pronoun shifts occurs in extract 12 below which is not from the same concordance lines:

12. It's the simple truth I learned all those years ago when I worked in the shadows of a shuttered steel mill on the South Side of Chicago – that in this country, justice can be won against the greatest of odds; hope can find its way back to the darkest of corners; and when **we** are told that we cannot bring about the change that **we** seek, we answer with one voice – yes we can.

[North Carolina Primary Night June 6th 2008]

In (12), Obama is reporting two states of affairs: one in the past when he was a worker with less authority, and the other is in the present. The pronoun shift from *I* into *we* as the new state is presenting Obama as a politician seeking justice. He is narrating personal detail when he was a mill-worker referred to with *I.* The change of his status is marked by *we,* which claims authority and solidarity (O'Keeffe, 2006: 137-138). This pronoun shift can be persuasive as it envisions two evaluative states: one of weakness and one of power and strength. Obama includes the audience with the positive one (authority and communality) to initiate the audience support for 'I'.

Lines 29 and 30 show the combination function as a complement referring back to the relative pronoun *what* and the whole clause occupying the object position of *you know*. *You know* introduces the whole clause in these lines and within a context where it is uncertain whether the addressees know what Obama believes. Here, it functions as a pragmatic particle through which Obama implies an interpersonal relationship between himself and the people of America. The same expression is repeated twice in one text. This repetition emphasises the credibility enhanced by *you know*. A wider context of these lines shows a strong commitment to serving people highlighting altruism. In

addition, the repetition of *I believe* implies certainty and commitment to truth in these lines and in lines 4 and 5.

The only two cases where *I believe* is co-selected with deontic stance expressions are evident in *have to* and *need to* in lines 20 and 27. This pattern is not very frequent, as it appears only in these two lines in comparison to the rest of the lines where the combination appears to instead co-select with epistemic stance, predication, and evaluation.

5.3.2 *I know*

The verb *know* is the second most frequent collocate in terms of statistical measurements with a log-likelihood score of (1.007.7). The combination of *I know* appears 13 times in initial position, with an extra 4 times preceded by a connector such as *now*, *so*, and *and*, which have also been counted as being in initial position. *I know* occupies final position only in line 27, while it occurs in the medial position in 9 lines. The following concordances reveal different patterns associated with *I know* as shown in the discussion that follows:

1	of government. I will tell the American people what	I know	and don't know, and when I release something
2	for that great introduction? We've got one of the finest men	I know,	as well as a great United States senator, Herb
3	not going to be easy. Back in 2008, we talked about it.	I know	everybody sometimes romanticizes the last
4	Hispanic, Asian, and Native American. Because one thing	I know	from traveling to forty-six states this campaign
5	the way, we can afford it. I haven't talked to Bruce, but	I know	he can afford it. I can afford it. Mr. Romney, he
6	for it, and work for it. Because hope is not blind optimism.	I know	how hard it will be to make these changes. I know
7	fight for you and your families every single day as hard as	I know	how. You know that about me. So when I say,
8	fight for you and your families every single day as hard as	I know	how. So when I tell you I know what real change
9	stockpile and nuclear infrastructure is modernized -- which	I know	is a key concern of many around this table and
10	very spirited fellow who claimed to be Mitt Romney. But	I know	it couldn't have been Mitt Romney -- because the
11	of them must have lived under the fear of deportation.	I know	some have come forward, at great risks to
12	interrogation techniques by the United States of America.	I know	some have argued that brutal methods like
13	the wealthiest should pay their fair share, and he said so.	I know	that position might disqualify him from the
14	must always be the safety of the American people.	I know	that you – the men and women of the finest fighting
15	been settled, in some cases debates that they have lost.	I know	that these debates lead directly, in some cases, to
16	any prolonged detention is carefully evaluated and justified.	I know	that creating such a system poses unique
17	in Washington to get on board with where the country is.	I know	that some prefer to run around using the same
18	you've done and all the incredible work that you've put in.	I know	that political campaigns can sometimes seem
19	Now, as our efforts to close Guantanamo move forward,	I know	that the politics in Congress will be difficult. These
20	the Constitution as Commander-in-Chief, and as a citizen,	I know	that we must never, ever, turn our back on its
21	because we knew that little girl could be our own. And	I know	that every American wants her future to be just as
22	forward in common purpose. It requires us to act.	I know	that some issues will be harder to lift than others.
23	because it's the only reason I'm standing here today. And	I know	the promise of America because I have lived it. It is
24	eliminate it, and we'll work with Congress to do so. Now	I know	there are members in both Houses with good ideas
25	border security, but also enforcement within our borders.	I know	there's a lot of talk right now about border security,
26	I know how hard it will be to make these changes.	I know	this because I fought on the streets of Chicago as
27	That's the America we believe in. That's the America	I know.	This is the country that gave my grandfather a
28	single day as hard as I know how. So when I tell you	I know	what real change looks like, it's because I've fought
29	You know that about me. So when I say, Wisconsin, that	I know	what real change looks like, you've got cause to

Figure 12: Screenshot 4 - The concordance Liners of *I know* from The Obama Corpus

Because the initial position is frequently occupied by *I know*, I used the sorting feature to R2 position. I prefer to sort this way because the verbs dealt with in this chapter are subjectification verbs which denote the speaker's mental processes. Thus, words in R position are far more significant in enabling the analyst to focus on the theme of the proposition, or the speaker's degree of commitment. However, sorting to L positions does show interesting patterns which appear in lines where the combination is in medial position.

In looking at collocates in the L1 position, one pattern emerges where the combination is preceded by comparative expressions such as *as hard as* (7, 8). Here, *hard* refers to factual knowledge. In this context, it intensifies the degree of credibility and strong commitment to truth. When the same word appears towards the right of the node, it conversely refers to the challenges of which Obama is aware as will be discussed later. Other words occupying the L1 position consist of positively-evaluated nouns as seen with *America* in 27, *finest men* in 2, and *one thing* in 4. The L1 position also contains relative pronouns such as *which* in 9 referring to the modernisation of the American infrastructure, and *what* in 1 where Obama's expresses strong commitment to telling the truth. Line 2 is part of the introductory part of Obama's speech where he introduces the people present in the setting. A wider context of line 27 shows that *I know* tends to express the necessity of people's needs, rather than expressing commitments towards their achievements. The extract below shows that Obama supresses the government and himself from the text and uses the second person pronoun 'you' as the actor who is obliged to count on the listed necessities without explicitly promising that they will be provided to the people.

13. It's the idea that while there are few guarantees in life, **you should be able** to count on a job that pays the bills; health care for when you need it; a pension for when you retire; an education for your children that will allow them to fulfil their God-given potential. That's the America we believe in. **That's the America I know**.

[North Carolina Primary Night June 6th 2008]

A wider context of line 4 shows that *one thing* refers to the way Obama defines the American nation as a nation of immigrants. See example 14 below:

14. Or this time, we can build on the movement we've started in this campaign - a movement that's united Democrats, Independents, and Republicans; a movement of young and old, rich and poor; white, black, Hispanic, Asian, and Native American. Because **one thing I know** from traveling to forty-six states this campaign season is that we're not as divided as our politics suggests. We may have different stories and different backgrounds, but we hold common hopes for the future of this country.

[Pennsylvania primary night April 22nd 2008]

Interestingly, the phrase '*one thing I know from travelling…*' legitimises the unity of the diverse groups constituting the American society. Obama expresses his epistemic certainty of the unity of the people through reporting his travels around the whole country. Here, he presents the American people as united and represents himself as acquainted with the people, as well as a source of information. Similarly, *I know* in line 9 is associated with epistemic stance, which is evident in the assertive evaluation *is a key concern.*

Words occupying R2 position are: *what, there* and *some,* what appears twice, *how* 3 times, and *that* appears 10 times and *some* appears twice. *That* in all its cases is used as a subordinating conjunction. Most of the occurrences of *that* are associated with negative prosody where Obama communicates his awareness of the challenges arising from his decisions, and of the stance of other politicians referenced to by *some* in 17 and 12.

Lines 29 and 28 are associated with two features: verbal processes and cause conjunctions. The verbal processes *say* and *tell* appear as a main verb in when-clauses in which Obama's utterances are reported. Cause subordinators also appear in the same sentence to provide a reason for Obama's deontic knowledge. *Change looks like* maximises the degree of commitment to truth value and Obama's credibility, which is similarly conveyed in *you got cause to believe me* and *because I fought for it*. Examining *we know*, we can see the same expression as collective self-presentation depicting Obama as an honest and caring leader.

In lines 25 and 12, utterances representing verbal activities *a lot of talk* and *argued* to express awareness of challenges and counterarguments. In line 25, Obama responds to the verbal act he reports by repeating a claim that *illegal crossings are near their lowest*

level in decades. A wider context of line 12 shows that Obama appeals to his own position and aligns his authority and responsibility in arguing for the closing of Guantanamo:

15. **I know** some have **argued** that brutal methods like waterboarding were necessary to keep us safe. I could not disagree more. As Commander-in-Chief, I see the intelligence. I bear the responsibility for keeping this country safe.

[on National Security May 21st 2009]

In the above example, Obama reports his awareness of a viewpoint opposing his decision to ban interrogation techniques. Expressing his position towards the opposing claim, Obama defends his policy by giving prominence to his own agency. On the one hand, he foregrounds his status as a person of authority to legitimize his decision. This approach is followed by an actively constructed sentence containing the perception verb *see* to take responsibility for the impact of the decisions. Here, Obama is attempting to gain credibility by projecting the identity *commander-in-chief*, in which a kind of authority is invested to emphasise confidence in his commitment to his idea. This example includes repetition of the pronoun *I* at the beginning of the three sentences that follows to highlight the agency of the acts of seeing, knowing, and bearing responsibility as attributes of a charismatic leader. This repetition of agency shows that his decision has resulted from careful and principled thinking.

As stated in the previous section, *because* is co-selected with *I believe* to form 'clause collocations'. In contrast with *we*, it is noted with both verbs collocating with *I* are followed by an object clause which is co-selected with the conjunction *because*, as in *you've got a cause to believe me because…* in line 29 and *it could not have been Mitt Romney because…* in line 10. In my view, I do not consider these collocations as extended units of meaning because their structure does not always contribute to the meaning associated with 'I know/ believe'. For example, *because you've seen* is providing reason for *you've got a cause to believe me* in 29.

Similarly, the clause conjunction in line 28 emphasises the truth in *I tell you* and in 10 the conjunction is more related to Romney's negative presentation rather than the presentation of Obama. These are different from the cases noted in the concordances of *I know* in 26 and 23. The phraseological units observed in these two lines are

[I know + X + because],

where X could be a noun phrase as in *the promise of America* in 23, or a pronoun such as this in 26. This is different from the clause collocations evident in 29 and 28 where two clauses of cause and result are combined by *because*. In 26 and 23, noun phrases or a pronoun functions as an object of *know* followed by cause conjunction, whose subject is the self-reference pronoun. In these two lines, the cause conjunctions introduce expression of self-presentation. Here, the cause contributes to the expression of stance and serves to intensify Obama's commitment to the truth of the proposition. A wider context is required to make this point clear in example 16:

16. I know how hard it will be to make these changes. **I know** this **becaus**e I fought on the streets of Chicago as a community organizer to bring jobs to the jobless in the shadow of a shuttered steel plant. I've fought.... I've won some of those fights, but I've lost some of them too.

[Potomac Primary Night 12th Feb. 2008]

To emphasise his awareness of the challenges, Obama uses the war metaphor *fought* which is meant to sell himself as the best candidate for presidency as the basic meaning of the verb implying struggle and hard work. Obama expresses his position on social injustice and inequality by stating the cause of his awareness of the hard task. He draws on background information about himself and his professional identity construction as a lawyer and a community organiser to claim that he is a competent person capable of doing leadership (Fetzer and Bull, 2012). Reporting his prior experience, Obama indicates his selfless-interests and his image as a professional, competent leader caring for people's rights.

Political competence is also communicated through these collocational patterns. They convey predictions through the following formula:

[I know X + modal expression + Adjective],

where the adjectives are words denoting difficulty and hardship. This is seen in *difficult* in 19, *harder* in 22, and *hard* in 6. Similar patterns are also used to express evaluation, such as *small* and *silly* in 18, and *good* in 24. These patterns also contain assertions, which imply certainty in *poses unique challenges* (16), *lead* (15), and *come forward* (11).

The only case in which *I know* is co-selected with the deontic modal verb *must* appears in line 20. A wider context is provided below to see how it relates to stance and self-presentation:

17. a. I've studied the Constitution as **a student**, I've taught it as **a teacher**, I've been bound by it as a lawyer and a legislator. b. I took an oath to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution **as Commander-in-Chief**, and **as a citizen, I know** that we must never, ever, turn our back on its enduring principles for expedience sake…We uphold our most cherished values not only because doing so is right, but because it strengthens our country and it keeps us safe.

[on National Security may 21st 2009]

In the above extract, Obama is trying to defend his decision of banning brutal interrogation techniques. In sentences A and B in (17) above, Obama defends his policy by presenting himself as an expert. He emphasises his growing experience through the different social roles *student* and *teacher*. He then turns to his authority as a 'commander-in-chief' and the force of the oath he took to further intensify the authority invested in himself and his responsibility for upholding the American constitution. These different identity constructions represented by different social roles imply the long duration with which Obama has been acquainted with the constitution. Moreover, they make the argument he is presenting seem legitimate, as these constructions show him to be in an authoritative position by virtue of his position as a commander-in-chief, by his oath, and by foregrounding the fact that he is an expert in legislation.

His subjective decision is based on his authority and the knowledge that he uses the inclusive reference *we* to talk on behalf of Americans to express his commitment to the values, which is another form of authority. Therefore, the co-selections of *I know* with *we must* expresses the shared obligation of *we* to follow the values of the constitution as the source of strength and security.

It has been shown that *I know* is co-selected with features of epistemic modality, which imply the certainty of propositions and the prediction of challenges and opposing views. Examining the co-selections of *I know*, we can conclude that by expressing knowledge and awareness, Obama presents himself as a competent and effective leader, which is considered a self-promotion strategy of self- presentation.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the expression of stance and self-presentation through investigating the patterns associated with the self-pronominal reference pronouns *I* and *we*. This study focused on expressions combining these pronouns with two highly frequent and statistically significant lexical collocates *believe* and *know*. Focusing on these two for the reasons and justifications provided in this chapter has enabled me to provide a comprehensive insight into the way first pronominal references are used by Obama to express attitudes and beliefs in a way that relates to his self-presentation and constructing his identity as a commander-in-chief.

The present analysis reveals that the choice of these pronouns affects the meaning with which the patterns of their collocates are associated. The analysis reveals that, while *we believe* is co-selected with deontic modality expressions such as *should* and assertions expressing stance on the part of himself and his party, *I believe* is co-selected with cause conjunctions, whose proposition is self-presentation expression. Conversely, *we know* is co-selected with epistemic expressions and predications, while *I know* is co-selected with prediction and cause expressions implying the certainty of one's own political competence. Having examined the role of evaluation and stance in expressing attitudes applying corpus tools, we move towards further qualitative analysis to examine stance and evaluation in narrating personal stories in Chapter 6.

Chapter Six
Analysing Narratives in Obama's Speeches

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of selected narratives focusing on immigration texts and election campaign texts in The Obama Corpus. It focuses on tense variation and speech representation as linguistic features of narrative performance as outlined in Chapter 3. The main findings of the present chapter are summarised as follows: shifts into habitual

present performs an evaluative function of an event in the story world addressed to the audience in the interactional world and it can be found in the abstract or external evaluation. Cognitive verbs such as *know* and *think* are used as indicators of subjectivity in both internal and external evaluation of narrated events in free clauses. Historical present also performs evaluative function and appears in restricted clauses in progressive aspect indicating the overlap on time between two actions. Shifts into narrative past tense also performs evaluative function and appears in contexts narrating unexpected event within the complication. Generic and nominalising actions are used to express negative evaluation of an opponent based on an earlier premise. These findings can bring new insights into the way politicians construct arguments in self and other presentation since nominalising negative actions implies comparing the self to an external other. This is achieved in association with stance taking and evaluative commentaries provided by politicians as strategies of positive self and negative other presentation.

The analysis is presented in section 6.2, which is divided into two sections. The first is tense variation sub-classified into two parts: the use of the habitual present tense and historical present. The second section provides a clear insight into the way speech and thought are presented in Obama's speeches. The narratives included in the Appendix are extracted from 14 speeches, five of which are immigration texts and the others are election speeches – all of them are addressed to public and multiple audiences. The narratives are identified by coding extracts following Ochs and Capps' (2001) framework components of narrative structure. Section 6.3 provides a detailed analysis of the linguistic features stated earlier in relation to identity construction and self-presentation exemplifying the use of HP. 6.4 presents the evaluative function of reporting discourse in relation to identity construction and self and other presentation. The chapter ends with a summarising conclusion in section 6.5.

6.2 Tense Variations 'That's who we are': (Simple Present)

The selected narratives involve clauses where the speaker makes shifts in tense from past into habitual present tense. Conventionally, the present tense is used to relate events that are always in effect and happening. It is rhetorically significant as the tense of shared truths, of presumptive human behaviour (e.g., people want a better life for their children), and of prediction with a suitable conditional clause (Fahnestock, 2011:155). In this

section I include the present separately from the historical present in order to show that some narratives include shifts into habitual present. At the start of the analysis, I analyse cases of tense shifting from past to habitual present tense. Examining the narratives, I have found that there are cases where the speaker shifts from past tense to present tense when adding evaluative comments.

Example 1 below shows that Obama changes the tense from past into present following a generic or habitual story. Generic stories have no specific agent. They have 'you' and 'one' as referential choices that represent generalised actors (Georgeakopoulou 2010: 126). Obama is narrating a habitual story with specific characters. The tense shifts in an embedded evaluation following the narrated event:

Example 1

1. And I saw it just the other day in Mentor, Ohio, where a father told the story of his 8-year-old daughter whose long battle with leukemia nearly cost their family everything had it not been for health care reform passing just a few months before the insurance company was about to stop paying for her care.

2. I had an opportunity to not just talk to the father but meet this incredible daughter of his.

3. (a) And when he spoke to the crowd, (b) listening to that father's story, (c) every parent in that room <u>had tears</u> in their eyes because <u>we knew</u> that little girl could be our own.

4. And <u>I know</u> that every American <u>wants</u> her future to be just as bright.

5. <u>That's who we are</u>.

6. <u>That's the country I'm so proud to lead as your president.</u>

Election Night, Chicago (Nov 7th, 2012)

Sentence 1 is complex. The coordinator *and* is linking the orientation in the first sentence to the abstract that goes before to which anaphoric reference is made to by the pronoun *it*. Here, *it* refers to the American spirit of unity which is mentioned earlier in the text. The sentence involves the orientation stating the time *(the other day)*, place (Ohio) and

the characters (the father and daughter) that have faced the complication as an unexpected event (no more health care payments from their insurance company) which is resolved by the Obama healthcare reform. The extra information provided in sentence 2 self-presents Obama's altruistic image as being close to people and caring for the sick. The resolution appears in sentence 3 which is composed of core narrative clauses with internal evaluation woven into their structure. Toolan (2001: 155) refers to this type of evaluation as including three types:

1. intensifiers (quantifiers, repetitions, ritual utterances);
2. comparators (including negative expressions, modality and modulations, futurity);
3. correlatives (progressives, appended participles, double appositives and attributers and adverbial adjectives); and
4. explicatives: clauses that qualify or give reasons for the main events reported introduced by *while, although, since, because* and so on.

Clauses 3 (a) and (b) are temporally anchored to (c) because the time at which *every parent had tears* is dependent on when the events in (a) and (b) happened. Clause (b) is understood to have an implied explicative. This clause is reproduced below:

(while) listening to that father's story, every parent in that room had tears…

The implied 'while' with *when* in clause (a) and *because* in clause (c) are meant to 'enhance the tellability by specifying the extent or motivation for a particular action' (Toolan, 2001: 157). The inclusive pronoun in *we knew* creates togetherness and a feeling of sharing problems. Using *we* depicts him as a good politician who cares about the people in the nation and that he is involved (Karapetjana 2011: 3).

The shift in sentence 4 follows the telling of a habitual story and serves as a transition point towards making identity claims in the last two lines. Sentences 4 and 5 present an external evaluation marked by the shift in tense. The shift from *had tear* and *we knew* to *I know* appears in a context where Obama breaks the flow of the story-telling itself to address the listeners directly, expressing his evaluation of the reported event. *I know* marks what appears to be an emotionally laden topic; it points to something about Obama's current assessment of the event that he describes or his negotiation of how to

tell the event to his listeners. Fetzer (2008: 6) argues that cognitive verbs tend to co-occur with other linguistic devices to express commitment and function as a self-presentation strategy. Similarly, *know* provides an evaluation on the part of the speaker as the use of subjective lexis points to the speaker's evaluation of the event.

This evaluation is usually not different from the more extended evaluation in separate clauses and leads to a distinction between 'the narrating self and the experiencing self, split into latter-day evaluations and on-the-scene reactions and emotions (Fludernik, 1991: 393). *Know* allows the speaker to intensify the commitment to the truth of the proposition Obama makes about the emotional reaction of *every parent* and *every American*. *That's* in sentence 5 is referring back to the emotional response of *every American* to define the American identity. These identity claims are produced in relation to the story's evaluation as they provide spaces for co-construction between the teller and the listeners and for an emphasis on a certain moral frame. The narrative provides an introduction to the definition of two axes: who we are and who I am in sentence 5, as the American identity is defined in terms of the emotional response illustrated by the underlined phrases in clause 3c. In sentence 6, Obama is bridging back to the present and relates to the abstract by making claims about his social role as a parent, his institutional identity and the identity of the nation as a whole in reference to himself as a president. The analysis of the above extract shows that the tense shift occurs following the core narrative clauses, referring to the unplanned event and the emotional response to it, to mark an external evaluation. The significance of this findings lies in the fact that *I know* functions as both internal and external evaluation of an event in the story and performs the function of presenting the national self. This indicates that in narratives this expression functions differently as shown in Chapter 5.

Example 2 reveals that the shift from past into present follows complicating actions in 1-3 below:

Example 2

1. So they travelled a lot, and José joined his parents picking cucumbers and strawberries.

2. And he missed part of school when they returned to Mexico each winter.

3. José didn't learn English until he was 12 years old.

4. But you know what, José was good at math and he liked math.

5. And the nice thing is that math was the same in every school, and it's the same in Spanish as it is in English.

(Text 8: El Paso, Texas immigration text 10th May 2011)

The shift occurs from simple past tense into the simple present in 5 where the speaker breaks the flow of the events to report a general fact. In 4, Obama interrupts the narrative with the phrase *you know what* to express his evaluation of the protagonist as a talented person. The phrase *you know what* functions as a booster of the speaker's commitment to the proposition made and enhances the validity of the claim and the tellability of the story. The positive evaluative expression in 5 *the nice thing* requires shifting the tense from *was* into present *is* to mark breaking the frame of the story-telling and addressing the listeners. The importance of evaluative expressions in natural narratives has been invoked in a number of studies including Schiffrin (1981) and Silva-Corvalán (1983), with regard to tense and especially tense-switching. Through this evaluation, I think, Obama is implying that rejecting his immigration reform policy means the country will lose talented persons such as the protagonist just because they speak a different language and come from a different country.

In narrowing the gap between the 'us and them' dichotomies, Obama defines the American nation, in terms of the American Creed, as a nation of immigrants. He seems to draw on the 'One language, one nation' ideology driven by many national projects (Pillar, 2011: 261). Obama is referring to this ideology as a national identity can be constructed based on unifying myths (Giddens, 1987) other than speaking the same language. This evaluation is used to delegitimise the ideology stated earlier indicating that there are talents that can be brought into the country and language is not an essential condition for earning citizenship. This claim is based on the way Obama legitimises his immigrant reform in immigration speeches. Obama focuses on the way immigrants are brought to the country as innocent *kids* to decriminalise them, and on their socialisation, claiming that they are brought up as Americans as stated in the discussion presented in Chapter 7.

6.3 'I know you may have heard this story but …': Historical Present (HP)

In this section, I aim to examine which clause type the historical present alternates with the past and how it relates to self-presentation. In order to achieve this goal, a structural analysis is required. As above, I am following Labov's framework of structural analysis of clauses in narratives to trace the tense shift according to clause type and in the components of the narrative. I have chosen the third text in the Appendix (Des Moines 2012). It should be noted that this text is an election campaign speech and addressed to the public crowds on the intersection of East 4th and East Locust Streets. Obama made an emotional plea to his supporters not to "give up on change" as he staged his final re-election rally in Iowa. The story he narrates in this text shows the crowd how Edith's (councilwoman from Greenwood) actions managed to change the atmosphere of the room where he was holding a meeting in Greenwood. I have chosen this text because, reading the selected narratives, I find that it involves HP tense and it is an important story as it reveals Obama's personal experience that he repeats on several occasions as the title of this section suggests. At the beginning, I identify the verbs occurring in HP form and classify them into their process types to see which group occurs in both HP and narrative past and which do not. Although this is examined in one text and it may not reflect the way these verbs behave in other texts, it may provide a useful starting point for research in tense variation. Table 6.1 below shows the verbs occurring in HP in the Des Moines text.

Table 6.1 Verbs shifting into historical present in the selected narrative (Des Moines 2012)

Movement (action)	**Mental**	**Senses**	**Habitual**	**Other**
land	think	hear	get coffee	grinning
taps	feel	look	get dressed	smiling

drive	know	looking	go downstairs	showing me up
drive out			wake up	peering at
pull up			take a shower	
blows open				
goes				
travelling		asking		
dragging				
walking	wondering			
shaking hands	thinking			
running	feeling			
making my way				

The sets of groups mentioned in Table 6.1 above are interrelated. Most of the verbs are verbs depicting movement, mental states and describing people and their actions. Therefore, there may be a relation between tense choice and process type involved. Thus far, I have stated that the historical present occurs in linguistic contexts that have a present time understanding and that it can have a progressive form if the event involves the present moment of speaking, whether in the story world or the social one. Fludernik (1991: 368) states that the historical present occurs only in the 'complicating action' section of the narrative and it is rarely found in 'abstract, (embedded) orientation, or coda.' The following analysis attempts to identify the occurrence of tense shift in the narrative components as specified by Labov.

Abstract

As stated in 6.2 above, the abstract signals that the story is about to begin and brings to the listener's attention that the teller has a story to tell. Toolan (2001: 150) prefers to say that it outlines or advertises that a story will follow rather than saying that the teller intends to tell a story, because one person may produce the abstract and leave the floor to someone else to tell the whole story. In the present study, Obama is the only person who delivers his speeches; therefore, the following extract advertises that Obama himself has a story to tell:

Example 3

1. I got a powerful reminder of this myself on our last campaign.

2. (a) Folks in Iowa, I know you may have heard this story 2(b) but it was early in the primaries, and we were still way down in the polls.

3. I think this office had just finally gotten the heat turned on.

4. And at the time, I was still competing in South Carolina – it was one of the early primary states. And I really wanted the endorsement of a state representative down there.

In 1, Obama starts telling the story and indicates in 2(a) that this is not the first time he has told it. The coordinator *but* in 2(b) indicates that Obama has more to add to it and a friendly request and insistence upon the tellability of the narrative whose start is marked with the narrative past in *it was.* Sentence 3 starts with the present tense *I think* but this is not historical present. Obama uses it to introduce a clause describing an event in the past tense *had just finally gotten the heat turned on*; *I think* indicates his mitigation of the truth of the proposition made at the moment of speaking. Then he uses narrative past in the clauses that follow. So from 2(b), the story starts in past tense and there is no shift into historical present tense. This supports Fludernik's (1991: 368) claim stated earlier that HP is rarely found in the abstracts. The rest of the abstract is analysed in Example 17 in the speech representation (section 6.4).

Orientation

After describing the first context in which Obama asked for endorsement and made his promise (reported in past tense), Obama shifts into the present, indicating the shift into a

different scene with different time and place (embedded orientation). The following extract marks the beginning of a new scene:

Example 4

1. (a) So it's about a month later, (b) and I'm traveling back to South Carolina.

2. (a) And we flew in late – (b) I think we were coming from Iowa.

3. We had been campaigning non-stop, traveling all through towns and having town hall meetings and shaking hands.

4. And in between, I'm making phone calls, asking people for support.

5. And so we land in Greenwood, South Carolina, at around midnight.

6. We get to the hotel about 1 o'clock in the morning.

7. I am wiped out.

8. I'm exhausted.

9. And I'm dragging my bags to my room.

10. Back then we didn't fly on Air Force One. And the accommodations were a little different.

Sentence 1 in the above extract orients the listeners to a new time and place and is marked with a shift into historical present. Another shift appears with *I think* in clause 2(b) introducing a clause with a past tense verb *were coming from Iowa*. Clause 2(b) is a free clause that can be displaced without disrupting the event sequence as it provides background information to the narrative. Therefore, the shift from the narrative past tense *flew in* into the present *I think* is justified because it shows that Obama is addressing the listeners rather than continuing the story. This is in line with the tense shift noted in Example 3 above. This finding is significant for the purpose of the study as it shows that cognitive verbs (e.g. *think, wonder*) are used in present tense when they are used in free clauses that are meant to add background information to the story.

Sentences 3 and 4 are temporally anchored because *I am making phone calls* and *asking people for support* overlap with the event in 3. Thus, 4 is a restricted clause

because it cannot be removed without changing the semantic interpretation. We can see that it involves a shift from *had been* in 3 into *I'm making phone calls, asking people for support*, providing the image of a busy figure working towards his goal for the sake of his people. This finding further illustrates that the tense shifts into present progressive in restricted clauses when providing background information. As noted, the tense shifts from past into progressive to indicate that the two actions overlap in time. If we omit 3 and 4, we can see that 5 and 6 are a continuation of the narrative that started with 2(a) *we flew in late*. Clauses 5 and 6 take the listeners back to the orientation. The underlined verbs *land* and *get to* (Table 6.1) cluster at the beginning of new scene in a new place (*Greenwood)* and time *(at around midnight)*; they are action verbs implying movement with historical present form. Sentences 7 and 8 are coordinated clauses whose reported event time overlaps with the verb in clause 9. The present progressive *dragging* in 9 denotes movement and scheduled activity (Table 6.1). Clause 9 is temporally ordered, but not strictly; that is, its displacement is restricted by *and*. It can be placed before 8 and 7 but not any further because its time event overlaps with these adjacent clauses (8, 7). This clause is part of the narrative and different from the progressive in 4 which adds extra information to the narrative. We can note that in both examples the present progressive occurs in a restricted clause. With clause 9, the progressive is introducing unexpected events in another setting as in Example 5 below.

As a significant finding in political communication, It is noted here that the tense shift in sentences such as these create interpersonal involvement (self and listeners) through which hearers can insert themselves into an event and experience what took place through sharing with the speaker contextualised cues (Schiffrin, 1997: 41). The reference time of the progressive verb *dragging* includes the moment of speaking in the story world. Schiffrin (1981: 57) states that action verbs occur in progressive form in restricted clauses, leading to 'complicating action clauses whose event time is limited to an overlap with a few adjacent clauses'. The action verbs in the example above and the progressive verb *dragging* are followed by the narration of the unexpected event in the extract that follows, which includes the physical and emotional reaction of the narrator. If we omit sentence 10 as it provides background information and is not part of the narration, we can see that the progressive verb *dragging* is followed by the narration of the unexpected event:

Example 5

> And just as I'm about to walk into the room, one of my staff taps me on the shoulder to say, "Excuse me, Senator" --I was a senator back then. "We're going to have to wake up and be on the road at 6:30 a.m. in the morning." And I said, "What?" "Why?" "Well, you made this promise to go to Greenwood, and it's several hours away." And you know, Iowa, I try to keep my promises.

In the example above, Obama introduces another setting of the unexpected event. The tense of the narration is shifted into historical present as the underlined verbs *I'm* and *taps* show. As an action verb, *taps* describes the relationship that exists between the employer (Senator) and a member of the staff. This finding is significant as the shift and the semantic implication of the verb is meant to draw an image of the managerial figure of the president who listens and acts collaboratively with people of less powerful positions such as his staff members. This interpersonal relationship is extended from the employer/employee in the story world into the social world, locating the institutional identity of Obama as a president with whom people are acquainted through the use of *you know* as a promise-keeper politician and as a maintainer of personal connection with his staff and people. He uses a discourse marker *you know* in order to signal a breakage in the flow of events and at the same time, in a self- evaluative attempt, the speaker tries to assure his credibility in what promises he made to his nation. The emphatic use of *you know* highlights the self-identity claim proposed as a promise keeper and indicates the familiarity of the people with the teller.

Complicating Action

Thus far, we can note that the shifts into historical present tend to cluster at the beginning of each setting introduced in the text and in the complication. The following example, a continuation to Example 5 above, which can be labelled as unexpected events and

complicating actions, includes a shift from historical present to past and the aspect is further shifted to perfective in the last three sentences:

Example 6

1. So a few hours later, I wake up –
2. and I'm feeling terrible.
3. I think a cold is coming on.
4. And I open up the curtains to try to get some light to wake me up, but it's pouring down rain.
5. Terrible storm.
6. And I take a shower and get some coffee, and I open up the newspaper
7. and there's a bad story about me in The New York Times.
8. I was much more sensitive at that time to bad stories.
9. I've become more accustomed to these now.

The shifts in the last three successive sentences follow reporting habitual events in 1-6 (see Table 17): taking a shower, having coffee while reading a newspaper. These actions along with the use of *you know* draws the attention to the personalisation and conversationalisation of political discourse as Obama here shares very personal details with the people. Then an unexpected event functioning as an implied complicating action within the narrative leads the speaker to shift from the historical present *there is a bad story* to the past tense *I was much more sensitive*, reporting his reaction towards the same event in that past state of affairs and extending the events to the present perfect *I have become more accustomed* where the speaker's reaction towards the same event has changed. The perfect tense is a grammatical form used to describe a past event with present relevance, or a present state resulting from a past situation. These events mark the change of the narrator's state and position over time by shifting from the HP into the past. This shift is a significant finding since inserting this self-evaluative comment in the middle of a story plays a role in presenting the self positively in a dramatically narrated extract to maximise its effect on the listeners and to keep the image of the protagonist who keeps promises in the story associated with the teller at the present time. In this way,

both roles – the narrator and the protagonist, are attached to the positive image of the future president who braves the unknown to keep a promise.

Let us look at the last sentences where this series of shifts takes place:

I open the newspaper and there is a bad story about me. I was more sensitive at that time to bad stories. I have become more…

In the above sentence, the historical present *there is* alternates with the narrative past *I was.* Schiffrin (1981: 56) shows that 'the shift from historical present to past is more frequent when clauses are introduced by temporal conjunctions… it is only when tense switches from HP to P that events are separated'. The shift in this example is justified in relation to Schiffrin's quotation in two respects: first, although there is no temporal conjunction in the above example, the adverbial *at that time* indicates the reported action as taking place at the same corresponding time in which the negative story is discovered which in turn maximises the intensity of the complication producing the climatic emotional effect on the recipient in the interactional world. Then, another external evaluation is reported in present perfect tense to depict the image of a powerful experienced self. Second, Schiffrin (ibid.) further indicates that evidence for the same conclusion (which does NOT hold for conjoined clauses) is the relationship between tense- switching and the subject of the clause – if the subject is different from that of the prior clause, tense is more likely to switch from historical present to past, but not the other way around. Although the sentences are not conjoined, the events reported do happen at a corresponding time, in addition to the different subjects of the clauses which justify the shift in tense from historical present to past. The last sentence with its verb in the perfective aspect serves to connect the self-evaluative event *become more accustomed…* with main narrative event reported and the extended event *I was more sensitive to…* Schiffrin (Ibid: 50) indicates that aspect is a connector that relates one narrative event to another. In these three sentences, all the events to an extent overlap in time.

In the following extract, it is noted that the progressive form co-occurs with the present form even when the actions in the present tense have a time reference prior to the time of the speaking; again it introduces the narration of an unexpected action:

Example 7

1. And finally I get dressed, I go downstairs and I'm walking out to the car, and my umbrella blows open -- and I'm soaked.

2. So by the time I'm in the car I'm wet and I'm mad and I'm still kind of sleepy.

In the extract above, the shift into present progressive aspect *I'm walking* follows the habitual activities in *get dressed* and *go downstairs* (see Table 6.1). The successive flow of the reported actions is presented in a number of coordinated clauses in 2. The action of the event time in the progressive form overlaps with the unexpected event *my umbrella blows open* and the third clause *I'm soaked* to describe the result of the preceding action. The emotional state and psychological reaction towards the unplanned event *I am mad* is provided in sentence 2.

In Example 8 below, we can see that the inspection *I'm looking around* occurs in a restricted clause whose time overlaps with the perception process in *I don't hear a lot going on.* Note the shift into present progressive *looking around* and the simple present *I don't hear a lot* from the present and past tense verbs which denote movement and actions *pull up* and *walked in* and from *walked in* into *there are 20 people*. This means that the shift into historical present accompanies the introduction of new setting and new characters.

Example 8

1. And so we drive, and we drive, and we drive, and we drive.

2. And finally we get to Greenwood –

3. although you don't know you're in Greenwood right away because there are not a lot of tall buildings around.

4. And we pull up to a small field house, and I walked in, and I'm looking around.

5. I don't hear a lot going on.

6. And the state representative said she was going to organize a little meeting for us,

7. and we walked in and there are about 20 people there.

8. And they're all, kind of wet, too, and they don't look very excited to see me.

The repetition of *drive* in 1 implies the long distance and hardship of the journey and serves as a transition to a new scene. Though the above extract starts with the present tense, clause 3 is added to communicate a generic narrative describing the city of Greenwood. This performs the function of an external evaluation as the speaker breaks the flow of the story to address the listeners and it provides extra information about the narrative. The generic clause indicates a claim on Obama's part about his inability to recognise the place immediately, which communicates indirectly his readiness to get that far for a common and noble purpose. The generic clause seems to back up such evaluation. The underlined sentences represent an internal evaluation of the situation as they provide extra information that contributes to the point of the story narrated. Thus, the shift from the past of an action verb into the negated present tense of *hear* in 5 communicates Obama's evaluation as he describes the setting. Toolan (2001: 156) classifies negation expressions as a sub-division of internal evaluation devices called 'comparators'. He further states that 'comparators evaluate indirectly by drawing attention away from what actually happened by alluding to what might have but did not happen'. In 7, the verb *walked in* is repeated and the tense shifts into present *there are* when describing new characters. The intensifier *all* in 8 provides a further direct evaluation with the expression of negation *they do not look very excited.* To enhance the point previously stated, the shift in tense occurs when the narrator provides an external evaluation and when he uses internal evaluative devices such as the ones in 5 and 7. Sentence 5 is a restricted clause – it cannot be moved without affecting the sequence of the narrative. Sentences 7 and 8 are narrative clauses with a temporal juncture. Schiffrin (1981: 59) labels clauses such as these as internal evaluative clauses. The historical present in these clauses facilitates presenting events as if they were occurring at that moment, and enables the listeners to hear for themselves what happened, and interpret the significance of those events for the experience. The discussion presented so far adds to the significance of the vivid effect the historical present may have on listeners and supports the claim proposed by Fludernik (1991: 367) that the historical present has 'one particular meaning and [it] additionally impl[ies] that whenever the context is specified, the present tense must occur'.

In Example 9 below, the speaker produces a short narrative describing his reaction and the way he deals with the situational context in that small room with a few people who *do not look excited*. Sentence 2 is a narrative one with temporally ordered dependent clauses. Note that the time of the action verb *making my way* in 2(a) is present progressive overlaps with the time of the sense verb *hear* in 2(b).

Example 9

1. A. But I'm running for President, so I do what I'm supposed to do – 1(b)and I'm shaking hands, I say, "How do you do? Nice to meet you." 2(a) And I'm making my way around the room, 2(b) and suddenly I hear this voice cry out behind me: "Fired up."

Greeting people is represented, in the above example, as an expected action on Obama's part as he is running for president and must introduce himself to people in that setting. This action reports Obama's attempt to solve the unexpected behaviour reported in Example 8 above specifically in clauses 5 and 7 where it seems that not much was prepared to receive Obama and the 20 people who did not seem excited. Therefore, he tries to approach and greet them based on the evaluation he develops in these two clauses.

Through narrating the attempt, Obama is situating or constructing his own identity as a campaigning politician according to the way he portrays himself in the interactional world. He is transforming his knowledge of the social world and his own experience through performing his identity. He reflects on greeting people as a normal way of creating rapport with the public. His image as a campaigner is illustrated in the narrative through *How do you do? Nice to meet you* which performs a categorisation function as it depicts social behaviour, illustrating a meta-discursive comment and giving a concrete form of how Obama and others expect him to behave as a politician running for the presidency. This finding implies that such action serves to function as self-aggrandisement (Labov and Waletzky 1967: 38), showing himself in a favourable position as compared to the people he met. The progressive form in this extract serves as an evaluative device, visualising the way the speaker views himself as situated within an ongoing interactional context. Not to forget that it breaks the sequence of actions, calling the listeners' attention to that part of the narrative indicating that it has some connection with the evaluative point (Labov, 1972: 374).

A different type of embedded evaluation is accompanied by the shifts in tense in the example below:

Example 10

1. I look around, I turned behind me – there's this small woman.

2. She's about 60 years old; looks like she just came from church –

3. she got a big church hat.

4. And she's looking at me, kind of peering at me, and she's grinning, smiling, looking happy.

5. Turns out she's a city councilwoman from Greenwood – who also moonlights as a private detective.

Sentence 1 consists of two coordinated clauses with a shift in tense from present to past. Note that sense verb *look* (see Table 6.1) appears in its present tense which indicates that sense verbs tend to have the present forms when describing setting and evaluation in the text, as in *I do not hear a lot going on* and *and I am looking around* in Example 7 above. This is true of the underlined clause above. Action and movement verbs, on the other hand, may take past and historical present construction depending on the context in which they are introduced. Take, for example, the point made earlier when they cluster at the beginning of new settings and scenes, such as *drive, pull up* and *taps,* or when the narrator describes the appearance of new characters in the scene as in the second part of sentences 1-3 and 5 in the extract above. When describing the character *this small woman,* the progressives *looking at, peering at, grinning, smiling,* and *looking* describe the woman's successive facial actions in a single dependent clause. When the progressives are used in such a structure, they are considered as internal evaluation devices called 'correlatives' (Schiffrin 1981: 59), as they perform the function of emphasising the simultaneity of distinct action (Toolan, 2001: 156). They align an event with other events occurring at the same time (Labov, 1972: 387).

As stated earlier, Obama shifts into historical present tense when narrating a new scene, or describing himself or other characters in the story. Similar findings have been evident in a study by Leung (2008), who studies the narrative function and verbal aspects

of the historical present in the fourth Gospel. Leung (2008: 713) observes that historical present examples cluster at the opening and closing sections of the story on the one hand, and that shift into historical present accompanying the appearance of each main character in the story on the other hand. Leung's study results categorise historical present verbs, among which are verbs indicating motions and movement.

Evaluation

The following extract illustrates the achievement of the main point of the story. It describes the repercussion of the psychological and physiological response to the complication. Obama describes the effect of Edith's action in changing his state of demotivation in a successive series of independent clauses in 1-3. His response is reflected in using Edith's words *Fired up, ready to go* in the coordinated clauses in 1.

Example 11

1. After a few minutes, (a) I'm feeling kind of fired up. (b) I'm feeling like I'm ready to go

2. So I start joining in the chant, and my staff starts joining in the chant.

3. And somehow I feel pretty good.

4. And we go on to talk about the lives of the people in the room, and their families and their struggles and their hopes for their kids and their grandkids.

5. And we drive out and it's still raining, but it doesn't seem so bad.

6.(a) <u>And we go to our next stop, and for the rest of the day, (b) even after we left Greenwood</u>, even though we still weren't getting any big crowds anyplace, even though people still couldn't pronounce my name, I felt good.

Clauses 1 (a) and 1(b) are coordinate clauses with the present progressive verb *feeling* which belongs to the category of mental verbs (see Table 6.1) and describes the change of the inner state of Obama, the consequences of which are further described in 4 and

5. Clause 3 contains its simple present form with the same usage but it is a free clause as it can be placed anywhere in the text without changing the events. In 4, *we* recalls the sense of collaboration and the achievement of the aim of the visit. In clause 6, the historical present alternates with the narrative past *left* because the events in 6(a) and 6(b) are separated by the temporal conjunction *even after,* implying the separation of the events in the narrative.

Resolution and Coda

Resolution provides further elaboration following the complication narrating what finally happened while the coda (in Example 12 below) is meant to mark the end of the story and provides a bridge back to the present situation. The following extract marks the end of the story with the proximal deixis *here* in sentence 1 below:

Example 12

1. Now, here's the end of the story, though.

2. We knew we were coming back to Des Moines for the last campaign rally I'll ever do for me.

3. And so we were getting kind of sentimental.

4. And we called up Edith Childs.

5. And we said, why don't you come on up?

6. We said, why don't you come on up; we'll fly you up from South Carolina and you can do this chant one more time, just for old good-time sake.

7. It's like getting the band back together again.

8. And you know what Edith said?

9. She said, I'd love to see you, but I think we can still win North Carolina, so I'm taking a crew into North Carolina to knock on doors on Election Day – I don't have time just to be talking about it. I've got to knock on some doors. I've got to turn out the vote. I'm still fired up, but I've got work to do.

10. And that shows you what one voice can do.

It can be assumed that *here* ties cohesively to part of the resolution that has been reported before in Example 11 and that it answers the hypothetical question in sentence 8 attached as function of the resolution in the narrative. The rest of the resolution is narrated in the sentences that follow and are narratively presented in terms of their events. They are all narrated in past tense except clause 7 – it is not clear whether it is addressed to the listeners as a comment or a continuation of the reported speech in 6. Although there are no quotation marks enclosing the speech, we can tell that clause 6 is representing free direct speech because there is no shift in pronouns and tense. It should be noted that the selected texts in the present study are originally written to be 'delivered' texts and here they are analysed as they appeared on the White House website. Therefore, the ambiguity arises because of the full stop at the end of clause 6. However, we can conclude based on the preceding discussion that it is part of the reported utterance for three reasons:

1. When addressing the audience, Obama shifts into present using pragmatic particles such as *you know* and *I think* as shown earlier in Examples 3 and 5.
2. The pronoun *it* is referring back to the request made in the speech reported earlier.
3. The displacement of clause 7 makes it restricted. As the analysis has already shown that the tense shifts into present progressive in restricted clauses, the clause has no shift in tense because it appears to be part of the reported utterance preceding it.

The same argument applies to the underlined sentences following the reporting clause in sentence 9. The distal deixis *that* in sentence 10 refers back to the resolution reported above and locates the resolution at a distance from Obama and his current situation where he is delivering the speech. It bridges the resolution element with the present moment to denote the current time of Obama as a participant in a conversation addressing the listeners.

6.4 Speech and Thought Presentation in Obama's Narratives

The aim of this section is to investigate how speech presentation functions in foregrounding and backgrounding information in the narratives identified in election and immigration texts and how they contribute to the social actors' representation. Another

aim is to examine the textual realisation of speech representation to determine whether they are interpretable in relation to the linguistic context of the reported utterances. For example, quotation marks are used to enclose reported statements but there are some utterances which have no quotation marks and are introduced with no reporting clauses in the texts. Lack of quotation marks and reporting clauses produce ambiguity such as the case noted in Example 11 earlier. This requires careful examination to see whether their omission is interpretable with regard to the linguistic context in which they appear.

In conducting the present analysis, two steps are followed: first, I identify the kind of utterance presentation, whether speech or thought; second, I classify each categorisation of these according to the classification of Leech and Short (2007) clarifying where necessary the reason for each decision. The scale of speech presentation is connected to the narrator's representation of action and speech as follows:

1. Narrator's representation of action: NRA.
2. Narrator's representation of speech: NRS.
3. Narrator's representation of speech acts: NRSA.
4. (Free) Indirect speech: (F)IS.
5. (Free) Direct Speech: (F)DS.

I am interested in the last three of these but an analysis of the first two is embedded in some extracts because NRA presents events, states and actions and these are not a strict part of speech presentation (Semino and Short, 2004: 10). Following Leech and Short's (2007) classification, I add thought representation including: Free Direct Thought (F)DT as it bears resemblance (F)DS. The analysis of speech and thought representation is presented below.

6.4.1 Representation of speech acts (NRSA)

NRSA is speech action, performed by saying things (e.g. 'He ordered the prisoner's execution', 'He stated his demands'). It tells us about the speech act value of the utterance and sometimes its topic (Semino and Short, 2005: 12). The narratives in this study offer two interesting examples of speech act representation. NRSA is the presentation category connecting the speech presentation scale with the straightforward narration of action. In

example 12 below, Obama represents a previous event (last night's presidential debate) and provides his evaluation of what Romney said by NRSA. Through this evaluation, Obama presents a favourable image of himself in comparison to Romney – the image of the promise keeper in comparison to the image of a man with unstable and false positions.

Example 12

1. Now, some of you may have heard, last night we had our first debate.

2. And I just flew in from Denver,

3. and I was telling folks there,

4. when I got on the stage, I met this very spirited fellow <u>who claimed to be Mitt Romney</u>.

5. But I know it couldn't have been Mitt Romney – because the real Mitt Romney has been running around the country for the last year promising $5 trillion in tax cuts that favor the wealthy. [Text 2a]

Sentence 1 provides a transition and a topical shift linking the present time adverbial *now* with a past tense verb *had*. This combination advertises that Obama has a story to tell (Abstract). The Orientation follows in sentences 1-4, informing the listeners about the time (*last night)* and characters (*we* – Obama and Romney). The event is marked by NRA in *we had our first debate* followed by NRS in clause 3 *I was telling folks* and the topic of the represented speech appears in 4 *When I got on the stage, I met this very spirited fellow who claimed to be.* Sentence 4 marks the complicating action which involves narrating the debate event. Thus, in the first sentence, there is an NRA and in 3 there is NRS merely indicating that a speech is uttered with reference to a general topic.

The second half of sentence 4 involves NRSA *who claimed to be Mitt Romney*. This representation is significant in terms of naming social actors and the attributes associated with the presentation of a significant other in discourse. This clause implies that Obama is not sure of the identity of *the guy on the stage* because, as he states later in the texts, Romney changes his positions in relation to education and tax cuts. In this representation, Obama does not give Romney a voice. He is reporting and evaluating Romney's change of attitudes involved in many reported utterances in this single

representation. Here, *claimed* implies multiple utterances in which Romney has contradicted himself. Thus, *who claimed to be Mitt Romney* does not imply that Romney claimed who he is in the debate as his identity is already known. The illocutionary force of *claimed* makes it appear as a NRSA, indicating a transparent interpretation and representation on what 'is assumingly said' is not identical with Romney's previously reported policies as in 5. Here, Obama is controlling the propositional content of the report and his choice of the verb *claimed* is meant to affect the way the narrative is received and interpreted by listeners. Obama is distancing himself from believing Romney.

Obama explicitly justifies his evaluation presented in NRSA in the argument that follows in 5 which ends with the sentence: *Governor Romney may dance around his positions, he may do a tap dance and a two-step, but if you want to be President, then you owe the American people the truth*. This sentence functions as the coda in Labov's terminology as it provides a bridge to the present moment. It implies two interpretations:

1. *you* indicates Romney's presence in the same setting and Obama switches from addressing the audience to directly addressing Romney. The present tense in the conditional clause dramatises Obama's own definition of what a president should do – *you owe the American people the truth*. Here, Obama implies that he is committed to the truth in comparison to Romney who, based on the argument Obama presents in the previous speech, is not.
2. *you* here is generic; Fahnestock (2011: 281) states that *you* invites the audience to imagine himself or herself in a particular situation; 'it has the effect of substituting the listeners for the speaker' so that the audience fills the president role.

Obama is constructing himself as honest and trustworthy through directly addressing the opponent and telling the listeners that he is committed to telling the truth.

In Example 13 below, Obama is representing his own speech act of promising to present his credibility in comparison to Romney. *I promised* represented below draws the attention back to a different context at a different time in an attempt towards positive self-presentation:

Example 13

1. Now, Madison, we talked a lot about domestic affairs yesterday. But we're going to have a chance to talk about what's happening abroad as well.

2. Four years ago, I promised to end the war in Iraq, and I did. I said we'd wind down the war in Afghanistan in a responsible way, and we are. [Text 2 b]

In sentence 1, *we talked* is a NRS but Obama does not provide any clear indication of the form and content of the words uttered and what types of speech act were performed during the talk. Perhaps Obama assumes that people have watched the debate and already know what happened. That is why he suppressed the content of the speech assuming that it is 'unimportant from the point of view that is adopted' (Semino and Short, 2004: 70).

Similarly, sentence 2 includes NRSA *I promised* in which Obama narrates a promise he made in 2008 election campaign. NRSA is more indirect than the representation of indirect discourse (ID) as *I promised* merely reports that a speech act has occurred plus a specification of the topic of the speech act (ending the war in Iraq) which is sometimes optional, as claimed by Semino and Short (2004:12). Obama is not reporting the exact words he uttered because the same words may have been uttered differently in different speeches. This representation provides a minimal account of the statement given, thus it is a distancing strategy (Macaulay, 1987: 22) for two reasons: First, Obama does not have to commit himself entirely to what he already said. This is similar to the summarising function of ID when it gives the propositional content of utterances authored by multiple speakers. Here, we have one author and multiple forms of words. Second, the listeners see Obama in the present context and are taken back where they see him as 'an actor in a scene' in 2008. They are given the chance to compare and decide who the best candidate is by thinking of Obama as a promise-keeper.

It is noted that NRSA provides the propositional content of multiple utterances usually indicated and implied in the linguistic context surrounding the speech act (SA) representation. Moreover, we can say that when narrating action or speech, Obama follows that representation with an indication of the topic of the narration – ending war and domestic affairs. More importantly, oscillation between different speech events and depicting events in narratives as in 13 seems to create interpersonal involvements through the listeners' attempts to make sense of the viewpoint as an element of narratives.

6.4.2 Indirect Speech Representation

This section focuses on how Obama reports speech as an indirect strategy to evoke a positive image of the self and a negative one for Romney. Example 14 shows how Obama makes use of a statement made by his opponent in his interviews and meetings about his educational programs and his previous work in a company which creates jobs overseas rather than in the USA:

Example 14

> 1. And yet, the fellow on the stage last night – who looked like Mitt Romney – <u>said he did not know anything about that</u>. It was all news to him.
>
> 2. The real Mitt Romney said that <u>we don't need any more teachers in the classroom</u>.
>
> 3. But the fellow on stage last night, <u>he said he loves teachers</u> – can't get enough of them.
>
> 4. The Mitt Romney we all know invested in companies that were called "pioneers" of outsourcing jobs to other countries.
>
> 5. But the guy on stage last night, he said he'd never heard of tax breaks for companies that shift jobs overseas. Never heard of them.
>
> 6. (a) And he said, if that's true, he must need a new accountant. (b) So now we know for sure that wasn't the real Mitt Romney, because the real Mitt Romney is doing just fine with the accountant that he already has. [Text 2a. Madison 2012 election]

In support of the NRSA *claimed to be Mitt Romney*, Obama is providing, in the complicating action above, an argument to support his doubt about the identity of *The guy (fellow) on the stage*. The underlined part in sentence 1 is an indirect representation of Romney's speech – *said (that) he did not know anything about that',* because of the following syntactic changes:

1. The quotation marks are omitted making the reported utterance dependent on the main clause *he said* (that).

2. The change of the first-person pronoun *I* into the third-person *he* marks the syntactic conversion of the original utterance [I do not know anything about this] into indirect speech.

3. *do not* is changed into the past *did not*.

4. *That* is a deixis [this] is changed into *that* in the reported clause which refers to the fact that Romney has been offering tax cuts in favour of the wealthy.

These changes cause the reported clause to be subordinated to the reporting clause *he said* and lead to indirect representation of speech. The IS representation in 1 is similar to the underlined clause in 5 and is different from the speeches reported in sentences 2 (*Romney said that we don't need any more teachers in the classroom)* and 3 *(he said he loves teachers).* These linguistic choices relate to Obama's strategies of self-enhancement as will be shown in the lines that follow.

The syntactic and deictic distinctions between ID and DS stated earlier are applied to sentences 2 and 3 except the fact that the tense remains unchanged. The reported clause in 1 is made dependent on the reporting one by the subordinating conjunction *that* without shifting the tense. In 3, only the pronoun is converted into third-person reference *he* making the reported clause dependent on the reporting one despite the absence of the conjunction *that*. Examining these two sentences, we can see that Obama tends to report Romney's attitudes in the present tense even when the whole speech is constructed indirectly. This finding is significant because the present tense here performs the same function of historical present. It highlights the attitudes reported and presents Romney's changing positions vividly to listeners. A similar construction is applied in sentence 6 (*And he said, if that's true, he must need a new accountant),* where the subjects of the two clauses forming the reported statement in 6 are changed from *this* into *that* and from *I* into *he* without changing the tense into past *if that's true*.

Thus keeping the present tense serves two purposes: the vividness of the report, and to imply that the claim referred to is true because changing it into a past tense hypothetical if clause makes it appear unreal to listeners. This is further supported in 6(b) which reports Obama's evaluation of the narrated argument *So now we know for sure that wasn't the real Mitt Romney.*

The reporting clause in the extract below involves another example of negative representation:

Example 15

> And at the time, the Republican Congress – and a Senate candidate by the name of Mitt Romney – said that **Bill Clinton's plan would hurt** the economy and kill jobs. Turns out his math was just as bad back then as it is now. Because by the end of President Clinton's second term, America had created 23 million new jobs. [Text 4]

Examining the underlined clause, we can see that the indefinite article *a* in *a Senate candidate* is another way of intensifying Romney's weaker position. Here, the article can imply: first, that Obama is socially distancing himself from Romney; and second, that Obama intends to belittle Romney's presence compared to himself as a desired politician. The indefinite article is used in English to refer to nouns when the listeners or readers do not know which person we are referring to; here the indefinite article highlights Romney's unpopularity.

The Republican's and Romney's speech presents a criticism against the current policy of the Democrats. Obama is counterattacking and provides the first strike through the indefinite article as a preliminary step. In this extract, Obama makes clear the shared agency of the reported statement by *the Republican congress – and a Senate candidate by the name of Mitt Romney*. The use of *the* preceding the party title, followed by the indefinite one preceding Romney's name makes the attack directed against Romney rather than the Republicans. Thus, the definite article gives more weight to the collective identity of Republicans and discriminates against Romney.

Turning to the reported statement, its structure shows that it is introduced by *that*, making it dependent on the reporting one and the tense is converted into past tense *would*. Note that although the content of the report is a reduction of the communicative event in which Clinton's policies are evaluated by the Republicans and Romney, the utterance is reported indirectly by converting the tense into past. This is different from the representation of Romney's attitudes in Example 14 where the tense remains unchanged.

So in this extract, Obama is socially distancing himself from Romney and from the content.

Semino and Short (2004: 79) claim that, in such contexts, indirect speech (IS) focuses on the content rather than the form of the utterances and that they provide summaries of long utterances of multiple speakers. This function enables speakers to represent what many people said on a particular topic. This is reflected in Example 15 because the reporting clause has more than one speaker (The Republicans and Romney) and Obama is providing a summary of the propositional content of their utterances. It seems that the propositional content of the report is more relevant than its form for two reasons: First, Obama is offering Clinton's plans during the campaign and the criticism seems directed against Obama. Second, Obama uses IS with its past time conversion to avoid the vividness that the present tense may have on the listeners in an attempt to highlight the negative qualities of THEM in reference to the Republicans and highlight OUR positive qualities as in Example 14.

Reporting THEIR stance in relation to the US provides an opportunity to delegitimise the reported claim based on facts *because by the end of President Clinton's second term, America had created 23 million new jobs.* Defending Clinton's plans, Obama lists their positive outcomes attributing them to America rather than Clinton. In the italicised clause above, America is the agent of *created* and other actions that represent a dramatic change in the American economy. This shows Obama's position as the national representative of America while Romney is alienated from his own party as the coordinator *and* is used to separate the part (Romney) from the whole (Republicans) and link them as sharing agents to indicate that they are not one.

I will end this section with an interesting example of free indirect speech where the structure of reported speech and action is different from direct and indirect speech presentation. In most cases of IS that we have noted so far, a finite reporting clause introduces the reported clause, but the reported speech is represented differently. In Example 16 below, there is no direct representation of the exact words and their author; therefore, this type of speech presentation is referred to as free indirect speech:

Example 16

> Giving more power back to the biggest banks -- that's not change. Another $5 trillion tax cut that favors the wealthy -- not change. [Text4]

In the example above, the nominalisation functions to suppress the identity of the agent responsible for the implied action of *giving*. Obama is referring back to Romney's utterance where he offered tax cuts to the wealthy. The reporting clause (who said what) can be understood from background information available about Romney's and his party's policies. The reported clause is embedded in the non-finite verb *giving* rather than being grammatically subordinated to a reporting clause with the author's name. In my view, Obama refrains from naming his rival through nominalising his utterances, promises and actions in an attempt to focus the people's attention on negatively evaluated actions. Nominalisation in the NRA *Refusing to answer questions about the details of your policy until after the election --definitely not change* is another strategy of negative-other presentation. Obama makes no reference to Romney as it is clear that any campaign is about attacks and defense and there are only the two of them. The use of nominalisation in such a context, however, is used to highlight the negatively evaluated policies that Romney is selling as a *candidate of change.*

6.4.3 Direct Speech Representation

In DS and (F)DS, speakers provide not only the propositional content of the utterance but also the same syntactic structure used in uttering the propositional content. This makes the claim seem extra-faithful and combines it with associated vivid effects and dramatisation as Semino and Short (2004:12) state: (F)DS 'feels foregrounded, vivid and immediate in comparison with IS'. It should be mentioned that I am discussing the DS and (F)DS in this section following Short (1988) who emphasises that there are no functional differences between the direct and free direct categories (Cited in Semino et al., 1997: 38).

A significant finding in the present study is that quoting self and others seems to construct and project a desirable version of the speaker's identity enacted through

narrative to self-promote and evoke a positive image of the self. In the extract below, Obama's institutional identity is enacted in combination with the woman's quotations:

Example 17

1. So I asked her for her endorsement.

2. And she said, "I tell you what, Obama – I will give you my endorsement if you come to my hometown of Greenwood, South Carolina."

3. And I think I had a little bit of wine during dinner, because right away I said "okay."

[Text 3: De Moines 2012 election text]

In the above example, Obama is narrating an event he experienced with a state representative at a time when he was competing in South Carolina. Sentence 1 provides a concise summary of Obama's utterance in requesting the representative's endorsement *(I asked for)*, presenting the content of the utterance in terms of NRSA. It seems that this form of presentation is used in a context where the form is not as important as the detail itself is. This is different from the NRSA in Example 12 (*who claimed to be Mitt Romney)* in which the details and the forms of Romney's utterances are of equal significance as they support Obama's judgment in using the speech act verb *claim.* Thus, the extract above combines a NRSA of Obama himself with his interlocutor's quoted speech identified by occupation not by a name. Semino and Short (2004: 90) state that the (F)DS can have a foregrounding effect when presented along with less direct forms of speech presentation. The content of Obama's speech act and the identity of the state representative are backgrounded to vividly present the reason for giving the promise, which is the condition that she puts in a direct quotation in 2 where *my* indexes her institutional identity being enacted by personal reference. In sentence 3, Obama gives a direct voice to himself by presenting his promise in DS *(Okay)* introduced by a commentary statement implying a hasty response and gives a sense of strength to his will. It dramatises the wealth of his presence and involvement in the story world and the interactional worlds. The quoted utterances, in this exchange, attract listeners' attention to understanding the viewpoint behind the narrative, advertising the main story as they appear in the abstract. The exchange above involves two characters. Obama, being one

of them, makes use of the woman's presence to present different aspects of his political self by: foregrounding significant information as in the DS in 2-3, and supressing the exact content of his request for endorsement in 1.

The content presented in 2 foregrounds the state representative's request, implying that she is aware that Obama cares to listen to people's problems and needs at that remote city. This part of the story is thus a significant device for 'construction and reconstruction of more favourable parts of a politician's identity, and for the deconstruction of less favourable parts' (Fetzer, 2010: 171). The exchange reveals two institutional identities and altruistic selves. On the one hand, the caring self of the woman is presented by her request to visit her town city. On the other hand, the caring political self, foregrounded and highlighted by the statement *And I think I had a little bit of wine during dinner, because right away I said "okay." Right away* and *bit of wine* symbolise making a promise without thinking and present the self as a man of quick actions in response to people-related matters.

In the following extract, the direct quotes provide voice to immigrants to dramatise their emotions and to represent them inclusively as Americans:

Example 18

1. We did one event at the White House and a young man named Granger Michael from Papua New Guinea, a Marine who had been deployed to Iraq three times, was there.

2. And you know what he said about becoming an American citizen?

3. He said, "I might as well. I love this country already." That's all he said. Marines aren't big on speeches.

4. Another was a woman named Perla Ramos who was born and raised in Mexico and came to the United States shortly after 9/11, and joined the Navy.

5. And she said, "I take pride in our flag and the history we write day by day." [Text 8 a]

The extract presents a narrative of an event held at the White House (Orientation) with two characters: Granger Michael and Perla Ramos. These characters' identities are specified by: their countries (place), foregrounding their status as immigrants and by their occupation *a Marine* and a woman who *joined the Navy* in sentences 1 and 4. The Complication is embedded in 2, which involves an interactional extract involved in the phrase *you know what he said about becoming an American citizen*. It hypothetically implies that Michael was asked a question which may have been produced as (Would you like to become a citizen?) or a similar inquiry about earning citizenship. Here Obama foregrounds the topical content of citizenship and suppresses the form of the question. This representation reveals and foregrounds DS in 3 and 5 attributed to the characters to further dramatise the way they represent themselves inclusively as Americans, and self-identify with America.

After commenting on the way the characters' identities are constructed and the significance of the speech representation in the text, I now turn to their quoted speeches in 3 *"I might as well. I love this country already"* and 5 "*I take pride in our flag and the history we write day by day."* It is noted in 3 that while *I* in both of them provides a degree of subjectivity to the speakers, the proximal deictic *this* gives a sense of closeness and attachment to *here and now*. The inclusive pronoun *our* in 5 implies inclusiveness as it provides a better substitute for the flag. By saying *our flag* instead of the American flag, Perlas creates group membership, which is further emphasised in the second part of the report – *The history that we write*, where the inclusive *we* indicates shared agency and implies togetherness.

The inclusive pronouns *our* and *we* as uttered by an immigrant represent an emotional plea and communicate a sense of belongingness to the American people. This extract makes explicit the reason for supporting immigrants. To take pride in the flag of a country and serving in its military are meant to be fundamental evidence of one's patriotism. Military membership functions as a legitimating principle sprung from the belief of the American Creed as a tying bond between the majority and the minority in American society. The identity of a Marine is constructed through a mention of the long-time duration starting from the events of September 11th 2001 and Granger's being *deployed to Iraq three times*. Military service provides an evidence of allegiances to the American flag and love for the country.

6.4.4 Free Direct Speech Representation

As I stated earlier, there is no functional difference between the direct and free direct categories. (F)DS bears resemblance to DS but it is presented in text with either no reporting clause (Someone said X) or no quotation marks.

The narratives in this study involve examples where the speech is presented with a reporting clause but with no quotation mark. In Example 19, Obama presents his speech with a reporting clause *I said to those Americans* but the reported utterance has no quotation marks, so I consider such examples as (F)DS.

Example 19

1. In 2008, 47 percent of the American people did not vote for me.

2. They voted for John McCain.

3. But on the night of the election, I said to those Americans, <u>I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help. I will be your President, too</u>. [Text 2 c]

The verb *vote* in 1 and 2 is NRA followed by FDS in 3. This combination provides a foregrounding effect to DS. The absence of the quotation marks makes the use of free direct form more reminiscent of the DS use in four ways: First, the form of the words is the same as the original utterance re-contextualised in the form of FDS. Second, the reported clause is not dependent on the reporting clause. Third, the structure of the reported clause is kept the same with regard to the pronominal references and verb tense. Fourth, the reported utterance is embedded in the context of the 2008 election night and is repeated in the present context. In this case the (F)DS provides an incontrovertible fact about Obama's identity as a president and his presentation of the caring and collaborative self.

The underlined clause in 3 highlights and establishes a give-and-take frame inviting the 'togetherness' theme – *I hear your voice and I need your help* as it implies the spirit of negotiation and collaborative leadership. He utters clauses representing that relationship in three coordinated clauses, while his institutional identity is reported in a separate clause reported with an emphasis on his position and powerful status as a president elected by the majority of the American people in *I will be your President*. Through his authoritative position, Obama identifies himself as the decision-maker foregrounding his social power. Powerful status, social position and group membership are among the elements upon which social power is based (van Dijk, 1993: 254). Mentioning the few percent supporting McCain serves as an argumentative ploy legitimating Obama's position. Evidence of election results presents Obama as desirable leader which maintains a legitimate status and establishes his presidential position.

6.4.5 Thought Representation

Characters' inner states can be represented in narrative through the phenomenon of putting thoughts into a form of words (Semino and Short, 2004: 118). This involves a statement the speaker makes to himself as in the following example:

Example 20

> And <u>I'm thinking</u>, 'this woman is showing me up. This is my meeting. I'm running for President. And she's dominating the room' [Text 3].

The reporting verb *thinking* depicts an inner state of mind, as the quoting verb is a mental not a verbal process. This means that the following direct quote in Example 20 is not uttered but is a representation of a statement Obama made to himself. When used in the reporting clause, cognitive verbs may produce a similar vivid effect as it reveals the speaker's inner state and may introduce the speaker's internal evaluation of the current event in the narrative. This finding is significant as it shows the evaluative implication of using cognitive verbs in narratives as subjectivity markers. Illustrating this type of presentation, Labov (1972: 372) states that the character describes 'the sentiment as something that occurred to him at the moment rather than addressing it to the listener outside of the narrative'.

This sentiment is representing Obama's inner thoughts about maintaining his own role in a setting where his own presence should be dominating. Clauses representing thoughts are not narrative for two reasons: First, they rarely appear to move the event of the story forward. Second, they are addressed to no one, so the only effect it has is that of vividness and evaluation. The inverted commas indicate silent self-address.

In the extract above, Obama adopts the listeners' and speakers' communicative roles in the narrative as he is animating his own thought. In doing so, Obama, as Goffman (1981: 80) puts it, can reproduce 'a full complement of communicative roles – speaker and hearer – without a full complement of role-performers'. He quotes his own thoughts reflecting on his stance towards the backdrop of preceding event to dramatise his moment of restlessness in the story world.

If we consider the shift into the progressive form of the main verb in *I'm running for president* and the deictic expressions in *this woman*, and *this is my meeting*, we can see that these shifts make the description of Obama's inner state more carefully presented and more vividly constructed. The proximal deixis in the second clause referring to *My meeting* communicates awareness of his social role and his aim for visiting Greenwood which are endangered by the woman's chant dominating the place. He did not voice out loud his utterance but the thought voiced in the interactional world is a 'conversation between different parts of the character's self' (Semino and Short, 2004: 119) in the story world. The inverted commas mark the interactional process inside Obama's head and the impression of having mentally verbalised the thought at a particularly intense and dramatic moment. Thus, this is labelled as direct thought. The extract shows Obama's awareness of his own status and social position via the meaning constructed through thought presentation.

The following extract lacks quotation marks but thought is reported with a thought act verb *decided*.

Example 21

> And one day, he's standing in the fields, collecting sugar beets, and he heard on a transistor radio that a man named Franklin Chang-Diaz – a man with a surname like

his – was going to be an astronaut for NASA. So José decided – right there in the field, he decided – well, I could be an astronaut, too. [Text 8 b]

The verb *decided* reports a decision in a setting where the protagonist emotionally identifies with *Franklin*. *I could be an astronaut* reports José's psychological reaction to the unplanned event (listening to radio). Examining the clause shows that the reported thought has the same structure of direct speech representation but they do not have exactly the same effect. First, the reported thought *I could be an astronaut* in the original text is not inserted between quotation marks. Second, the pronoun *I* refers back to José. Therefore, this is a free direct thought ((F)DT) being presented since the pronoun is not changed into *he* and the quotation marks are absent.

Although this statement is self-addressed, it conveys the exact words José has formulated. It has a dramatised effect in making Obama's point clear about losing a talented person when rejecting the immigration reform. Through this example, it seems that Obama is constructing the American national identity as 'a nation of immigrants' by making a reference to the American Dream and the Hope discourse *that everything in America is possible* because José's dream is achieved towards the end of the story.

The above discussion shows that direct thought presentation shares the function of direct speech in that it has a vivid effect in narrative performance. Both presentations do not only push the story events forward but also perform an evaluative function on the part of the narrator and help clarify the main point of the narrative.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the construction of identity in Obama's narratives through analysing two linguistic features: tense shift and speech presentation. By examining narratives in terms of these two features, the analysis demonstrates that the construction of identity is related to the presentation of the self in narrative discourse. For example, it shows how Obama describes his reaction to events through tense shifts. Similarly, the analysis shows that Obama employs speech representation strategies in an attempt to highlight his positive image and negatively represent his opponents.

With regard to tense shift, I have shown that tense shifts occur in evaluative comments, historical present tends to cluster at the beginning of each scene in narratives and the narrative past alternates with historical present (HP) when Obama reports a change of his emotional and psychological reaction towards unexpected events. The analysis shows that HP occurs in all components of Labov's framework except the abstract.

Concerning speech and thought presentation, the analysis illustrates that direct and indirect representations play a role in foregrounding and backgrounding information in texts, especially foregrounding desirable aspects of self-presentation and identity construction through social roles and positions. For example, the analysis presents instances where Obama constructs his identity as a president in relation to the way he defines an ideal president and the way he negatively presents Romney.

Similarly, investigating the narratives, I have shown that Obama presents himself in the story world through comparing his image to a significant other such as Romney, Edith or the state representatives. Therefore, in this chapter, I have emphasised the necessity of the existence of a 'significant other' (Suleiman, 2006: 57) as a fundamental requirement for self-presentation.

Chapter Seven
Discussion

7.1 Introduction

The analysis that has been presented in the preceding chapters gives a clear picture of how different forms of identity are constructed and performed by President Obama in a thematically variant collection of texts. It provides an insight into the discourse strategies used by the President to align himself with different identity positions, whether individually or collectively, in speeches where he either attempts to draw a positive image of himself or to persuade people of the necessity of decisions he takes. This study is concerned with the way Obama constructs reality in his discourse and how he represents the world by adopting a position in the political field.

The overall significance of the findings of the study for CDA, political discourse and corpus linguistics are presented in this chapter. In section 7.2, I show how the present study has explored the construction of identity and self-presentation to answer the research questions. Then, in sections 7.3 and 7.4, I provide an overview of the conceptualisation of political discourse as a discourse practice and as a genre. Then, I move towards the construction of the political and national self in the genre of political discourse in general and in Obama's speeches in particular in 7.5 and 7.6. Section 7.7

discusses the effectiveness of applying a mixed-method research in addressing the research questions and in filling the gap in the available scholarships.

7.2 Research Questions, Aims and Objectives

Before discussing the key findings of the study, it is useful to present an overview recapping the main focus of the analytical chapters and how the analysis presented addreses the research questions set out in Chapter 1. The corpus on which the analysis is based is built to be representative of Obama's discourse (from12/02/2008 to 17/06/2013) as the criteria adopted in selecting texts is based on text types and themes rather than on the existence of linguistic features in those texts as argued in section 3.8. This criterion is preferred in corpus linguistics and is referred to as 'external' as opposed to 'internal'. External criteria are defined situationally regardless of the distribution of the linguistic features while internal criteria take into account the distribution of such features. McEnery et al. (2006: 14) consider internal criteria as problematic, claiming that, if the distribution of linguistic features is recognised in advance, it is pointless to analyse such a corpus and interrogate linguistic feature distributions.

Another point that I have considered when building the corpus is research questions, as they define the representativeness of a corpus (ibid: 18). Because the aim of the thesis is to see how decisions and attitudes are legitimised in Obama's discourse, the corpus consists of texts which feature decision-making. For example, as attitudes are related to beliefs and positions taken in relation to certain political issues, attention is focused on verbs denoting the communication of beliefs and awareness (*believe* and *know*) associated with collective and individual reference pronouns. This is to examine how the choice of the pronoun, whether *I* or *we*, affects the meanings of *believe* and *know* created by the co-selections associated with these verbs, as the analysis of Chapter 5 shows.

Through the three analytical chapters presented in this study I have sought to provide a clear insight into the communication of themes, attitudes and evaluations by examining linguistic phenomena in The Obama Corpus and how they relate to the way Obama defines himself and the nation in his speeches to persuade the audience to align

with his way of thinking in each topic constituting his texts. As stated in Chapter 1, the research questions this study aimed to answer relate to the key concepts emerging from the corpus under scrutiny: what identity categories Obama draws upon in presenting himself, what linguistic features are evident in his utterances when communicating commitment, attitudes and knowledge, and how the self is presented and textually constructed in the linguistic context of Obama's narratives.

This investigation has involved identifying the linguistic patterns in The Obama Corpus through conducting frequency and collocation analysis (see Chapter 4). The corpus survey presented in Chapter 4 reveals that identity-related terms are among the prevalent themes in The Obama Corpus and this answers the first research question in this study. Moreover, the analysis revealed that pronouns are prevalent in the corpus, along with other words grouped together under the 'social actors' category. This finding leads to the examination of pronominal reference (see Chapter 5) with a specific focus on *we* and *I*. As stated earlier, I have studied the meaning of *believe* and *know* created by their co-selections when these two verbs collocate with either *I* or *we*. The findings in this chapter present an answer to the second and the third questions. They provide answers about the way attitudinal identity is constructed through stance and evaluation and the types of identity categories Obama draws upon in his narration. A starting point is offered by the findings of Chapter 5 that has led to the investigation of the way Obama presents multiple selves (national, political and personal) in stretches of talk that can be analysed in terms of narrative, or semi-narrative discourse. This is achieved through conducting narrative analysis of extracts where Obama presents a self, involved in the process of performing political acts, such as campaigning and decision-making (see Chapter 6). This is where the fourth question is answered in this thesis.

This study is original in both its framework for analysis and the interpretations it offers. It is an attempt at a corpus-based narrative analysis of political discourse applied to the specific case of Barack Obama's speeches, offering new interpretations which stem from an innovative manner of examining the discourse in question. This study responds to a call for further developments in corpus-based studies of political discourse, aiming at developing theoretically sound methods for showing 'how all empirical information contributes to solving the great intellectual puzzles of language in society' (Stubbs, 2008: 1, cited in Ädel, 2010: 602). This study aims to anchor linguistic findings in the social

and political world, which is one of the major challenges of corpus-based approaches (ibid.). The main contribution of the study is that it presents a framework for the construction of attitudinal identity in political discourse through the articulation of the linguistic resources of stance and evaluation. Few studies have dealt with each one separately in constructing identity. Answering the second question addressed in the present scholarship, I argue that these two concepts are integrated in political speeches to construct an attitude which leads to the formation of two opposing groups as shown in Chapter 2. Moving towards more qualitative analysis, I have answered the third and fourth question in exploring attitudes as evaluative devices in narratives through testing Schiffrin's (1981) theory of tense variation and in the employment of Leech and Short 's (2007) framework in reporting discourse.

7.3 Political Speeches as Discourse Practices

Doing politics is a form of social practice; a salient element of which is language. Fairclough (2000: 156) argues that politics and government are social practices within which language is more salient in comparison to other practices. Political language is seen in this study as a terrain for working through struggles among social groups over dominance and power. In this study, I examine strategies of identity-construction and self-presentation in order to trace the way political discourse functions in the struggle over power.

This study has focused on a corpus of speeches delivered by the American President Barack Obama in a setting where the speaker is doing leadership as well as doing politics within institutional settings and election campaigns which are considered among the many genres that belong to the domain of politics. Yet, I do not want to confidently claim that they only belong to the domain of politics. Moreover, it is important to highlight that politics itself can also be located as part of media discourse and public domain. Fetzer (2011: 116) claims that political discourse is a sub-discourse which is intricately related to different domains:

> Political discourse is one of the sub-discourses. It may refer to discourse which itself is political, or to an analysis of political discourse as simply an example of discourse type, without reference to political content or political context. Political discourse is public discourse, and in the age of mediatized mass democracies, political discourse is also media discourse. It is concerned with political action

> and decision-making processes, with action and control, such as law-making procedures, party politics, and political executive and administration, and with public participation and opinion formation. Hence, politics and political discourse are no longer clear-cut domains. Their boundaries have become more and more blurred as they intersect with mass media and media communication.

As highlighted earlier in this thesis, political speeches are located within the broader field of politics, and media discourse and the media domain are the broad platforms where politicians market their decisions and show them as desirable and beneficial for the nation. This is evident in this study as a major part of The Obama Corpus is centred on the theme of election and campaigning, along with other thematically selected texts. The Obama Corpus has allowed the researcher to examine how the self is presented in comparison to other- presentation across different speeches. This study has contributed to an understanding of the role of the speaker when the stance he takes is justified by the argument he presents in relation to certain situations. Thus, an approach which reveals different linguistic strategies meant to contribute to the audience perception of discourse is required. In this study, the variety of angles afforded by a multi-method approach combining discourse analysis and corpus linguistics has enabled a detailed consideration of identity construction. It has provided a fuller understanding of the complexity of the processes of the social constructions of identity that politicians intricately adopt in an attempt to produce the required effect on the audience.

In this study, I have been able to show that the textual outcomes of constructing collective and individual selves are the result of interrelated and converging discursive processes such as argumentation, legitimisation, social actor representation, and narrativisation. The critical orientation is central to exploring such discursive processes and the meanings they provide for the construction of different selves and different social groups such as Democrats, Republicans, Congress (sometimes referred to as Washington), and immigrants. In addition to this, the present study is the outcome of a methodology application where CDA and CL are mixed. These two methods complement each other because the highlighted themes, frequency results and linguistic patterns attained by applying corpus-linguistic tools provide the ingredients for conducting CDA

methodology; CDA can make good use of these corpus results to provide an analysis of the linguistic traces characterising particular discourses.

7.4 Multiple Authorship and Self-presentation

It should be noted that political speeches are not the product of single authorship. They arise from different additions, modifications and long periods of preparation and most of them are pre-prepared and rehearsed in 'friendly' contexts, such as pre-arranged press conferences, with the aid of professional speech-writers. Not to forget the fact that most of the political discourse available on line and to different audiences is more or less stage-managed. Commenting on similar facts, Woods (2006) claims that in advertising and looking at the discourse of politics, we need to be 'vigilant' in pursuing evidence of stage management especially those moments with which the audience seems to take part when breaking into 'spontaneous applause'. The process of speech production itself is a prolonged one where different groups collaborate not only to stage-manage the talk but also to manage the impression the leader wants to create vis-a-vis the people.

Speeches as discourse practices and the messages they carry communicate to some extent the purpose behind leaders' engagement in the political activity. It is within this process of speech production that Schlenker and Pontari (2000: 205) indicate that agendas of self-presentation operate in the foreground mode. They state (ibid.) that, during this process, actors usually do the following:

> Expend cognitive effort in addressing and planning their performances, such as, before an important date or business meeting. People gather relevant information about the occasion, plan and rehearse what they might do and say, try to anticipate the actions of others who are involved and develop contingent strategies, and remain alert during the performance itself by closely monitoring their own actions and those of others.

Thus, political speeches are thought of as cultural performances representing coordinated public speech events to be viewed by an audience and subject to collective participation, and which are 'scheduled, set up and prepared in advance' (Bauman, 1992:

46). As stated earlier, self-presentation in the context of political speeches is considered a form of political marketing, comprising rehearsed strategic representations and identity orientation which result from multiple authorship and are 'more or less consciously performed' (Fisher, 2013: 342).

7.5 Constructing the Self and Collectivity

As highlighted earlier in this thesis, Obama is the first black leader of the Democratic Party and the whole country. The identity of the speaker becomes popularised by the position he takes. This is based on Fairclough's claim (2000: 95) that no political analysis can be conducted without taking into consideration the political identity and the personality of the leader, which involves language and rhetorical style, because politics as a social practice establishes the different positions taken by people involved in the domain such as presidents, prime ministers and other positions. In my view, no political discourse analysis can ignore the identity of the speaker, whether constructed individually or collectively. Much of the meaning involved in the discourse of politicians can be made with reference to the self as a representative of the party, the people and the country, and as a political evaluator of the situations involved in any political activity.

The analysis presented in this thesis has shown that political speeches are an appropriate context for studying the construction of the self. As highlighted in the data analysis, politicians try to sketch a positive image of themselves to get the support of the audience, especially in political campaigns, while depicting a negative image of their political rivals by reacting to their acts and comments, describing the negative impact of their policies. Sornig (1989: 109) claims that the purpose of political language is 'not to inform as to make people believe and in the end to act upon their beliefs, he/she who sounds like one of us is the one we most easily trust'. Therefore, it can be said that the aim of delivering a political speech and justifying following or adopting a certain decision

is to make the audience believe the implied proposition 'I am doing it for the benefit of the nation and the people'.

As we have seen, self and other references are evident in political discourse through the use of pronoun reference to create varying degrees of involvement in the main action of the proposition. Moreover, Wilson's work (1990) reveals that pronouns are being used in political talk as a means of showing varying degrees of distance from 'self'. In the present study, I deal with the plural and singular first-person pronouns to account for collective representation of the government, the party the speaker represents and the individual and political self. I look at this construction from two perspectives: the themes and uses of these pronouns in terms of their concordances and collocates, and the analysis of narratives identified in the collection of texts analysed in this study.

The speech of any leader is not only directed to his/her people, it can be listened to anywhere in the world. Therefore, leaders strive to give internationally-famous speeches reflecting their rhetorical ability and altruistic intentions to achieve political and social rewards, to gain power over their audience and to draw an image of their characters that represents them as best candidates for leadership. Thus, the present study focuses on how the self is constructed and presented individually and collectively. The individual self is used to mean the political self as a president and politician and as a speaker on behalf of the Democratic Party. The collective self is used to refer to the national identity and the construction of Americanism on one hand, and to refer to the political party to which the speaker belongs and/or the administration that Obama represents on the other hand.

7.5.1 The Political Self and Corpus Findings

It has become a fundamental part of politics that politicians must be more concerned about the cultivation of their images or what can be called self- image. Perloff (2014: 242) uses the terms 'image construction' or 'image management' and claims that image management plays a central role in political communication. In this sense, the terms 'image-construction' and 'image management' are synonyms of the term 'self-presentation' or 'self-construction' used by CDA advocates such as van Dijk, and Wodak. As has been evident in the present study, the analysis has shown that the self is presented

as an active agent in the political domain through expressing insistence on beneficial acts that are occasionally represented as being blocked by the opposing party. The analysis has shown that Obama's discourse is more concerned with image management in relation to the way he represents the Republicans, on the one hand, and his political rivals, on the other hand. For example, he depicts the Republicans as always opposing and blocking reforms such the DREAM Act and tax cuts which seem to be for the benefit of the American people, especially the poor.

The political self is considered a construct that contains persuasive attempts to influence listeners and achieve the required goals. The political self is always cautious in taking positions that satisfy the diverse dispositions characterising the different groups of which each society consists. People weigh the position presented by politicians against their own beliefs and dispositions eliciting an evaluation from their own social judgment (Perloff, 2014: 332). Thus, self-presentation is affected to some extent by the way people evaluate the communication rather than the power of the argument. Therefore, a leader needs to take a position that does not diverge from the widely-held attitude or the audience will feel alienated and reject the argument. The analysis has shown that Obama presents himself as a leader caring for his people by emphasising the unity and equal consideration of the rights of different groups constituting the American society, including gender and ethnic groups. On more than one occasion, the analysis has demonstrated that Obama negates the division and unites the part with the whole. For example, he states that the diversity of the American society is strength rather than a division (see Figure 11 screenshot 2/Chapter 5). As a democratic leader, he emphasises the fact that he works for the benefit of all Americans not Republicans or Democrats. In the narratives identified, Obama says that he wants to create American jobs not Republican or Democratic jobs (Text 2C, Appendix 1). It seems that this emphasis does not come just from the thoughts and feelings of the speaker. Citing Kantor (2012), Perloff (2014: 332) shows that Obama has struggled against the accusation that he was oblivious to the needs of the Black community throughout his first term. Therefore, acting on the advice of media staffers, he did not appear on the Black Entertainment Television during his first six months of office saying: "I am not the President of Black America. I am the President of the United States of America" (Kantor, 2012) and emphasising unity over

racism. By adopting this position, Obama seems to draw an anti-racist image of the leader by constructing a message that is in line with the attitudes of the audience.

Another point noted throughout conducting the analysis is the high frequency of the word *people*. The word is recurrent in almost every text. The president talks about keeping people safe, protecting their rights, jobs and families. The word occurs in reference to American people and immigrants and in reference to people in the Middle East, Pakistan and Afghanistan. In the majority of these occurrences, Obama emphasises the theme of safety, creating jobs and civil rights. To highlight his altruistic intention, Obama makes his people the centre of his life, his top priority, giving himself the status of a father who takes care of his children (see examples 8 and 9 in Chapter 5). On other occasions, he presents himself as the leader who is always in touch with his people (example 1 in Ch.6).

This, in my view, has two implications: first is to present the self as caring and second is to show himself as a powerful candidate supported by the majority of the people, giving the audience the chance to see the speaker as a figure prevailing over his opponent and at the same time to weaken the efforts and attempts of the political opponent. An example of this is when Obama presented his economic reforms and recovery plan, as the ones presented in the Buffett Rule text and Payroll tax cut text. He was able to persuade many voters, including those who leaned Republican (Perloff, 2014:327), that he cares for the people in order to cut taxes and create jobs in America not overseas, and he insisted on not giving the wealthiest the tax cuts that they did not need. Even in his first-term coronation speech, he made the economic crises the primary theme of the address as he already knew that the American people were worried about the economic issues that befell the country at that time. During the election campaigns, Obama repeatedly blamed the Republicans for the financial crises and explains how he would cure the people of the dilemma that was the result of the Republicans' misleading. Citing Belkins (2008: A5), Perloff (2014: 327) presents an example of the many independent voters who were supporting Republicans, and then ended up voting for Obama because of his economic recovery plan. John Butler, as one of those independent voters, said "I looked at my situation and realized I could not afford to vote for McCain. I was as shocked as anyone." John Butler was one of those deeply affected by the financial crises. He owned a floral shop in Youngstown, near Ohio – a part of the country that was hit hard by the economic crises. He added that he had to keep one out of 26

employees and he had to abandon his health insurance. Obama came out with a recovery plan that created jobs and with a promise of affordable health insurance. That was among the things that enabled him to get the support of the independent voters and to win his first term of presidency.

In 2012, the Republicans were able to win back some of these voters but not enough to defeat the Democrats. Some of those voters claimed that Obama was not able to fulfil his promises to boost the American economy on one hand, but others favoured the positions Obama took with regard to abortion and birth control claiming that they 'were more in sync with the needs of working women. Exit polls showed that women favoured Obama over Romney by a double-digit margin' (Perloff, 2014: 327-328).

7.5. 2 Political Self and the Qualitative Findings

Another image the president draws of himself is the image of the personal story-teller: the self-made man who started his life as a poor mixed-race person with Keynian origins. He uses a process of life-story construction in order to define and help people define his personal identity. He has rhetorical proficiency that makes the meaning and the function of the constructed story of more interest to people than the accuracy of the narrative itself (Bruner, 1990). This is evident in the example presented about Obama when he used to work in a mill where he learned lessons about hope and persistence to achieve change (example 11, Chapter 5). The interesting point appears where he makes a pronoun shift from *I* referring to his case as a simple poor worker into *we* referring to the self-made politician of power who is bringing his life experience into application to help his people 'write a new chapter in the American history'. The significance of this point lies in the fact that Obama uses *I* and *we* in contexts where his story is depicted to be similar to the American story – an immigrant child, a worker and a self-made man, a lawyer, and community organiser calling for change (ex.16/Ch.5). The gradual changes in his status relate to the construction of *we* in the same example where it is represented as having strong will to change 'we answer with one question –yes we can'.

In another example, he attempts to sell his background history as a lawyer (example 16, Chapter 5) and as a community organiser who has got *scars* and *hair went grey* to prove his fight for *change* and human rights in his country *to bring jobs to the jobless* (as in line 28 in concordance no. 3). Narrating such facts helps him to create rapport with the

American people and a kind of interpersonal understanding between the speaker and the audience.

Referring back to the way *people* are presented in the data in comparison with the Obama who is one of the people, coming from the people and raised to presidency by the people, Obama arguably is trying to cultivate an image of the saviour to release the people from their fears and sufferings – 'American people have carried us a great distance' (Potomac primary night). To highlight his being a simple and ordinary person, Obama narrates stories of his personal life. He tends to personalise his speeches talking about habits and childhood and personal life in an attempt to adjust to the requirement of the new era where the gap between the private and the public is narrowed in recognition of the fact that political mileage and rhetorical benefits can result from revealing aspects of politicians' personal lives (Perloff, 2014: 244).

7.5.3 National Self (Identity): Identity Construction in Election and Immigration Stories

The analysis has arguably shown that Obama emphasises the role of immigrants as contributing to the construction of a united American national identity. Because every president is prominent in public discourse, the way he represents other social actors to his people provides Americans with a standard against which they define themselves. Throughout The Obama Corpus, especially the election and immigration speeches, Obama emphasises the diversity of the American society by listing the different social groups that constitute American society and by his recurrent statement 'we are a nation of immigrants'.

Emphasis on diversity provides an answer to the question of who we are, the answer to which is important in that it helps people imagine their nation and place within it (Anderson, 1991: 6-7). Anderson (ibid.) describes nations as 'imagined' because he states that even members of the smallest nation, who may have never met their fellow nations or even heard of them, have in their minds the image of their communion. This is reflected in the way Obama describes the way immigrants feel after living in America for a long time and then being deported. Reading the texts related to his immigration reforms, we can notice that Obama emphasises the long duration of their stay and the kind of relations they have with other Americans and in this way he emphasises the fact that immigrants

imagine themselves as Americans – 'You ask Diego and he'll tell you he feels American in every way -- except one; on paper' (Text 7 in Appendix 1). Based on the previous quote, we can see that Obama draws heavily on the socialisation of immigrants as a persuasive argument to claim their identity as Americans. Moreover, by making minorities part of his discourse and constructing them as talented, valuable and as citizens, Obama presents Americans with a chance for new reforms, developments and industries expanding beyond borders. It is within contexts such as these that Obama tries to call 'a common, collective identity into existence' (Zagacki, 2007: 272) in an attempt to create identification between immigrants and the American people.

Shared ideologies and values are among the strategies upon which Obama depends to establish a bond between the majority and minority within a single nation, mainly the political socialisation of minorities, which makes them legitimate citizens by virtue of the American Creed. Gleason (1980: 32) defines American citizenship by summarising the concept of 'American Creed', stating that:

> To be or to become an American a person did not have to be of any particular, national, religious, or ethnic background. All he [sic] had to do was to commit himself to the political ideology centered on the abstract ideals of liberty, equality, and republicanism. Thus, the Universalist ideological character of American nationality meant that it was open to anyone who willed to become an American.

It is this principle that makes the American national identity open to everyone and the American dream represents this principle.

To emphasise the true commitment of immigrants to the political ideology, Obama narrates their stories, providing emphasis on their political socialisation which is the transmission of attitudes, values and norms across generations. 'Kids' brought up in American society often develop 'emotion packed attitudes' when watching adults pledge allegiance to the American flag (Perloff, 2014: 98). They can develop positive patriotic attitudes when listening to political information being repeated whether through the media or through adopting their parents' political and patriotic views. Going to American Schools also plays a vital role in 'imparting the values of democratic citizenship' (ibid.). Immigrants are taught about the nature of political parties and governmental structure, and are prepared before graduating from high school to vote and conscript into military

service. Appreciating the values of the American Creed, high school civics and history books help enhance knowledge of democracy and the appreciation of democratic values through teaching young immigrants the history of the United States. Also, they have been encouraged to celebrate the accomplishment of minorities and women (ibid: 104-5) which play a part in the identification of minority students with the American nationality. In this respect, the general argument is that in narrating stories about immigrants, Obama is reflecting on his own story. He has been exposed to similar personal stories which relate to master narratives about race, identity and nationality in diverse settings such as Hawaii, Indonesia, Chicago and Kenya (Hammack, 2010: 184) – for example, his narrating a story about an immigrant child 'José' who heard that an astronaut has the same surname. At that moment, the child felt a sense of belongingness just because he discovered someone shares his last name in a community to which he hardly belongs. The following extract from text 8 in Appendix 1 states the event:

> So José studied, and he studied hard. And one day, he's standing in the fields, collecting sugar beets, and he heard on a transistor radio that a man named Franklin Chang-Diaz -- a man with a surname like his -- was going to be an astronaut for NASA. So José decided -- right there in the field, he decided -- well, I could be an astronaut, too. So José kept on studying, and he graduated high school. And he kept on studying, and he earned an engineering degree. And he kept on studying, and he earned a graduate degree. And he kept on working hard, and he ended up at a national laboratory, helping to develop a new kind of digital medical imaging system. And a few years later, he found himself more than 100 miles above the surface of the Earth, staring out of the window of the shuttle Discovery, and he was remembering the boy in the California fields with that crazy dream that in America everything is possible.

Hammack (2010: 197), in analysing the personal narratives of Obama in *Dreams from My Father* (2007), states that Obama experienced the sense of location as described in the Kenya chapter in his search for his roots. What happened in Kenya is to some extent similar to José's story. Realising his luggage had not accompanied him upon his arrival to Kenya, Obama sought the help of an airline agent. As she took Obama's form, she said, 'you would not happen to be related to Dr. Obama, by any chance?' Hammack (ibid.) claims that at that moment Obama at once experienced, 'what it might be like to be known

by one's own name, to be clearly embedded in a community so strong that the name itself confers significant meaning'. Hammack's claim illustrates that being recognised by a name helped Obama to come to experience a sense of 'identity security' unknown to him throughout his whole life as Obama himself wrote:

> That had never happened before, I realized; not in Hawaii, not in Indonesia, not in L.A. or New York or Chicago. For the first time in my life, I felt the comfort, the firmness of identity that a name might provide, how it could carry an entire history in other people's memories, so that they might nod and say knowingly, "Oh, you are so and so's son." No one here in Kenya would ask how to spell my name, or mangle it with an unfamiliar tongue. My name belonged and so I belonged, drawn into a web of relationships, alliances, and grudges that I did not yet understand. (Obama, 2007: 305, Cited in Hammack 2010: 197)

Reading the above narrated stories, we can see that the main event narrated in both of them is the same in that both Obama and José hear about famous people whose surnames they share. We can say that Obama's past experience of living in different countries is reflected in the stories he narrates about immigrants. To know that someone has the same surname he has, in the place of his ancestors, helped him identify with the place and he felt the sense of belonging to Kenya. This is what Obama tries to inform the audience of through Jose's story. The key point here is that, in this example, we can see that Obama's personal life is reflected in his speeches and in the positions he takes.

7.6 Main Contribution and Key Findings

This section presents the main contribution to knowledge this study provides and the key findings of the main analytical chapters in the present study. It is divided into two parts. The first relates to the way personal pronouns are used in the corpus based on which the study presents a framework for attitudinal (ideological) identity construction. The second demonstrates the way linguistic features in Obama's narratives take part in the process of identity construction. The second part involves: 1. investigating the context of tense variation and how it reflects on the evaluative position of the speaker, 2. constructing

identity and presenting self and other through analysing discourse representation in Obama's narratives.

7.6.1 Personal Pronouns

As we have seen already in Chapter 2 of this thesis, self-reference is always related to the expression of opinions and personal beliefs (De Fina, 1995: 396). The reason is that self-reference pronouns perform a strategic political function of persuasion as Wilson (1990: 76) observes 'the distribution of I/We (exclusive and inclusive) is clearly marked in political interaction, and this is perhaps not surprising'.

Here, I have focused on the first reference pronouns in an attempt to examine the way the attitudes and beliefs are communicated in relation to *I* and *We* in political discourse. I argue that a careful pronoun choice affects the way meaning is created as politicians are interested in presenting themselves as 'multi-faceted' in order to appeal to a diverse audience (Allen, 2007: 3). That is to say, pronoun choice assists in presenting individual and group identities through which people are intended to identify with and hence support the claim proposed.

Another argument I present, as shown in the analysis, is that Obama performs the strategy of self-presentation with reference to 'a significant other', such as a political opponent or the Republican Party as opposed to the Democratic Party. In the political domain, presenting the self is made in comparison to the opponent or previous administration. This means that any construction of a 'we' clearly presupposes the existence of a 'they' or 'you' and that inclusive reference excludes and assumes a parallel 'other' exists elsewhere (Bello, 2013: 90).

Before discussing the main findings, it is worth saying that the plural pronoun collocating with the verbs in question seems to refer to Obama's administration rather than the government. Proctor and Su (2011: 3259), in their study of the first-person plural in political interviews, show that the percentage of the cases where Obama 'self-identified' with his political campaign teams is 35%, with the administration is 14% and

as one of many Americans is 18%. Drawing on De Fina's (1995: 396) argument that when identifying the referents of *we*, an important role is assigned to the identity of the speaker and the linguistic context. Therefore, reading the concordance lines of *we believe* and *we know* gives priority to the administration as a referent of *we*. Here, the administration is by no means an alternative to *I* as a leader of the group seeking the consensus of the public and this is where Proctor and Su's (2011: 3259) review is useful as it shows that Obama self-identified mainly as a campaigning politician running for presidency. Whether referring to the administration or the campaigning team, the main referent is the identity of the speaker as a leader of both and to say *we believe* means 'I believe' as a leader speaking on behalf of the group. Therefore, in talking about *we* or *I*, the main process of self-presentation is implied to some extent. In examining the use of pronouns in the present study, I argue that when *I* or *we* collocates with *believe* and *know*, each pronoun will affect the co-selections of these verbs as shown in the discussion presented below.

7.6.1.1 Attitudinal expression with I vs. We

I argue that *we believe* is associated with nouns in prepositional phrases, conditionals and deontic modality, employed in a way where there is no clear reference to the supposedly involved social actor as in examples 4 and 5 in Chapter 5. This implies communicating beliefs rather than expressing strong commitment to the truth or the achievement of the proposition involved, which is suggested by the basic meaning of the verb *believe*. For example, when co-selected with a head of a prepositional phrase, the expression of belief is made with no reference to the time and actors and no indication of epistemic or deontic stance. These in turn are expressed in that-clause where 'we believe' is supposed to denote epistemic modality.

As for conditionals, national identity is positively evaluated through declarative statements co-selected with a conditional clause in defining what kind of change the administration intends to provide. Here, the subject of the conditional clause is the beneficiary rather than an actor. Instead of saying 'We believe America is stronger when the government provides health insurance to everybody' where the government is the

agent of the process, Obama uses a third-person beneficiary to be the agent of the process 'when everybody counts on health insurance' (see example 3 in Chapter 5).

The same principles applies to the expressions of deontic modality when it is co-selected with 'we believe' in reference to the way 'change' is defined in Obama's discourse. But when the proposition is intended to imply the inadequacies of the government in Washington, the expression of attitude seems to inform the audience that the Obama administration is aware of people's needs but political opponents are blocking the way of their fulfilment. Here, the strategy of scapegoating and blaming the 'other side' is applied through texturing epistemic modality *we believe* and deontic modality 'should' (see examples 4 and 5 in Chapter 5).

With regard to the effect produced by the exclusive self-reference *I* in relation to *believe*, I argue that 'I believe' is co-selected with negations, assertions, evaluations and with cause conjunction in referring to attitudes. As shown in Chapter 5, *I believe* appears in a phraseological pattern known as 'clause collocation'. The first clause has its variable subject and predicate while the second clause starts with cause conjunction and has 'I believe' as its subject and predicate through which Obama intends to share his attitudes with regard to policies and decisions. This is different from the same phraseological pattern associated with 'know' as will be shown later.

7.6.1.2 Knowledge Expression with I vs. We

Contrary to *believe*, the co-selections of *know* privilege the meaning of the verb as indicating awareness of the factuality and the certainty of the proposition made. Interrogating the meaning of *we know*, I have found that the combination is associated with epistemic stance and predication with regard to hypothetical future and policies of the opponent, whether politicians or policies of leaders of other foreign countries. Predictions are expressed with epistemic modal expressions denoting certainty and strong commitment to the truth value of the claim expressed. Another finding noted in the study is that *we know* is co-selected with positive assertive statements, the context of which implies that they express predictions. This serves to strengthen the arguments Obama makes in his discourse and its construction makes them appear true and certain. It is also

noted that when depicting a hypothetical future about the opponents and enemies such as Al-Qaeda and the Iranian government, the predication is expressed hypothetically with the future modal auxiliary *will* while predicting outcomes of Obama's policies and decisions and other claims regarding the American nation are expressed with assertive evaluative statements. Assertive statements, in contexts such as these, function in making the predicted proposition appear certain to listeners. Such epistemic expressions are significant in presenting the image of a leader who is aware of the threats and whose policies result in positive outcomes. Thus, it can be said that *we know* is co-selected with linguistic phenomena that provide the meaning of certainty and truth whether about the future or about affirming the greatness of the American nation which are implied in the basic meaning of the verb.

As highlighted in Chapter 5, this study shows that the phrase *I know* is associated with expressing strong commitment to the factuality of the proposition which Obama expresses through the adjective *hard* (line 3, concordance 1). As stated earlier, it seems that the use of *we know* is more devoted in presenting the national self, represented by *America* as when Obama affirms that *America has done its best* or *our patchwork is a strength* (see concordance 2, Chapter 5). The arguments presented with regard to *I know* indicate that the phrase is used in a context where Obama appears to evaluate himself as a caring and credible politician. Moreover, I have argued that it is only with *I* that the verbs *know* and *believe* are involved in what Hunston (2002: 75) calls 'clause collocation'. As I have stated earlier, when *I believe* is co-selected with cause conjunction, the context shows that the phrase is used as attitudinal where Obama is either supporting his decision with his attitude or justifying his political involvement as being for the sake of people. With regard to *I know* when co-selected with cause conjunction, it is shown that Obama uses the phrase in stating that he knows what kind of change is required in America. He affirms the truth of his claim by narrating his past actions in calling for people's rights. An example of this is when Obama speaks of his past actions as a lawyer and a community organiser (lines 26 and 28 in concordance 3, Chapter 5), stating that his hair went grey and that he has got scars to prove his fight. Thus, the context of this phraseological pattern is devoted towards positive presentation of the self and the negative other-representation.

A second point to be made about *I know* is that it is used to state awareness of hard tasks related to a claim he proposes, opposes and counterargues. The most important two uses are communicating counterargument to show responsiveness and communicating awareness to express competence. Obama uses the phrase *I know* to express awareness of counterargument, expectations of opposing claims and hardship. *I know* is used to show that Obama is competent enough to anticipate difficulties and defend against rejections.

7.6.2 Identity Construction in Narratives

With regard to the construction of identity and the presentation of the self, I approach their representation in narratives through examining shifts in tense and through speech and thought representation. By investigating these two features, I aim to provide an analysis that seeks to uncover the way identities are constructed and reconstructed in narratives identified in Obama's discourse. Therefore, the consideration of each linguistic feature is accompanied by an attempt to show how tense shifts and reported speech in text can contribute to the construction of identity and presenting the self.

7.6.2.1 Tense Shift into Habitual Present

Examining the linguistic environment where Obama makes tense shifts, the study shows that there are cases where the tense shift occurs in external evaluation into habitual present. Interestingly, the cases noted in the study reveal that the theme of the evaluated proposition relates primarily to the way Obama defines the American national identity and secondarily to self-presentation. For example, in Chapter 6, I have argued that after a generic or specific story, there is a reference to the American story – *'That's who we are'* – relating the sequence of the story to the values and morals that define the American Creed. The inclusiveness in *'That's who we are'* defines the American people in terms of the American Creed. In support of this, Bubenhofer, Klimke and Scharloth (2008) state that it is the rhetoric of hope, bipartisanship and inclusivity that have brought Obama to the presidency. They (ibid) further claim that his rhetoric included a focus on dialogue, collectivity and the future and that he uses plural pronouns such as *we*, *you* and *us* in

contexts indicating a strong feeling of identification between himself and his people as a community.

Similarly, the same concept is drawn upon in legitimising the inclusivity of immigrants as part of the American community. A feature of Obama's discourse is that he interlinks elements of the American history to construct a narrative exemplified by the theme of 'different kinds of Americans at different times', including immigrants, abolitionists, workers, women and the various challenges they have faced (Foxlee, 2010: 31). Throughout the course of this study, it has been noticed that Obama emphasises the ideology of unity of the American community, defining America as a nation of immigrants and as one nation.

In examining the tense shift into habitual present, Obama narrates a story of an immigrant who had to live in different parts of the world which prevented him from learning English but he was good at Math. To claim that waves of immigrants can bring talents to America, he uses this story to express his viewpoint, foregrounding the ideology of the united nation and the theme of 'togetherness' at the expense of speaking the same language. He almost always states that, 'together' and 'as one nation', Americans can meet the challenges of their time.

In support of this view, I have argued in this study that Obama's use of the inclusive reference and emphasising the collective efforts are meant to praise the diversity of the American people to be a source of unity, 'one nation' rather than a source of division. An example (line 11, concordane2, Chapter 5) of this is when the president says:

> For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus - and non-believers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth; […] our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace (Coronation speech, 20/1/2009).

As stated earlier, the study showed that tense shifts from narrative past into habitual present appear in contexts where Obama, as a facilitator of the American Dream, relates stories to the values and the belief in equality of opportunity for the pursuit of happiness – 'as a way of constructing a sense of unity among the public' (Emejulu, 2010: 20). In the present study, contexts such as these appear in evaluative statements as parts of the narratives identified in the corpus.

7.6.2.2 The Significance of the Des Moines Text: The Story of 'Fired up! Ready to go!'

In interrogating the use of the historical present in Obama's discourse, I have chosen the Des Moines 2012 text for several reasons. First, this is the only text found to be rich in historical present examples in the identified narratives. Second, the text involves the story of 'Fired up! Ready to go!', Obama narrates this story on several occasions such as the speech he delivered the night before the election on November 3, 2008 and when he talked about health care reform on September 12, 2009. He even starts some of his speeches in the 2012 election campaign with the same chant that constitutes the story's title which became another slogan of his campaign in addition to 'Yes, we can'. The concluding part of the story displays Obama in the position of a preacher teaching people a lesson he learned from Edith, the council woman and main character in the Des Moines text. The aim behind narrating the story seems to reclaim people's trust in the election process, as Obama states:

> It shows you what one voice can do. One voice can change a room. And if a voice can change a room, it can change a city. And if it can change a city, it can change a state. And if it can change a state, it can change the nation. And if it can change the nation, it can change the world. Your voice can change the world.
>
> [Final Rally in De Moines, 6th Nov, 2012]

Another interesting point that characterises this story is that it contains a good deal of personal activities such as getting coffee, taking a shower, the relationship with campaigning staff, the existence of a bad story in a newspaper and the reaction and change of reaction towards bad stories by Obama. Perloff (2014: 242-244) states that 'media-age

presidential politics is increasingly personalized' which makes political candidates adjust to the new era as they become aware that there is political worthiness and rhetorical advantages in sharing aspects of their personal life.

Moreover, this story itself uncovers the thoughts that Obama had at that time and even Edith could read his mind at that time: "When he came in, he did look tired and worn, but it wasn't long before that whole attitude changed," Childs told ABC News. The change of attitude Edith reports here was the result of her chant which became famous at Greenwood Civic Centre where she greeted Obama and supported his campaign. Obama requested to use the same chant in his campaign to teach his audience how 'one voice can change a nation'. Edith said that she wanted to do something as she read the president's thoughts; her aim was to mobilise the attendants and help in making that meeting fulfil its aim as stated below:

> When I heard that he was coming to Greenwood, I thought, okay, I'm just going to go and welcome him to Greenwood […]When he first came in the room he had this grin on his face, like maybe I'm in the wrong place. You know it was a small group of people…And looking around at everyone in the room, I knew we had to do something… I know that the Senator wasn't sure what was going on, 'cause he had that look on his face…Fired up, ready to go. I knew we needed to keep saying "Fired up. Ready to go."… Once you hear it, you will never forget it.[1]

From what has been mentioned in this section, I have found that this text is the best choice for analysing a sample of the use of the historical present in the discourse of Barack Obama. A question that may arise is why I have chosen one text to examine historical present, and why am I not looking at several texts at a time? The answer is that the aim of examining this phenomenon is to see the linguistic environment in which historical present alternates with the past and with historical present, progressive or perfective. Such an aim is difficult and hard to achieve by examining different texts

[1] The transcript is taken from the YouTube channel Barack Obama.com and the link is: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QhWDFgRfi1Q

simultaneously because it may result in producing incompletely analysed textual segments which may not reflect accurately the employment of the historical present in those texts. Therefore, I present a qualitative focus as a detailed case study of one text where the historical present is rich in occurrences.

7.6.2.3 Historical Present and Selling the Self: The Story of 'Fired up! Ready to go!'

As the analysis in Chapter 6 has shown, the historical present has the effect of providing an illusion of capturing the speaker's disposition and situation at the moment of experience. Although the text selected is a first-person narrative, it involves sections where Obama shifts to third-person narratives, such as when he describes Edith and her actions at the start of the chant event. A similar effect of the historical present is noticed in both first- and third person narratives. Thus, the present study supports a partially opposing view to the argument of Cohen (1968: 144) with regard to the role of historical present in narratives:

> […] it does so in the only way available to fiction written in the first person: by using the present tense. In contrast to a third-person narrative, a first-person narrative cannot eliminate the temporal distance between the moment of narration and the narrated moment while remaining within the past tense.

Cohen's argument presented above suggests that the effect of historical present is evident only in first-person narratives and that its effect in such narratives reduces the gap between the moment of narrating and the actual event time. Instances noted in the present study show that the same effect is evident in both types of narratives. Obama has used the historical present as he shifts in describing Edith and even in narrating stories about immigrants in the third person. Moreover, it should be remembered that, in examining reported speech, the analysis has revealed instances where the historical present is used in indirect speech whose lexical inversion from direct speech requires the tense to be changed into past. Reflecting upon such instances, I have argued that keeping the present tense in representing indirect discourse functions the same as the historical

present and I suggest that it is another form of narrative present tense. Not to forget that in narrating what someone else said is the same as narrating his/her action and it counts as second-person narration.

The analysis related to this part of the study has resulted in a number of key arguments. First, it is shown that historical present tends to cluster at the beginning of new scenes described in the narrative. Obama shifts into historical present tense when narrating a new scene, or describing himself or other characters in the story. Similar findings have been evident in a study by Leung (2008), who studies the narrative function and verbal aspects of the historical present in the fourth Gospel. Leung (2008: 713) observes that historical present examples cluster at the opening and closing sections of the story on the one hand, and that shift into historical present accompanying the appearance of each main character on the other hand. Leung's study results categorise historical present verbs, among which are verbs indicating motions and movement. Another general finding regarding this tense is that it seems to appear in contexts of internal evaluation and in such cases it may take the simple or the progressive aspect. Moreover, verbs denoting motion, verbs of senses and verbs describing facial expressions show a tendency to take the form of historical present tense rather than the narrative past.

Second, shifts into historical present progressive seem to accompany the presentation of the self as a caring, and a figure who endures the hardship and the collaborative and promise-keeping self. In some occasions, the self is presented as a busy figure and a campaigner and sometimes referred to with the plural pronoun *we*, where Obama identifies himself with his campaign team. As stated earlier, this is supported by another study of Obama interviews which showed that Obama tends to 'self-identif[y]' with his political campaign teams in 35% of the uses of *we* (Proctor and Su, 2011: 3259) and that generally he presents himself as politician campaigning for presidency. An instance noticed in the text is Obama's use of shifts from the simple into the progressive tense after producing an internal evaluative statement about the setting of the Civic Centre in Greenwood, attributing the identity of a campaigner to himself 'I'm running for president…I'm shaking hand'. I have argued that present progressive depicts the social behaviour of a campaigner who approaches people to talk about their sufferings and their children's future. Another use of the present progressive is shown to introduce unexpected events that seem to block the flow of events in the story-world and when the

action in the present progressive tense has a time prior to the time of the first present tense. The discussion presented here involves cases where the simple present alternates with present progressive tense.

Third, the historical present is shown to alternate with the narrative past and the perfective aspect in the text. The context of this tense alternation shows that the present-tense verbs report an unexpected event. Similarly, the narrative past verb reports Obama's psychological reaction towards an unexpected event in the past and connects it to the change in reaction at the present. In this case a shift into the progressive aspect is noticed to depict the image of a powerful and experienced self. Commenting on this alternation, I have presented an argument in connection with that of Schiffrin (1981: 56), stating that the historical present shifts into the past more frequently when clauses are introduced by temporal conjunctions and that only with such tense alternations are the events separated. Schiffrin (ibid.) further argues that this type of tense shift occurs in split clauses when the subject is different from that of the prior clause. The instance noted involved clauses with different subjects but their time of occurrence is connected by a time adverbial. Therefore, time adverbials can play the same role Schiffrin attributed to that of temporal conjunctions when they introduce separate clauses with tense shifts. Finally, it should be remembered that the study has investigated the phenomenon of historical present in a single text. Thus, it may not fully reflect the employment of the narrative present in text and future research may support or add to the arguments presented in this context.

7.6.2.4 Discourse Representation in Obama's Narrative Discourse

In investigating speech and thought representation in the selected narratives, I have applied Leech and Short's (2007) model of speech representation, further developed by Semino and Short (2004), and have argued that it can uncover the construction and reconstruction of identities in texts. This framework has proven to be robust in interrogating both spoken and written discourse. McIntyre et al. (2003) have developed a project to test the framework in the contemporary spoken British Corpus and have compared their findings with Short et al. (1997) which deals with fictional and non-fictional written corpus. Their study emphasises that the framework is applicable to spoken data, with few modifications. Their work on the Spoken Corpus would seem to

confirm the robustness of the model of speech, thought and writing presentation they use. In this study, I have stated that the different components of the framework, especially narrative representation of speech act (NRSA) and narrative representation of speech (NRS), play a role in backgrounding and foregrounding information and exclusion and suppression of social actors which are relevant to CDA and identity-construction in texts.

Indirect speech presentation ID

In this section, I present the arguments with regard to indirect discourse representation which, in addition to IS, involves NRSA and FID which are more indirect than IS. In Chapter 6, I argue that discourse representation relates to the stance and positions adopted by social actors through reporting their speech and expressing their evaluation of the proposition stated. It is this evaluation that relates mainly to positive self-presentation and negative-other representation. The analysis of speech presentation offered in Chapter 6 reveals that reporting utterances of opponents and other actors contributes to making the argument seem convincing as it reflects the stance of the speaker and the purpose behind reporting the utterance. The analysis shows that in reporting Romney's utterances, Obama produces an evaluation of the utterance by arguing against the proposition made by Romney and highlighting the negative and undesirable attitudes towards that proposition. At the same time, this report explicitly or implicitly indicates to the audience that Obama is a better candidate than Romney.

Another point to be emphasised is that the presentation of the reported utterance is not constructed in past tense; Obama uses the present to intensify the vividness of the image he draws of Romney. Obama is asking the wealthy to pay a little more to give tax-breaks to the people who need it while Romney is doing the opposite according to Obama's accusation. Obama is supporting the poor and Romney is doing the opposite. Romney is offering tax-breaks for companies that create jobs outside the US while Obama is 'fighting for American jobs'. Because Romney in the 'last night's' debate contradicted himself, Obama is claiming that he is a fake Romney.

Obama as a narrator of the last night event (see text 2 in Appendix 1), where he discovered the (not real) Romney, is comparing himself and Romney and between the past and present in an attempt to make sense of his experience. He represents himself in

relation to Romney allowing the audience the chance of recognising who is real and who is fake through discussing similarities and difference between them as candidates and between their policies. Obama evaluates Romney's claims through producing internal evaluative utterances such as 'never heard of them' and 'cannot get enough of them'. The first one is reflecting on Romney's claim that he does not know anything about companies shifting jobs overseas. It is publicly known that Romney was running a private equity firm called Bain. Bain owned companies that were 'pioneers' in the practice of shipping work outside the US to low-wage countries such as China and India. Although Romney has left Bain since 1999, Obama ridiculed his use of the word 'never heard of them'. 'Never' means at no time, its meaning conflicts with the background information available about Romney and his policies' promise of protecting the American economy. Romney's negative representation is highlighted by the second internal evaluation 'Can't get enough of them'; this is in reference to a previous statement he made, which was publicly criticised, about cutting jobs for firefighters, police and teachers.

The analysis demonstrates that Obama is reporting Romney's speech in order to maintain a positive, altruistic image of himself through depicting a negative presentation of his opponent by highlighting his negative attributes, and showing contradictions in his speech. Each of them is selling policies to people to get support, so Obama is advertising his policies as reasonable and real, implying his competence and being the right person in the right place. Thus, the negative representation of the opponent implies the positive presentation of the self.

I argue that FID works in supressing social actors from the texts. This is achieved through nominalising the report of speech. For example, in referring to Romney's statement which promised that he will give the wealthiest more tax-cuts and more power to the biggest banks as part of his economic plan, Obama showed his disagreement and counter-argued. In selling his plans in comparison to those of Romney, Obama nominalised Romney's promises and utterances by saying 'giving more power back to biggest banks is not change'. I argue that suppressing Romney's identity as the author of the utterance in this context highlights Obama's contempt. This is further emphasised in another example where Obama precedes Romney's name and position with an indefinite article 'a Senate candidate by the name of Mitt Romney'. In relation to this disdain,

Obama reports his utterance followed by a counterargument which highlights self-esteem and glorification of America.

It should be remembered the process of nominalisation is employed differently in the analysis I have presented in Chapter 4. I have claimed that nominalisation is used in the context of making a promise or stating intention and the process is used to supress Obama's identity and the government to avoid responsibility in case of failure of achievement. Therefore, I have argued that nominalisation is used in backgrounding or suppressing the agent who is supposedly involved in the main action.

Direct Speech Presentation

Within the category of direct speech representation, there are two other subcategories: uttered quotes and thought quotes. I have argued that these two categories play a major role in foregrounding identities within the reporting clause and the reported one. In the data of the present study, I have stated that Obama reports speech directly to identify the author and to employ the reported utterance in favour of an argument or a claim, or in order to depict a desired image of the author whether himself or, as seen in this study, people he supports such as immigrants.

The data shows that with DS, the speaker tends to identify people by their occupation such as a state representative or a Marine or a navy immigrant. In reporting self-quotes or an institutional identity in the reporting clause, I have argued that Obama tends to describe the position of each speaker and the stance he takes which contributes to identity construction. For example, in self-quotation, Obama attempts to depict an image of the caring and collaborative leader while preserving his status as a president which is depicted recurrently in Obama's discourse.

Moreover, it is noted in the data of this study that Obama tends to reduce the gap between immigrants and the American people in an attempt to highlight the unity of the American community as constituted of multiple ethnic and religious groups. So in reporting immigrants' utterances (See example 18 in Chapter 6), the reporting clause involves an identification of the home country supported by duration of service in the military. The reported clause, in contrast, involves a use of personal pronouns which implies group membership; especially inclusive plural pronouns are used to dramatise the

way they represent themselves as Americans and self-identify with America rather than their home country.

Similarly, *Obama* and *immigrants* are the two actors whose thoughts are represented in the identified narratives. I have asserted that thought presentation has the same effect intended for the representation of direct speech. Moreover, it has the same dramatised effect of making Obama's viewpoint clear and the argument more persuasive as it conveys the exact words formulated in the self-address.

7.7 Methodological Evaluation

As stated earlier in this thesis, the method adopted in this study is a mixed-methods approach in which corpus linguistic tools are employed as an overarching starting point toward a more detailed qualitative analysis. I have examined the initial corpus findings first to have an overview of the main themes before getting directed to a narrower focus. From Chapter 4, we have seen among the main themes are identity-related terms and from which I restricted the interest to personal pronouns as they are frequent and relate to the theme of identity. I have then moved to collocation analysis which has led to the qualitative concordance analysis of the behaviour of these features in their linguistic contexts in texts. In this manner, the qualitative analysis contributes to interpreting earlier quantitative findings attained by collocation strength, frequency lists.

A further qualitative analytical step is taken through applying narrative-based discourse analysis to further examine identity construction and the representation of personal pronouns in the corpus. That is to say, selected parts of the corpus are qualitatively analysed by drawing from identity-related information in order to contextualise the corpus-based analysis. In this study, this is achieved through a case-study analysis of Obama's narratives which examines identity construction through tense variation; another step taken towards investigating identity is through exploring the phenomenon of reported discourse in the narratives. Thus, the procedures moves from quantitative analysis and proceed towards interrogating significant collocates in context; it then moves towards further qualitative analysis of a case study. This methodology facilitates a move from simple decontextualised numbers to a deeper, micro view of the way a particular linguistic phenomenon behaves in political speeches.

The advantages of applying corpus-based and discourse-based studies lie in the fact that combining methods from both domains enable researchers to explore the features of discourse in novel ways (Virtanen, 2009). Moreover, in adopting this methodology, I aim to avoid some of the criticisms directed against traditional discourse and CDA studies. For example, the methodological perspectives of CDA have tended to be purely qualitative, which involves analysing incomplete texts; this does not examine linguistic features in any comprehensive way. That is to say, analysing single texts or parts of texts fails to make a generalisation of the CDA findings. In addition to this, the choice of texts can be subject to the analyst's interest and therefore lack the feature of representativeness. Therefore I argue that using corpus tools can complete what is missing in CDA methodology and brings a clearly analysed picture of how a linguistic feature is used in texts. Similarly, Baker and Levon (2015: 227-230) have shown that combining a corpus and a qualitative approach can lead to either shared 'converging' or 'complementary' (contributing towards a wider picture) findings.

To the best of my knowledge, after searching for other studies applying mixed-methods design, especially to the genre of political discourse, I have found that they seem to move from quantitative to qualitative data. From my own perspective, it is better first to discuss the quantitative findings and variables to be able to 'directly discuss the relations between textual, cognitive and social phenomena' (Stubbs, 2001: 149). Moreover, Ädel (2010: 600) states that it is increasingly common for studies (e.g. Partington, 2003) to take a frequency and keyword list as a starting point. O'Connor, *et al.,* (2008) have examined the shifts in personal reference in Castro's discourse over five decades in an attempt to locate variations in his discourse. Their mixed-methods approach starts with quantitative analysis and moves towards semiotic analysis. They code the pronoun *we* in their data as personal, collective and ordinary. They find an interesting split between earlier and later decades. Therefore they conduct a chi-square test to see if there is a significant relation between the years in which the speech is delivered and then move towards further qualitative analysis. The researchers have conducted semiotic qualitative analysis because they have realised the inadequacy of qualitative approaches alone in the study of pronominal use – pronoun shifts remain ambiguous, showing evidence of manipulations in pronominal use.

The quantitative analysis showed there is a striking difference among decades; therefore it is necessary to choose the first text of each decade for qualitative semiotic analysis. Conducting a semiotic analysis has enabled the researchers to find that each pronoun shift is accompanied by a shift in tone and content of the speech, or by shifting in footing to invoke humility or by litanies of complaint, which reflect ideologically-laden use of pronouns over time. It can be argued that applying such a mixed-methods approach has allowed them to examine not only the text-internal relationships existing between pronouns and referents, but also of extra-textual elements from the physical staging of the speech event to salient political controversies.

Conoscenti (2013) argues that a traditional corpus linguistic approach alone may fail in detecting some discourse strategies. To describe this phenomenon, the researcher examines metonymy to map gradual shifts in strategic discourse in a case study of the general Obama Corpus (OGC) dating from 2004-2011, bringing in a network of discourse space theory and a proximisation model. The study aims at investigating discourse structure and organisation from a corpus perspective to identify salience patterns and clusters. The study has shown that Senator-President-Obama speeches (SPO) challenge a traditional approach to corpus-based discourse analysis because of different oratorical cognitive and communicative techniques used in the discourse which can be unnoticed through frequency and relative collocation analysis. Conoscenti claims that SPO's features can be unlocked when a variety of analytical techniques are used and this is possible if part of the data is interpreted when considering advances in cognitive linguistics and CDA studies. This method of overlapping these fields of investigation through corpus linguistics has been highlighted by recent mixed-method studies on the role of metaphor in political discourse, as will be shown later. The study shows that SPO's discourse can be better profiled with a variety of inquiries that relies on metonymy and proximisation theories rather than with indexing techniques of corpus linguistics only. That is to say, mixing both methods can assist in mapping cognitive and semantic networks over an extended range of time that would be missed with corpus techniques only.

Klebanov, et al., (2008) use an automatic lexical cohesion detector based on frequency and a co-occurrence-based measure of relatedness to identify cohesive ties in the political discourse of Margaret Thatcher. Moving towards identifying semantic

groups through the detector, the study shows that the processing stages identified an ‘unexpected’ semantic domain (ibid: 459) that cannot be easily found if only a qualitative method is applied. These findings have been compared with Fairclough’s (2003) study of Thatcher’s text, and the comparison shows that although, it adds and elaborate on Fairclough’s study, Fairclough does not provide much detail about, for example, the feature of aggressiveness. Thus, the quantitative aspect of the study completes and adds to Fairclough’s study as it uncovers other semantic groups.

Reyes (2011) combined different theoretical models to investigate the roles (narrator, interlocutor and the character) that Castro, Chavez and Bush adopt in reporting discourse. The qualitative analysis is then followed by a statistical analysis of a single speech for each politician to see how often the roles appear and a chi-square test is applied to provide evidence of any significant difference among them. The statistical method provides evidence that the phenomena discussed are not isolated and they occur with certain frequencies even within the first speech of each politician. Moreover, the quantitative data are compared to show that the methodological approaches proposed can be validated from a quantitative perspective. Thus, the speeches are qualitatively analysed separately and the quantitative part is applied to achieve the comparison of the role in the speeches of the three politicians.

The present study differs from that of L'Hôte (2014) whose methodology is inspired by Baker’s methodological synergy in that L'Hôte’s study incorporates cognitive linguistics in the advocated combination between corpus linguistics and CDA. The study investigates identity and metaphor in Labour discourse. Similarly, the focus of the study stems from keyness analysis and identifies key concepts as the starting point of each analytical chapter. Then concordance lines are coded according to semantic groups. Then collocation analysis is conducted based on high frequency words as a reliable way of uncovering existing patterns. Concordance lines are next coded for further investigation as a step towards metaphor identification for qualitative analysis. Finally the findings of both analyses are combined. L'Hôte (ibid: 48) states that the aim behind designing the approach in this way is to find a balance between the quantitative and the qualitative and between the automated and the manual.

The current study combines CDA and CL in investigating identity construction from a sociolinguistic perspective. This study is motivated by Baker et al.'s (2008) study which combines corpus linguistics and discourse analysis. The methodological approaches proposed so far by the previously reported studies reflect the one designed for this study in that they start with quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis completes and adds what the quantitative one could not uncover. This study starts with frequency and keyword analysis which are mainly quantitative approaches to identify the main themes of The Obama Corpus. These steps have assisted in directing the study towards the aboutness of the corpus, and then narrowing the focus to identity construction as it has appeared as one of the emergent themes. I have examined the co-occurrences of pronouns collocating with two cognitive verbs in The Obama Corpus. Again, because of space constraints the corpus analysis cannot show an account of every word collocating with the pronouns. Therefore, a follow-up narrative analysis is conducted to further look at the way pronouns are used to construct identity in texts. I chose narrative analysis because it lends itself to personal stories narrated within The Obama Corpus. Thus, the narrative analysis serves to complete the picture revealed by the corpus analysis and proceeds towards further investigation of identity in The Obama Corpus.

As for the approach in the present study, I have detailed the methodological and theoretical aspects of corpus-based discourse analysis of political discourse. I propose that CL can bridge the gap between political discourse analysis and CDA. This is to say, CL is the ground where analysing discourse stems from and is related to the sociolinguistic perspective of discourse analysis. Moreover, discourse studies can benefit from CL as an empirical method that can enhance the validity of the researcher's claims in support of the qualitative analysis conducted in the process.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided a discussion of identity construction in Obama's political speeches involving both campaigning and policy discourse as discourse and social practice. It is argued in the context of this study that the selected texts involve a good deal

of identity construction and policy marketing. Based on this observation, it has become necessary to analyse identity in terms of the strategic presentation of the self. This study has contributed to the field of linguistics by linking the interrogated textual features to the discursive construction of identities in Obama's discourse and by combining the corpus approach with CDA approaches to avoid the limitations attributed to both methods. Yet, the next chapter will provide some potential limitations of the study. As part of this, I will provide readers with some suggestions for future research.

Chapter Eight
Conclusion

8.1 Introduction

This study has sought to examine the construction of identity in a corpus of Barack Obama's political speeches. It has shown how political speeches display sociocultural features which create and shape social reality, and presents a new framework for analysing the role of stance and evaluation as competing terms in the analysis of identity construction in political discourse. Moreover, it has shown how combining a corpus linguistic approach with CDA can assist researchers in designing mixed-methods research that approaches data systematically. Such a mixed-methods research design has proved valid in yielding interesting findings with the use of frequency lists and collocation. In particular, concordance analysis have been shown to lend quantitative validity to a more fine-grained qualitative narrative exploration of positive self- and negative other-presentation.

In the following sections, I describe the contribution of this study in filling a gap in the literature in the fields of political communication and CDA. I summarise and conclude with the answers to the research provided to fulfil the main aims of the study, and outline the key findings of the current study.

8.2 Contributions and Findings

This study has explored identity construction in a corpus of Obama's political speeches. The primary aim was to examine how Obama enacts his identity as a political figure and how he structures his arguments to legitimise his suitability as a potential president, as well as his political decisions both before and after becoming President. In this section, I summarise the key findings of the analysis chapters.

8.2.1 A Corpus Approach and The Obama Corpus

Using the tools of corpus linguistics has led to the identification of key corpus themes in The Obama Corpus, one of which was identity-related terms, textually represented in personal pronouns. The first question that the current study aims to answer is about the emerging themes in The Obama Corpus and whether they relate to identity construction or not. Chapter 4 focused upon frequency and collocation lists, which are then followed by grouping words into their semantic fields. These semantic fields are considered labels to the key themes composing The Obama Corpus. The main themes include groups of

words that relate to construction of identity such as groups and affiliation, nationhood-related words, government-related words, time and geographical words. Other themes include words related to subjectivity as a significant aspect of identity construction. Based on this, the focus is restricted to investigating personal pronouns to examine identity construction in the corpus.

Investigating personal pronouns through collocation and concordances led to richer textual and thematic insights, which add to initial understandings of The Obama Corpus. Chapter 5 provided an answer to the second research question, which queries how stance and evaluation contribute to the construction of identity in The Obama Corpus through personal pronouns. Firstly, collocation analysis has enhanced the analysis of features of pronouns as collocating with factive cognitive verbs. Secondly, reading concordance lines of pronouns collocating with the identified verbs reveals that they are used to convey stance through evaluation in accordance to subjectivity. These findings show that Obama tends to express subjectivity with factive mental processes. Such mental processes co-occur with first pronominal references as Obama constructs arguments about beliefs and knowledge. His use of these verbs is followed by words expressing positive evaluation of an expected outcome accompanied by stance expressions. In some instances, Obama refers to his knowledge and expresses certainty by applying legitimisation strategies and argumentation. Concordance reading have provided the originality of the present study as their analysis has led to the development of a framework based on these linguistic resources for the construction of attitudinal identity in political discourse as a new insight into the study of political discourse as shown in Chapter 5.

Reviewing the available literature has shown that there is an existing gap in the scholarship regarding stance and evaluation, as stance tend to be a competing term for evaluation (Bednarek, 2006: 26). The concordance analysis proves that they both integrate with one another to construct what Bednarek (2015) calls attitudinal identity. Through concordance readings and exploring literature about stance and evaluation, this study answers the second question by suggesting a framework for constructing attitudinal identity.

8.2.2 Narrative-based Discourse Analysis

The methodology is designed in a way that makes concordances a bridge to link quantitative and qualitative methods before moving towards purely qualitative narrative analysis. Exploring the narratives in The Obama Corpus, the study targeted self-presentation and other presentation through examining tense-shifts and reported discourse. These features represent the point of view of the narrator, which evaluates the state of affairs present in the story world. The findings related to tense shift show that Obama tends to shift in tense when evaluating his own identity between two different periods of time, a place or event he attends, and when describing new scenes or characters in the story. The qualitative analysis in this study provides a further exploration of stance and evaluation in narratives and reveals that textual features involved in narrative performance are evaluative indications of the self and other as shown in analysing historical present as shown in Chapter 6. Instances of evaluation such as these offer insights into the explicit or implicit stance he intends his audience to infer from his statements. In most cases, the expressed stance he conveys relates to positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation.

Reported discourse, as a form of evaluation in narratives, is revealed to be constructed with historical present tense with the same effect of providing a vivid illustration of the narrated event and expressed point of view. Moreover, the analysis has shown that through reporting discourse, Obama tends to foreground information related to positive self-presentation and background information related to his opponents and other characters and vice versa.

8.3 Limitations

Although the present study was able to generate detailed insights into the discourse of Obama's political rhetoric, it is important to point out that the analysis is principally confined to prominent pronouns and their associated collocates. The focus was restricted to first personal references apart from all other identity-related words. This is largely due to practical reasons and limited space. There are other lexical items whose exploration can yield interesting findings. These words included personal names, proper nouns, words signifying place and time. Examining these words can provide findings that can enrich and contribute to the present line of inquiry.

Regarding the size of The Obama Corpus, studying grammatical words does not require a very large corpus. Carter and McCarthy (1995) state that grammatical words such as pronouns, prepositions and auxiliary and modal verbs are very frequent and can be dealt with using a small corpus (Cited in Koester, 2010: 66). Therefore, while The Obama Corpus is of a relatively small size by CL standards, it is suitable for the stated aims of the present investigation. Although this size is sufficient for the purpose of the study, it resulted in generating a short list of significant collocates. Extending the size of the corpus could lead to a longer list of collocates with high frequency rates, which enables researchers to investigate highly significant collocates and less significant collocates and examine the context of their occurrence. That is why, in the next section, I recommend extending the data set for further inquiry. This approach may lead to identifying a larger set of qualitative data, where more linguistic features may emerge for the purpose of analysis.

8.4 Future Directions

One of the advantages of working with corpora is that it enables more questions to be answered as CL highlight significant themes across large numbers of texts. My corpus data and the methodology applied offer more innovations for future research. The framework of attitudinal identity construction presented in the study has been developed based on the concordance lines of The Obama Corpus. This framework can be tested on a corpus of audience comments on similar speeches. For example, most of the speeches in The Obama Corpus are on newspaper pages where readers can post commentaries. Building a corpus of these commentaries would provide a method of testing the framework, and such attempts may yield more modifications. Moreover, the framework can be applied to examine identity construction in audience commentaries, in narratives of immigrants in America and how they represent Obama's immigration policies in their narratives. A wider range of data can serve similar purpose such as newspapers, interviews and presidential debates. Additionally, the framework is a good starting point to investigate the representation of social actors such Republicans' representation in Obama's discourse before and after his presidency.

In my narrative analysis of reported discourse, I applied Leech's and Short's (2007) framework designed for analysing reported speech in literary texts. I have shown how this framework lends itself appropriately to the representation of social actors and identity construction in reported discourse. Discourse representation frameworks can similarly be tested within corpus material compiled for the present study, such as Reyes' (2011) application of Goffman's (1981) model of 'Footing' to examine the different roles taken by different politicians in their discourses. Reyes (ibid.) indicates that his analysis bridges between ideology and linguistic features and provides a theoretical understanding of the relationship among voices, linguistic features and discursive goals in the political speech. The same framework can be applied to The Obama Corpus to investigate different types of discourse functions as evaluative strategies. Similarly, it can be compared across discourses of more than one president, and in political discourse across long periods of time.

Regarding the data sets, it is useful to apply the same methodology to extended data sets. For example, the economy-related corpus can be enlarged to look at stance and evaluation in a topic-specific data set. The findings of such a study can be further extended to be compared with a corpus related to another topic such as security or immigration. Surveying the corpus could reveal interesting features to explore, such as metaphor, other types of identity, and proximisation. The methodology of the present study could be applied to different sets of data, such as presidential interviews, debates, and political conference. Such types of genres have features that establish them as sub-genres of political discourse. Moreover, they can form rich data sets for testing the framework presented in this study.

Finally, the wider question of the perception of identity in media discourse in general and political discourse in particular remains open-ended. Such a study requires triangulated corpus data, taken from newspapers, focus groups, and debates, in order to look for those elements initially identified as significant in my primary corpus of political discourse.

8.5 Final Remarks

In overall conclusion, the innovative character of this study lies in both the methodological and the theoretical frameworks it offers, and in the data interpretations that it yields. From a methodological perspective, I have shown that corpus linguistics and narrative-based discourse analysis can be combined for a unique insight into the discourse of Barack Obama and political discourse in general. Such a combination allows the researcher to complete the study of discourse analysis by relying not only on existing theories, but by looking at them from the perspective of different disciplines, such as sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. The methodological framework harnessed in this study establishes a 'methodological synergy' corresponding to the one proposed by Baker et al., (2008: 274), and to achieve an empirically-based reliability of the researcher's findings. This study has paved the way towards more research bridging between identity and ideological stance in political discourse.

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Appendix 1 Narratives

1. Election Night, Chicago (Nov 7th, 2012)

What makes America exceptional are the bonds that hold together the most diverse nation on Earth, the belief that our destiny is shared ---- that this country only works when we accept certain obligations to one another and to future generations, so that the freedom which so many Americans have fought for and died for come with responsibilities as well as rights, and among those are love and charity and duty and patriotism. That's what makes America great.

I am hopeful tonight because I have seen this spirit at work in America. I've seen it in the family business whose owners would rather cut their own pay than lay off their neighbors and in the workers who would rather cut back their hours than see a friend lose a job. I've seen it in the soldiers who re-enlist after losing a limb and in those SEALs who charged up the stairs into darkness and danger because they knew there was a buddy behind them watching their back. I've seen it on the shores of New Jersey and New York, where

leaders from every party and level of government have swept aside their differences to help a community rebuild from the wreckage of a terrible storm.

And I saw it just the other day in Mentor, Ohio, where a father told the story of his 8-year-old daughter whose long battle with leukemia nearly cost their family everything had it not been for health care reform passing just a few months before the insurance company was about to stop paying for her care. I had an opportunity to not just talk to the father but meet this incredible daughter of his. And when he spoke to the crowd, listening to that father's story, every parent in that room had tears in their eyes because we knew that little girl could be our own. And I know that every American wants her future to be just as bright. That's who we are. That's the country I'm so proud to lead as your president.

2. **Madison 2012 election**

   A. Now, some of you may have heard, last night we had our first debate. And I just flew in from Denver, and I was telling folks there, when I got on the stage, I met this very spirited fellow who claimed to be Mitt Romney. But I know it couldn't have been Mitt Romney -- because the real Mitt Romney has been running around the country for the last year promising $5 trillion in tax cuts that favor the wealthy. And yet, the fellow on the stage last night -- who looked like Mitt Romney -- said he did not know anything about that. It was all news to him.

      The real Mitt Romney said that we don't need any more teachers in the classroom.

      Don't boo -- vote.

      But the fellow on stage last night, he said he loves teachers -- can't get enough of them. The Mitt Romney we all know invested in companies that were called "pioneers" of outsourcing jobs to other countries. But the guy on stage last night, he said he'd never heard of tax breaks for companies that shift jobs overseas. Never heard of them. And he said, if that's true, he must need a new accountant. So now we know for sure that wasn't the real Mitt Romney, because the real Mitt Romney is doing just fine with the accountant that he already has.

Whoever it was that was on stage last night doesn't want to be held accountable for what the real Mitt Romney has been saying for the last year, and that's because he knows full well that we don't want what he's been selling over the last year. Governor Romney may dance around his positions, he may do a tap dance and a two-step, but if you want to be President, then you owe the American people the truth.

B. Now, Madison, we talked a lot about domestic affairs yesterday. But we're going to have a chance to talk about what's happening abroad as well. Four years ago, I promised to end the war in Iraq, and I did. I said we'd wind down the war in Afghanistan in a responsible way, and we are. And because we were able to refocus attention, al Qaeda is on the path to defeat and Osama bin Laden is dead.

   Now, there's still a lot of threats out there. We saw that just tragically in the last couple of weeks. And that's why, so long as I'm Commander-in-Chief, we'll sustain the strongest military the world has ever known. And when our troops take off the uniform, we'll serve them as well as they've served us. Nobody should have to fight for a job, or a roof over their head when they have fought for America's freedom. We will honor that commitment.

   Now, I don't know who's going to show up at the next debate, but I do know that the real Mitt Romney said it was "tragic" to end the war in Iraq. He won't tell us how he'd end the war in Afghanistan. I have, and I will. And I'm going to use the money that we're no longer spending on war to pay down our debt and to put more people back to work rebuilding roads and bridges, and schools and runways. After a decade of war, it's time to do some nation-building here at home. That's why I'm running for a second term.

So this is the choice we now face. This is what the election comes down to. The other side will tell you that since government can't do everything, it should do almost nothing. If you can't afford health insurance, hope you don't get sick. If a company is releasing pollution into the air that your children breathe, well, that's the price of progress. If you can't afford to start a business or go to college, borrow money from your parents.

You know, that's not what this country is about. That's not how are greatness was built. Here in America, we believe we're all in this together. We understand it's not about what can be done for us. It's about what can be done by us, together, as one nation, and as one people. That's what we believe

C. I've always said change doesn't happen in one year, or one term, or even one President. It doesn't happen with one political party. Change happens because everybody gets involved and says it's going to happen. It certainly can't happen if you're someone who wants to lead the nation but writes off half the nation before you even take office.

In 2008, 47 percent of the American people did not vote for me. They voted for John McCain. But on the night of the election, I said to those Americans, I may not have won your vote, but I hear your voices, I need your help. I will be your President, too.

And I don't know how many folks will vote for me this time, but I want you to know I'll be with you no matter what. Because I'm not fighting to create Democratic jobs or Republican jobs --I'm fighting to create American jobs. I'm not fighting to improve schools in the red states or blue states -- I'm fighting to improve schools in the United States. I'm not fighting on behalf of values that are rich or poor, or business or worker -- I'm fighting for those American values of hard work and looking out for one another. And they belong to all of us. And if we rally around those values, if we have a genuine sense of patriotism about how we build an economy where everybody is getting a fair shot, then we're going to strengthen the middle class, and we're going to keep moving forward.

And I believe that our politics is not as divided as it seems sometimes. I still believe in the American people. They are what gives me strength every single day. They are what get me up in the morning, and they're what I'm thinking about when I go to bed at night.

I believe in you. I'm asking you to keep believing in me. I'm asking for your vote. And if you stand with me, and work with me, we will win Madison again. We'll win Wisconsin again. We will win the election again. We'll finish what we started in 2008, and remind the world why the United States of America is the greatest nation on Earth.

3. Demoise 2012

I got a powerful reminder of this myself on our last campaign. Folks in Iowa, I know you may have heard this story but it was early in the primaries, and we were still way down in the polls. I think this office had just finally gotten the heat turned on. And at the time, I was still competing in South Carolina -- it was one of the early primary states. And I really wanted the endorsement of a state representative down there. I met her at some function where nobody knew me, nobody could pronounce my name. They're wondering, what's he thinking?

So I asked her for her endorsement. And she said, "I tell you what, Obama -- I will give you my endorsement if you come to my hometown of Greenwood, South Carolina." And I think I had a little bit of wine during dinner, because right away I said "okay."

So it's about a month later, and I'm traveling back to South Carolina. And we flew in late -- I think we were coming from Iowa. We had been campaigning non-stop, traveling all through towns and having town hall meetings and shaking hands. And in between, I'm making phone calls, asking people for support. And so we land in Greenwood, South Carolina, at around midnight. We get to the hotel about 1 o'clock in the morning. I am wiped out. I'm exhausted. And I'm dragging my bags to my room. Back then we didn't fly on Air Force One. And the accommodations were a little different.

And just as I'm about to walk into the room, one of my staf taps me on the shoulder to say, "Excuse me, Senator" --I was a senator back then. "We're going to have to wake up and be on the road at 6:30 a.m. in the morning." And I said, "What?" "Why?" "Well, you made this promise to go to Greenwood, and it's several hours away."

And you know, Iowa, I try to keep my promises. So a few hours later, I wake up -- and I'm feeling terrible. I think a cold is coming on. And I open up the curtains to try to get some light to wake me up, but it's pouring down rain. Terrible storm. And I take a shower and get some coffee, and I open up the newspaper and there's

a bad story about me in The New York Times.I was much more sensitive at that time to bad stories. I've become more accustomed to these now.

And finally I get dressed, I go downstairs and I'm walking out to the car, and my umbrella blows open -- and I'm soaked. So by the time I'm in the car I'm wet and I'm mad and I'm still kind of sleepy. And it turns out that Greenwood is several hours away from everyplace else.

And so we drive, and we drive, and we drive, and we drive. And finally we get to Greenwood -- although you don't know you're in Greenwood right away because there are not a lot of tall buildings around. And we pull up to a small field house, and I walked in, and I'm looking around. I don't hear a lot going on. And the state representative said she was going to organize a little meeting for us, and we walked in and there are about 20 people there. And they're all kind of wet, too, and they don't look very excited to see me.

But I'm running for President, so I do what I'm supposed to do -- and I'm shaking hands, I say, "How do you do? Nice to meet you." And I'm making my way around the room, and suddenly I hear this voice cry out behind me: "Fired up."

And I'm startled, and I don't know what's going on. But everybody in the room -- this is a small room -- they act like this is normal. And when the voice says, "Fired up," they all say, "Ready to go."

And so once again, I hear the voice: "Fired up." They say, "Fired up." They say, "Ready to go!" "Ready to go!"

I look around, I turned behind me -- there's this small woman. She's about 60 years old; looks like she just came from church -- she got a big church hat. And she's looking at me, kind of peering at me, and she's grinning, smiling, looking happy. Turns out she's a city councilwoman from Greenwood -- who also moonlights as a private detective. I'm not making this up. This is true. And it turns out she's famous throughout the area. When she goes to football games and when she goes to rallies and she goes to community events, she does this chant of hers. She does it wherever she goes. So for the next few minutes, she just keeps on saying "Fired up."

And everybody says "Fired up," and she says she's "Ready to go," and everybody else says "Ready to go."

And I'm thinking, this woman is showing me up. This is my meeting. I'm running for President. And she's dominating the room. And I look at my staff, and they just shrug their shoulders. They don't know what to do.

So this goes on for a few minutes. Now, here's the thing, Iowa. After a few minutes, I'm feeling kind of fired up. I'm feeling like I'm ready to go. So I start joining in the chant, and my staff starts joining in the chant. And somehow I feel pretty good.

And we go on to talk about the lives of the people in the room, and their families and their struggles and their hopes for their kids and their grandkids. And we drive out and it's still raining, but it doesn't seem so bad. And we go to our next stop, and for the rest of the day, even after we left Greenwood, even though we still weren't getting any big crowds anyplace, even though people still couldn't pronounce my name, I felt good.

And I'd see my staff, and I'd say, "Are you fired up?" They'd say, "We're fired up." I'd say, "Are you ready to go?" And they'd say, "We're ready to go."

And we brought that to Iowa. And during our rallies, this became a chant, and we'd have signs saying "Fired up, Ready to go." And the woman, her name was Edith Childs -- she became a celebrity, and she was written up in The Wall Street Journal -- -- and folks did news stories on her. And this became one of the anthems of our campaign back in 2008.

Now, here's the end of the story, though. We knew we were coming back to Des Moines for the last campaign rally I'll ever do for me. And so we were getting kind of sentimental. And we called up Edith Childs. And we said, why don't you come on up? No, no, listen to this. We said, why don't you come on up; we'll fly you up from South Carolina and you can do this chant one more time, just for old good-time sake. It's like getting the band back together again.

And you know what Edith said? She said, I'd love to see you, but I think we can still win North Carolina, so I'm taking a crew into North Carolina to knock on doors on Election Day -- I don't have time just to be talking about it. I've got to knock on some doors. I've got to turn out the vote. I'm still fired up, but I've got work to do.

4.Campaign event in Cincinnati

Now, for eight years, we had a President who shared these beliefs -- his name was Bill Clinton. And so we were able to put our ideas to the test. His economic plan when he came in asked the wealthiest Americans to pay a little more so we could reduce our deficit and invest in the skills and ideas of our people.

And at the time, the Republican Congress -- and a Senate candidate by the name of Mitt Romney -- said that Bill Clinton's plan would hurt the economy and kill jobs. Turns out his math was just as bad back then as it is now. Because by the end of President Clinton's second term, America had created 23 million new jobs. And incomes were up, and poverty was down, and our deficit became the biggest surplus in history. So our ideas have been put to the test, we know they work.

Now, the other guy's ideas have been put to the test also -- because after President Clinton, we had eight years in which we tried giving big tax cuts to the wealthiest Americans. We tried giving insurance companies and oil companies and Wall Street a free license to do whatever they pleased. And what we got was falling incomes, and record deficits, and the slowest job growth in 50 years, and an economic crisis that we're still cleaning our way out of.

So -- stay with me here -- we've got ideas that work, and we've got ideas that don't work. And so the choice should be pretty clear. But Governor Romney is a very talented salesman, and so in this campaign he has tried as hard as he can to repackage the old ideas that didn't work as new ideas. In fact, he's offered them up as change -- says he's the candidate of change.

Now, here's the thing, Cincinnati. It turns out we know what change looks like. (Applause.) And what Governor Romney is selling is not change. Giving more power back to the biggest banks -- that's not change. Another $5 trillion tax cut that favors the wealthy -- not change. Refusing to answer questions about the details of your policy until after the election --definitely not change. That's the oldest trick in the book. Ruling out compromise by pledging to rubber-stamp the tea party's agenda in Congress -- not change. Changing the facts when they're inconvenient to your campaign -- not change

5. **Immigration Washington DC**

A. To this day, America reaps incredible economic rewards because we remain a magnet for the best and brightest from across the globe. Folks travel here in the hopes of being a part of a culture of entrepreneurship and ingenuity, and by doing so they strengthen and enrich that culture. Immigration also means we have a younger workforce -– and a faster-growing economy -- than many of our competitors. And in an increasingly interconnected world, the diversity of our country is a powerful advantage in global competition.

Just a few weeks ago, we had an event of small business owners at the White House. And one business owner was a woman named Prachee Devadas who came to this country, became a citizen, and opened up a successful technology services company. When she started, she had just one employee. Today, she employs more than a hundred people. This past April, we held a naturalization ceremony at the White House for members of our armed forces. Even though they were not yet citizens, they had enlisted. One of them was a woman named Perla Ramos -- born and raised in Mexico, came to the United States shortly after 9/11, and she eventually joined the Navy. And she said, "I take pride in our flag and the history that forged this great nation and the history we write day by day."

These women, and men and women across this country like them, remind us that immigrants have always helped to build and defend this country -– and that being an American is not a matter of blood or birth. It's a matter of faith. It's a matter of fidelity to the shared values that we all hold so dear. That's what makes us unique. That's what makes us strong. Anybody can help us write the next great chapter in our history.

Now, we can't forget that this process of immigration and eventual inclusion has often been painful. Each new wave of immigrants has generated fear and resentments towards newcomers, particularly in times of economic upheaval. Our founding was rooted in the notion that America was unique as a place of refuge and freedom for, in Thomas Jefferson's words, "oppressed humanity." But the ink on our Constitution was barely dry when, amidst conflict, Congress passed the Alien and Sedition Acts, which placed harsh restrictions of those suspected of having foreign allegiances. A century ago, immigrants

from Ireland, Italy, Poland, other European countries were routinely subjected to rank discrimination and ugly stereotypes. Chinese immigrants were held in detention and deported from Angel Island in the San Francisco Bay. They didn't even get to come in.

B. Out of many, one. That is what has drawn the persecuted and impoverished to our shores. That's what led the innovators and risk-takers from around the world to take a chance here in the land of opportunity. That's what has led people to endure untold hardships to reach this place called America.

One of the largest waves of immigration in our history took place little more than a century ago. At the time, Jewish people were being driven out of Eastern Europe, often escaping to the sounds of gunfire and the light from their villages burning to the ground. The journey could take months, as families crossed rivers in the dead of night, traveled miles by foot, endured a rough and dangerous passage over the North Atlantic. Once here, many made their homes in a teeming and bustling Lower Manhattan.

It was at this time that a young woman named Emma Lazarus, whose own family fled persecution from Europe generations earlier, took up the cause of these new immigrants. Although she was a poet, she spent much of her time advocating for better health care and housing for the newcomers. And inspired by what she saw and heard, she wrote down her thoughts and donated a piece of work to help pay for the construction of a new statue -- the Statue of Liberty -- which actually was funded in part by small donations from people across America.

Years before the statue was built -- years before it would be seen by throngs of immigrants craning their necks skyward at the end of long and brutal voyage, years before it would come to symbolize everything that we cherish -- she imagined what it could mean. She imagined the sight of a giant statue at the entry point of a great nation -– but unlike the great monuments of the past, this would not signal an empire. Instead, it would signal one's arrival to a place of opportunity and refuge and freedom.

"Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand," she wrote,
A mighty woman with a torch…
From her beacon-hand
Glows world-wide welcome…
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!"…

"Give me your tired, and your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to be free…
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"
Let us remember these words. For it falls on each generation to ensure that that lamp -– that beacon -– continues to shine as a source of hope around the world, and a source of our prosperity here at home.

6. Immigration text 2013a

And there's no good reason to undo the progress we've already made -- especially when it comes to extreme steps like stripping protections from DREAMers that my administration has provided, or asking law enforcement to treat them the same way they treat violent criminals. That's not who we are.

We owe it to America to do better. We owe it to the DREAMers to do better. We owe it to the young people like Tolu and Diego Sanchez, who's with us here today. Where's Diego? Right here. Diego came here from Argentina with his parents when he was just a kid, and growing up, America was his home. This is where he went to school. This is where he made friends. This is where he built a life. You ask Diego and he'll tell you he feels American in every way -- except one; on paper.

In high school, Diego found out that he was undocumented. Think about that. With all the stuff you're already dealing with in high school -- (laughter) -- and suddenly, oh, man, really? So he had done everything right -- stayed out of trouble, excelled in class, contributed to his community -- feeling hopeful about his future, and suddenly he finds out he's got to live in fear of deportation. Watching his friends get their licenses knowing he couldn't get one himself. Seeing his classmates apply for summer jobs knowing he couldn't do that either.

When Diego heard that we were going to offer a chance for folks like him to emerge from the shadows, he went and signed up. All he wanted, he said, was a chance to, "live a normal life" and to "contribute to the country I love." And Diego, this year, was approved for deferred action. A few weeks ago, he graduated from St. Thomas University, where he was student body president and "Student of the Year."

So now he's set his sights higher -- master's degree and then law school so he can pursue a career in public policy, help America shape its future. Why wouldn't we want to do the right thing by Diego? What rationale is there out there that wouldn't want to make sure Diego achieves his dreams? Because if he does, that helps us all achieve our dreams.
So in the weeks to come, you'll hear some opponents of immigration reform try to gin up fear and create division and spread the same old rumors and untruths that we've heard before. And when that happens, I want you to think about Tolu. I want you to think about Diego. And I want you to think about your own parents and your own grandparents and your own great grandparents, and all the men and women and children who came here. The notion that somehow those who came through Ellis Island had all their papers right -- had checked every box and followed procedures as they were getting on that boat -- they were looking for a better life just like these families. And they want to earn their way into the American story.

7. Immigration text 2013

And when each new wave of immigrants arrived, they faced resistance from those who were already here. They faced hardship. They faced racism. They faced ridicule. But over time, as they went about their daily lives, as they earned a living, as they raised a family, as they built a community, as their kids went to school here, they did their part to build a nation.

They were the Einsteins and the Carnegies. But they were also the millions of women and men whose names history may not remember, but whose actions helped make us who we are; who built this country hand by hand, brick by brick. They all came here knowing that what makes somebody an American is not just blood or birth, but allegiance to our founding principles and the faith in the idea that anyone from anywhere can write the next great chapter of our story.

And that's still true today. Just ask Alan Aleman. Alan is here this afternoon -- where is Alan? He's around here -- there he is right here. Alan was born in Mexico. He was brought to this country by his parents when he was a child. Growing up, Alan went to an

American school, pledged allegiance to the American flag, felt American in every way -- and he was, except for one: on paper.

In high school, Alan watched his friends come of age -- driving around town with their new licenses, earning some extra cash from their summer jobs at the mall. He knew he couldn't do those things. But it didn't matter that much. What mattered to Alan was earning an education so that he could live up to his God-given potential.

Last year, when Alan heard the news that we were going to offer a chance for folks like him to emerge from the shadows -- even if it's just for two years at a time -- he was one of the first to sign up. And a few months ago he was one of the first people in Nevada to get approved. In that moment, Alan said, "I felt the fear vanish. I felt accepted."

So today, Alan is in his second year at the College of Southern Nevada. Alan is studying to become a doctor. He hopes to join the Air Force. He's working hard every single day to build a better life for himself and his family. And all he wants is the opportunity to do his part to build a better America.

So in the coming weeks, as the idea of reform becomes more real and the debate becomes more heated, and there are folks who are trying to pull this thing apart, remember Alan and all those who share the same hopes and the same dreams. Remember that this is not just a debate about policy. It's about people. It's about men and women and young people who want nothing more than the chance to earn their way into the American story.

8. Elpaso Texas immigration text

a.You know, about a week ago, I delivered a commencement address at Miami Dade Community College, which is one of the most diverse schools in the nation. The graduates were proud that their class could claim heritage from 181 countries around the world -- 181 countries.

Many of the students were immigrants themselves, coming to America with little more than the dream of their parents and the clothes on their back. A handful had discovered

only in adolescence or adulthood that they were undocumented. But they worked hard and they gave it their all, and so they earned those diplomas.

And at the ceremony, 181 flags -- one for every nation that was represented -- was marched across the stage. And each one was applauded by the graduates and the relatives with ties to those countries. So when the Haitian flag went by, all the Haitian kids -- Haitian American kids shouted out. And when the Guatemalan flag went by, all the kids of Guatemalan heritage shouted out. And when the Ukrainian flag went by, I think one kid shouted out. This was down in Miami. If it had been in Chicago, there would have been more.

But then, the last flag, the American flag, came into view. And everyone in the room erupted in applause. Everybody cheered. So, yes, their parents and grandparents -- some of the graduates themselves -- had come from every corner of the globe. But it was here that they had found opportunity. It was here that they had a chance to contribute to the nation that is their home.

And it was a reminder of a simple idea, as old as America itself: E pluribus unum. Out of many, one. We define ourselves as a nation of immigrants -- a nation that welcomes those willing to embrace America's ideals and America's precepts. That's why millions of people, ancestors to most of us, braved hardship and great risk to come here -- so they could be free to work and worship and start a business and live their lives in peace and prosperity. The Asian immigrants who made their way to California's Angel Island. The German and Scandinavians who settled across the Midwest. The waves of Irish, and Italian, and Polish, and Russian, and Jewish immigrants who leaned against the railing to catch their first glimpse of the Statue of Liberty.

This flow of immigrants has helped make this country stronger and more prosperous. We can point to the genius of Einstein, the designs of I. M. Pei, the stories of Isaac Asimov, the entire industries that were forged by Andrew Carnegie.

And then when I think about immigration I think about the naturalization ceremonies that we've held at the White House for members of our military. Nothing could be more

inspiring. Even though they were not yet citizens when they joined our military, these men and women signed up to serve.

We did one event at the White House and a young man named Granger Michael from Papua New Guinea, a Marine who had been deployed to Iraq three times, was there. And you know what he said about becoming an American citizen? He said, "I might as well. I love this country already." That's all he said. Marines aren't big on speeches.

Another was a woman named Perla Ramos who was born and raised in Mexico and came to the United States shortly after 9/11, and joined the Navy. And she said, "I take pride in our flag and the history we write day by day."

That's the promise of this country -- that anyone can write the next chapter in our story. It doesn't matter where you come from - -- it doesn't matter where you come from; it doesn't matter what you look like; it doesn't matter what faith you worship. What matters is that you believe in the ideals on which we were founded; that you believe that all of us are created equal, endowed by our Creator with certain inalienable rights. All of us deserve our freedoms and our pursuit of happiness. In embracing America, you can become American. That is what makes this country great. That enriches all of us.

B. That's how we can ensure that in the years ahead we are welcoming the talents of all who can contribute to this country and that we're living up to the basic American idea that you can make it here if you try.

That's the idea that gave hope to José Hernández. Is José here? Where's -- José is right over there. I want you to hear -- I want you to think about this story. José's parents were migrant farm workers. And so, growing up, he was too. He was born in California, though he could have just as easily been born on the other side of the border, if it had been a different time of year, because his family moved around with the seasons. So two of his siblings were actually born in Mexico.

So they traveled a lot, and José joined his parents picking cucumbers and strawberries. And he missed part of school when they returned to Mexico each

winter. José didn't learn English until he was 12 years old. But you know what, José was good at math and he liked math. And the nice thing is that math was the same in every school, and it's the same in Spanish as it is in English.

So José studied, and he studied hard. And one day, he's standing in the fields, collecting sugar beets, and he heard on a transistor radio that a man named Franklin Chang-Diaz -- a man with a surname like his -- was going to be an astronaut for NASA. So José decided -- right there in the field, he decided -- well, I could be an astronaut, too.

So José kept on studying, and he graduated high school. And he kept on studying, and he earned an engineering degree. And he kept on studying, and he earned a graduate degree. And he kept on working hard, and he ended up at a national laboratory, helping to develop a new kind of digital medical imaging system.

And a few years later, he found himself more than 100 miles above the surface of the Earth, staring out of the window of the shuttle Discovery, and he was remembering the boy in the California fields with that crazy dream that in America everything is possible.

Think about that, El Paso. That's the American Dream right there. That's what we're fighting for. We are fighting for every boy and every girl like José with a dream and potential that's just waiting to be tapped. We are fighting to unlock that promise, and all that holds not just for their futures, but for America's future. That's why we're going to get this done. And that's why I'm going to need your help.

Appendix 2 Tables (excluding semantic groupings)

Table 4.1: Frequency list of the Obama Corpus compared against the total ANC, including spoken and written varieties

N	Word	Freq.	%	ANC Word	Freq in RC	%
1.	the	3380.00	4.88	the	1207651	0.054484632
2.	and	2566.00	3.70	of	607101	0.027390094
3.	to	2315.00	3.34	and	597941	0.02697683
4.	of	1693.00	2.44	to	534317	0.024106355
5.	that	1549.00	2.24	a	492669	0.022227356
6.	a	1407.00	2.03	in	410496	0.018520022
7.	we	1343.00	1.94	i	347943	0.015697869
8.	in	1211.00	1.75	that	340051	0.015341811
9.	our	835.00	1.21	it	255789	0.011540229
10.	I	733.00	1.06	‘s	240281	0.010840567
11.	for	732.00	1.06	is	228722	0.010319069
12.	is	720.00	1.04	for	205027	0.00925004

13.	this	613.00	0.88	you	179511	0.008098856
14.	it	597.00	0.86	was	158674	0.007158769
15.	you	564.00	0.81	with	150921	0.006808983
16.	s	519.00	0.75	on	142710	0.006438534
17.	have	486.00	0.70	as	125442	0.005659467
18.	on	481.00	0.69	have	117903	0.005319336
19.	are	466.00	0.67	but	115641	0.005217283
20.	who	439.00	0.63	be	108865	0.004911576
21.	will	421.00	0.61	they	107057	0.0048300056
22.	they	419.00	0.60	are	106744	0.0048158844
23.	not	405.00	0.58	n’t	105380	0.004754346
24.	as	394.00	0.57	at	101139	0.004563008
25.	with	368.00	0.53	by	99114	0.0044716476
26.	but	351.00	0.51	he	98700	0.0044529694
27.	be	347.00	0.50	not	97412	0.00439486
28.	people	308.00	0.44	this	96872	0.004370497
29.	so	297.00	0.43	we	95255	0.0042975442
30.	their	297.00	0.43	or	94187	0.00424936
31.	can	294.00	0.42	do	89225	0.0040254937
32.	or	279.00	0.40	from	88709	0.0040022135
33.	by	276.00	0.40	an	74086	0.0033424792

34.	all	268.00	0.39	so	73207	0.0033028221
35. f	from	267.00	0.39	uh	71838	0.003241058
36.	#	262.00	0.38	were	69518	0.0031363885
37.	what	253.00	0.37	know	68829	0.0031053035
38.	at	223.00	0.32	like	63450	0.0028626234
39.	has	222.00	0.32	all	62687	0.0028281996
40.	because	212.00	0.31	there	61541	0.0027764966
41.	do	211.00	0.30	his	59654	0.0026913623
42.	t	211.00	0.30	about	59310	0.0026758423
43.	when	211.00	0.30	if	57476	0.0025930991
44.	now	210.00	0.30	has	57438	0.0025913846
45.	up	210.00	0.30	what	56063	0.0025293499
46.	here	206.00	0.30	just	56032	0.0025279513
47.	us	205.00	0.30	yeah	54592	0.002462984
48.	more	203.00	0.29	my	53488	0.0024131758
49.	America	202.00	0.29	had	52638	0.002374827
50.	about	196.00	0.28	would	51891	0.0023411252
51.	American	192.00	0.28	more	50748	0.0022895574
52.	was	191.00	0.28	when	47386	0.0021378766
53.	just	189.00	0.27	can	47107	0.002125289
54.	an	183.00	0.26	who	46490	0.0020974525

55.	country	180.00	0.26	out	45286	0.0020431324
56.	those	177.00	0.26	Which	45183	0.0020384856
57.	these	176.00	0.25	said	44545	0.0020097014
58.	there	173.00	0.25	their	44274	0.001997475
59.	he	170.00	0.25	no	43346	0.0019556072
60.	been	168.00	0.24	she	41933	0.001891858
61.	ve	162.00	0.23	up	41580	0.0018759319
62.	know	159.00	0.23	been	41530	0.0018736761
63.	one	158.00	0.23	think	41156	0.0018568026
64.	time	158.00	0.23	well	40731	0.0018376282
65.	if	153.00	0.22	than	37870	0.0017085507
66.	change	148.00	0.21	some	37862	0.0017081898
67.	your	145.00	0.21	will	37856	0.0017079192
68.	my	143.00	0.21	Because	37470	0.0016905043
69.	me	140.00	0.20	other	37294	0.0016825638
70.	years	140.00	0.20	did	36264	0.0016360941
71.	make	138.00	0.20	new	35832	0.0016166039

72.	work	138.00	0.20	me	35647	0.0016082574
73.	them	136.00	0.20	s	35039	0.0015808268
74.	no	135.00	0.19	time	34757	0.001568104
75.	want	134.00	0.19	her	33622	0.0015168971
76.	security	132.00	0.19	‘m	33489	0.0015108966
77.	new	131.00	0.19	them	33416	0.0015076032
78.	out	128.00	0.18	also	32936	0.0014859474
79.	right	126.00	0.18	people	32924	0.001485406
80.	re	125.00	0.18	‘re	32626	0.0014719614
81.	some	124.00	0.18	get	31797	0.00143456
82.	need	123.00	0.18	right	31587	0.0014250856
83.	states	123.00	0.18	these	30733	0.0013865564
84.	must	118.00	0.17	its	30620	0.0013814582
85.	where	116.00	0.17	now	30439	0.0013732922
86.	why	115.00	0.17	then	29821	0.0013454104
87.	united	113.00	0.16	could	29742	0.0013418462
88.	got	112.00	0.16	only	29170	0.0013160397
89.	way	112.00	0.16	um	29062	0.0013111671
90.	every	108.00	0.16	really	28966	0.001306836
91.	than	107.00	0.15	into	28449	0.0012835109
92.	nation	106.00	0.15	how	27335	0.0012332515

93.	come	105.00	0.15	see	26701	0.0012046478
94.	were	104.00	0.15	your	26040	0.0011748261
95.	like	100.00	0.14	oh	25472	0.0011492
96.	going	99.00	0.14	most	24887	0.001122807
97.	world	98.00	0.14	good	24447	0.0011029559
98.	believe	96.00	0.14	after	24113	0.0010878871
99.	Iraq	96.00	0.14	even	24000	0.0010827889
100.	also	95.00	0.14	much	23667	0.0010677653

Table 4.2: The top one hundred most frequent content words for the Obama corpus

No.	**Word**	**Freq.**	**%**	**No. of Texts**	**%**
1	people	308.00	0.44	25.00	100.00
2.	now	210	0.30	24.00	96.00
3.	here	206	0.30	22.00	88.00
4.	America	202	0.29	24.00	96.00
5.	American	192	0.28	24.00	96.00
6.	country	180	0.26	22.00	88.00
7.	know	159	0.23	24.00	96.00
7.	one	158	0.23	24.00	96.00

8.	time	158	0.23	25.00	100.00
9.	change	148	0.21	19.00	76.00
10.	years	140	0.20	23.00	92.00
11.	make	138	0.20	23.00	92.00
12	work	138	0.20	21.00	84.00
13	want	134	0.19	22.00	88.00
14	security	132	0.19	20.00	80.00
15	new	131	0.19	23.00	92.00
16	right	126	0.18	23.00	92.00
17	need	123	0.18	21.00	84.00
18	states	123	0.18	21.00	84.00
19	united	113	0.16	21.00	84.00
20	got	112	0.17	17.00	86.00
21	way	112	0.16	25.00	100.00
22	nation	106	0.15	20.00	80.00
23	come	105	0.15	21.00	84.00
24	like	100	0.14	22.00	88.00
25	going	99	0.14	21.00	84.00
26	world	98	0.14	20.00	80.00
27	believe	96	0.14	20.00	80.00
28	Iraq	96	0.14	16.00	64.00

29	Americans	94	0.14	23.00	92.00
30	war	92	0.13	17.00	68.00
31	get	90	0.13	21.00	48.00
32	government	88	0.13	19.00	76.00
33	today	88	0.13	21.00	84.00
34	future	85	0.12	22.00	88.00
35	same	85	0.12	19.00	76.00
36	president	84	0.12	22.00	88.00
37	said	84	0.12	20.00	80.00
38	go	81	0.12	22.00	88.00
39	economy	77	0.11	22.00	88.00
40	jobs	77	0.11	18.00	72.00
41	system	77	0.11	16.00	64.00
42	let	75	0.11	22.00	88.00
43	everybody	74	0.11	17.00	68.00
44	long	73	0.11	20.00	80.00
45	immigration	72	0.10	6.00	24.00
46	reform	72	0.10	13.00	52.00
47	together	72	0.10	22.00	88.00
48	first	71	0.10	20.00	80.00
49	tax	70	0.10	14.00	56.00

50	last	69	0.10	18.00	72.00
51	made	68	0.10	20.00	80.00
52	congress	67	0.10	18.00	72.00
53	thank	66	0.10	22.00	88.00
54	two	65	0.09	21.00	84.00
55	day	64	0.09	21.00	84.00
56	help	64	0.09	19.00	76.00
57	own	64	0.09	19.00	76.00
58	pay	63	0.09	16.00	64.00
59	families	62	0.09	16.00	64.00
60	support	61	0.09	14.00	56.00
61	young	61	0.09	17.00	68.00
62	end	59	0.09	17.00	68.00
63	good	59	0.09	23.00	92.00
64	say	59	0.09	18.00	72.00
65	take	58	0.08	22.00	88.00
66	year	58	0.08	22.00	88.00
67	border	56	0.08	0.08	32.00
68	great	56	0.08	0.08	80.00
69	Washington	56	0.08	16.00	64.00
70	class	55	0.08	12.00	48.00

71	fight	55	0.08	13.00	52.00
72	well	55	0.08	20.00	80.00
73	give	54	0.08	21.00	84.00
74	keep	54	0.08	16.00	64.00
75	still	54	0.08	18.00	72.00
76	Afghanistan	53	0.08	12.00	48.00
77	hard	52	0.08	20.00	80.00
78	next	52	0.08	20.00	80.00
79	region	52	0.08	5.00	20.00
80	hope	51	0.07	19.00	76.00
81	care	50	0.07	15.00	60.00
82	politics	50	0.07	17.00	68.00
83	bill	49	0.07	17.00	68.00
84	folks	49	0.07	15.00	60.00
89	leaders	49	0.07	19.00	76.00
90	put	49	0.07	20.00	80.00
91	state	49	0.07	16.00	64.00
92	tell	49	0.07	17.00	68.00
93	women	49.	0.07	15.00	60.00
94	better	48	0.07	21.00	84.00
95	cut	48	0.07	12.00	48.00

96	military	48	0.07	14.00	56.00
97	national	48	0.07	15.00	60.00
98	opportunity	48	0.07	20.00	80.00
99	law	47	0.07	11.00	44.00
100	chance	46	0.07	15.00	60.00

Table 4.3: The top one hundred most frequent functional words for The Obama Corpus

No.	Word	Freq.	%	No. of Texts	%
1.	the	3380.00	4.88	25.00	100.00
2.	and	2566.00	3.70	25.00	100.00
3.	to	2315.00	3.34	25.00	100.00
4.	of	1693.00	2.44	25.00	100.00
5.	that	1549.00	2.24	25.00	100.00
6.	a	1407.00	2.03	25.00	100.00
7.	we	1343.00	1.94	25.00	100.00
8.	in	1211.00	1.75	25.00	100.00
9.	our	835.00	1.21	25.00	100.00
10.	I	733.00	1.06	25.00	100.00
11.	for	732.00	1.06	25.00	100.00
12.	is	720.00	1.04	25.00	100.00

13.	this	613.00	0.88	25.00	100.00
14.	it	597.00	0.86	25.00	100.00
15.	you	564.00	0.81	25.00	100.00
16.	s	519.00	0.75	18.00	72.00
17.	have	486.00	0.70	25.00	100.00
18.	on	481.00	0.69	25.00	100.00
19.	are	466.00	0.67	25.00	100.00
20.	who	439.00	0.63	24.00	96.00
21.	will	421.00	0.61	25.00	100.00
22.	they	419.00	0.60	25.00	100.00
23.	not	405.00	0.58	25.00	100.00
24.	as	394.00	0.57	25.00	100.00
25.	with	368.00	0.53	25.00	100.00
26.	but	351.00	0.51	25.00	100.00
27.	be	347.00	0.50	25.00	100.00
28.	so	297.00	0.43	25.00	100.00
29.	their	297.00	0.43	24.00	96.00
30.	can	294.00	0.42	25.00	100.00
31.	or	279.00	0.40	25.00	100.00
32.	by	276.00	0.40	25.00	100.00
33.	from	267.00	0.39	25.00	100.00

34.	what	253.00	0.37	24.00	96.00
35.	at	223.00	0.32	23.00	92.00
36.	has	222.00	0.32	24.00	96.00
37.	because	212.00	0.31	25.00	100.00
38.	do	211.00	0.30	25.00	100.00
39.	T	211.00	0.30	15.00	60.00
40.	when	211.00	0.30	23.00	92.00
41.	up	210.00	0.30	25.00	100.00
42.	us	205.00	0.30	24.00	96.00
43.	more	203.00	0.29	24.00	96.00
44.	about	196.00	0.28	24.00	96.00
45.	was	191.00	0.28	24.00	96.00
46.	an	183.00	0.26	25.00	100.00
47.	those	177.00	0.26	24.00	96.00
48.	these	176.00	0.25	25.00	100.00
49.	there	173.00	0.25	25.00	100.00
50.	he	170.00	0.25	20.00	80.00
51.	been	168.00	0.24	23.00	92.00
52.	ve	162.00	0.23	15.00	60.00
53.	if	153.00	0.22	24.00	96.00
54.	your	145.00	0.21	18.00	72.00

55.	my	143.00	0.21	23.00	92.00
56.	me	140.00	0.20	22.00	88.00
57.	them	136.00	0.20	23.00	92.00
58.	must	118.00	0.17	14.00	56.00
59.	where	116.00	0.17	19.00	76.00
60.	why	115.00	0.17	23.00	92.00
61.	every	108.00	0.16	23.00	92.00
62.	than	107.00	0.15	23.00	92.00
63.	were	104.00	0.15	24.00	96.00
64.	also	95.00	0.14	21.00	84.00
65.	its	90.00	0.13	18.00	72.00
66.	should	90.00	0.13	21.00	84.00
67.	how	85.00	0.12	21.00	84.00
68.	that’s	83.00	0.12	13.00	52.00
69.	his	82.00	0.12	19.00	76.00
70.	had	81.00	0.12	19.00	76.00
71.	over	81.00	0.12	23.00	92.00
72.	down	80.00	0.12	22.00	88.00
73.	back	79.00	0.11	21.00	84.00
74.	would	79.00	0.11	20.00	80.00
75.	after	74.00	0.11	17.00	68.00

76.	she	74.00	0.11	11.00	44.00
77.	middle	72.00	0.10	16.00	64.00
78.	into	71.00	0.10	19.00	76.00
79.	other	71.00	0.10	22.00	88.00
80.	even	70.00	0.10	20.00	80.00
81.	its	67.00	0.10	11.00	44.00
82.	then	66.00	0.10	19.00	76.00
83.	too	65.00	0.09	18.00	72.00
84.	We’re	64.00	0.09	13.00	52.00
85.	forward	63.00	0.09	20.00	80.00
86.	through	61.00	0.09	18.00	72.00
87.	done	59.00	0.09	18.00	72.00
88.	We’ve	55.00	0.08	13.00	52.00
89.	could	54.00	0.08	18.00	72.00
90.	around	53.00	0.08	20.00	80.00
91.	across	52.00	0.08	19.00	76.00
92.	may	52.00	0.08	18.00	72.00
93.	I’m	50.00	0.07	11.00	44.00
94.	any	49.00	0.07	19.00	76.00
95.	cannot	46.00	0.07	14.00	56.00
96.	Don’t	45.00	0.06	13.00	52.00

97.	her	45.00	0.06	15.00	60.00
98.	did	42.00	0.06	20.00	80.00
99.	while	41.00	0.06	15.00	60.00
100.	before	40.00	0.06	18.00	72.00

Table 4.4: Comparison of the Obama corpus to the spoken and written varieties of the American National Corpus

N	**Word**	**Freq.**	**%**	**ANC Spoken**	**Freq.**	**ANC Written**	**Freq.**
1.	the	3380.00	4.88	I(NNP)	152884	the	1081168
2.	and	2566.00	3.70	and	128635	of	539793
3.	to	2315.00	3.34	The	123648	and	466737
4.	of	1693.00	2.44	you	106042	to	448519
5.	that	1549.00	2.24	it	99341	a	406057
6.	a	1407.00	2.03	to	85134	in	360853
7.	we	1343.00	1.94	a	84376	is	192975
8.	in	1211.00	1.75	uh	71176	for	180971
9.	our	835.00	1.21	‘s	71159	I(PRP)	177802
10.	I	733.00	1.06	of	66752	it	155671

11.	for	732.00	1.06	yeah	51388	with	133746
12.	is	720.00	1.04	in	48553	that	130759
13.	this	613.00	0.88	they	48548	was	126222
14.	it	597.00	0.86	that	47456	on	121092
15.	you	564.00	0.81	n’t	43530	‘s	103837
16.	S	519.00	0.75	we	40077	as	98598
17.	have	486.00	0.70	know	38553	by	94409
18.	on	481.00	0.69	that	37900	be	90502
19.	are	466.00	0.67	do	36644	are	89222
20.	who	439.00	0.63	is	34933	at	86978
21.	will	421.00	0.61	was	32248	he	82223
22.	they	419.00	0.60	but	30297	but	81040
23.	not	405.00	0.58	like	28302	from	80193
24.	as	394.00	0.57	um	27851	this	79667
25.	with	368.00	0.53	just	26582	not	78958
26.	but	351.00	0.51	have	24830	you	73240
27.	be	347.00	0.50	well	24560	or	72434
28.	people	308.00	0.44	so	23542	an	67104
29.	so	297.00	0.43	for	23461	n’t	61850
30.	their	297.00	0.43	what	22428	were	60714
31.	can	294.00	0.42	oh	20541	they	58234

32.	or	279.00	0.40	or	20395	his	56531
33.	by	276.00	0.40	on	20147	‘s	56517
34.	all	268.00	0.39	‘re	20020	we	54947
35.	from	267.00	0.39	that	18710	that	52175
36.	#	262.00	0.38	there	18656	has	52024
37.	what	253.00	0.37	be	17685	that	51493
38.	at	223.00	0.32	my	17599	have	50959
39.	has	222.00	0.32	think	17574	about	43353
40.	because	212.00	0.31	not	17534	who	41563
41.	do	211.00	0.30	this	16908	which	40507
42.	t	211.00	0.30	are	16886	if	40357
43.	when	211.00	0.30	if	16881	all	39804
44.	now	210.00	0.30	with	16864	would	39277
45.	up	210.00	0.30	really	16712	their	38571
46.	here	206.00	0.30	he	16185	said	38249
47.	us	205.00	0.30	uh-huh	15633	had	36438
48.	more	203.00	0.29	about	15225	when	35830
49.	America	202.00	0.29	um-hum	15111	can	35765
50.	about	196.00	0.28	know	14502	my	35676
51.	American	192.00	0.28	‘m	14409	will	34529
52.	was	191.00	0.28	Because	13430	been	34517

53.	just	189.00	0.27	Right	13369	than	33609
54.	an	183.00	0.26	at	13294	what	33324
55.	country	180.00	0.26	so	12605	do	32224
56.	those	177.00	0.26	‘ve	12602	there	31949
57.	these	176.00	0.25	would	12501	she	31229
58.	there	173.00	0.25	then	11619	other	31045
59.	he	170.00	0.25	had	11614	have	30320
60.	been	168.00	0.24	have	11518	its	29992
61.	ve	162.00	0.23	when	11471	also	29940
62.	know	159.00	0.23	them	11382	just	29237
63.	one	158.00	0.23	did	11331	no	27963
64.	time	158.00	0.23	can	11143	some	27388
65.	if	153.00	0.22	okay	10907	these	26535
66.	change	148.00	0.21	all	10883	me	26490
67.	your	145.00	0.21	out	10729	so	26377
68.	my	143.00	0.21	I(PRP)	10624	like	26188
69.	me	140.00	0.20	she	10487	did	24810
70.	years	140.00	0.20	some	10313	her	24455
71.	make	138.00	0.20	people	10078	into	24031
72.	work	138.00	0.20	lot	9936	time	23747
73.	them	136.00	0.20	no	9893	because	23724

74.	no	135.00	0.19	get	9676	more	23621
75.	want	134.00	0.19	do	9278	could	23364
76.	security	132.00	0.19	now	9210	out	23199
77.	new	131.00	0.19	as	8990	only	22875
78.	out	128.00	0.18	good	8699	people	22446
79.	right	126.00	0.18	were	8671	after	22042
80.	re	125.00	0.18	going	8553	them	21825
81.	some	124.00	0.18	kind	8536	now	21085
82.	need	123.00	0.18	time	8506	s	20111
83.	states	123.00	0.18	me	8376	him	19615
84.	must	118.00	0.17	from	8240	more	19092
85.	where	116.00	0.17	mean	8186	‘m	19080
86.	why	115.00	0.17	how	8182	how	18944
87.	united	113.00	0.16	‘s	8020	even	18902
88.	got	112.00	0.16	your	7941	may	18819
89.	way	112.00	0.16	here	7857	over	18043
90.	every	108.00	0.16	things	7450	your	18009
91.	than	107.00	0.15	something	7400	then	18009
92.	nation	106.00	0.15	go	7186	our	17892
93.	come	105.00	0.15	been	6990	new	17574
94.	were	104.00	0.15	see	6851	any	16983

95.	like	100.00	0.14	too	6824	such	16973
96.	going	99.00	0.14	an	6729	up	16886
97.	world	98.00	0.14	where	6695	does	16818
98.	believe	96.00	0.14	very	6362	many	16603
99.	Iraq	96.00	0.14	thing	6295	where	16455
100.	also	95.00	0.14	could	6293	see	16120

Table 4.5: Lexical collocates of the pronoun we in order of collocational strength

No.	**Word**	**Total Frequency**	**Total left**	**Total right**	**Log-likelihood score**
1	believe	71	23	48	1.531.0
2	need	63	5	58	1.374.1
3	know	58	11	47	1.274.6
4	got	35	3	32	804.541
5	change	32	16	16	741.315
6	together	31	11	20	720.117
7	going	28	5	23	647.429
8	make	27	9	18	634.659
9	work	29	3	26	566.773

10	people	28	10	18	581.343
11	want	23	5	18	548.011
12	Keep	22	2	20	517.914
13	America	21	9	12	490.589
14	nation	21	7	14	490.589
15	country	23	11	12	487.105
16	continue	19	0	19	438.711
17	seek	19	1	18	438.711
18	time	25	19	6	433.819
19	years	19	14	5	414.148
20	face	20	1	19	391.314
21	come	18	4	14	390.393
22	afford	17	1	16	388.927
23	same	17	12	5	376.140
24	way	18	10	8	355.152
25	said	16	12	4	364.571
26	see	17	2	15	347.873
27	American	17	9	8	346.243
28	challenges	15	10	5	340.502
29	border	15	6	9	340.502
30	today	15	7	8	340.502

31	different	14	6	8	316.683
32	Iraq	14	6	8	316.683
33	no	18	6	8	290.945
34	war	16	11	5	290.371
35	help	13	2	11	285.882
36	new	16	0	16	285.413
37	win	13	3	10	281.307
38	future	13	7	6	277.645
39	right	16	8	8	276.638
40	security	14	6	8	270.614
41	yes	12	9	3	269.692
42	say	12	8	4	269.692
43	build	12	3	9	269.692
44	clear	13	5	8	267.189
45	better	14	1	13	260.885
46	support	12	2	10	251.697
47	tried	11	0	11	246.478
48	progress	11	4	7	246.478
49	stand	12	1	11	242.771
50	reform	12	5	7	231.449

Table 4.6: Functional collocates of we in order of collocational strength

No.	Word	Total frequency	Total left	Total right	Log-likelihood score
1	the	425	183	242	6.626.0
2	that	352	220	132	6.466.4
3	to	347	75	272	5.286.1
4	and	321	221	100	4.897.2
5	have	164	15	149	3.263.2
6	will	146	13	133	2.939.0
7	a	190	45	145	2.920.3
8	our	143	42	101	2.884.5
9	can	128	14	114	2.610.3
10	in	157	67	90	2.455.2
11	are	116	12	95	2.388.4
12	this	102	46	56	2.126.4
13	Is	81	58	23	1.726.0
14	do	71	14	57	1.531.6
15	as	80	50	30	1.518.8
16	what	63	41	22	1.374.1
17	with	69	20	49	1.368.6
18	so	70	59	11	1.352.5
19	but	61	52	9	1.238.4
20	for	65	27	38	1.156.0

21	it	60	19	41	1.141.4
22	not	64	17	47	1.093.4
23	re	68	4	64	1.082.9
24	if	46	38	8	1.032.2
25	s	61	51	10	1.031.8
26	on	60	20	40	1.018.3
27	must	44	1	43	991.285
28	when	44	31	13	991.285
29	about	40	17	23	892.711
30	more	42	7	35	884.432
31	t	50	12	38	874.808
32	who	40	21	19	873.169
33	be	39	11	28	724.384
34	those	31	10	21	720.117
35	why	29	28	1	677.526
36	also	28	5	23	656.128
37	I	36	29	7	643.157
38	had	25	3	22	591.495
39	an	28	9	19	579.900
40	how	24	21	3	569.795
41	these	23	4	19	548.011

42	ll	23	2	21	548.011
43	were	23	4	19	539.697
44	at	27	10	17	512.056
45	them	21	2	19	490.589
46	by	21	7	14	490.532
47	up	29	7	22	475.837
48	don	20	3	17	464.310
49	where	20	16	4	464.310
50	or	24	19	5	461.827

Table 4.7: Lexical words collocating with I in the Obama Corpus

No.	**Word**	**Total**	**Total left**	**Total right**	**Log-likelihood**
21.	want	84	5	79	1.528.9
22.	know	56	15	41	1.007.7
23.	said	39	13	26	697.487
24.	believe	36	1	35	643.157
25.	say	33	10	23	588.948
26.	president	23	7	16	409.094
27.	think	22	3	19	391.177
28.	American	23	3	20	373.692
29.	today	20	8	12	355.382
30.	mean	17	7	10	284.871
31.	need	15	1	14	266.103
32.	thank	15	0	15	266.103
33.	here	15	3	12	238.583
34.	People	17	2	15	234.515
35.	just	17	2	15	223.632

36.	now	17	13	4	212.147
37.	tell	11	4	7	188.009
38.	got	10	3	7	177.119
39.	met	10	0	10	177.119
40.	Americans	10	4	6	177.119
41.	all	17	6	11	175.710
42.	country	11	5	6	145.416
43.	ask	1	7	8	141.606
44.	promise	8	3	5	141.606
45.	clear	9	0	9	131.834
46.	ago	8	6	2	131.598
47.	ran	7	1	6	123.866
48.	proud	7	1	6	123.866
49.	hope	7	0	7	123.866
50.	give	7	0	7	123.866
51.	took	7	1	6	123.866
52.	war	10	4	6	120.345
53.	chief	8	4	4	119.427
54.	office	9	3	6	118.876
55.	time	12	7	5	118.714
56.	stand	8	2	6	114.689
57.	meet	7	1	6	114.332
58.	every	7	2	5	114.332
59.	Seen	7	0	7	114.332
60.	long	11	10	1	107.299
61.	Iraq	7	5	2	104.466
62.	years	7	6	1	94.896
63.	thing	7	6	1	94.896
64.	make	7	1	6	94.224
65.	love	8	1	7	92.870
66.	fighting	7	0	7	92.381
67.	going	7	0	7	91.818

68.	go	8	2	6	90.701
69.	made	7	1	6	80.903
70.	back	7	2	5	68.841

Table 4.8: Grammatical Collocates of the pronoun I in the Obama Corpus

No.	**Word**	**Total**	**Total left**	**Total right**	**Log-likelihood**
21.	to	208	31	177	3.121.2
22.	the	195	70	125	2.954.8
23.	and	166	135	31	2.368.0
24.	that	152	64	68	2.874.0
25.	you	65	17	48	1.026.7
26.	This	52	16	36	934.376
27.	‘m	60	4	56	899.518
28.	will	48	2	46	861.227
29.	when	44	33	11	788.312
30.	of	63	23	40	765.943
31.	as	52	39	13	751.549
32.	because	41	23	18	733.775
33.	for	50	14	36	668.923
34.	in	58	24	34	665.889
35.	ve	37	4	33	661.253
36.	have	37	3	34	661.253
37.	am	37	7	30	661.253
38.	what	38	23	15	657.899
39.	we	36	7	29	643.157
40.	a	57	13	44	634.934
41.	it	43	6	37	609.224
42.	not	47	8	39	590.011
43.	why	32	30	2	570.905
44.	with	34	10	24	478.813
45.	but	33	31	2	477.404

46.	about	27	9	18	426.139
47.	was	25	4	21	405.667
48.	t	33	3	30	401.080
49.	so	29	23	6	385.274
50.	be	27	4	23	344.916
51.	is	24	16	8	337.026
52.	on	29	7	22	328.159
53.	can	21	2	19	309.859
54.	s	27	22	5	299.617
55.	my	20	6	14	289.123
56.	our	15	2	13	266.103
57.	do	19	7	12	261.839
58.	your	18	7	11	250.900
59.	don	14	1	13	248.283
60.	these	14	6	8	248.283
61.	also	13	1	12	230.475
62.	them	13	5	8	218.695
63.	then	16	13	3	209.748
64.	d	16	1	15	176.556
65.	by	15	3	12	165.424
66.	never	12	1	11	162.431
67.	an	12	3	9	154.984
68.	at	13	3	10	150.578
69.	or	12	9	3	140.361
70.	me	11	7	4	133.350

Appendix 3 Concordance Lines

We Believe

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	ient.	ient.	ara.	ara.	ead.	ead.
1	the world, and someone should ask her where she is from, we believe that she should always be able to hold her head		1,382	50	50%	0	75%		
2	we are our brother's keeper. That we are our sister's keeper. We believe that a child born tonight should have the same		1,184	45	7%	0	65%		
3	from here on a cold February morning in Springfield - because we believe that the challenges we face are bigger than the		185	6	70%	0	9%		
4	in China or India for the jobs of the twenty-first century. We believe that these jobs should provide wages that can raise		1,278	48	7%	0	70%		
5	by unscrupulous credit card companies or mortgage lenders. We believe that there's a place for rules and regulations that		963	59	11%	0	28%		
6	are not hostile to people's hopes; they're essential to them. We believe that no one benefits from a nuclear arms race in		1,302	69	10%	0	23%		
7	share, everybody is playing by the same rules. That's what we believe. That's why you elected me in 2008 and that is		695	47	80%	0	20%		
8	for when she gets sick and a pension for when she retires. We believe that when she tucks her own children into bed, she		1,305	49	4%	0	71%		
9	research into medical breakthroughs and new technologies. We believe that America is stronger -- not weaker, stronger --		885	56	10%	0	26%		
10	America is, and always will be, 'the last best, hope of Earth? We say; we hope; we believe - yes we can. an.		1,822	75	18%	0	99%		
11	top down; it grows from the middle out. That's how it grows. We don't believe that anybody is entitled to success in this		735	56	11%	0	23%		
12	That's not how are greatness was built. Here in America, we believe we're all in this together. We understand it's not		2,513	158	45%	0	78%		
13	us, together, as one nation, and as one people. That's what we believe. You're the reason the mother in Green Bay doesn't		2,549	161	80%	0	79%		
14	will be, 'the last best, hope of Earth? We say; we hope; we believe - yes we can. n.		1,826	75	55%	0	100		
15	times. And because these issues touch deeply on what we believe, touch deeply on our convictions -- about who we		919	68	26%	0	22%		
16	is a larger responsibility we have to one another as Americans. We believe that we rise or fall as one nation - as one people.		1,158	42	13%	0	63%		
17	St. Louis; on the streets of Chicago or the hills of Appalachia. We believe that when she goes to school for the first time, it		1,221	47	3%	0	67%		
18	credit card companies or mortgage lenders. And then, we believe there are some things that Washington should just		1,113	82	9%	0	30%		
19	and Egypt, and permanent Israeli borders with Palestine. We believe the borders of Israel and Palestine should be based		4,771	232	6%	0	84%		
20	and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday		1,551	73	47%	0	64%		
21	look, as Americans, we believe in the free market. We believe in free enterprise. We believe in the strivers, the		958	75	33%	0	26%		
22	and everybody is playing by the same rules. That's the country we believe in. That's what I've been fighting for, for the last four		793	58	71%	0	25%		
23	we believe in the free market. We believe in free enterprise. We believe in the strivers, the dreamers, the risk-takers. We		963	76	20%	0	26%		
24	different, we need to speak honestly about the principles that we believe in, with friend and foe alike. Our message is		2,836	139	74%	0	50%		
25	growth and prosperity the world has ever known. That's what we believe. But we also believe that in this country, the free		997	78	80%	0	27%		
26	in research for medical breakthroughs and new technologies. We believe America works best, is stronger, when everybody		1,050	80	9%	0	28%		
27	can't solve all our problems – and we don't expect it to. We believe in hard work. We believe in personal responsibility		1,027	40	33%	0	43%		
28	problems – and we don't expect it to. We believe in hard work. We believe in personal responsibility and self-reliance. But we		1,032	41	25%	0	44%		
29	about change. Back in 2008, when we talked about change we believe in, I warned people -- look, I wasn't just talking		2,691	189	23%	0	72%		
30	nuclear arms race in the region, or al Qaeda's brutal attacks. We believe people everywhere would see their economies		1,321	70	13%	0	23%		
31	-- when everybody can count on affordable health insurance. We believe our country is better when people can count on		904	57	10%	0	26%		
32	is, and always will be, 'the last best, hope of Earth? We say; we hope; we believe - yes we can. an.		1,824	75	36%	0	100		
33	and everybody is playing by the same rules. That's what we believe. That's why you elected me in 2008. And that's		786	62	80%	0	21%		
34	are some things that Washington should just stay out of -- like we believe no politician -- especially a whole bunch of male		1,128	82	43%	0	30%		
35	us out of a crisis. Now, understand, look, as Americans, we believe in the free market. We believe in free enterprise.		952	74	58%	0	25%		
36	on the promise of freedom and dignity for every human being. We believe in a generous America, in a compassionate		1,063	51	2%	0	48%		
37	them to fulfill their God-given potential. That's the America we believe in. That's the America I know. This is the country		1,162	45	71%	0	49%		
38	Well we are here tonight to say that this is not the America we believe in and this is not the future we want. We want a		812	26	60%	0	44%		
39	to success in this country, but we do believe in opportunity. We do believe in a country where hard work pays off and		753	57	5%	0	23%		
40	rules and regulations that make sure our people are safe. And we also believe there are some things politicians should stay		981	60	21%	0	28%		
41	believe that anybody is entitled to success in this country, but we do believe in opportunity. We do believe in a country where		748	56	79%	0	23%		
42	we choose to end it; it's change that polls well, or change we can believe in; it's the past versus the future. And when I'm		602	29	74%	0	32%		
43	It's not easy bringing about change. Back in 2008, when we talked about change we believe in, I warned people -- look,		2,687	189	14%	0	72%		
44	engine of prosperity and growth the world has ever known. But we also believe that in this country, like no other, our market		825	55	5%	0	24%		
45	What matters is that you believe in the ideals on which we were founded; that you believe that all of us are created		770	57	39%	0	19%		
46	We believe in personal responsibility and self-reliance. But we also believe that we have a larger responsibility to one		1,040	42	8%	0	44%		
47	instead of a video game once in awhile. We know this. But we also believe that there is a larger responsibility we have to		1,142	41	17%	0	62%		
48	the world has ever known. That's what we believe. But we also believe that in this country, the free market and free		1,000	79	6%	0	27%		

We Know

N	Concordance	Set		Word #	ient.	ient.	ara.	ara. e
1	these countries may be a great distance from our shores, we know that our own future is bound to this region by the			149	13	39%	0	3%
2	a book in their hands instead of a video game once in awhile. We know this. But we also believe that there is a larger			1,138	40	50%	0	62%
3	international law and the demonstration of its peaceful intent. We know that the Iranian government will not change its			712	42	8%	0	66%
4	that's shut you out, let you down and told you to settle. We know our road will not be easy. But we also know that at			96	8	22%	0	5%
5	on our way. But we know how much farther we have to go. We know it takes more than one night – or even one election			57	7	5%	0	3%
6	around a whole bunch of other issues. Right now, though, we know this is good for the economy -- and they went ahead			886	42	23%	0	90%
7	know that al Qaeda is actively planning to attack us again. We know that this threat will be with us for a long time, and			379	27	7%	0	6%
8	we face are bigger than the smallness of our politics, and we know that this election is our chance to change it. After			201	6	89%	0	10%
9	We believe in the strivers, the dreamers, the risk-takers. We know they've always been the driving force behind our			972	77	8%	0	26%
10	progress these past four years. But here's the thing, Ohio. We know we've got more work to do. That's why we're here			628	55	22%	0	17%
11	We also know that we have won the state of Vermont. And we know this - no matter what happens tonight, we have			78	3	9%	0	4%
12	from the deadliest attack on American soil in our history. We know that al Qaeda is actively planning to attack us again.			367	26	15%	0	6%
13	hard to get into the middle class. Our fight goes on because we know America always does its best when everybody gets a			756	61	21%	0	20%
14	change in Washington. And tonight, we're on our way. But we know how much farther we have to go. We know it takes			48	6	27%	0	3%
15	work to get into the middle class. Our fight goes on because we know America has always done best, we've always			663	46	19%	0	19%
16	and we may not even know the final results until morning. We do know that Senator Clinton has won Rhode Island, and			27	1	5%	0	1%
17	We've been debating this a very long time. So it's not as if we don't know technically what needs to get done. As a			1,569	109	47%	0	52%
18	said, if that's true, he must need a new accountant. So now we know for sure that wasn't the real Mitt Romney, because			408	32	14%	0	13%
19	work harder and study more to compete in a global economy. We know that we need to take responsibility for ourselves and			1,096	39	5%	0	60%
20	to keep up with soaring costs in a sluggish economy, we know that the status quo in Washington just won't do. Not			242	16	69%	0	13%
21	be broken; you cannot outlast us, and we will defeat you. For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a			1,487	71	21%	0	62%
22	have picked ourselves up, we have fought our way back, and we know in our hearts that for the United States of America,			138	6	69%	0	6%
23	So what would comprehensive reform look like? First, we know that government has a threshold responsibility to			2,998	197	17%	0	72%
24	surplus in history. So our ideas have been put to the test, we know they work. Now, the other guy's ideas have been put			1,303	90	79%	0	35%
25	did well there too, and so we congratulate her on those states. We also know that we have won the state of Vermont. And we			66	2	17%	0	4%
26	of the country — a patchwork of local immigration rules where we all know one clear national standard is needed. Our task			1,980	97	82%	0	48%
27	be saddled with debt will see these as years of progress. We already know that John McCain offers more of the same.			782	29	17%	0	39%
28	want to share that opportunity with other Americans. But we all know that today, we have an immigration system that's			628	52	8%	0	21%
29	loves teachers -- can't get enough of them. The Mitt Romney we all know invested in companies that were called "pioneers"			353	28	25%	0	11%
30	are in the middle of a very close race right now in Texas, and we may not even know the final results until morning. We do			17	0	65%	0	1%
31	know what change is. We know what the future requires. But we also know it's not going to be easy. Back in 2008, we			2,377	163	27%	0	69%
32	to this debate. You can sign up to help at whitehouse.gov. We need Washington to know that there is a movement for			3,654	246	10%	0	88%
33	and Traumatic Brain Injury, as well as other combat injuries. We also know that service does not end with the person			2,621	124	13%	0	72%
34	and told you to settle. We know our road will not be easy. But we also know that at this moment the cynics can no longer			105	9	16%	0	6%
35	know what change is. We know what the future requires. And we also know it's not easy. It's not easy bringing about			2,671	187	38%	0	71%
36	players and expect a different result. Not this time. Not now. We already know what we're getting from the other party's			521	19	17%	0	26%
37	kids need it; I don't need it. So we know what change is. We know what the future requires. And we also know it's not			2,664	186	29%	0	71%
38	and the 90s? And we still haven't done anything about it. And we know why. In every election, politicians come to your cities			886	36	60%	0	44%
39	side has used time after time in election after election. Yes, we know what's coming. We've seen it already. The same			1,469	58	50%	0	62%
40	contribute to their communities. They're our neighbors. We know their kids. Too often, they're forced to do what they			747	44	40%	0	28%
41	-- in addition to listening to Bruce -- (laughter) -- is because we know we've got more work to do. We've got more work to			540	39	75%	0	16%
42	George W. Bush. You don't get that matchup very often. So we know where the consensus should be. Now, of course,			1,645	114	33%	0	55%
43	to convince you that these bad, old ideas are change. Listen, we know what change looks like, Madison, and what he's			1,357	89	20%	0	39%
44	of change. Now, here's the thing, Cincinnati. It turns out we know what change looks like. (Applause.) And what			1,471	99	50%	0	39%
45	just to pay for another millionaire's tax cut. So, Wisconsin, we know what change is. We know what the future requires.			2,365	161	50%	0	68%
46	tax cut. So, Wisconsin, we know what change is. We know what the future requires. But we also know it's not			2,370	162	29%	0	68%
47	for me. I don't need it. Those kids need it; I don't need it. So we know what change is. We know what the future requires.			2,659	185	43%	0	71%
48	American Dream right there. That's what we're fighting for. We are fighting for every boy and every girl like José with a			4,076	273	9%	0	98%
49	us? I believe that we do. I believe that we do. I believe we are finally at a moment where comprehensive immigration			2,198	147	24%	0	73%

I believe

N	Concordance	Set		Word #	ent.	ent.	ara.	ara. e
1	has the power of the purse. As a former senator, I believe that individual members of Congress			1,175	50	38%	0	86%
2	put this issue behind us? I believe that we do. I believe that we do. I believe we are finally at a			2,191	146	33%	0	73%
3	a government to finally put this issue behind us? I believe that we do. I believe that we do. I			2,186	145	33%	0	73%
4	willing to believe in what's possible again; then I believe that we won't just win this primary			1,959	87	52%	0	98%
5	on making this case across the country because I believe that this rule is consistent with those			1,798	92	37%	0	93%
6	the creation of such a commission because I believe that our existing democratic institutions			5,572	288	48%	0	86%
7	government made a series of hasty decisions. I believe that many of these decisions were			1,103	58	11%	0	17%
8	common purpose. I ran for President because I believe that we cannot solve the challenges of			6,412	327	32%	0	99%
9	of compassion that drives this argument, but I believe such an indiscriminate approach would			2,122	102	54%	0	51%
10	politics is not as divided as it seems sometimes. I still believe in the American people. They are			3,115	194	25%	0	96%
11	trust and confidence instead of cynicism. So I believe as we move forward, we can come			707	29	15%	0	52%
12	support her. Well I'm here tonight to tell you that I don't believe it. Yes, there have been bruised			328	12	77%	0	14%
13	years apart. Parents can't see their children. I don't believe the United States of America			3,288	219	12%	0	79%
14	and less secure. I believed that then and I believe it now. And that's why, even as we've			250	13	70%	0	6%
15	and mutual respect. I believed then — and I believe now — that we have a stake not just in			1,495	76	25%	0	26%
16	I'm thinking about when I go to bed at night. I believe in you. I'm asking you to keep believing			3,153	197	40%	0	98%
17	divided and distracted at this moment in history. I believe in our ability to perfect this union			2,040	80	11%	0	86%
18	to keep working, to keep fighting. America, I believe we can build on the progress we've			1,986	98	10%	0	91%
19	have an immigration system that's accountable. I believe we can appeal not to people's fears but			3,644	181	8%	0	88%
20	and new security for the middle class. I believe we can keep the promise of our			2,013	99	5%	0	92%
21	most basic American values is still in place. But I believe we can put politics aside and finally			3,629	180	18%	0	88%
22	So you know where I stand. You know what I believe. You know I tell the truth. And you			1,578	109	83%	0	46%
23	upon mutual interests and mutual respect. I believed then — and I believe now — that we			1,490	76	7%	0	26%
24	are all critical to keeping America secure. But I believe with every fiber of my being that in the			565	37	9%	0	9%
25	You know where I stand and you know what I believe. You know I tell the truth. And you			1,866	124	92%	0	50%
26	us? I believe that we do. I believe that we do. I believe we are finally at a moment where			2,196	147	12%	0	73%
27	and we're going to keep moving forward. And I believe that our politics is not as divided as it			3,102	193	20%	0	96%
28	because it's the right thing to do, period. And I believe that, eventually, enough Republicans in			855	43	17%	0	69%
29	miles. I count on Hillary every single day, and I believe that she will go down as one of the			57	7	36%	0	1%
30	will come around to that view as well. And I believe that it's the right thing to do because			872	44	6%	0	70%
31	make it here in America if you're willing to try. I believe we can seize this future together			2,092	102	11%	0	95%
32	the principles are pretty straightforward. First, I believe we need to stay focused on			1,766	122	27%	0	59%
33	of Democrats are ready to move forward; and I believe the majority of Americans are ready to			3,433	170	63%	0	83%
34	community. When they're private entities, then I believe they have to be evaluated with a higher			953	39	37%	0	70%
35	desire to protect the American people. But I also believe that all too often our government			1,122	59	9%	0	17%

I know

N	Concordance	Set	Word #	ent.	ent.	ara.	ara. ea
1	government. I will tell the American people what I know and don't know, and when I release		5,227	271	32%	0	81%
2	we knew that little girl could be our own. And I know that every American wants her future to		1,827	89	20%	0	83%
3	always be the safety of the American people. I know that you – the men and women of the		3,082	143	7%	0	85%
4	and all the incredible work that you've put in. I know that political campaigns can sometimes		570	29	17%	0	26%
5	as Commander-in-Chief, and as a citizen, I know that we must never, ever, turn our back		768	45	54%	0	12%
6	in common purpose. It requires us to act. I know that some issues will be harder to lift than		310	29	15%	0	10%
7	detention is carefully evaluated and justified. I know that creating such a system poses unique		3,805	197	18%	0	59%
8	that about me. So when I say, Wisconsin, that I know what real change looks like, you've got		1,617	113	24%	0	47%
9	day as hard as I know how. So when I tell you I know what real change looks like, it's because		1,898	127	18%	0	51%
10	should pay their fair share, and he said so. I know that position might disqualify him from the		1,600	84	5%	0	83%
11	in some cases debates that they have lost. I know that these debates lead directly, in some		5,541	287	9%	0	85%
12	to get on board with where the country is. I know that some prefer to run around using the		874	49	10%	0	45%
13	burden that your families endure every day. I want you to know this: military families are a		2,660	126	7%	0	73%
14	freedom. We will honor that commitment. Now, I don't know who's going to show up at the next		2,309	144	9%	0	71%
15	how many folks will vote for me this time, but I want you to know I'll be with you no matter		2,967	187	59%	0	92%
16	single day as hard as I know how. So when I tell you I know what real change looks like, it's		1,895	127	10%	0	51%
17	the top-down, it happens from the bottom-up. I also know that real change has never been		1,712	80	11%	0	85%
18	student loans. I do what I say. You know where I stand and you know what I believe. You know I		1,860	124	42%	0	50%
19	power to keep the American people safe. And I do know with certainty that we can defeat al		6,339	324	23%	0	98%
20	I know how. You know that about me. So when I say, Wisconsin, that I know what real change		1,613	113	12%	0	47%
21	our efforts to close Guantanamo move forward, I know that the politics in Congress will be		3,950	204	55%	0	61%
22	owns FOX News, and is an immigrant himself. I don't know if you're familiar with Rupert		2,914	191	8%	0	70%
23	need your help. I will be your President, too. And I don't know how many folks will vote for me this		2,954	187	11%	0	91%
24	who's going to show up at the next debate, but I do know that the real Mitt Romney said it was		2,322	144	48%	0	72%
25	it, and we'll work with Congress to do so. Now I know there are members in both Houses with		1,015	42	19%	0	75%
26	techniques by the United States of America. I know some have argued that brutal methods		1,398	71	12%	0	22%
27	must have lived under the fear of deportation. I know some have come forward, at great risks to		919	45	6%	0	74%
28	fellow who claimed to be Mitt Romney. But I know it couldn't have been Mitt Romney --		248	22	8%	0	8%
29	and nuclear infrastructure is modernized -- which I know is a key concern of many around this		530	31	61%	0	56%
30	and your families every single day as hard as I know how. So when I tell you I know what real		1,890	126	90%	0	50%
31	and your families every single day as hard as I know how. You know that about me. So when		1,603	111	90%	0	46%
32	work for it. Because hope is not blind optimism. I know how hard it will be to make these		1,519	76	17%	0	81%
33	we can afford it. I haven't talked to Bruce, but I know he can afford it. I can afford it. Mr.		2,292	153	62%	0	66%
34	Asian, and Native American. Because one thing I know from traveling to forty-six states this		1,456	68	21%	0	73%
35	to be easy. Back in 2008, we talked about it. I know everybody sometimes romanticizes the		2,391	165	11%	0	69%
36	introduction? We've got one of the finest men I know, as well as a great United States senator,		84	8	41%	0	3%
37	security, but also enforcement within our borders. I know there's a lot of talk right now about border		1,353	82	7%	0	51%
38	it's the only reason I'm standing here today. And I know the promise of America because I have		2,059	81	23%	0	87%
39	know how hard it will be to make these changes. I know this because I fought on the streets of		1,530	77	7%	0	82%
40	the America we believe in. That's the America I know. This is the country that gave my		1,168	46	83%	0	49%

Appendix 4: USAS Semantic Tagset

See http://ucrel.lancs.ac.uk/usas/ for more details. **A GENERAL & ABSTRACT TERMS**
A1 General
A1.1.1 General actions, making etc.
A1.1.2 Damaging and destroying
A1.2 Suitability
A1.3 Caution
A1.4 Chance, luck
A1.5 Use
A1.5.1 Using
A1.5.2 Usefulness
A1.6 Physical/mental
A1.7 Constraint
A1.8 Inclusion/Exclusion
A1.9 Avoiding
A2 Affect
A2.1 Affect: Modify, change
A2.2 Affect: Cause/Connected
A3 Being
A4 Classification
A4.1 Generally kinds, groups, examples
A4.2 Particular/general; detail
A5 Evaluation
A5.1 Evaluation: Good/bad
A5.2 Evaluation: True/false
A5.3 Evaluation: Accuracy
A5.4 Evaluation: Authenticity
A6 Comparing
A6.1 Comparing: Similar/different
A6.2 Comparing: Usual/unusual
A6.3 Comparing: Variety
A7 Definite (+ modals)
A8 Seem
A9 Getting and giving; possession
A10 Open/closed; Hiding/Hidden; Finding; Showing
A11 Importance
A11.1 Importance: Important
A11.2 Importance: Noticeability
A12 Easy/difficult
A13 Degree
A13.1 Degree: Non-specific
A13.2 Degree: Maximizers
A13.3 Degree: Boosters
A13.4 Degree: Approximators
A13.5 Degree: Compromisers
A13.6 Degree: Diminishers
A13.7 Degree: Minimizers
A14 Exclusivizers/particularizers
A15 Safety/Danger
B THE BODY & THE INDIVIDUAL
B1 Anatomy and physiology
B2 Health and disease
B3 Medicines and medical treatment
B4 Cleaning and personal care
B5 Clothes and personal belongings
C ARTS & CRAFTS
C1 Arts and crafts
E EMOTIONAL ACTIONS, STATES & PROCESSES
E1 General
E2 Liking
E3 Calm/Violent/Angry
E4 Happy/sad
E4.1 Happy/sad: Happy
E4.2 Happy/sad: Contentment
E5 Fear/bravery/shock
E6 Worry, concern, confident
F FOOD & FARMING
F1 Food
F2 Drinks
F3 Cigarettes and drugs
F4 Farming & Horticulture
G GOVT. & THE PUBLIC DOMAIN
G1 Government, Politics & elections
G1.1 Government etc.
G1.2 Politics
G2 Crime, law and order
G2.1 Crime, law and order: Law & order
G2.2 General ethics
G3 Warfare, defence and the army; Weapons
H ARCHITECTURE, BUILDINGS, HOUSES & THE HOME
H1 Architecture, kinds of houses & buildings
H2 Parts of buildings
H3 Areas around or near houses
H4 Residence
H5 Furniture and household fittings
I MONEY & COMMERCE
I1 Money generally
I1.1 Money: Affluence
I1.2 Money: Debts
I1.3 Money: Price
I2 Business
I2.1 Business: Generally
I2.2 Business: Selling
I3 Work and employment
I3.1 Work and employment: Generally
I3.2 Work and employment: Professionalism
I4 Industry
K ENTERTAINMENT, SPORTS & GAMES
K1 Entertainment generally
K2 Music and related activities
K3 Recorded sound etc.
K4 Drama, the theatre & show business
K5 Sports and games generally
K5.1 Sports
K5.2 Games
K6 Children's games and toys
L LIFE & LIVING THINGS
L1 Life and living things
L2 Living creatures generally
L3 Plants
M MOVEMENT, LOCATION, TRAVEL & TRANSPORT
M1 Moving, coming and going
M2 Putting, taking, pulling, pushing, transporting &c.
M3 Movement/transportation: land
M4 Movement/transportation: water
M5 Movement/transportation: air
M6 Location and direction
M7 Places
M8 Remaining/stationary
N NUMBERS & MEASUREMENT
N1 Numbers
N2 Mathematics
N3 Measurement
N3.1 Measurement: General
N3.2 Measurement: Size
N3.3 Measurement: Distance
N3.4 Measurement: Volume
N3.5 Measurement: Weight
N3.6 Measurement: Area
N3.7 Measurement: Length & height
N3.8 Measurement: Speed
N4 Linear order
N5 Quantities
N5.1 Entirety; maximum
N5.2 Exceeding; waste
N6 Frequency etc.
O SUBSTANCES, MATERIALS, OBJECTS & EQUIPMENT
O1 Substances and materials generally
O1.1 Substances and materials generally: Solid
O1.2 Substances and materials generally: Liquid
O1.3 Substances and materials generally: Gas
O2 Objects generally
O3 Electricity and electrical equipment
O4 Physical attributes
O4.1 General appearance and physical properties
O4.2 Judgement of appearance (pretty etc.)
O4.3 Colour and colour patterns
O4.4 Shape
O4.5 Texture
O4.6 Temperature
P EDUCATION
P1 Education in general
Q LINGUISTIC ACTIONS, STATES & PROCESSES
Q1 Communication
Q1.1 Communication in general
Q1.2 Paper documents and writing
Q1.3 Telecommunications
Q2 Speech acts
Q2.1 Speech etc: Communicative
Q2.2 Speech acts
Q3 Language, speech and grammar
Q4 The Media
Q4.1 The Media: Books
Q4.2 The Media: Newspapers etc.
Q4.3 The Media: TV, Radio & Cinema
S SOCIAL ACTIONS, STATES & PROCESSES
S1 Social actions, states & processes
S1.1 Social actions, states & processes
S1.1.1 General
S1.1.2 Reciprocity
S1.1.3 Participation
S1.1.4 Deserve etc.
S1.2 Personality traits
S1.2.1 Approachability and Friendliness
S1.2.2 Avarice
S1.2.3 Egoism
S1.2.4 Politeness
S1.2.5 Toughness; strong/weak
S1.2.6 Sensible
S2 People
S2.1 People: Female
S2.2 People: Male
S3 Relationship
S3.1 Relationship: General
S3.2 Relationship: Intimate/sexual
S4 Kin
S5 Groups and affiliation
S6 Obligation and necessity
S7 Power relationship
S7.1 Power, organizing
S7.2 Respect
S7.3 Competition
S7.4 Permission
S8 Helping/hindering
S9 Religion and the supernatural
T TIME
T1 Time
T1.1 Time: General
T1.1.1 Time: General: Past
T1.1.2 Time: General: Present; simultaneous
T1.1.3 Time: General: Future
T1.2 Time: Momentary
T1.3 Time: Period
T2 Time: Beginning and ending
T3 Time: Old, new and young; age
T4 Time: Early/late
W THE WORLD & OUR ENVIRONMENT
W1 The universe
W2 Light
W3 Geographical terms
W4 Weather
W5 Green issues
X PSYCHOLOGICAL ACTIONS, STATES & PRO
X1 General
X2 Mental actions and processes
X2.1 Thought, belief
X2.2 Knowledge
X2.3 Learn
X2.4 Investigate, examine, test, search
X2.5 Understand
X2.6 Expect
X3 Sensory
X3.1 Sensory: Taste
X3.2 Sensory: Sound
X3.3 Sensory: Touch
X3.4 Sensory: Sight
X3.5 Sensory: Smell
X4 Mental object
X4.1 Mental object: Conceptual object
X4.2 Mental object: Means, method
X5 Attention
X5.1 Attention
X5.2 Interest/boredom/excited/energetic
X6 Deciding
X7 Wanting; planning; choosing
X8 Trying
X9 Ability
X9.1 Ability: Ability, intelligence
X9.2 Ability: Success and failure
Y SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY
Y1 Science and technology in general
Y2 Information technology and computing
Z NAMES & GRAMMATICAL WORDS
Z0 Unmatched proper noun
Z1 Personal names
Z2 Geographical names
Z3 Other proper names
Z4 Discourse Bin
Z5 Grammatical bin
Z6 Negative
Z7 If
Z8 Pronouns etc.
Z9 Trash can
Z99 Unmatched