

Linguistic Gender Identity Construction in Political Discourse

A Corpus-assisted Analysis of the Primary Speeches of
Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton

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Abstract

The present study is concerned with exploring the linguistic identity construction of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in the context of USA 2008 Democratic Party primaries. Thus, the speeches which were delivered by each of them during the aforementioned political event are examined in order to detect the aspects of identity that each politician resorted to in the process of projecting a political identity. The study, however, takes a special interest in the ways in which gender identity is projected by Obama and Clinton. Moreover, the notions of gender bias as well as gender representations are also investigated. There is a gap of research concerning the construction of a male and a female politicians' identities in the course of USA political speeches investigated by dint of quantitative and qualitative methods of analysis. The present study attempts to cover this gap and to contribute towards an understanding of the role played by gender, as an important social division in the way Obama and Clinton represent themselves in an electoral event. In this sense, the aims of the study comprise a discursive delineation of the specific identity aspects that Obama and Clinton project, with a focus on how gender identity is constituted by each of them. Another focal point of the study is the examination of potential linguistic gender bias practiced by each politician, and also how each of them represents men and women in the context of his/her speeches. Hence, the current research can be situated within the area of identity studies, in a broad sense, as well as language and gender studies, in a specific sense.

The corpus at hand encompasses the speeches delivered by Obama and Clinton as political rivals competing to win the Democratic Party nomination for presidency. These speeches are examined using a methodological synergy of corpus linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis introduced by Baker et al. (2008). In this regard, corpus tools such as wordlists, keyword lists and concordances are synergized with a Critical Discourse Analysis approach, specifically Fairclough's (1992, 1995a) tripartite model, in order to explore the thematic focal points of Obama and Clinton, their use of gender-marked functionalizing words and male fitness pairs. Moreover, Halliday's functional processes (1994) and van Leeuwen's social actors representation (1996) are operationalized within the same context of the synergized methodology in order to detect the gender representations communicated by each politician. From a corpus linguistics perspective, these investigations fall within two broad categories: corpus-driven and corpus-based

approaches. It is worth mentioning also that the present study adopts a constructivist, rather than an essentialist, view of identity construction which is in accordance with the notion of identity as performed, acted and constructively as well as discursively constituted.

The notion of intersectionality is important to the present study. Recent research trends within identity studies are inclined to investigate and discuss how multiple identities come to interact with each other in order to yield a holistic view of the ways in which an identity can be projected and interpreted (Mills, 2002; Swann, 2002). In this respect, other dimensions of identity which come to intersect with gender to constitute Obama's and Clinton's identities, e.g. race, ethnicity, religion, familial roles, etc., are considered. Another scope through which intersectionality is integrated in the current analysis relates to how men and women are represented by Obama and Clinton. That is, the gender identities communicated through representations are also potentially intersectional. As far as intersectional and multiple identity study are concerned, Critical Discourse Analysis is an optimally suited approach since it is mainly concerned with inequalities, injustices and discrimination that a certain social group undergoes.

The theoretical part of the present research covers the concept of identity with a focus on the notion of identity as performance as one perspective through which findings are interpreted. Types of identity and the ways in which it has been discursively approached are also introduced. In addition, the interaction between gender identity and other aspects of identity revealed through intersectionality theory constitutes an important part of the theoretical apparatus on which the analysis is based. Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach and corpus linguistics as a quantitative tool are also discussed along with the methodological synergy adopted. The theoretical framework ends with a presentation and discussion of the two linguistic theories that the analysis of the study draws upon, namely Halliday's functional processes and van Leeuwens's social actors representation scheme.

According to the findings of the corpus-driven analysis of the study, Obama and Clinton have different textual foci, i.e. each has disparate thematic interests which manifest through the quantitative analysis enabled through Wordsmith tools 5 software package and Sketch Engine online interface. Whereas Clinton is more focused on addressing domestic issues and gender-related themes, Obama is comparatively more concerned with raising foreign affairs issues while being less heeding to gender-related themes. Furthermore, Obama manifests a marked interest in

addressing issues related to the domain of race, ethnicity and religion, while Clinton is saliently less inclined to invoke these issues. Congruently, Obama and Clinton are found to project different aspects of identity in the course of the speeches delivered. Obama constructs his identity most saliently around the notions of race, ethnicity and religion whereas Clinton perspicuously orients to gender, familial affiliation and professional roles in constructing her political identity.

The corpus-based part of the analysis comprises examining gender biased language use which is represented by the notions of gender-related functionalizing words of profession, male fitness and gender representations. As for gender-related functionalizing words of profession, based on the findings of the analytical part, Clinton is significantly more concerned with the use of gender-marked functionalizing words than Obama which corresponds to her invested focus on genderization, and which simultaneously goes in alignment with the findings related to her gender identity construction. As for binomial pairs, both Clinton and Obama were found to use male fitness terms, where the male term comes in the first position, with no significant difference. However, Clinton was found to be significantly more inclined to use opposite-sex pairs with the female term in the first position. Moreover, binomial pairs are used strategically by Clinton when discussing women's issues and their fight for their rights. In the same way, Obama uses the same pair to the same strategic end. Investigating gender representations in the two sub-corpora comparatively is important since it contributes towards a process of identity construction for Obama and Clinton, and also provides an insight into the actual conditions of men and women in society along with the ideological underpinnings. Gender representations conveyed by Obama and Clinton are, thus, examined by utilizing Halliday's functional processes and van Leeuwens's social actors representation categorization. The results of this phase of analysis are discussed thoroughly in comparative terms, i.e. gender representations related to men and those related to women are grouped and compared in order to decide upon sites for similarity and difference as well as the ways in which these representations contribute towards an interpretation of the respective identity of Obama and Clinton. A discussion of the research findings, a presentation of the theoretical as well as methodological contributions and a summary of the study as a whole are provided at the end of research.

Zusammenfassung

Die vorliegende Studie untersucht die linguistische Identitätskonstruktion von Barack Obama und Hillary Clinton während der Vorwahlen der Demokraten 2008 in den USA. Dabei werden die Reden beider Kandidaten während des jeweiligen Ereignisses untersucht, um diejenigen Identitätsaspekte auszumachen, auf die jeder der beiden Politiker zur Entwicklung seiner politischen Identität zurückgreift. Insbesondere wird hierbei auf den Geschlechteraspekt eingegangen, und wie dieser von Obama und Clinton verwendet wird. Zudem werden unter anderem die Begriffe des geschlechtsbezogenen Verzerrungsprozesses als auch der Geschlechterdarstellung untersucht. Es herrscht nach wie vor Forschungsbedarf im Bereich der Identitätskonstruktion männlicher und weiblicher US-Politiker anlässlich ihrer Reden durch quantitative als auch qualitative Analysemethoden. Die vorliegende Studie versucht hierbei diese Lücke zu schließen und einen Beitrag im Verständnis der Geschlechterrolle zu leisten, als wichtige soziale Unterscheidung in der Selbstdarstellung Obamas und Clintons während der Wahlkampagne. In diesem Sinne ist das Ziel dieser Studie die spezifischen Identitätsaspekte beider Politiker ausführlich darzustellen, mit Schwerpunkt auf die Art und Weise der Nutzung bzw. Verzichts einer Geschlechtsidentität beider Politiker. Ein weiterer Schwerpunkt der Studie liegt in der Untersuchung potenzieller geschlechtsbezogener Verzerrungsprozesse, die von jedem der beiden Politiker angewandt werden und wie jeder der beiden Männer und Frauen im Rahmen ihrer Reden darstellt. Somit positioniert sich diese Untersuchung im Bereich der Identitätsstudien im weiteren Sinne und im Bereich der Sprache und Geschlechterstudien im engeren Sinne.

Das vorliegende Korpus befasst sich mit den Reden Obamas und Clintons als politische Rivalen, die um die Ernennung zum Präsidentschaftskandidaten der Demokraten kämpfen. Diese Reden werden anhand einer methodologischen Synergie von Korpuslinguistik und kritischer Diskursanalyse nach Baker et al. (2008) untersucht. Hierbei werden Korpusmethoden wie Wörterlisten, Schlüsselwörterlisten und Konkordanzen mit einer kritischen Diskursanalyse ergänzend vereint, insbesondere nach dem dreiteiligen Model Faricloughs (1992, 1995), um den thematischen Fokus von Obama und Clinton zu untersuchen, nämlich ihrer Nutzung geschlechtsbezogener Funktionswörter und männlicher Eignungspaare. Wir bedienen uns auch der funktionellen Prozesse von Halliday (1994), und der Repräsentation sozialer Akteure von van Leeuwen (1996), um die Geschlechterdarstellung der beiden Politiker auszumachen. Aus

Sicht der Korpuslinguistik lassen sich diese Untersuchungen grob in korpusgestützte und korpusbasierte Ansätze unterteilen. Es ist erwähnenswert, dass die vorliegende Studie keinen essentialistischen, sondern einen konstruktivistischen Überblick auf die Identitätskonstruktion gibt, was seinerseits dem Begriff der Identität entspricht, welche konstruktiv und diskursiv konstituiert ist.

Der Begriff der Intersektionalität spielt in dieser Studie eine wichtige Rolle. Jüngere Ansätze innerhalb der Identitätsforschung neigen zu einer Untersuchung und Diskussion der Art und Weise, wie multiple Identitäten miteinander interagieren, um einen ganzheitlichen Blick auf das Thema Identität zu werfen und wie diese projiziert und interpretiert werden kann (Mill, 2002; Swann, 2002). In diesem Sinne werden auch andere Identitätsdimensionen, die sich mit dem Thema Geschlechterrolle überschneiden, wie beispielsweise Rasse, Ethnizität, Religion, Rollen in der Familie, betrachtet. Eine andere Art nach der Intersektionalität in der vorliegenden Analyse integriert wird, erfolgt durch die Art und Weise wie Männer und Frauen durch Obama und Clinton dargestellt werden. Was Intersektionalitäts- und multiple Identitätsstudien angeht, so ist die kritische Diskursanalyse ein idealer Ansatz da dieser sich hauptsächlich mit Ungleichheiten, Ungerechtigkeiten und Diskriminierung innerhalb einer sozialen Gruppe auseinandersetzt.

Im theoretischen Teil der vorliegenden Untersuchung wird das Konzept Identität mit Fokus auf den Begriff Identität als Leistung betrachtet, als eine Möglichkeit Ergebnisse zu interpretieren. Ebenso wird ein Überblick über verschiedene Typen von Identität und deren Ansatz gegeben. Ein wichtiger Teil, auf den die Analyse basiert, stellt die Interaktion zwischen der Geschlechteridentität und anderer Identitätsaspekte der Intersektionalitätstheorie dar. Zudem wird die kritische Diskursanalyse als Ansatz, der Abschnitt Linguistik als quantitatives Werkzeug diskutiert, gemeinsam mit der angewandten methodologischen Synergie. Der theoretische Rahmen endet mit einer Präsentation und Diskussion der beiden linguistischen Theorien, auf die die Analyse der Studie basiert, nämlich die funktionalen Prozesse Hallidays und die Analyse der Repräsentation sozialer Akteure.

Gemäß der Ergebnisse der Analyse der Studie, haben Obama und Clinton verschiedene textliche Schwerpunkte und jeder von ihnen verschiedene thematische Interessen, die mit Hilfe des WordSmith Tools 5 Software Pakets und dem Sketch Engine Online Interface während der quantitativen Analyse sichtbar werden. Während Clinton sich mehr auf innenpolitische

Angelegenheiten und geschlechterspezifische Themen stützt, ist Obama mehr um die außenpolitischen Angelegenheiten besorgt und weniger auf geschlechterspezifische Fragen. Darüber hinaus zeigt Obama ein großes Interesse an Themen wie Rasse, Ethnizität und Religion, während Clinton auffällig selten solche Themen aufbringt. Beide stellen verschiedene Identitätsaspekte während ihrer Reden dar. Obama baut seine Identität auffällig stark um die Begriffe Rasse, Ethnizität und Religion auf, während Clinton sich klar an Aspekte wie Geschlecht, Familienbindung und Professionalität beim Aufbau ihrer politischen Identität orientiert.

Der Korpusbasierte Teil der Analyse beinhaltet die Untersuchung der Nutzung geschlechtsspezifischer Sprache, welches durch die Anwendung von geschlechtsbezogenen funktionalen Berufsbegriffen, männlicher Eignung und Geschlechterdarstellung erfolgt. Was die Nutzung geschlechtsbezogener funktionaler Berufsbegriffe angeht, so lässt sich anhand des Analyseteils feststellen, dass Clinton viel stärker geschlechtsspezifische funktionale Begriffe nutzt als Obama, was mit ihrem Fokus auf die Genderisierung und mit den Ergebnissen der Untersuchung ihrer Identitätskonstruktion übereinstimmt. Beide nutzen Begriffe männlicher Eignung bei denen der männliche Begriff vorne steht, ohne das zwischen beiden ein größerer Unterschied besteht. Jedoch neigt Clinton eher dazu, Paarbegriffe des anderen Geschlechts mit dem weiblichen Begriff am Anfang zu nutzen. Dies gilt auch dann, wenn Clinton frauenrelevante Themen und deren Kampf für ihre Rechte beschreibt. Auf dieselbe Weise nutzt Obama dasselbe Paar mit demselben Ziel. Die Untersuchung der Geschlechterdarstellung im weiteren Verlauf der Arbeit ist äußerst wichtig, da diese zum Prozess der Identitätskonstruktion Obamas und Clintons beiträgt und gleichzeitig einen Einblick in die tatsächlichen Umständen von Frauen und Männern in der Gesellschaft liefert. Die Untersuchung der Geschlechterdarstellung orientiert sich dabei an Hallidays funktionalen Prozessen und Leeuwens Kategorisierung der Repräsentation sozialer Akteure. Die Ergebnisse dieses Abschnitts werden eingehend durch die Gruppierung und den Vergleich der Geschlechterrepräsentation von Männern und Frauen vergleichend diskutiert, um Ähnlichkeiten und Unterschiede feststellen zu können. Dabei wird auch genau betrachtet, wie die Repräsentation zu einer Interpretation der jeweiligen Identität Obamas und Clintons beiträgt. Zum Schluss erfolgt eine Darstellung der Ergebnisse der Untersuchung und der theoretischen und methodologischen Beiträge als auch eine Zusammenfassung der Studie.

Chapter One: Introduction

Language is a primary means through which the social world is constructed (Muntigl, 2002: 49). In this sense, the way we view ourselves and the world is largely formed by language use, which can be regarded as a way of constructing and maintaining relations, values and identities, as well as a way of participating in social change (Litosseliti, 2002: 130). De Fina (2011: 263) points out that human communication essentially aims at “exchanging information, getting things done, expressing feelings and emotions,” but it also aims at “conveying to one another what kind of people we are; which geographical, ethnic, social communities we belong to; where we stand in relation to ethical and moral questions; or where our loyalties are in political terms.” People use language to represent images about themselves and equally to recognize images of other people, to categorize them, to align or detach themselves, marking their similarities and differences. Language is, hence, crucial in the construction and negotiation of identities (ibid.). Moreover, texts can verifiably “show what is assumed about the world, what practices are possible, what practices are not thought of, and perhaps what practices seem too obvious to be mentioned” (Sunderland, 2002: 300). In this sense, the exploration of texts can provide a description of how different aspects of the world are assumed, represented and accumulatively constituted.

The present study is concerned with the exploration of the political speeches of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton delivered in the context of the USA 2008 Democratic Party primaries with the aim of detecting the process of identity construction on the part of each politician, as well as exploring gendered use of language and gender representations communicated by Obama and Clinton. The study, thus, primarily takes roots into the areas of identity studies in general and of language and gender studies in particular. This introductory chapter focuses on presenting the motivation behind the selection of the topic tackled, delineating the scope of the study, and providing an overview of the study chapters and sections.

1.1. Motivation

One motivation that has instigated and sustained the present research is the absence of any linguistic study tackling the political speeches of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton in comparative terms. A number of studies have linguistically approached a speech or few speeches delivered by Obama exclusively. For example, Salama (2012) has investigated Obama’s Cairo

speech delivered on the 4th of July 2009, adopting a discourse-analytical approach, in order to explore the rhetorical aspects of pluralization in the speech at three levels: collocational, intertextual and institutional. To this end, he has utilized a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. El-Hussari (2012) has also studied the same speech, that is, Obama's Cairo speech, with a focus on Obama's linguistic and discursive features in order to examine the changing U.S. foreign policy towards a new beginning with the Arab and Muslim worlds, marking a new type of political language calling for a constructive dialogue. Neagu (2013) has focused on a corpus composed of the American presidential debates in 2008, as well as Obama's 'State of the Nation' (2009), and 'State of the Union Address' (2010, 2011) with the aim of exploring the link between argumentation theories and cognitive semantics by integrating an analysis of conceptual metaphors into the framework of practical reasoning. However, there is a gap of research, to the best of my knowledge, concerning the study of Obama's and Clinton's use of language comparatively.

Most studies that have taken male and female politicians as a focal point of analysis have actually concentrated on how male and female politicians are represented in the media, e.g. Lim (2009), Hellinger (2006) and Herberg (2007). However, there is a scarcity of studies approaching the potential gendered use of language on the part of the politicians themselves, not to mention the comparative construction of identity. Towards a similar end, Koller and Semino (2009) have investigated a corpus of interviews and speeches given by the former and current chancellors of Germany, Gerhard Schröder and Angela Merkel, in order to analyze their use of metaphor. In this respect, they have adopted a theoretical apparatus based on the notion of metaphor as both a conceptual and a linguistic phenomenon, which is juxtaposed with a social constructivist view on language and gender. In Semino and Koller (2009), the same theoretical and analytical framework is applied to a corpus containing a selection of speeches and interviews by two contemporary Italian politicians, Silvio Berlusconi and Emma Bonino, with the aim of considering the rhetorical functions and ideological implications of metaphor use, i.e. the differences and similarities in the metaphoric choices made by a male and a female politician in relation to different sources of disparity, e.g. political orientation, topics, concerns, goals and audiences are explained. In the previous two studies, the corpus tools of wordlists and keyword lists are used as a starting point in order to pinpoint potential sites of metaphoric use. Then, concordance lines are used to examine the metaphoric expressions in their linguistic environment.

Other than that, the qualitative nature of research overruled, i.e. each study dealt with a corpus of nearly 120,000 words, from which 30,000 words were selected for close qualitative investigation. Moreover, the collocational profiles of words were not examined and concepts of identity construction were not utilized.

With regard to the construction of multiple identities, Wodak (2003) has examined the discursive construction of multiple identities of female members of the EU parliament in order to identify which roles and identities female EU parliamentarians activate, that is, gender, professional or otherwise, in the context of a number of authentic interviews with female EU members. However, the subjects under investigation remain of a single gender—in Wodak’s case, women politicians, to the exclusion of a comparative dimension between male and female politicians. With this gap of research as a motivational impetus in mind, the current research has been conducted.

1.2. About the Study

The present study is mainly situated within the field of language and gender, on the one hand, and identity studies, on the other, i.e. it is one aim of the study to examine which aspects of identity Obama and Clinton orient to when projecting their respective identities. In this regard, gender is the main perspective whereby research data are approached. However, when relevant, other aspects intersecting with gender, e.g. race, ethnicity, religion, family, profession, etc., which are pertinent to the process of identity construction are considered. As a starting point, it should be noted that power is not allotted evenly in society, i.e. certain groups of social actors possess and practice it more than others. In the same vein, there is an asymmetry in the allocation of power between genders. Generally, men are physically powerful than women (or are at least expected to be so). Most financial resources as well as economic and political power are dominated by men (Jutting et al., 2006). Women are traditionally looked upon as fitting in gendered traditional roles since the arena of politics has for long been reserved for men, and not women. Women are typically underrepresented even in the USA (for a discussion of women participation in the American politics, see sections 5.1. & 5.5.). However, the continually changing social relations of power in different societies and cultures over the last decade has affected the study of language and gender, i.e. increasing numbers of women are now able to have access to education, work or sexual reproduction methods. Undisguised social and discursive practices are uncommon in the

media, educational systems or in politics. Now, it is also not uncommon for more men and women to express their support of gender equality.

Consistently, during the last two decades, increasing numbers of women have assumed high-level political positions in different countries worldwide. Thus, there has been a growing interest in exploring the language used by female politicians in the context of socio-political and gender studies. The significance of these studies becomes evident in the light of the long literature of research that argues for an inherent difference between men and women in respect to the conversational strategies and linguistic features in various domains of study, e.g. in the workplace where women use language ‘to engage’ and men ‘to win’ (Tannen, 1994b; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Holmes and Stubbe (2003: 574) provide a list of the “widely cited features of ‘feminine’ and ‘masculine’ interactional style.” Men are reported accordingly to be direct, confrontational, competitive, autonomous, task/outcome oriented, referentially oriented, dominate (public) talking time and make aggressive interruptions. Women, on the other hand, are indirect, conciliatory, facilitative, collaborative, person/process oriented, affectively oriented, make minor contributions in (public) talk and offer supportive feedback.

Gender as an important social division is marked from early age. Fine (2010: 211-212) notes that at the pre-school phase children learn initially to be ‘gender detectives’, a term coined by Martin and Ruble (2004). Then, they become ‘gender reinforcers’ because they realize the importance assigned to gender in their lives: “[C]hildren are born into a world in which gender is continually emphasized through conventions of dress, appearance, language, color, segregation, and symbols. Everything around the child indicates that whether one is male or female is a matter of great importance” (ibid.: 212-213). Baker (2014: 206) stresses the same notion, arguing that “[w]hen children hear the words that relate strongly to their own identities, they are not hearing these words in isolation, but in (often) stereotyping contexts, so it is hardly surprising that people end up reproducing such stereotypes, having first encountered them when they were least able to be critically evaluative.”

Talbot (1998: 191-193) remarks that the true social power resides in such positions as presidents of multinational firms, army leaders or Members of Parliament. This idea has been stressed by Connell (1987: 185):

The public face of hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily what powerful men are, but what sustains their power and what large numbers of men are motivated to support. The notion of 'hegemony' generally implies a large measure of consent. Few men are Bogarts or Stallones, many collaborate in sustaining those images.

Men are expected to embody male powerfulness, dominance and control. This expectation functions as a constraint masculinity imposes on them. However, it is different from the one imposed on women by femininity, that is, that they will not be dominant. Men's expectation is much less restrictive. Kiesling (1997: 65-66) contends that "when a man constructs a powerful identity, it is usually connected in some way to 'real' power. [...] a man's powerful identity is *rewarded* (with power), whereas a woman's non-powerless identity may be *punished*." It should be noted that men do not acquire positions of power by their own endeavors solely. Rather, these positions are given to them through institutions and "women contribute to constructing hegemonic masculinity" (ibid.: 198). In a study conducted by Ochs and Taylor (1992; 1995), this position of power is even bestowed upon fathers by the mothers through utterances like: "You wanna tell Daddy what happened to you today?"

Here arises the importance of examining the notion of multiple identities in general and of gender identities in particular as a focus of the present study. Following Mead's symbolic interactionism, Shibutani and Kwan note that how one is treated in society is not dependant on what one is, but on the way in which one is defined (Shibutani & Kwan, 1965; Alba & Nee, 1997). It is a human instinct to classify and categorize individuals and things, positioning them in groups based on their certain ascribed features. These features ultimately produce stereotypes "that are created and sustained symbolically through the practice of classifying and ranking" (Alba & Nee, 1997: 838). In a Foucauldian manner, Butler (1990: 2) remarks that a particular phenomenon is constituted by the discourse which controls and limits it. She elaborates on Sedgwick's idea of performativity, asserting that people *perform* identities, in a highly controlled and constrained way; they do not *have* them. Morrish (2002: 178) explains that "identities are constructed iteratively through what are deemed to be processes of citation – a literal copying of the performances of others with the same identity." The process of performing an identity or recognizing it is, thus, mediated through discourse which allows for the disclosure and perception of identities by the audience in a certain way.

In this sense, the current research adopts a notion of identity as performance and works towards a construction of identity in the light of a social constructivist approach which views identity as a discursive construction rather than a necessity resulting in particular linguistic behaviour which stems essentially and unproblematically from a person's social identity as advocated by a traditional essentialist view. While recognizing the essentiality and salience of gender as an indispensable scope through which an identity is to be viewed, different aspects of identity are to be regarded as sources which speakers may draw upon noncommittally and non-obligatorily in the discursive construction of their identities. Speakers use language resources 'in order to do things,' and their choice of particular discursive resources is realized within activities. In this sense, "discursive actions derive their meaning from their placement within these activities" (Muntigl, 2002: 49-50). Recent trends in language and gender studies are interested in "diversity (differences amongst women and amongst men), context (seeing language/meaning as context-dependent, and gender as a contextualised social practice) and uncertainty/ambiguity (in terms of the meanings of what speakers say and do)" (Swann, 2002: 44). A more productive theorization now vehemently underlines "challenging 'traditional' binary distinctions between female and male language users, and a focus on the diversity of women's and men's experiences" (ibid: 48). The focal shift in gender studies can be conceptualized as a shift from the fixed phase to the more fluid one, moving to more accurate, detailed and mitigated statements about men and women in particular groups, in certain situations, "who negotiate within certain parameters of permissible or socially sanctioned behavior" (Mills, 2002: 70). In this respect, the study of intersectional identities has quite recently come into linguistic focus, though not so much attended to. Hence, the present study also considers other aspects of identity projection on the part of Obama and Clinton, e.g. race, ethnicity, religion, profession and family, which intersect with the gender aspect as the main perspective through which the processes of analysis and interpretation are conducted.

It is worth mentioning that within the area of language and gender, there are two types of studies: (1) *studies of language use*, which focus on the ways in which men and women use language differently, and (2) *studies of gendered representations*, which concentrate on the ways in which men and women are spoken or written about. The distinction is not always clear-cut, since "[w]e are all simultaneously language users and involved in representation in various ways" (Baker, 2014: 158). In the light of this distinction, I have explored, in the present study, the language of

the speeches of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton delivered in the process of the American Democratic Party primaries elections on two levels: (1) the gendered language usage of each politician in order to investigate the linguistic differences, if any, and (2) the language used to construct the individual identities of the two politicians which relies in part on their topic selection, their self-representation and how they represent men and women in the context of their speeches.

Winker and Degele (2011: 59) draw attention to the effect chain between social practices, social structures and identity construction: “Social practices and the identity constructions linked with them (thus, the micro level) are influenced by social structures and institutions (macro and meso level). However, social practices also refer to social structures (within which people act and that they (re)produce).” Pertinent also to the present study is Litosseliti and Sunderland’s (2002: 1) question of “how a discourse approach to the study of gender and language can facilitate the study of the complex and often subtle ways in which gender identities are represented, constructed and contested through language.” Drawing attention to the increasing importance of discourse, Fairclough (2004: 104) notes that contemporary society is ‘knowledge-based’ or ‘knowledge-driven’ and that “language may have a more significant role in contemporary socioeconomic changes than it has had in the past.” Relevantly, the study takes on an approach synergizing corpus analytical tools and critical discourse methods, as a methodological synergy (Baker et al., 2008), in order to analyze Obama’s and Clinton’s language use as well as their the representation of men and women as social actors in political discourse. The results of the study are discussed with regard to their implications for the roles and relations of men and women as social actors in the USA, and their impact on the construction of Obama’s and Clinton’s identities.

Adopting Fairclough’s model of Critical Discourse Analysis which follows Halliday’s multifunctional view of language (Fairclough, 1995a: 6), I provide a description of the discursive as well as the sociocultural practices pertinent to text production, consumption and interpretation, i.e. the boundaries of the present research stretch to include the conditions surrounding the process of the speeches of Democratic Party Primaries production and reception with the aim of offering more enriched interpretation of the discursive identities constructed. CDA characterizes language as ‘social practice’ (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997), taking a special interest in language

context (Benke, 2000; Meyer, 2001) since language is not “a fixed or closed system, but dynamic, complex and subject to change.” Consequently, “any spoken or written text is inseparable from its immediate, institutional and sociocultural context” (ibid.).

1.3. Overview of the Study Contents

The present study comprises seven chapters falling within four broad categorizations: Introduction (Chapter One), theoretical apparatus (Chapter Two and Chapter Three), practical part comprising the methodology and analysis (Chapter Four and Chapter Five), and discussion and summary (Chapter Six and Chapter Seven).

Chapter One, the current chapter, represents an introduction and a motivation statement for the study.

Chapter Two, which aims at sketching the main research areas theoretically underpinning the study analysis (identity studies, language and gender studies and political discourse studies), encompasses *three* main sections. The *first* section is devoted to the discussion of identity construction with a focus on the concept of identity, prevailing trends in identity studies as well as an orientation towards the notion of identity within discourse studies. The *second* section represents an overview of developments and approaches in the area of language and gender with a focus on the ways in which gender is examined within the boundaries of discourse. In the *last* section, the field of political discourse with a scope towards ideology, gender and public talk is examined.

Chapter Three aims at highlighting the methodological trends drawn upon in the analytic part of the study. It is also composed of three main sections. The *first* is devoted to exploring the field of Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach which is to be synergized with Corpus Linguistics forming a quite new empirical method of analysis in the field of linguistics. In the *second* section, an overview of the field of functional linguistics is provided with a special focus on Halliday’s functional processes (1994) and the ways in which SFL comes to be integrated in critical discourse studies. The *last* section discusses van Leeuwen’s social actors representation (1996) with its different categories and how the scheme provides a tool for examining the various ways that social actors can be represented in discourse and how social bias can be discursively detected.

Chapter Four is concerned with illustrating the scope and focus of the study in addition to the methodological procedure that will be adopted and operationalized in the analytical chapter, that is, Chapter Five. Chapter Four comprises three sections. The *first* section focuses on demonstrating the research problem and scope through which the analysis will be conducted and the results will be interpreted. The *second* section presents the research questions, aims and the hypothesis of the study. In the *third* section, the methodology adopted, comprising a detailed description of the corpus investigated, the tools implemented and the steps of analysis, is provided.

Chapter Five is the analytical part of the study where the two sub-corpora that have been specified and described in Chapter Four, that is Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's speeches delivered during the 2008 primaries of the Democratic Party elections, are meticulously analyzed using the methodological synergy of CDA and CL. Corpus tools, e.g. frequency lists, keyword lists, collocation and concordancer, are utilized in order to (1) identify the thematic interests peculiar of each politician, (2) investigate the notion of self-identity construction, (3) examine gender bias notions, that is, the use of gender-marked functionalizing words and male fitness terms, and (4) explore gender representations contributed by each politician. At the end of the chapter, a discussion of the findings of the analysis as a whole is provided.

Chapter Six focuses on presenting the overall findings and implications of the present study, that is, the results that have been worked out by applying the theoretical framework to the corpus specified are presented and discussed. It comprises two sections. The *first* section is devoted to the presentation of theoretical contributions of the study. In the *second* section, the methodological contributions are represented.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion of the thesis where a summary of the study as a whole, limitations of the study and prospects for future research are provided.

Chapter Two: Mapping the Field: Language, Identity, Gender and Politics

This chapter is primarily concerned with investigating the main research areas underpinning the purposes of the present study, i.e. identity studies, language and gender studies and political discourse studies. Thus, it comprises three overarching sections, each corresponding to one of the abovementioned study areas. Within the former field, that is, identity studies, the concept of identity in general and the notion of identity as performance are scrutinized as starting points towards discussing identity study within the boundaries of discourse. General types of identity, trends in discursive identity studies and intersectionality theory are also presented. Since the present study is rooted in the field of language and gender, the development and approaches in relation to language and gender studies are explored in the second section where focus is put on the ways in which gender is examined within the study area of discourse. The last section is devoted to elucidating the traditions of political discourse with a scope towards ideology, gender and public talk.

2.1. The Construction of Identity

Today, the construction of identity can be viewed in the light of myriad of possibilities (Wagner, 1994) by the individual as well as the society. In order to fathom the notion of identity, a good starting point might be to check the dictionary meaning of the term. The word *identity* is originally taken from the Late Latin '*identitās*' which means "sameness"¹. The *Oxford English Dictionary* provides the Latin '*idem*' which means "same", with two main meanings: first, "the sameness of objects, as in A1 is identical to A2 but not to B1"; second, "the consistency or continuity over time that is the basis for establishing and grasping the definiteness and distinctiveness of something." In this sense, the notion of identity relates to two criteria of comparison: similarity and difference (Jenkins, 2014: 13). Two other senses of the concept of identity can be added when considering the verb form 'to identify': first, "to classify things or persons" and, second, "to associate oneself with, or attach oneself to, something or someone else (such as a friend, a sports team, or an ideology)" (ibid.). However, exploring identity as a concept at this stage would be helpful in understanding the subsequent workings of the notion of identity within the field of discourse.

¹ <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/identity>

2.1.1. Identity as Concept

Identity can be viewed in the light of various perspectives depending on and corresponding to the area of research purported to, e.g. philosophical (Noonan, 2003; Perry, 1975, 2008; Garrett, 1998), psychological (Flanagan & Rorty, 1997; Cote & Levine, 2002; Schwartz, Luyckx & Vignoles, 2011), social (Gumperz, 1982; Tajfel, 1978, 1981; Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Fearon, 1999; Capozza & Brown, 2000; Ashmore, Jussim & Wilder, 2001; Jenkins, 2014), or cultural (Hall, 1989; Hall & Gay, 1996, 2005). Actually, the concept of identity is problematic (Hall, 1989; Brah, 1996; Ang, 2001); it can readily have a multiplicity of meanings as well as a diversity of disciplines to draw on in the process of working towards a definition or interpretation. The existent definitions of identity reflect the astonishing multifariousness of foci, perspectives and terminology. As De Fina (2011: 265) illuminatingly puts it:

Identity can be seen and defined as a property of the individual or as something that emerges through social interaction; it can be regarded as residing in the mind or in concrete social behaviour; it can be anchored to the individual or to the group. Furthermore, it can be conceived of as substantially personal or as relational. Therefore, conceptualizations of identity and the methods for studying its concrete manifestations in language have been profoundly influenced by the choices made by researchers in terms of these alternative views.

Thus, in spite of the vastly increasing research on and interest in the concept of identity, it “remains something of an enigma” (Fearon, 1999: 1). Noting that the term identity has actually been ‘overused’ to the extent of becoming nearly meaningless, Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 2), highlighting the ambiguity and pervasiveness of the concept of identity, comment that identity “is too ambiguous, too torn between ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ meanings, essentialist connotations and constructivist qualifiers, to be of any further use to sociology.”

Identity has continually been linked with the concept of the self, especially in psychology. In this respect, different definitions have been adopted according to the area of research involved, e.g. speech accommodation theory (Giles et al., 1991), sociolinguistic models of identity (Le Page & Tabouret- Keller, 1985), language ideology theory (Irvine & Gal, 2000; Silverstein, 1979), social identity theory in social psychology (Meyerhoff, 1996; Meyerhoff & Niedzielski, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), and indexicality in linguistic anthropology (Ochs, 1992; Silverstein, 1976, 1985), and style theories (Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Mendoza-Denton, 2002) among others.

From a political science perspective, Fearon (1999: 2) argues that identity is currently used in two related senses, a “social” sense and a “personal” one. According to the social sense, an identity refers “simply to a social category, a set of persons marked by a label and distinguished by rules deciding membership and (alleged) characteristic features or attributes.” According to the personal sense, an identity “is some distinguishing characteristic (or characteristics) that a person takes a special pride in or views as socially consequential but more-or-less unchangeable.” It can be the case that it refers to the two senses at the same time. Philosophical investigations of identity have specifically focused on the notions of consciousness, physical continuity with its necessary and sufficient conditions, Locke’s memory theory, the self and the future, fission, etc. Erikson (1968: 165) highlights the psychological perspective of identity:

An optimal sense of identity [...] is experienced merely as a sense of psychosocial well-being. Its most obvious concomitants are a feeling of being at home in one’s body, a sense of ‘knowing where one is going’, and an inner assuredness of anticipated recognition from those who count... Identity is a dynamic fitting together of parts of the personality with the realities of the social world so that a person has a sense both of internal coherence and meaningful relatedness to the real world.

Within the field of psychology also, Josselson (1990: 10-11) argues:

Identity is the stable, consistent, and reliable sense of who one is and what one stands for in the world. It integrates one’s meaning to oneself and one’s meaning to others; it provides a match between what one regards as central to oneself and how one is viewed by significant others in one’s life. Identity is also a way of preserving the continuity of the self, linking the past and the present [...] at the same time that our identity if fundamentally interwoven with others’ to gain meaning, contrasting ourselves with others heightens our sense of what is uniquely individual. In its essence, identity becomes a means by which the people organize and understands their experiences and [...] share their meaning system with others. What we choose to value and depreciate, our system of ethics—these form [...] our sense of identity.

The domains where social and psychological perspectives of identity research prevail are overlapping and far from being clear-cut. Moreover, it has been argued that a distinction between the social and the cultural in relation to identity involves a misrepresentation of the observable realities of the human world (Jenkins, 2002: 39-62; 2014:14). The concepts of social identity and personal identity are based on “the idea that every individual is characterized by social features which show his or her membership of a group or a category, on the one hand, and by personal

features or individual characteristics which are more specific, more idiosyncratic, on the other” (Deschamps & Devos, 1998: 2). From a social perspective, belonging to a group or a social category is crucial since social identity is systematized as “the part of the self which refers to cognitions ensuing from social ecological positions [...] Those who have similar positions and common backgrounds have similar social identities, therefore social identity does not indeed refer to the similarity pole” (ibid.). However, belonging to a group and identification “are only possible in connection with groups or categories one does not belong to”; in this sense, social identity “refers to the fact that the individual perceives him- or herself as similar to others of the same background (the we)” while also referring to “a difference, to a specificity of that we in connection with members of other groups or categories (the them)” (ibid.: 2-3).

According to Tajfel (1972), the conceptualization of social identity is realized in terms of the individual’s awareness of belonging to a certain social group and to the resultant emotional and evaluative significance of this membership. Personal identity, on the other hand, refers to the fact that “each individual is a unique combination of features which make him different from others and which explains his uniqueness,” indicating “how an individual is aware of his difference with respect to others” since he recognizes himself only as identical to himself, that is, “he is the same in time and in space, but that is also what specifies him and marks him out from others” (Deschamps & Devos, 1998: 3). Hall (1996/2005: 4-5) remarks that “directly contrary to the form in which they are constantly invoked, identities are constructed through, not outside, difference. This entails the radically disturbing recognition that it is only the relation of the Other, the relation to what it is not, to precisely what it lacks, to what has been called it *constitutive outside* that the positive meaning of any term—and thus its identity—can be constructed.” Hall (1989: 226) notes that cultural identity is “not an essence, but a position.” The view of identity as a primarily relational and dialogical process is pertinent to the idea that identity work essentially involves a continuous definition and confrontation between the self, i.e. who we are, and others. Individual and collective identities are discerned in oppositions or compatibilities with others; defining and recognizing who we are is done with reference to who we are not or who we resemble. Even in monologues, such oppositions and complementarities are typical of identities.

Seyla Benhabib (1996: 3) remarks: “Since every search for identity includes differentiating oneself from what one is not, identity politics is always and necessarily a politics of the creation

of difference.” Congruently, Winker and Degele (2011: 54) explain: “Individuals constitute their identities in delineation from others, while at the same time creating a sense of belonging. The doing difference approach, according to which gender, class and ethnicity form and function simultaneously, refers to the interrelation of categories at the construction of identity.” When people narrate about themselves with the aim of communicating who they are, they refer to categories of differentiation. Analogously, Comaroff and Comaroff (1996) maintain that the construction of an identity takes roots in the politics of difference. Members of a minority group, for example, are typically marked by members of the majority hegemonic group as inferior, having less value and skills and are labelled as “others”. Tajfel’s (1978) theory of social identity argues that identity emerges in connection with intergroup relations, i.e. an identity can be produced through one’s membership in a specific in-group in comparison to an out-group. In establishing these differentiating categories and signaling membership, one attempts to achieve a positive social identity. Thus, group identification is a major function for improving self-esteem; a person’s self-esteem is raised when comparing his/her group with an out-group.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) deliberately define it in a broad and open-ended sense as “the social positioning of self and other.” Relating identity to persona and the self, Erikson (1980: 109), for example, posits that identity “connotes both a persistent sameness with oneself (selfsameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others.” This definition reflects the rather recent USA psychological trend of associating the self to the individual and the mind. Vivien Burr (2002: 4-5) contends that the modern notion of the individual argues for its being constructed by a firm set of characteristics defining the individual’s personality, i.e. in a Cartesian sense, an individual acts upon personal rational thinking away from the group, seeking his/her moral integrity. Dissatisfaction with such an abstraction between the self and the milieu, and the dualism between the individual and the social has been strongly expressed by psychologists, e.g. George H. Mead (1934); however, it was not until the last two decades that such criticism became apparent. Modern sociologists, such as Anthony Giddens (1991) and Zygmunt Bauman (2005) have discussed the discontinuity and impermanence that the postmodern men and women face; modern life is marked by a lack of wholeness and certainty where people experience physical and social displacement as well as disunity and fracture.

Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 6) mark that the fogginess concomitant with the concept of 'identity' can be ascribed to its frequent use but lack of definition. It is also a recurring topic in different academic fields. Gee (1999: 39) notices that "some people [...] tend to reserve the term 'identity' for a sense of self that is relatively continuous and 'fixed' over time." Ivanic (1998) points out that the term identity refers generally to people's perception of whom they are, however, it is 'misleadingly singular' as she explains:

The plural word 'identities' is sometimes better, because it captures the idea of people identifying simultaneously with a variety of social groups. One or more of these identities may be foregrounded at different times; they are sometimes contradictory, sometimes interrelated: people's diverse identities constitute the richness and dilemmas of their sense of self (1998:11).

Answering the question of where identities stem from, Ivanic explains that social constructionists deem identity to be "the result of affiliation to particular beliefs and possibilities which are available to them in their social context" (1998:12), but this definition moves away from determinism since beliefs and possibilities can change and can be challenged. Sunderland and Litosseliti paraphrase Giddens' conception of identity as "a series of choices one continually makes about oneself and one's lifestyle, thus as a process, rather than a state or set of personal attributes" (2002: 7). Though they approve the notions of an individual's multiple identities, affiliation and choice, they express reservations regarding the idea of 'free' choice. Moreover, they argue that identities also emerge from "the attributions or ascriptions of others—though ascription may contribute to a resulting identity very different in nature to that intended by the ascriber." In this sense, identities may be viewed as stemming from an individual's variant kinds of relationships with other individuals and also as "changing as their relationships change."

2.1.2. Identity as Performance

The discussion of the notion of identity as performance essentially takes roots in the exploration of gender identity. Performativity has been introduced by Judith Butler in her seminal book *Gender Troubles* (1990). Thus, the notion of performativity has been essentially originated within the field of gender studies, and then came to be a prominent perspective to the study of identity in general. In her book, Butler has introduced a non-essentialist perspective of the self contributing towards a concept of identity as a social construction, arguing that gender identity cannot be recognized as a pre-set delimited set of attributes, but rather as a flexible structure. Along with

sociolinguists and linguistic anthropologists, she has shifted the focus of gender identity studies—and actually identity studies in general—from gender-based linguistic differences to the construction of gender norms and identity in discourse. Social constructionists, e.g. Hall (2000), have argued that identity should be viewed as a process, rather than an attribute. Regarding identity as a process or an identification enables considering how people assume identities for themselves and attribute identities to other people. In this sense, identity is not something that a person ‘has’ or ‘is’, but something that a person ‘does’ or ‘performs’, i.e. being a man or a woman, or being affiliated to any social group actually is about being flexible to perform continuous constructions and reconstructions (negotiations) of identity; it is equally about the practices, performances, actions, feelings and thoughts identified. Relating the notion of identity to that of performance, as a popular framework across different disciplines, has enabled “evoking the concrete and communicative aspects of the construction and communication of identity,” implying that “projecting an identity is regarded as acting and speaking in certain ways in concrete social encounters or communicative situations” (De Fina, 2011: 266). The study of identity in relation to socio-cultural discursive studies, which is related to the notion of ‘constructing identities’ as a sort of social and ‘discursive work’ (Zimmerman & Wieder, 1970), is currently a prominent approach.

In a study depending on the notion of gender as performance, Bergvall (1996) examines a discussion among engineering students to see how ‘gender identities are constructed and enacted’. Engineering is still regarded as a highly masculine area of study and work. So, Bergvall remarks that female students of engineering are faced with the contradictory demands they are supposed to answer. On the one hand, they have to behave in a stereotypical feminine way to get the opportunity of participating in a ‘heterosexual social and sexual relationships.’ On the other hand, they have to behave in an assertive competitive way—which is typically characterized as masculine behaviour—in order to succeed in their study. In this sense, female students have to *perform* ‘being feminine’ by using speech patterns which show tentativeness, supportiveness, cooperativeness, etc., and, at the same time, be assertive and competitive. Bergvall observes that the stereotypical models of masculinity and femininity cannot explain the linguistic behaviour of female engineering students, since, in the light of the difference model for example, their behaviour would have been interpreted as an anomaly. But the notion of gender as performance offers an adequate interpretation for these speech patterns which depend on the conflicting gender

roles of assertion and facilitation. The performance model, Bergvall asserts (1996: 175) is not concerned with “dichotomous differences expected under polarized, categorical roles of feminine and masculine,” but with “the fluid enactment of gender roles in specific social situations.” The female engineering students have contrived new gender identities as a response to conflicting roles.

Performance as a way of conceptualizing gender does not contradict with the notion of gendered identities; it is not “a question of ‘either/or’, but may be a question of theoretical primacy” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 25). Butler (1990) enhances the notion of gender as performance “to open up the field of possibility for gender without dictating what kind of possibilities ought to be realised” (Butler, 1999: viii). The nature of performativity as a characteristic of identity is explained by Butler as follows:

In the first instance, the performativity of gender revolves around [...] the way in which the anticipation of a gendered essence produces that which it posits as outside itself. Secondly, performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalisation in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration (1999: xiv).

Performativity, Butler argues, constructs the identity ‘it is purported to be,’ that is: “There is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very ‘expressions’ that are said to be its results” (1990: 25). The concept of *indexing* an identity is related to that of performativity; indexing may be done through linguistic and other types of performance. For example, according to Rowe (2000), gay men use language in order to index a gay male identity through the use of stereotypical forms of ‘Gayspeak’; when they do not want to perform such identity-signalling, they use different forms of talk (for a discussion of the issue of intentionality, see section 6.1.1.).

2.1.3. Types of Identity

A distinction can also be made between *individual* identity and *collective* identity². In a private conversation with a friend or a psychological therapist, people are constructing and negotiating their individual identities while being solely responsible for the images conveyed. Conversely, in a public encounter, such as a firm meeting or political event, people are most likely to convey

² This has been taken up in intercultural communication, e.g. Hofstede (1997, 2001) and Hofstede and Hofstede (2005).

their identities as member of the group. Partly, the discursive construction of their identities draws upon their affiliation to the group they represent (De Fina, 2011: 268). Another distinction is made between *personal* and *social* identities. The latter are “large categories of belonging such as those pertaining to race, gender and political affiliation” (ibid.), e.g. Americans, Catholics, women, etc. Personal identities, on the other hand, are “constructs that may include not only sets of membership categories, but also moral and physical characteristics that distinguish one person from another (a courageous person or a coward)” (ibid.). Another category, that is, *situational* identities refer to “roles related to the specific context of interaction such as those of teacher/student or doctor/patient” (ibid.).

Zimmerman (1998: 90) distinguishes between three types of identity: *discourse* identity, e.g. as a speaker, listener or narrator; *situated* identity, e.g. as a shopkeeper, customer; and *transportable* identity, e.g. female, African American, etc. The present study is concerned with the third type; identities that

travel with individuals across situations and are potentially relevant in and for any situation and in and for any space of interaction. They are latent identities that “tag along” with individuals as they move through their daily routines [...] they are identities that are usually visible, i.e. assignable or claimable on the basis of physical or culturally based insignia which furnish the intersubjective basis for categorization [...] it is important to distinguish between the registering of visible indicators of identity and oriented-to identity which pertains to the capacity in which an individual should act in a particular situation. Thus, a participant may be aware of the fact that a co-interactant is classifiable as a young person or a male without orienting to those identities as being relevant to the instant interaction. (Zimmerman, 1998: 90-91)

These distinctions are, however, far from being clear-cut or unambiguous when considered in discursive context. For example, personal identities are constructed based on social identities categories; collective identities may be represented in a personalized manner. De Fina (ibid.: 269) clarifies this instance by a saying attributed to Louis XIV, ‘L’ État c’est moi’ or ‘I am the state’. Moreover, there is no one-to-one correspondence between social identities and macro-social categories like gender and race because new identities are constantly being introduced. While the identities which are related to national or religious communities are usually constituted against complex historical practices and processes and are often rendered stable and fixed, other identities, such as those related to on-line communities, are flexible and negotiable. Nonetheless,

all types of identity are being constantly assumed and negotiated in everyday social processes and practices.

2.1.4. Identity and Discourse

There is an inevitable relationship between discourse and identity. Cameron (2001: 170) illustrates: “Whatever else we do with words, when we speak we are always telling our listeners something about ourselves.” Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 22) remark that the same applies to writing “though there is perhaps scope for more subtle mediation.” Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 41) point out that “in communicative interaction people do not represent the world abstractly but in the course of and for the purposes of their social relations with others” and that one “cannot semiotically construct (represent) reality without simultaneously identifying [...] (oneself) and relating to other people in particular ways” (ibid.: 50). The mediating role of language between the individual and the broader cultural power is illustrated by Butler (1990: 143-145): “Language is not an *exterior medium or instrument* into which I pour a self and from which I glean a reflection of that self [...] Indeed to understand identity as a *practice*, and as a signifying practice, is to understand culturally intelligible subjects as the resulting effects of a rule-bound discourse that inserts itself in the pervasive and mundane signifying acts of linguistic life” (italics in original).

Congruently, an evident relationship between linguistic features, in the narrow sense of the word, and identity is traceable, i.e. between aspects of identity, e.g. gender, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, age, etc., and linguistic choices. For example, a female may, or may not, follow a lady-like way of speaking. However, other solid relationships between discourse and identity can be discerned in the sense that “speakers’ identities emerge from discourse” (Bucholtz, 1999c: 4). Jaworski and Coupland (1999: 412-413) point out that people’s ways of speaking and their ways of speaking to and about other people “turn [...] individuals into subjective selves [...] various private and institutional discourses are constitutive of us and others as social subjects [...] these discourses fabricate our subjectivities.” Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 41) remark that identity is a bidirectional process, i.e. it is produced jointly. Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 23) suggest that “the way we speak both to and about others, can be seen as affiliation, and this is important both for ourselves and for our contribution to existing discourses.” The way we are spoken about is attribution. They stress Horsman’s (1990) conceptualization of ‘the dialectical

process of identity construction': "who we are is being constantly shaped by the taken-for-granted concepts and assumptions embedded in discourses, and *vice versa*." Thus appears the role of discourse in identity shaping.

Identities have been looked upon as embedded within discourses which empower texts or restrain them from providing their 'inhabitants' "with the resources for the formation of selves; they lay out an array of enabling potentials, while simultaneously establishing a set of constraining boundaries beyond which selves cannot be easily made (Shotter & Gergen, 1989: Preface). Individuals can have, or can be drawn as having, a role in this process. Thus, the discourse of an individual can be viewed "as mediating their own and others' identities" (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 23). Brah (1996: 10) contends that people are continually constituted through and by narration; in this sense, "the individual narrator does not unfold, but is produced in the process of narration." The crucial questions arise here: to whom are we narrating? And why? The answer inevitably involves power relations created between the narrator and the audience which can shape, change or even erase subjectivities. It relates also to the notion of identity as *performed*. Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181) argue:

[T]he individual creates for himself the patterns for his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished.

Within the boundaries of discourse analysis, Fairclough (1992a) has introduced the notion of *positioning* to refer to the dynamism and relationality of identity in relation to the constraints of the process of discursive identity construction. Davies and Harré (1990: 47), representing an antithesis to the concept of fixed role, have defined this construct more dynamically as "the discursive production of a diversity of selves." Harmoniously, De Fina (*ibid.*: 272) illustrates that "identities are plural since they relate to the kinds of social situations and discursive practices in which people are involved, [...] they are relational since people continuously position themselves, are positioned by others, and position others." The notion of positioning has flourished particularly in narrative studies of identity (Bamberg, 1997; Bamberg & Georgakopoulou, 2008; Moita Lopes, 2006) where narrators shift between different identities as story-tellers, as fictional characters and as actual persons in social situations. It has also been used in investigating identities in discourse since any type of discourse indispensably "involves a

dynamic placing of the self and others into social or moral positions” (De Fina, *ibid.*: 272), e.g. debates, conflictual talks, day-to-day activities, non-confrontational encounters, etc.

Categorization is another discursive process used to communicate and ascribe identity. The discursive categories of identity usually represent both the identities conveyed through a particular situation as well as the more generalized categories used in a given society. In the USA, for example, argues De Fina (*ibid.*: 274), the categorization of people based in race or ethnicity, e.g. blacks, Asians, Hispanic and whites, is specifically massive; it is continually drawn upon as a source of identifying people through different types of discourse. Studying identities through categorization has become verifiably one of the most important areas in this field; significantly, “categorization processes are central to understanding how the local identities expressed in interaction are both reflective and institutive of wide social processes, including representations, beliefs and ideologies, and social relations between individuals and groups” (*ibid.*).

Different researchers have mined different sources in their attempt to approach categorization as a view into conceiving and analyzing identity. Critical discourse analysts, e.g. van Dijk (1998; 2010), argue that social identities cannot be interpreted merely as social constructs, rather they are based on cognitive structures which render them stable and static and which precede their operationalization in social interactive processes. Furthermore, these cognitive structures are essentially mental paradigms and hence, they comprise ideologies, standards, morals, social identities and social knowledge. Claims about identities, in this sense, are linked to continual modifications of mental representations. On the other hand, conversational analysts, e.g. Hester & Eglin (1997) and Antaki & Widdicombe (1998), have opposed this view, using Sacks’ theorizing of categorization (1972, 1995) to illustrate the underpinning assumptions that people use to work out their ‘membership categories’ and then to associate particular activities to them. Edwards (1998: 18) comments that researchers advocating the social membership categories have rejected the cognitive structures, calling for adherence of the social and local contexts in analyzing discursive identity construction. De Fina’s middle-grounds view (*ibid.*: 275) is worth of note:

Categorization cannot be seen solely as an emergent discursive process, first of all because it rests on knowledge, beliefs, ideologies, presuppositions, roles, etc., that interactants share. To argue that all this knowledge and all the processes that surround and contextualize people’s identity claims can be captured exclusively

through a close analysis of interactional moves is to ignore the immense complexity of the social and historical contextualization of discourse [...] there is no doubt that social identity categories are related to situations, roles, characteristics, and ideologies that are often stereotypical, and that these associations become part of the shared knowledge and representations of groups which in turn feed into wider ideologies and beliefs.

Linguistically, there are different ways of conveying an identity. A person may choose to overtly invoke an identity to be manifested and discussed. Alternatively, an identity can be indirectly communicated. For example, when a person refers to him/herself as ‘a devoted Christian’, ‘a good American’, or ‘a courageous woman’, s/he is openly assuming an identity. However, “a great deal of identity work is done indirectly through meaning associations” (De Fina, 2011: 269). Words and expressions used to invoke particular traits and characteristics; ideas may be used as signals triggering certain representations about certain social groups when they are constantly repeated and circulated. However, these associations and representations are continually liable to contestations, recreations and negotiations. In political discourse, politicians usually doctor their language in order to ‘project’ particular identities. For example, in the 2008 US presidential elections, the Republican vice-presidential candidate Sarah Palin has been viewed as an ‘outsider’ to Washington politics, a ‘regular hockey mom’ and a modest practical average American. Part of her projection and representation of herself as a common American is communicated through the adoption of a language marked by ‘folksy rhetoric’ (Goyette, 2008).

The idea of differentiation is also important in the discursive study of identity. Wilson (1990), De Fina (1995) and van Dijk (2000), among others, for example, have discussed the role of the *us/them* pattern in political discourse as a fundamental tool of expressing political identity. As De Fina (2011: 271) points out, the discursive construction of identity is based on opposition, since “differentiation is a fundamental process of self-affirmation.” In the same vein, the discursive construction of gender or professional identities “is always also a discursive construction of difference” (Wodak, 2003: 677).

Cultural and historical discourses contribute to position identity and hence, identity is dictated by a politics of position. Self-identity also abides by the same discursive formulations; it is created, positioned, negotiated and interpreted through and by discourse. Moreover, the discursive construction of different identities depends on context, i.e. the audience the discourse is

addressed to, the setting of the discursive practice and the topic under discussion, etc. Antaki and Widdicombe (1998: 3) have appropriated the concept of *local occasioning* originally used in conversational analysis in order to stipulate the study of identity as a communicative process, stressing the importance of taking social context and practices into consideration when exploring the construction and negotiation of identities. They argue that “for a person to ‘have an identity’ is to be cast into a category with associated characteristics or features.” According to the principle of local occasioning, contextual factors are crucial in the process of assuming, constructing and ascribing an identity. The way identities are handled also contributes towards shaping the context, rendering identities pertinent for following talk. The dependency of identity presentation and ascription on social occasion is evident; “[s]ocial roles and the identities associated with them may be pertinent to certain social occasions and practices and not to others” (De Fina, 2011: 271). For example, a person may introduce him/herself differently depending on the situation he is required to introduce him/herself against; in an academic meeting, s/he would use department affiliation while in a parents’ meeting in a child’s school, the familial affiliation would suffice.

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 83) argue that ‘late modernity’ “pervasively undermines individual and collective identity”, that identity issues are generally typical of ‘late modernity’ and that

struggles over the construction of identities are a salient feature of late modern social life. These are substantively matters of identification in discourse – struggles to find a voice as part of struggles to find an identity. Late modernity is characterised by an enhanced reflexivity (for example, in the construction of identities) which is in part linguistic reflexivity – awareness about language which is self-consciously applied in interventions to change social life (including one’s own identity).

Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 24) comment that agency—what Shotter and Gergen (1989) refer to as ‘enabling potentials’—and constraints on agency as well as power relations within discourse are significant when considering these struggles. In this sense, the investigation of power relations and discourses involves an exploration of identities.

Defining identity as discursive constructs contributed to through specifically constructed narratives of identity, a question arises: why would a person reproduce a specific discursive construction? Martin (1995: 13) convincingly answers:

the identity narrative channels political emotions so that they can fuel efforts to modify a balance of power; it transforms the perceptions of the past and of the present; it changes the organization of human groups and creates new ones; it alters cultures by emphasizing certain traits and skewing their meanings and logic. The identity narrative brings forth a new interpretation of the world in order to modify it.

The dilemma of discourse analysts remains in the difficulty of striking a balance between the notion of identities as based on presumed fixed mental categories, and a view of identities as contextualized flexible productions. De Fina (*ibid.*: 275), however, contends that what the interactionists are truly aiming at is not to reject cognitive interpretations of identities, but to concentrate on the significance of identifying the categories used in identity recognition, the contexts, the negotiations, etc.

All in all, identity is inherently a social structure; even in the current highly individualized society, identity remains rooted in the social milieu. In this sense, “people are not free to simply declare the meanings of their identity and have them accepted by others”; and, along the same line of thought, “identities are fluid and context dependent” and their elements “exist in readiness to be expressed depending on the external social factors that invite their emergence” (*ibid.*: 6). In psychological terms, an individual cannot simply define and declare an identity for him/herself. Rather, identity, as argued by Josselson (2012: 3) involves “a sense of personal sameness and historical continuity in the context of a society or group that recognizes the individual as having a particular meaning or meanings.” In this sense, identity entails “mutuality between one’s meaning to oneself and one’s meaning to others, at both cognitive and emotional levels.” Josselson and Harway’s argument seems to answer several attempts to define identity away from the social dimension, e.g. Deaux (1993: 4) defines identities as “social categories in which an individual claims membership as well as the social meaning associated with these categories.”

2.1.5. Trends in Discursive Identity Studies

The study of identity has been only recently acknowledged as an independent field of research in discourse analysis as well as in different areas of social sciences. Moreover, recent research in

discursive identity studies relates to theories about the self and the role of language in identity construction within the socio-cultural processes; hence, the interdisciplinary nature of works on identity is marked. De Fina (2011: 264) identifies three areas in study of identity that witnesses a change of perspective affecting how discourse analysis looked at the field of identity inquiry. The first is the theorization about the nature of the self where “a shift towards anti-essentialism via a critique of the traditional view of the self as an isolated, self-contained entity” took place (ibid.). The second is the concept’s relation to the role of interpersonal communication in identity construction, enactment and negotiation. Here, there has been a shift from “a view of identity as individual expression towards the recognition of the centrality of human interaction as the site for the production of identities” (ibid.). The relationship between language and identity is the third area where a change of focus occurred, i.e. within the area of traditional sociolinguistics, there has been a growing criticism for the standpoint arguing for a one-to-one relationship between language and identity (between social categorizations and linguistic patterns). In this respect, the shift has been directed to “discourse practices as opposed to isolated language items” and to “variability as opposed to homogeneity” (ibid.).

Wodak (2003: 674) identifies three common trends in the study of identities within the boundaries of sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: First, the studies that utilize ethno-methodology or conversational analysis as a framework, e.g. Antaki and Widdicombe (1998), Widdicombe (1998), and Zimmerman (1998); second, studies drawing upon discourse historical or sociolinguistic approaches, e.g. Wodak et al. (1999); third, studies using the concepts of footing, framing and positioning, e.g. Goffman (1981), Tannen and Wallat (1993), and Davies and Harre (1990). The present study draws upon an understanding of identity in the light of the first two approaches. According to the ethno-methodological/conversational analytical perspective, identity is dynamic and negotiable; it is not fixed or static and it cannot be viewed as necessitating certain types of behaviour. In this sense, Widdicombe (1998: 191) illustrates: “The important analytic question is not therefore whether someone can be described in a particular way, but to show that and how this identity is made relevant or ascribed to self or others.” Inseparably connected to the present research is Widdicombe’s remark that although a person may be classified on the basis of gender, ethnicity, class, profession, familial role, etc, these particular identities are not invoked simultaneously and automatically in an interaction; rather, a person chooses the specific aspect of identity to be projected depending on the situation and

context. Hence, focus should be put on “whether, when and how identities are used”, and the analyst should be primarily concerned with “the occasioned relevance of identities here and now, and how they are consequential for this particular interaction and the local projects of speakers” (Widdicombe, 1998: 195).

Identifying identity through interaction comes also as an important trend of research. Interaction is admittedly a preferable site for people to gain and share knowledge about social affairs; it is widely argued that conduct codes, ethics, values manifest through interactions (Mead, 1934; Blumer, 1969; Goffman, 1967, 1981; Garfinkel, 1967). Within an interaction, multifarious factors can be used to identify an identity, e.g. cloth, behaviour, etc. However, language, as a principal medium of interaction, is a crucial tool for constructing, recognizing and negotiating an identity. This interactional perspective to the study of language and identity has been central to sociolinguists, such as Labov (1966, 1972) who demonstrated the relationship between social categories like gender, age and class, and the pronunciation of certain sounds. Coupland (2008: 268) argues that many studies take a simplistic approach towards the association between language and identity. Thus, recent research in the field has taken a more refined and subtle view to the correlations between linguistic patterns and identity identification, i.e. using certain linguistic patterns cannot be immediately interpreted as ascribing to the social group using these language varieties. The rationale behind some people’s adoption for certain linguistic styles may comprise declaring association or solidarity (in-group association), marking rejection or mocking (out-group association) (Bucholtz, 1999a, 1999b; Depperman, 2007).

Wodak (2003: 676) rejects the seeming incongruity between defining identity as changing and locally occasioned and constructed in talk on the one hand, and as transportable on the other. It is useful in this respect to view transportable identities in terms of ‘groups of characteristics’; i.e. when the transportable identity of ‘politician’ or ‘female’ is oriented to in discourse, potentially we would have certain expectations, based on the characteristics constituting the semantic fields of these items, of what ‘politician’ or ‘female’ mean. However, “the specifics of any one of these identities are not predetermined and inevitable, but drawn in the contingencies of real-time talk.”

2.1.6. Principles of Analyzing Identity

Although the concept of identity has gained much attention and exploration from analysts in different social disciplines, actually few scholars have explicitly attempted theorizing it. Buchloz and Hall (2005: 585) argue that a focus on the analytical approach has been the center of identity studies rather than the theoretical frame involved. Thus, they stipulate five principles for identifying and analyzing an identity as produced and constituted in linguistic interaction, introducing a middle-way-framework for the conceptualization of identity as follows:

(1) identity is the product rather than the source of linguistic and other semiotic practices and therefore is a social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon; (2) identities encompass macro-level demographic categories, temporary and interactionally specific stances and participant roles, and local, ethnographically emergent cultural positions; (3) identities may be linguistically indexed through labels, implicatures, stances, styles, or linguistic structures and systems; (4) identities are relationally constructed through several, often overlapping, aspects of the relationship between self and other, including similarity/difference, genuineness/artifice and authority/ delegitimacy; and (5) identity may be in part intentional, in part habitual and less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation, in part a construct of others' perceptions and representations, and in part an outcome of larger ideological processes and structures.

The first principle, i.e. the *principle of emergence*, does not exclude the possibility that an identity identification may draw on resources developed in earlier interactions, e.g. ideological convictions, the linguistic system or the relation between interactants. Relying on Hall's (1997) and Chun's (2001) study results, Bucholtz and Hall (ibid.: 588) argue that macro categories of different types of identities verifiably have a certain ideological impact; however, "their actual manifestation in practice is dependent on the interactional demands of the immediate social context." Thus, these interactions accentuate that, even regarding the most predictable and non-innovative identities, they are only socially constituted through discourse.

According to the *principle of positionality*, Bucholtz and Hall argue (ibid.: 591), discursive identity basically emerges "through the temporary roles and orientations assumed by participants, such as evaluator, joke teller, or engaged listener." Though different from the conventionally perceived concept of identity, these temporary roles have an equal role in identity construction to the broader sociological and ethnographic identity categories, that is, "the interactional positions

that social actors briefly occupy and then abandon as they respond to the contingencies of unfolding discourse may accumulate ideological associations with both large-scale and local categories of identity.” The ideological associations, in their turn, may affect the roles and the actions of people involved.

The third principle, i.e. the *principle of indexicality*, moves from the ontological nature of identity to its constructive nature, i.e. indexicality is used in this context to refer to the mechanisms through which an identity is constructed. An index is specifically grasped as a linguistic item that acquires its meaning from the contextual and interactional milieu, like the pronouns (Silverstein, 1976). More generally, the term indexicality has come to refer to the establishment of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings (Silverstein, 1985; Ochs, 1992). In relation to identity constitution, indexicality is crucially dependent on ideological structures; the reason is that the link between language and identity is deeply immersed in cultural beliefs (hence, ideologies) about the role of speakers using language. Indexical processes can be located in all linguistic levels, as indicated by the third principle:

Identity relations emerge in interaction through several related indexical processes, including: (a) overt mention of identity categories and labels; (b) implicatures and presuppositions regarding one’s own or others’ identity position; (c) displayed evaluative and epistemic orientations to ongoing talk, as well as interactional footings and participant roles; and (d) the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 594)

Direct and blatant ways for introducing a referential identity have been used in the research of categorization and labeling as social action, particularly in sociocultural linguistic studies, e.g. McConnell-Ginet (1989, 2002), Murphy (1997) and Sacks (1995). The use of premodifiers and adjectives in constructing the identity of hijra in Indian society has been exploited by Hall (1997). Less directly, Anita Liang (1999) argues that gay men and lesbians use implicature to avoid getting hostile reactions from listeners. Ehrlich (2001) analyzed college rape tribunal hearings and pointed out that the defense uses presupposition, an indirect linguistic tool, to position the victim of rape as powerful and controlling agent, trying to constitute an identity of a willing participant rather than rape survivor. Elinor Ochs (1992) argues for the indirectness of the relationship between indexicality and identity, i.e. linguistic forms that index identity are

essentially related to interactional stances such as powerfulness; these stances may be further linked to particular social categories, such as gender.

The *principle of relationality* has two aims: first, to stress the idea that “identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 598); and second, to refute the prevalent and oversimplified view that identity relations should be solely considered in terms of sameness and difference. Bucholtz and Hall (2004a, 2004b, 2005) provide a list of three pairs of identity relations created through identity construction; the list is meant to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Moreover, they argue, the separation of concepts is done for purposes of exposition but is not intended to project a view of identity processes as mutually exclusive; in addition, two or more of them may emerge simultaneously in conjunction with one another. The first pair is *adequation and distinction*; they are provided as a means of marking the divergence from the traditional view of identity relations as similar or different. These two complementary identity relations are equivalent to similarity and difference; they are also the most extensively investigated in the social study of identity. The term adequation, “emphasizes the fact that in order for groups or individuals to be positioned as alike, they need not – and in any case cannot – be identical, but must merely be understood as sufficiently similar for current interactional purposes” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 599). In this sense, “differences irrelevant or damaging to ongoing efforts to adequate two people or groups will be downplayed, and similarities viewed as salient to and supportive of the immediate project of identity work will be foregrounded” (ibid.). Distinction, as the counterpart of adequation, is concerned with the identity relation of differentiation. Originally adopted from Bourdieu (1984), who viewed it as referring to the production of difference based on social class by bourgeoisie members, the term distinction is used more broadly by Bucholtz & Hall to include any process of social differentiation. The focus on this type of relation stems from its obvious visibility and from the fact that language is especially effectively resourceful in expressing it in various ways. Contrary to adequation, distinction relies on the suppression of social similarities that may disrupt the representations of identities as different.

The second pair of identity relations, *authentication and denaturalization*, are “the processes by which speakers make claims to realness and artifice, respectively” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 601).

Although both relate to authenticity, authentication is concerned with how identities are verified in discourse, while denaturalization focuses on the ways in which “assumptions regarding the seamlessness of identity can be disrupted” (ibid.). Authentication as a social process, rather than authenticity, and how it is fulfilled in discourse is the main focus of study. Contrarily, denaturalization deals with the ways in which claims to the inevitability or inherent rightness of identities are undermined; the focus of identity denaturalization studies is to analyze how identity is created or rendered problematic. These dimensions emerge most perspicuously when an identity defies ideological expectations (e.g. Barrett, 1999; Rampton, 1995). The last pair of relations is *authorization* and *illegitimation*. The former involves “the affirmation or imposition of an identity through structures of institutionalized power and ideology, whether local or translocal” (ibid.: 603). Illegitimation, on the other hand, deals with how identities are dismissed, criticized, or rejected by the aforementioned structures.

The last principle, the *principle of partialness*, anchors in a long-established tradition of cultural anthropology and feminist theory over the last three decades. It appears most saliently in ethnography in the view that all representations of culture are basically ‘partial accounts’ (Clifford & Marcus, 1986). This fits in with a firm feminist belief that “there is an ethical commitment to recognizing the situatedness and partialness of any claim to knowledge” (ibid.: 605). The feminist tradition of highlighting oneself as a researcher instead of fusing into the body of research as “a practice which echoes the politics of location in reflexive ethnography,” has illuminated the idea that “reality itself is intersubjective in nature, constructed through the particulars of self and other in any localized encounter” (ibid.). All this ties in well with postmodern conceptualization of identity as fractured and discontinuous. “Identities are constituted by context and are themselves asserted as partial accounts” (Visweswaran, 1994: 41).

The intrinsic relationality of identity necessitates its partialness and its articulation “through contextually situated and ideologically informed configurations of self and other” (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 605). What seems at times to be a projection of identity as coherent, e.g. deliberate and intentional communication of identity, is actually dependent on interactional and ideological constraints for its production:

Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others’

perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 606)

The principles provided by Bucholtz and Hall actually correspond to different and separate trends of research; however, they argue, the juxtaposition of these multiple theoretical and methodological strengths, e.g. “the microanalysis of conversation, the macroanalysis of ideological processes, the quantitative and qualitative analysis of linguistic structures, and the ethnographic focus on local cultural practices and social groupings” (ibid.: 697) sheds light on the fact that complexity of identity renders it unattainable to be fathomed in a single analysis.

2.1.7. Gender Identity or Multiple Identities?

One of the aims of the present study is to investigate how the identities of Obama as a male politician and Clinton as a female politician are constructed. In this respect, one pertinent question arises: should the focus be exclusively on their respective gender identities to the exclusion of any other potential parameters or aspects of identity? I.e. should other aspects of identity, when yielded and proven salient by the results of analysis, be considered in vicinity of gender? This section addresses the previously stated question. One of the most influential modern identity theories is Tajfel’s social identity theory (SIT) (1981) which has been used to interpret language behaviours motivated by the speaker’s inclination to achieve a positive social identity or image, for example, as a woman or a man. It has been utilized to explain women politician’s use of lower pitch, for example. Weatherall and Gallois (2003: 491) argue that, according to SIT, “people’s sense of who they are comprises aspects deriving both from them as individuals and from their membership of social groups.” The theory recognizes that “different social groups vary in terms of the power and status that they have in society, a recognition that is essential to a comprehensive understanding of women and men as social groups” (ibid.). Moreover, an inherent assumption to the SIT is that:

people are generally motivated to view themselves in a favorable way. Achieving a positive self-concept requires making social comparisons in order to evaluate the opinions and abilities of people who share or do not share a social group membership. If a group to which a person belongs has a low social status, the person may try to overcome any sense of inferiority stemming from that group membership through a number of identity maintenance mechanisms. One possible strategy, social mobility,

is to leave the low-status group and join the higher-status group (i.e. to “pass”): this is an individual strategy. Where passing is not possible and group membership is stable (as is generally the case with gender), other strategies may be employed to achieve more positive self-esteem. These include social creativity, or finding new dimensions of comparison where one’s own group comes out better (e.g. using nurturance or people-centeredness as a key dimension, rather than leadership), and social competition, or entering into social or political conflict to gain more status for the group (e.g. joining the feminist movement).

Though originally introduced to interpret how oppressed groups can overcome or cope with their social disadvantage, social identity theory has evolved to include behavioural studies of individuals of different groups (Tajfel, 1970), for example, social rivalry manifested in sports teams.

Until quite recently, researchers on language and gender within the Anglo-American tradition concentrated solely on the dominance and difference approaches without trying to “explain how language, personal identity and social context interact or how this interaction sustains unequal gender relations. [...] the links between the individual, language and social structure are assumed, not argued for” (Talbot, 1998: 144). Thus, researchers did not investigate the processes whereby people’s thoughts are influenced by social conditions. This investigation takes roots in poststructuralism. Researchers using a poststructuralist framework in feminist criticism regard language as “the site of the cultural production of gender identity.” Talbot expresses this idea:

People’s identities are an *effect* of language. Women and men are different because language *positions* us differently. In this view, subjectivity—our sense of ourselves—is something constructed, not pre-given, and our gender identities are not fixed. We take up positions in our enactments of discourse practices; so our identities as individuals are constructed moment by moment. From this view, our sense of self is not fixed and static. It is a process, an ‘effect of discourse’ which is therefore changeable (ibid., italics in original).

This notion of gender as an identity guides us away from the ‘commonsensical categorizations’ that men and women are simply different. Within linguistics, poststructuralism presented a Foucault-inspired approach which regards “knowledge and identity as social constructs, and not as essential, immutable truths or entities” (ibid.: 145). In this sense, language constitutes social reality and, hence, constitutes people’s identities as masculine or feminine—gender identities.

This approach is based on the notion that “subjectivity is constituted in discourse [...] [where] individuals are positioned as social subjects who are gendered in specific ways” (ibid.: 146).

Because of the decentralization of the idea of ‘essential identities’ (e.g. women), there arose the idea of multiplicity of gender identities: “different femininities and masculinities, evident across populations and cultural contexts, but also within individuals.” In relation to practices, Johnson (1997:22) conceptualizes masculinity and femininity as “on-going social processes dependent upon systematic restatement”, this may also be called “doing identity work.” It can also be viewed as “one’s sense(s) of oneself/selves as woman or man” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 7). A woman may be represented in an advertisement as an efficient figure in all social, professional and private roles. A real woman’s identity, however, may be complicated. She may consider herself a ‘competent teacher,’ for instance, but when she fulfills her awaited commitments as a caring figure, she may feel as a taken-advantage-of employee or ‘victim of gender stereotyping.’ The multiplicity of masculine identity has been linguistically theorized and investigated quite recently (e.g. Connell, 1995; Johnson & Meinhof, 1997; Segal, 1990). Some scholars (e.g. Sunderland 1995, 1998; Chodorow, 1978) have argued that “in some ways and in some contexts the boundaries and ‘morphology’ of masculinity are more rigid than those of femininity” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 7-8). Discourses of anti-sexist and ‘equal opportunities’ can create an identity or multiple identities for females rather than males. A crisis of the masculine identity exists when the discrepancy between ‘being a man’ and ‘being the family’s breadwinner’ appears; this occurs when “these two identities of masculinity co-occur for a man but do not correspond to that man’s lived experience” (ibid.: 8).

As a social subject, a person is constantly located in a variety of positions which are called subject positions. These positions are ‘set up’ in discourse; i.e. an individual “does not exist independently of them”; a person “is constituted *as a person* in the act of working within various discourses” (Talbot, 1998: 156). Actually, people are positioned in different discourses, i.e. different institutional and societal formations, from the beginning of their social life. This positioning gives them their particular social roles. Any person can be considered, then, as “a constellation of subject positions bestowed by different discourses.” And since people assume positions within institutional and social structures, they are “effects of discourse, rather than its producers.” Moreover, the subject position of a person within discourse can change in his/her

lifetime or even in a single day. For example, a woman can attend her responsibilities for her partner and, simultaneously, be a wage earner. Talbot expresses this idea:

An individual subjectivity is not fixed, invariant and ‘unitary’; it is diversified and potentially contradictory. [...] We all experience shifts during our lifetime, taking on different gender identities in different communities or cultures. These produce tensions, as conflicting values, assumptions and objectives impinge upon us and shape us. These contradictions are part of our gendered identities. (ibid.: 156-157)

Ivanic (1998:11) points out that the multiple identities of an individual are not equally marked at a certain point of time; thus, one or two identities are likely to be salient at a given moment. Moreover, a person can only be aware of a certain identity when it is contextually observed. The identity of ‘whiteness’, for example, experienced by a white woman only becomes salient when she attends a meeting of black women. Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 8) also note that an individual’s multiple identities may be contradictory or “less than comfortably juxtaposed”, e.g. the managing mother who is simultaneously being ‘line-managed’ by her husband.

Talbot (1998: 157) addresses the notion of self-determination in discourse:

People are brought into existence as social subjects whose identities appear self-evident to them. This self-evidentness gives us the illusion of self-determination [...] But we are [...] defined and delimited in discourse (as patients, students, fathers [...]) both by being talked about and written about, and as talkers and listeners, writers and readers. We are ‘subjugated knowers’ and constrained actors. Our sense of self, of autonomy as thinking individuals who have a command of language, is constituted in discourse. However, [...] this does not mean that people are passively shaped. People are not just acted upon; they are active in their own construction. They are busily involved in the construction of gender identities, especially their own. They *perform* their gender identities. If we think of gender as performance, it can help us to steer clear of a false impression that people are just passively put together by discourse, like robots on a production line (italics in original).

Identity is ambiguous because it is in a state of flux: continuously interpreted, negotiated, contested, repositioned in the light of spatial, temporal, historical, cultural and experiential conditions. Intersectionality is a means through which the different categories defining one’s identity can be seen as interlocked in constant formations and reformations; it enables us to perceive that identity is not a pre-given reality, rather it is created, interpreted and negotiated through discursive processes. Swann (2002: 60) concludes that language and gender researchers

cannot do without gender ‘as an *a priori* explanatory category’ (italics in original); “[c]laims about gender (or masculinity/femininity, or an aspect of masculinity/femininity) as a contextualised practice necessarily depend upon prior assumptions about the relevance of gender (masculinity/femininity). However, the problem is that “researchers may make such assumptions without an appropriate warrant to support them”; what is needed in this case is probably “some sort of pragmatic eclecticism: a wider range of warrants and associated research methods drawn on as they target specific questions and issues; and a more explicit acknowledgement of the possibilities and limitations of all methodological choices.”

2.1.8. Intersectionality

People usually have multiple identities that influence the way they perceive themselves and the way others perceive them. They may selectively choose to project one or more of their identity dimensions in different social situations, institutions or relationships in which they are engaged (Josselson & Harway, 2012: 2). Identity cannot be perceived as static or fixed; it develops and is revised and negotiated in a multitude of contexts over one’s lifespan. Moreover, identity development is defined in terms of “a process without closure, constantly open to change, implying a continual rearranging of one’s selves, renegotiating their interconnection [...] in the contexts in which one lives” (ibid.: 4). Multiple identities can be viewed in terms of a continuum between binaries; hence, “the understanding of one’s identity would investigate the ways one positions oneself along this continuum” (Krumer-Nevo & Malka, 2012: 14), as the case of analyzing “masculinity” versus “femininity” in one’s own identity. This line of research is focused on examining the instances in which one projects oneself as being more “masculine” or more “feminine”.

Intersectional Theory (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991; Etter-Lewis, 1991; Glenn, 1985; hooks, 2000; Polatnick, 1996) is one way of viewing multiple identities. It postulates that identity should be probed through the intersection of different categories such as class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, etc. Nevertheless, each of these categories can be investigated separately outside the theoretical framework of intersectionality. Winker and Degele (2011: 51) point out that “the concept of intersectionality is on its way to becoming a new paradigm in gender studies,” though it is a well-acknowledged tool for theorizing identity and oppression in feminist and anti-racist studies (Nash, 2008: 1). The concept of intersectionality is used in myriads of contexts, particularly in

the area of women's rights and equality law (Bradley, 2007: 190). Josselson and Harway (2012: 2) draw attention to the paradox involved in identifying the complexity of individualized identity by a simplified and limited range of sociocultural categories, e.g. straight, gay, native, foreigner, etc. Thus, people are traditionally socially perceived through a single aspect of their identity. The new possibilities for grasping the multiplicity of identity are not in pace with the socially recognized categories of identity.

Intersectionality (or intersectionalism) refers to the study intersections of different forms, categories or systems; that is, it refers to the notion that social categorizations are inherently interconnected when applied to individuals as well as groups. The term was introduced by Crenshaw (1989) in reference to the 'multidimensionality' of the experiences of black women and marginalized subjects (ibid.: 139). According to the intersectional theory, identity categories, such as gender, age, race, ethnicity, class and sexuality, are mutually constituted and cannot be investigated simply additively (Crenshaw, 1989). The combination of two categories or more can create a unique and complex weave of new categories. Within the context of black feminism, Crenshaw (1989) argues that the experience of being a black woman cannot be grasped by looking at the ethnicity aspect and the gender aspect separately; rather the interactions between aspects of identity often reinforce one another. Crenshaw (1991) argues that black women's experience can be differentiated from that of white women and that of black men; these experiences were neither revealed by the feminist theory since it has ignored differences within womanhood, nor by the anti-racist theory since it has overlooked power variations based on sexism within ethnic minorities, e.g. black community.

Crenshaw (1991) illustrates that concept through the example of the employment discrimination against black women—the situation which is further sustained by the women's inability to differentiate their racial and sexual discrimination experiences. Actually, according to Greene (1997), individuals defined as women, persons of colour, and lesbians face a triple discrimination. Broadly speaking, an intersectionality theory would be concerned with "the interplay of race, class and gender, often resulting in multiple dimensions of disadvantages" (Macionis & Gerber, 2011: 310). Intersectional studies have witnessed long debates regarding who tends to be more oppressed: people with multiple group identities, such as women of colour, or people with single subordinate status, such as white gay men (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach,

2008). On the one hand, Beale (1979) and Sanchez-Hucles (1997), for example, are in favour of the view that individuals with multiple disadvantaged identities, i.e. relating to gender and race, are more socially unprivileged. To those, King (1988) has added class and sexual orientation. A contradictory argument posits that people with single identities may encounter marked discrimination (Patterson, 1995). Researchers, however, have generally established that multiple marginalizing identities are more forceful in this respect. Women of colour, for example, earn less than white women, white men and men of colour (Landrine et al., 1995). Moreover, women of colour face more discrimination than women in general—who tend to suffer particularly from sexual harassment—and minorities—who are more likely to experience racial harassment (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). Intersectional studies note that individuals with single identity gain more support than individuals with multiple identities; women of colour, hence, are often socially rendered invisible (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008).

As a dominant way of conceptualizing identity in feminist and anti-racist scholarship, intersectionality has constantly had a focus on the intersection of gender and race, i.e. it dismisses the ‘single-axis framework’ usually adopted by feminists and anti-racist researchers separately, and focuses on “the various ways in which race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women’s [...] experience” (Crenshaw, 1991: 1244). Significantly, Nash (2008: 2) illustrates that the ultimate aim of intersectionality is to “demonstrate the racial variation(s) within gender and the gendered variation(s) within race through its attention to subjects whose identities contest race-or-gender categorizations.”

While regarded as an influential paradigm for social science, operationalizing intersectionality theory is problematized by the complexities involved in proposing ‘multidimensional conceptualizations’ that could illustrate how the socially constructed categories interact in order to represent a social hierarchy (Browne & Misra, 2003). However, although the theory has originally emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in relation to feminist theory with the aim of revealing the oppression that women face in society, many attempts are currently exerted by sociologists to implement it to various categories and intersections of group membership (Meyer, 2012). Moreover, in spite of being a ‘leading feminist paradigm’ with ample multidisciplinary resources, a number of unresolved paradoxes leak into the feminist and anti-racist theories, politics and practices rendering their conceptualization of identity and their normative goals vague and

obscure (Nash, 2008: 3; Zack, 2005: 1). Little has been written by feminists regarding the methodologies for studying intersectionality (Denis, 2008: 685). Nash (2008) discusses different limitations and tensions within intersectionality scholarship; most importantly are the lack of a clear-cut definition for intersectionality, the absence of a definitive methodology of intersectionality and the essential focus on black women as intersectional subjects.

The conceptualization vagueness led to a methodological lack. Researchers of different disciplines utilize this concept since it is “used in both quantitative or qualitative work [...], which examines the micro level of lived experiences [...], the meso level of organisations [...] or social structures [...], and the macro level [...], including internationality” (Bilge & Denis, 2010: 4). The methodological blurriness of intersectionality has been questioned by Chang and Culp (2002: 485): “How does one pay attention to the points of intersection? How many intersections are there? Is the idea of an intersection the right analogy?” To those Nash (2008: 11) adds: “do black women use their multiple identities to interpret the social world or do they deploy one at a time? What determines which identity is foregrounded in a particular moment, or are both always simultaneously engaged?” These questions refer to the necessity of an evaluation process regarding intersectionality’s ability to capture the lived experiences of identity and the efficiency of its methodological tools to manage the various intersections constituting identity in response to Chang & Culp’s ‘so what’ question. Chang and Culp explain: “it’s one thing to say that race, gender, sexuality, class, and nation operate symbiotically, cosynthetically, multidimensionally, or interconnectedly. [...] The next step is to be able to prescribe or imagine points of intervention” (2002: 490).

Relevantly, Nash (2008: 6) comments: “while intersectionality has worked to disrupt cumulative approaches to identity (i.e. race + gender + sexuality + class=complex identity), and to problematize social processes of categorization through strategic deployments of marginalized subjects’ experiences, intersectional projects often replicate precisely the approaches that they critique.” At the heart of the present study is Nash’s remark (ibid: 9) that intersectionality’s extensive focus on the experience of black women has left it unclear whether “all identities are intersectional or whether only multiply marginalized subjects have an intersectional identity.” On the one hand, Nash continues, some feminist scholars assert that intersectionality is readily applicable to all identities, i.e. all identities are essentially constructed through the interplay of

gender, race, class, sexuality, etc. On the other hand, the mainstream of intersectional literature adheres to the multiple identities of marginalized subjects. Therefore, the range covered by the intersectional theory is obscured by the pending theoretical debate regarding “whether intersectionality is a theory of marginalized subjectivity or a generalized theory of identity” (ibid.).

The exploration of identities that are wholly or partially privileged has been disregarded by intersectional scholarship, although such identities are verifiably constituted by the intersections of multiple aspects. Relevantly, Kwan (1996: 1275) explicates:

[S]traight white maleness arguably is a multiple identity, but intersectionality theorists would resist the claim by straight white males that theirs is an intersectional subjectivity. Central to intersectionality theory is the recovery of the claims and identities of those who, like African American women, are pushed to the margins of racial discourse because of assumptions of patriarchal normativity, and simultaneously pushed to the margins of the feminist discourse because of assumptions of racial normativity.

In spite of that, Zack (2005: 7), among other theorists, asserts that being a general theory of identity is the most important contribution of intersectional theory, arguing that it is true that intersectionality is particularly used to address the multiple oppression experienced by black women; however, it is used more generally in reference to all women since differentiation based on sexuality, age, class, etc. is also a locus for oppression. In this sense, identities of all women are intersectional, since their womanhood, which essentially positions them in an unprivileged social light, intersects by default with other social categories which may further position them unfavourably. Nash (2008: 10) comments that Zack’s proposition suggests that “the fact that some women experience privilege along particular axes (whether class, sexuality, light-skinnedness, able-bodiedness, etc.) does not undermine all women’s claims to intersectional identities.” Winker and Degele (2011: 51) significantly note that the level at which the mutual effects of social categories apply, that is, the level of social structures, the level of constructions of identity or the level of symbolic representations, is left unanswered. Wing (1990: 191) argues that necessarily feminist and anti-racist theories should improvise a conceptualization of identity that would consider the interplay of different categories, that is gender, race, class, etc., in the production of all identities, privileged and unprivileged. Put clearly, if intersectionality “purports to provide a general tool that enables scholars to uncover the workings of identity,

intersectionality scholarship must begin to broaden its reach to theorize an array of subject experience(s)” (Nash, 2008: 10).

Intersectionality corresponds to what Bradley (2007: 190) calls ‘multiple positioning’ and ‘multiple disadvantage’. By ‘multiple positioning’, reference is made to the notion that identity differences may be viewed differently according to changing conditions, e.g. women’s identities are constructed in the light of gender processes; however, the way they are constructed would vary in terms of racial/ethnic background, sexuality, religion, etc. (Bradley & Healy 2008: 46). Discussing the key points of an intersectional framework, Bradley argues that different social aspects will always come into play together (Bradley, 2007: 190; Bradley & Healy 2008: 45). In this respect, it should be noted that intersectionality is not a normative framework per se. Rather it can be regarded as an analytical tool or perspective to look at the complexity involved in studying identity. Though generally considered to be a vague, obscure and indefinite concept, the flexibility involved in intersectionality renders it a malleably suitable framework to investigate the possible identity aspects that could potentially rise when analyzing the complex discursive construction of politicians’ identities.

2.1.9. Feminism and Intersectionality

The word ‘sexism’ was introduced in the 1960s in order to refer to “discrimination within a social system on the basis of sexual membership” (Wodak, 1997: 7). Consequently, this entails the existence of two sexes in binary opposition to each other: female and male. These two categories do not stand on equal footing, rather the relationship between them is one of hierarchy, leading to the normativeness of the category ‘male’, i.e. the category ‘man’ or ‘male’ is viewed as the norm, while the category ‘woman’ or ‘female’ is regarded as the ‘other’, the ‘abnormal’, and the ‘marked version’ (Coates, 1993; Crawford, 1995; Cameron, 1997; DeFrancisco, 1997). The concept of ‘sexism’ has, thus, led women’s way for the first time into a self-definition as a social group and as a suppressed minority. The next step was ultimately women’s efforts in order to reveal ways of suppression, raise people’s awareness and confront these mechanisms.

The distinctive nature of research carried out by feminist-oriented women, as compared to that conducted by women or research on women, is highlighted by Wodak (1997: 7). Feminist research across different disciplines “is characterized by its criticism of science and its criticism

of the androcentric view within ‘traditional science’”. Actually, numerous propositions and basic assumptions of feminist linguistics, that is FL, correspond to and interfere with principles of critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis (Wodak, 1996: 17; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Hellinger (1990: 12, in Wodak, 1997: 8) proposes that the distinction between FL and any other discipline of social science can be realized by three aspects:

1. FL places female and male linguistic behavior and the linguistic phenomena connected with the designations of women and men at the centre of its considerations.
2. FL interprets persons-related asymmetries in the field of language systems and language use as expressions of the linguistic discrimination of women (sexism) and links these directly to the plane of social discrimination. Traditional studies usually make so with descriptive results [...].
3. FL does not accept phenomena as given, but seeks alternatives in keeping with the principle of the linguistic equal treatment of women and men. It pursues explicitly political goals by criticizing ruling linguistic norms and understanding the linguistic change it advocates as part of an overall change in society.

FL researchers are also interested in the system-oriented as well as the behaviour-related approaches to language; they seek to answer two questions: first, “How are women represented in the existing language system?” and second, “How does the linguistic behaviour of the group of women differ from that of men?” (Wodak, 1997: 8). Feminists do not view language as ‘a detached system’ and they never consider speaking to be ‘a detached technique’ (Günther & Kotlhoff, 1991: 17, in Wodak, 1997: 10). The focus of FL studies, then, is not put on the description of the connection between language and sex; rather, they are concerned with assessing this relationship. Wodak (1997: 8) significantly comments: “FL is an explicitly partisan form of linguistics.” Transcending the boundaries of analysis, it offers specific propositions for change and makes socio-political claims.

Bucholtz, Liang & Sutton (1999) refer to the shift that took place in the 1990s from the debate over the dominance/difference models to feminist and social theory which then broadened to comprise the interaction between gender and race, sexuality, ethnicity, social class, nationality, among other aspects of social identity. The interdisciplinary nature of recent gender-based research is manifested in the light of researchers’ interest, other than linguists, in addressing its

different issues, e.g. anthropologists, sociologists, researchers of ethnic studies and gender studies, etc. The question of identity, especially in reference to the study of language and gender, is closely related contemporary feminism as a movement primarily interested with identity. Early feminist work evaded the question by assuming the universality of the white Western heterosexual middle class woman or by viewing the difference between men and women as an axiom. Later research, in the 1990s, has witnessed a more recent feminist trend, recognizing that the notion of identity is more fluid and specific than that of the 1970s and 1980s. The two most significant works of feminist theory, i.e. Gloria Anzaldúa's edited collection *Making Face, Making Soul* (1990) and Judith Butler's *Gender Trouble* (1990):

'Making faces' is my metaphor for constructing one's identity [...]. In our self-reflectivity and in our active participation with the issues that confront us, whether it be through writing, front-line activism, or individual self-development, we are also uncovering the inter-faces, the very spaces and places where our multiple-surfaced, colored, racially gendered bodies intersect and interconnect. (Anzaldúa, 1990: xvi)

Just as bodily surfaces are enacted *as* the natural, so these surfaces can become the site of a dissonant and denaturalized performance that reveals the performative status of the natural itself. [...] As the effects of a subtle and politically enforced performativity, gender is an 'act', as it were, that is open to splittings, self-parody, self-criticism, and those hyperbolic exhibitions of 'the natural' that, in their very exaggeration, reveal its fundamentally phantasmatic status. (Butler, 1990: 146-147, italics in original)

Sanchez-Hucles and Dryden (2012: 2) contend that feminism essentially represents 'a political movement' meant to "unify the voices of women and to speak from a common agenda." However, the multiple identities of the women targeted have extensively influenced that movement. As different women choose to highlight or suppress certain dimensions of their identity, studying the intersections of identity and its concomitant complexities has been a focal point for feminism. Within a gender identity construction, elements like race, ethnicity, country of origin and cultural and personal beliefs, etc. interact to define "how individual women align with feminist viewpoints" (ibid.). Nevertheless, as Farganis (1994) points out, the pivotal role played by gender in people's public as well as private lives, along with how women have been represented, or not, has been acknowledged by women of different trends.

Baxter (2003) introduces a Feminist Post-structuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA) as an approach for constructing gender identities within a complex grid of social and discursive power relations. Contrary to the traditional feminist view that within mixed-sex groups, women are often disempowered, the FPDA approach to the analysis of talk shows that both men and women are continually positioned interchangeably as powerful agents even within the same conversation. Analyzing the conversations of teenagers in class and the discussions of senior managers in business meetings, Baxter has concluded that although female speakers are often silenced by the dominant group in mixed-sex interactions, they show marked manifestations of powerfulness.

Recognizing the concept of multiple and diverse identities, especially the identity challenges introduced by women of colour, the feminist perspective to the study of language has shifted from the utter focus on the undifferentiated category of 'woman'. New linguistic questions, hence, emerged. Rather than addressing the question of 'how language affects gender,' the central feminist research question has become 'how language *effects* gender'. Women's language is now investigated not as the language of the group oppressed and marginalized by the power of men, but as the language of active participants. The complexity of women's identities necessitated a feminist acknowledgement of "the complexity of women's relationship to language" (Bucholtz, 1999c: 6).

Significantly, Sanchez-Hucles & Dryden (2012: 16) note that "[n]ot all women share the same gender." The evidence emerges through the marked difference in agenda between white feminists and feminists of colour. In the same manner that men believed that transcending race diversities and creating a common brotherhood would overcome racial oppression, white feminists believed that a common sisterhood would defeat gender discrimination (Roth, 2004). In this sense, white feminists worked towards a universal unity by minimizing differences among women. However, obscuring differences of race, ethnicity and class, feminists of colour found it difficult to involve male members, especially ethnic minority men, as advocates for feminism.

Moreover, black women have been found to adopt a different version of feminism than white women (Harnois, 2005). Whereas white women perspective of feminism focused on issues of education, religiosity, marital status, support for gays and lesbians and unconventional gender ideology, African American women adopted a view of feminism based on work and family relationships, marking their interest in social justice and economic equality issues (Belgrave &

Allison, 2009). The interaction between gender and race, among other identity sources that people may draw upon, has been addressed by Butler (1990) who warns that gender and race should not be tackled as simple dichotomies since identity constructions based on a single account, i.e. as far as gender and race are concerned, will not suffice. Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 27) wonder if we are “all automatically performing or constructing our gender *all the time*” (italics in original). If this is the case, we are also “simultaneously performing other identities (e.g. our ethnicity) and at times the performance of one identity must then be privileged over that of another. Swan (2002: 43-67) significantly asks: “How does the analyst know?” If gender is perceived as ‘doing’ or ‘performing’, how can the analyst distinguish the particular aspect of identity, whether gender or otherwise, is being operationalized in a speaker’s utterance? The issue of potential relevance of gender identity is more aggravated if other detailed identity features are considered, such as, being a teacher, a father, a nervous person, etc., in which case deciding upon the relevant identity aspects becomes a challenge for the analyst (ibid.: 48-49). Wodak (2003: 672) argues for the inseparability between gender identity and other dimensions of identity and roles. In this sense, a holistic view of behaviour and interactions rather than a focus on gender variable in isolation is preferred.

Contemporary feminist research posits that to eschew simplistic and universalizing claims, gender “needs to be viewed as interconnected with other categories and hierarchies of social identity such as race/ethnicity, social class and position, sexuality, (dis)ability, age, culture and nationality” (Lazar & Kramarae, 2011: 222). Fraser (2009: 101) notes that feminism has moved from claiming equality between men and women to identity politics “dominated by white, middle class, heterosexual women, to a broader more inclusive movement that better allows for the concerns of colour, and/or poor and working class women.” Men and women take part in a vast variety of social interactions throughout their lives using all kinds of language patterns that ‘defy generalizations’. Bucholtz (1996) and Scott (2002), for example, argue that blacks and people of colour in general in the USA and other minority groups elsewhere in the world have ‘double consciousness’ which renders them subtle in using a variety of linguistic styles, shifting between them according to the situation. Frosh et al. (2002) contend that boys and girls alike draw on a complexity of referential sources, e.g. sexuality, ethnicity, age, class, etc., in order to construct their gender identity. In this sense, Lazar and Kramarae (ibid.: 223) point out, attention should be paid to the fact that gender may be racialized or classist. In the same vein, Bucholtz and Hall

(2005) assert the importance of intersecting different identity categories, e.g. gender, race, social class, age, sexuality, etc.

Talbot (1998: 49-50) regards the notion of gender alone as ‘too simplistic’; gender “interacts with age, class/status and, not least, culture. Gender differences come about because of the social roles men and women have. They depend on what spoken and written genres men and women work within, what they have access to, whether they are encouraged, expected or able to participate in public or private discourse.” Central to the current study is the notion that a discourse approach to the study of gender and language is primarily concerned with individual agency and the concept of gender identity as multiple, fluctuating, and constructed partially by language. In this sense, gender is represented not only as variable, but also as social and individual. In the introduction of *Gender and Discourse* (1997), Wodak identifies gender from the perspective of the analyst as the understanding of “how what it means to be a woman or to be a man changes from one generation to the next”, and points out that this concept also differs according to language users “between different racialised, ethnic, and religious groups, as well as for members of different social classes” (ibid.:4). These notions of ‘pluralisation of gender’ and ‘gender as a contextualised practice’ affect the task of the analyst enormously; since they necessitate a concentration on how various aspects of identity, e.g. gender, race, class, age and sexuality, interact, focusing, for example, on ‘working class white heterosexual men’ instead of just ‘men’.

2.2. Language and Gender

The interdisciplinary nature which characterizes gender studies is what makes it rewarding, meaningful, and simultaneously, risky. This interdisciplinary dialogue is to be considered ‘a kind of cross-cultural communication,’ since different areas of research propose different questions, different concepts and notions and different methods to answer questions. What is taken as a postulate in one discipline may be regarded as a questionable hypothesis in another (Tannen, 1994a: 3). Tannen (1998: 4) also contends that gender and language study, though it seems a centralized area of research, is verifiably interdisciplinary because “[r]esearchers working in this area have their roots in widely divergent academic disciplines, including sociology, education, anthropology, psychology, speech communication, literature, and women’s studies, as well as ... linguistics.” Contradictory to the expectation that linguists would excel in the studies of gender and language, linguists are the least contingent, mainly because mainstream contemporary

linguistics has focused on “formal analysis of language as an abstract system, not language as it is used in everyday life” (ibid.).

It is crucial in any society to understand the division of gender. Talbot explains, “[b]eing born male or female has far-reaching consequences for an individual” (1998: 3). How people act and how they are acted upon by the world are influenced by this division. This comprises the language used by people and the language used about them. Early studies on men, women and language—which were anthropologically based in nature—were concerned with ‘sex differentiation.’ Their primary focus was on phonological and lexicogrammatical anomalies. Most of these studies have dealt with “the existence of different pronouns or affixes specific for men and women, whether as speakers, spoken to, or spoken about” (ibid.: 4). Such sex differentiation instances appear less frequently in Germanic or Romance languages, i.e. English, French, Italian, Spanish, etc. Talbot points out that the linguistic gap between men and women are greater in “stable, conservative cultures where male and female social roles are not flexible” (ibid.: 5).

In the 1970s, linguistic sex differences have been categorized into two types—this distinction was first introduced by Ann Bodine: *sex-exclusive* and *sex-preferential* differentiation. Each type is related to certain kind of linguistic characteristics; while sex-exclusive differences are absolute, sex-preferential ones are a ‘matter of degree.’ Moreover, unlike preferential-differentiation, sex-differentiation is quite unusual in European originated languages. However, as pointed out by Talbot (1998: 6), both of them are ‘highly culture-specific.’ How to be ‘proper’ men and women in any culture depends to a great extent on learning these linguistic characteristics. An individual’s inability to learn them can result in severe ramifications.

2.2.1. Sex versus Gender

It is important to distinguish between two terms: sex and gender. This distinction was first revealed by the British feminist Oakley (1972). Sex is a biological term, related to genes and hormones. An ovum contains sex chromosome X of the female, while a sperm contains “either a female X chromosome or a male Y chromosome” (Talbot, 1998: 7). Sex is fundamentally ‘binary’, i.e. an individual is ‘either male or female.’ Hermaphrodites complicate the issue; a lot of intersex conditions are medically or surgically enforced to be either men or women. Thus,

Bing and Bergvall (1996: 8-9) state that physicians admit that both sex and gender are socially constructed. However, this particular case is out of the concerns of the present research.

On the other hand, gender is ‘socially constructed.’ Talbot (1998: 7) points out that people “acquire characteristics which are perceived as masculine and feminine.” Thus, gender is learned. People normally talk about “a ‘masculine’ woman or a ‘feminine’ man.” As Graddol and Swann (1989: 8) express it: “A person can be more or less ‘feminine’ and more or less ‘masculine.’” Moreover, “gender is not binary; we can talk about one man being more masculine (or feminine) than another.” Grammatically speaking, there are comparative and superlative forms of ‘masculine’, i.e. more masculine and most masculine, but it is not the same with ‘male’ (there is no maler or malest). Talbot puts it clear when she states: “People are ‘gendered’ and actively involved in the process of their own gendering.” In this way also, it is clear that sex-exclusive and sex-preferential differentiations are part of doing gender and of “behaving as ‘proper’ men and women in particular cultures” (Talbot, 1998: 7); they are cultural in essence (and not biological), since they differ from one cultural to another.

According to Graddol and Swann (1989: 7), gender refers to “a social distinction between masculine and feminine,” whereas sex relates to “the biological and by and large binary distinction between male and female.” In this sense, gender is “a socially rather than a biologically constructed attribute—people are not born with but rather learn the behaviours and attributes appropriate to their sex” (ibid.: 8). Giddens defines ‘sex’ as “biological or anatomical differences between men and women”, whereas ‘gender’ “concerns the psychological, social and cultural differences between males and females” (1989: 158).

There is an extremely rich research as to the issue of ascribing the differences between the sexes to biological or learned bases, i.e. to what extent can the differences between men and women be ‘biologically determined or learned.’ For example, researchers have addressed the subject of men’s tendency for aggression in different ways. As Talbot (1998: 8) coins the question, “is men’s tendency for greater aggression a biological [...] characteristic, or is it an aspect of masculine gender and therefore socially constructed? Or is it perhaps both?” Then, she points out, “it is probably best to concede that people’s behaviour patterns come about in an interplay of biology and social practices, so that ultimately it is not really possible to separate the biological

from the social.” The same idea has also been asserted by Bem (1993: 34-35) and Segal (1994: 186).

Talbot (1998: 9) argues that the confusion between gender and sex carries the implication that “socially determined differences between women and men are natural and inevitable.” It comes also with some ‘political underpinnings’: “[I]t often accompanies a reassertion of traditional family roles, or justifications for male privileges.” Talbot cites an example of a 70s’ magazine article talking about women’s preference to work and be independent rather than stay at home and be dependent. The article, entitled “Ambition, stress, power, work—IS IT ALL TURNING WOMEN INTO MEN?”, displayed a Professor of Medicine’s point of view urging women to “recognize their limits before it’s too late” (cited in Kramarae 1981: v-vi). Even cognitively speaking, the biological explanations to linguistic gender differences are controversial; a vast chain of research has attempted to ‘establish sex-related differences in brain capacity’, i.e. the inconclusive claims that women innately outperform men as to language and that men outperform women when it comes to visual and spatial matters; but this is ‘politically highly sensitive’ since, as Deborah Cameron (Coates and Cameron, 1988: 5-6) notes, “studies of difference are not just disinterested quests for the truth, but in an unequal society inevitably have a political dimension.”

Talbot’s remark (1998: 11) about the learned nature of gender is worth quoting:

Linguistic interaction is obviously behaviour which has been learned, and there is little point in trying to account for it by talking about innate qualities. In societies with sex-exclusive differences in language use, choice from among a range of lexicogrammatical options is part of gender performance. The word ‘choice’ is perhaps not the right one, since the forms for use by women and men are enforced by prescriptive rule [...] Speakers are corrected, one way or another, if they produce inappropriate forms. [...] Gender, thus, is not biological but psycho-social; it should always be considered in the context of social relations between people.

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 10) argue that gender “is not something we are born with, and not something we have, but something we do [...] – something we perform [...]” They further elaborate: “Sex is a biological categorization based primarily on reproductive potential, whereas gender is the social elaboration of biological sex.” However, they continue, the distinction based on the biological nature of sex and the social nature of gender is far from being clear-cut, i.e. there is no explicit boundary where the former ends and the latter begins. Eckert and McConnell-

Ginet (ibid.: 14) are in favour of a notion of gender as a social construction—the society’s means of achieving “the differentiation that constitutes the gender order;” Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000: 3) summarizes the situation:

labeling someone a man or a woman is a social decision. We may use scientific knowledge to help us make the decision, but only our beliefs about gender – not science – can define our sex. Furthermore, our beliefs about gender affect what kinds of knowledge scientists produce about sex in the first place.

2.2.2. The Relationship between Language and Gender

Bergvall, Bing and Freed (1996: 1) remark: “Just as we rarely question our ability to breathe, so we rarely question the habit of dividing human beings into two categories: females and males.” Then, they draw attention to the importance of imposing categories on experiences for human beings to understand them. Language also tends to impose categories on reality. For example, Bergvall, Bing and Freed explain that there are two distinct categories: ‘day’ and ‘night’; however, the real boundaries between them are vague; it is unclear when the former ends and the latter begins. Talbot (1998: 12) comments: “Day and night are bipolar categories that language imposes; the reality is a continuum.” She adds that gender is best conceived as a continuum; masculinity and femininity have degrees and it is completely normal to say that a person is more masculine than another.

Graddol and Swann display three points of view according to which language relates to gender: first, the view that language only *reflects* gender divisions; second, the view that gender divisions are *created* by language, and third, the view that both processes are applicable and that the study of language and gender should address them both. As for the first perspective—language as reflecting gender division, Coates (1986: vi) argues that: “Linguistic differences are merely a reflection of social differences, and as long as society views women and men as different—and unequal—then differences in the language of women and men will persist.” This view is problematic. Sociolinguists argue that linguistic gender differences are “a side effect of the systematically different social experiences of women and men” (Graddol & Swann, 1989: 9).

Relating to the second perspective—language as creating gender division, Spender (1985: 3) contends that: “Language helps form the limits of our reality. It is our means of ordering, classifying and manipulating the world... Having learnt the language of a patriarchal society we

have also learnt to classify and manage the world in accordance with patriarchal order and to preclude many possibilities for alternative ways of making sense of the world.” This position—a determinist one—suggests that language constructs and maintains social divisions; i.e. the language used in the media and every day interactions shapes people’s perception of the male and female characteristics and determines the social roles expected from men and women.

The third viewpoint to language and gender relates to the interplay between language and social structure. Sally McConnell-Ginet (1983: 69) argues: “Talk works to create and maintain sex-stereotyping and male dominance. Our speech not only reflects our place in culture and society but also helps to create that place.” This synthesis is more than a simple compromise between the two standpoints. It asserts the role played by language in the overall social processes; “we sometimes need to step outside linguistic analysis to see how a linguistic feature supports some other non-linguistic mechanism in sustaining gender division” (Graddol and Swann, 1989: 10). The case of the Carib Indians is indeed a striking one as to the gender differences in language use; they have differences in all linguistic aspects, e.g. vocabulary, grammatical and pronunciation differences. Sometimes these differences occur on the categorical level, i.e. men and women use different forms; other times, they differ in the degree of use of certain linguistic features. Women have often been argued to be using more prestigious language than men in western studies (Shuy, 1970; Wolfram, 1969). Trudgill (1974) argues that women use prestigious language varieties more than men do because women are more conscious to status and more sensitive to language social norms. According to Trudgill, the reasons are, first, the subordinate and less secure social position of women, and second, men are judged by their work whereas women by their appearance.

Discussing the relationship between language and gender, Talbot (1998: 14) observes that it has a weak and a strong view. The weak one contends that “language simply reflects society, so that social divisions on gender grounds are reflected in patterns of language use.” For example, women’s subordinated status to men in the workplace is reflected in their use of more politeness strategies. Also, the use of two honorific titles for women (Miss and Mrs) versus one title for men (Mr) reflects society’s interest in the marital status of a woman. On the other hand, the stronger view contends that language role transcends reflecting gender divisions to creating them. The previous examples, for instance, do not only reflect social inequality but also create and sustain

them. The two views can respectively be called ‘language-as-mirror’ and ‘language-as-reproductive.’

Talbot (ibid.: 15) adopts a middle position, arguing that, from the strong point of view, “languages embody different world-views and our consciousness is constrained, even created, by the language we have.” This idea has been articulated in Sapir-Whorf hypothesis; Sapir has argued that people live not only in the ‘objective world’, nor in the ‘social activity world’, they live by the language of society; it is a fact that the ‘real world’ is largely based on the language habits of the group in an unconscious way (Sapir, 1929: 209-210). Actually, Talbot points out that the weak view of language limits any exaggeration about the importance of language, i.e. to erase racist language without stopping to behave in a racist way is not sufficient. Nan van den Bergh elaborates on this point:

To change language may not be to embark on drastic social changes directly, but it does involve consciousness-raising; that is, bringing awareness of a problem to the public’s attention. The assumption underlying consciousness-raising is that before a behavior can be changed, there must be awareness that a situation exists warranting alteration. (1987: 32)

It is in this sense that feminism takes interest in language and gender (see section 2.1.9.).

2.2.3. Early Works and Dominant Approaches

In the sixties and seventies, the endeavours to establish differences between men and women appeared; most of these works concluded that women use more prestigious language than men do (Labov, 1962). Harold Orton (1962: 15), for example, claimed that “men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently and more genuinely than women.” Talbot (1998: 36) points out that most of the writings on language and gender relied on speculation and reiterated ‘the stereotypes and prejudices of the period.’ An example is Otto Jespersen’s book *Language: Its Nature, Development and Origin* (1922). Jespersen contends that men’s language is marked by intelligence, creativity and imagination, while women’s language is marked by smaller vocabulary which is used rather improperly. According to Talbot (ibid.: 37), Jespersen’s claims are totally unsubstantiated.

Trudgill (1972) (in Thorne & Henley, 1975: 91-92) contended that these differences in linguistic features stem from the concept of ‘status consciousness’ and what is socially perceived as proper

behaviour of men and women. Women have more status consciousness than men; this is because, first, they are more socially insecure, and second, men are “rated socially by their occupation, their earning power, and perhaps by their own abilities—in other words by what they *do*”, on the other hand, women are rated by ‘how they *appear*’ (italics in original). Actually, Trudgill’s claims about the distinction between ‘doing’ and ‘appearing’ and survey conduction have been refuted by Deuchar (1987: 305), Graddol and Swann (1989: 53-55) and Talbot (1998: 25-27).

Most of the findings about women and men’s speech (Lesley Milroy, 1980; Susan Gal, 1979 and Beth Thomas, 1988) have shown that women produce more prestigious forms than men. Robin Lakoff (1975) introduced the hypothesis that women have a distinctive language marked by excessive politeness, uncertainty, lack of confidence and keenness to please. She introduced a number of linguistic features expressing women’s typical uncertainty; some were lexical (e.g. certain vocabulary about women’s work, precise colour terms, affective adjectives and excessive polite forms); others were discourse particles (e.g. hedges, intensifiers and tag questions) and other features including rising intonation, hypercorrect grammar, emphatic stress and even lack of humour. Lakoff’s study led women’s language to be conceived as inferior, deficient and deviant from the normal men’s language. Lakoff explained these differences on the basis of ‘women’s deficiencies’ in an analogous way to Dale Spender’s claim that language is ‘man made’; however, as Talbot expresses (1998: 40): “In doing so, she was unintentionally rearticulating existing prejudices about women’s talk.”

Later research has shown that Lakoff’s speculation about women’s uncertainty and lack of confidence is unsubstantiated. Women use tag questions more frequently; however, Holmes (1995) has refuted Lakoff’s interpretation by reinterpreting the use of tag questions differently; i.e. a person’s weak hedges can be considered strong if used by another person. Another hypothesis built on Lakoff’s has been introduced by William O’Barr and Bowman Atkins (1982) who suggested that the language identified by Lakoff is not actually ‘women’s language’; rather it is ‘powerless language’. Talbot (ibid.: 44) describes Lakoff’s hypothesis as ‘far too straightforward’ and signals three major problems with it. First, it is based on defining some linguistic features as typical of women’s language. Second, it stresses a ‘deficit model of women’s language’. Third, Lakoff implicitly defines men’s use of language as the normal and neutral use.

In *Man Made Language*, Dale Spender introduces a version of Sapir-Whorf hypothesis:

Language helps form the limits of our reality. It is our means of ordering, classifying and manipulating the world. It is through language that we become members of a human community, that the world becomes comprehensible and meaningful, that we bring into existence the world in which we live. (Spender, 1985: 3)

She claims that “the English language has been literally man made and that it is still primarily under male control” (1985: 12). In this sense, as Talbot explains (1998: 45): “Men have a monopoly on the production of meaning, and therefore on the production of our perception of reality. Women’s meanings are not encoded in the language, so that ‘reality’ is defined by men. Language encodes male versions of events. It reflects male interests and words have a male bias.” For example, unlike ‘bachelor’, ‘spinster’ has unpleasant connotations. Other examples encompass the social meaning of ‘motherhood’ and ‘housework’. In this sense, only “male meanings of women’s existence have been articulated” (Spender, 1985: 95).

In the 1970s and 1980s, there were two trends in approaching language and gender. The first, relating to *parole*, is ‘gender and language use’; this trend concentrated on gender differences. The second, relating to *langue*, is gender and language ‘as an abstract system’; it concentrated on individual linguistic items (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002). Gender and language use scholars have focused on the linguistic shapes relating to male dominance and, thus, introducing the dominance approach, e.g. Fishman (1983) and West and Zimmerman (1983). They were also concerned with interpreting gender differences as ‘cultural differences’ adopting one of two perspectives: liberal, e.g. Deborah Tannen’s *You Just Don’t Understand* (1990), or celebratory, e.g. Jones (1980) and Holmes (1995). These two approaches are essentially feminist (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 2). Most of the early scholarship in language and gender studies affiliated to one of the two approaches: dominance or difference. However, Talbot (1998: 130-131), risking oversimplification, categorizes Lakoff’s work as belonging to a third framework—deficit framework, and thus she identifies three frameworks in the study of language and gender: ‘deficit’, ‘difference’ and ‘dominance’. The deficit approach contends that men’s language is the norm while the language used by women is ‘inferior’ and ‘deficient’. It explained linguistic gender differences on the basis of “women’s deficiencies, how women’s language deviates from an implicit male norm.”

2.2.3.1. Dominance Approach

Scholars of the gender and language use trend who adopted the dominance approach in the 1970s and 1980s have taken on a feminist approach exposing the biased language. Talbot expresses this point:

Feminism is a form of politics dedicated to bringing about social changes, and ultimately to arresting the reproduction of systematic inequalities between men and women. Feminist interest in language and gender resides in the complex part language plays, alongside other social practices and institutions, in reflecting, creating and sustaining gender divisions in society. (1998:15)

They worked on three connected forms. First, there are grammatical uses which ignore the existence of women (such as the masculine generics *he, man, chairman*, etc.). Second, there are lexical items which render women to be stereotypical or trivial figures (e.g. *a blonde*). Third, there are words which underestimate women (e.g. *bitch, tart*). In this context, Spender's *Man Made Language* was an attempt to spread these results outside academia. Writers and institutes have formed checklists and guidelines for “‘inclusive’, ‘alternative’, ‘non-sexist’ language items”, but a lot of these attempts were rejected in some contexts because of ‘political correctness’.

The dominance framework is best represented by Spender's work which introduced “a monolithic view of male power” and gave the impression that “all men were in a position to dominate all women, which is patently not the case” (Talbot, 1998: 130). This framework views language forms as “manifestations of a patriarchal social order”, thus, gender linguistic differences are accounted for as “enactments of male privilege”. Interestingly, O'Barr and Atkins explored male and female courtroom language and concluded that linguistic differences are not the result of gender *per se*; rather they can be accounted for in relation to the concept of status and power. Thus, the relation between gender and power is an indirect one and is affected by nonlinguistic processes. However, some studies have argued that women are essentially characterized by lack of power, whereas men assume interactional power by default, even if they have a less powerful professional status.

The dominance framework has one major drawback, i.e. male dominance is looked upon as if it were ‘pan-contextual’, i.e. “all men are not in a position to dominate all women” (Talbot, 1998:

134). She expands: “If we are going to make claims about male dominance, we need to be more sophisticated. This involves being more specific. [...] We need to consider in what institutions, in what situations and in what genres men can and do dominate women, and how those institutions, situations and genres help them to do so.” In this sense, researchers begin to identify certain locations where male power manifests in social practices and structures and to explore details of interaction in institutions, situations and genres where limitations are imposed on women’s access to different types of linguistic behaviour in patriarchal societies.

2.2.3.2. Difference Approach

The notion that men and women use language differently is still controversial; some researchers argue for the existence of such differences, e.g. Locke (2011), while others deny them, e.g. Cameron (2008). The difference framework, which takes roots in John Gumperz’s sociolinguistic work, contends that women and men grow up in different subcultures since they are raised in ‘gender-specific cultures.’ Thus, this two-culture concept is offered by the difference model as an interpretation for linguistic gender differences. This framework has been used as an alternative to the dominance model in accounting for gender linguistic differences, as Talbot expresses: “Behavior that had previously been perceived as men’s efforts to dominate women in interaction is reinterpreted as a ‘cross-cultural’ phenomenon, a result of mismatches in what men and women expect interaction to be like” (Talbot, 1998: 132). Practically, the three approaches frequently overlap; the dominance and difference approaches can be complementary; “men and women are socialized into male and female subcultures” and simultaneously, “social relations, being patriarchal, affect men and women differently and in men’s favour” (ibid.). The difference model, however, has been used most frequently in both academic and non-academic arena, since it is in conformity with other sociolinguistic work on language varieties.

Considering gender in the light of a difference approach naturally, and tightly, relates to the concept of identity. Maltz and Borker (1982) pointed out that girls and boys use certain linguistic features to mark their membership in their respective groups and to differentiate themselves from the opposing gender group. Graddol and Swann (1989: 65) argue that the association between certain linguistic features and particular networks patterns in society can be used, when recognized, by people to mark their social identity. These patterns appear when “people

deliberately choose to speak in certain ways to signal their membership of a particular community, their gender, and other aspects of their social identity.”

Cheshire (1982: 110) stresses that gender differences cannot be considered in isolation from other social factors:

The main point [...] is not that girls are more susceptible to the more overt norms governing the use of standard English features (though this is certainly *to some extent* true), but that different linguistics features are used in different ways by boys and girls.

Significantly, Graddol and Swann (ibid.: 63) comment:

This work shows that simply totalling the variable usage of linguistic forms by women and men presents us with a very partial picture. To understand why sex differences occur one needs to look at the roles played by women and men in the community, whom they habitually interact with, and what might motivate them to adopt particular forms of speech.

The concept of gender differences has received criticism, mainly because it underestimates the role played by contextual factors, variation and ‘intragroup differences and intergroup overlap’, as Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1999:193) termed it. Moreover, “in rooting out differences rather than (in addition) investigating and acknowledging similarities, it inherently represented gender (masculinity/femininity) in binary opposition [...] is something that *vive la différence* proponents also love to do” (Sunderland & Litosseliti 2002: 4). The idea of gender differences, also, led to a kind of ‘cultural determinism’, meaning that how women and men spoke came to be seen as determined by their femaleness or maleness. Thus, gender and sex were considered to be equivalents and gender appeared to be ‘a convenient independent sociolinguistic variable.’ In addition, this idea led to minimizing the role played by human agency (what Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002) call ‘fixedness’) and implied a one-way ‘gender then language’ process. Most important, gender differences approach, with some exceptions, reduced the possibility, or in best cases, rejected acknowledging the potential, of ‘language shaping gender’.

For a long time, the idea of difference in gender studies had been reinforced, while the idea of similarity has been suppressed. Talbot’s comment here is worth mentioning:

Gender is represented *as* difference, with gender categories frequently being treated as bipolar, fixed and static. They are sometimes established as though they

were complementary pairs, or natural opposites. Books like Tannen's *You Just Don't Understand* do not threaten deep-rooted beliefs in these bipolar categories. They are appealing because they offer solutions to gender problems without making a problem of gender itself. As a consequence of a preoccupation with difference, stereotypes are reinforced, shoring up essentialism in our perception of gender. (1998: 143)

As Cameron stresses: "Men do this, women do that" is not only overgeneralised and stereotypical, it fails utterly to address the question of where 'men' and 'women' come from" (1995: 42). In this sense, language and gender study is faced with the challenge of "how to conceptualize gender without polarization" (Talbot, 1998: 144).

The neglect of power is another problem stemming from the difference model. Tannen's work has been criticized for this drawback, e.g. Cameron, 1992, 1995; Crawford, 1995; Freed, 1992; Trömel-Plötz, 1991; Uchida, 1992. Trömel-Plötz (1991: 490) describes it as a "non-engaged and apolitical stance" trivializing "our experience of injustice and of conversational dominance; it conceals who has to adjust; it veils differences again and again and equalises with a levelling mania any distinction in how we experience women and men" (ibid.: 501). This approach ignores the consequences of differences resulting from defining men and women as belonging to two cultures. It is aligned with the different-but-equal notion which is described by Talbot (1998: 137) as an illusion and a myth. This myth is in accordance with Tannen's "narrow focus on individuals and a disregard for broader social considerations," i.e. Tannen concentrates on "personal relationships between equals, separate from social structure and the power asymmetries that it often *imposes* on such personal relationships." Male dominance for Tannen is only individually intended.

The two-cultures notion is also questioned by Talbot since it, too, implies a suppression of power. There is no explanation for the existence of same-sex play groups, though boys and girls are supposed to be socialized in different subcultures; thus, the "segregation of the sexes is certainly overstated." The analogy proposed between sex/gender and ethnicity where "cross-sex talk is compared to cross-cultural talk" is brought to inquiry by Talbot, since men and women do not live in completely separate countries. Furthermore, the two-culture notion implies that "the primary relations between people are single-sex, or *homosocial*" (Talbot, 1998: 138). Assuming heterosexuality to be the norm, Talbot concludes that the primary relations should be

heterosocial. Cameron (1992: 466) remarks that in same-sex groups children gain the gender differences which “help to construct the heterosexual couple as a unit made up of complementary—but not equal—elements.”

Another problem with the two-culture approach is the overemphasis it puts on miscommunication; it ascribes any misunderstandings between men and women to their unawareness of having different interactional style. However, this interpretation is refuted by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet’s (1992b: 467) example of men’s perception that a woman’s ‘no’ actually means ‘yes’. It seems that men, after all, have the ability to understand interactional norms divergent from their own, which entails that men are aware of the existence of these differences in the first place. Freed (1992: 149) points out that men and women are not confined into one interactional style, i.e. sometimes men use rapport talk, which is typical of women, when necessary—‘sweet-talking’. Moreover, the neutral position adopted by the difference approach where the interactional styles of both men and women are supposed to be ‘equally valid’ is not “challenging the power differential between the two styles but effectively erasing it” because in social terms “the two styles are *not* equally valid” (Talbot, 1998: 142).

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 2) point out that the linguistic difference paradigm is related to the ‘wider context of psychological difference’ which ties in well with ‘a popular thirst for gender differences.’ Sunderland (2004: 16) notes that gender differences are “enthusiastically embraced by undergraduate students of linguistics” who get frustrated when no gender differences are found in their transcripts. Cameron (2008: 3) severely criticizes the difference paradigm: “The idea that men and women differ fundamentally in the way they use language to communicate is a myth in the everyday sense: a widespread but false belief. But it is also a myth in the sense of being a story people tell in order to explain who they are, where they have come from, and why they live as they do.” Baker (2014: 42) argues that “gender differences paradigm creates expectations that people should speak at the linguistic extremes of their sex in order to be seen as normal and/or acceptable, and thus it problematizes people who do not conform, creating in- and out-groups. The result is inequality.”

A meta-analysis of gender differences in hundreds of studies based on verbal and behavioural aspects has been conducted by Hyde (2005) with the conclusion that the total gender-based differences are marginal and, at times, approaches nil; the two aspects which showed

considerable difference were spelling accuracy and smiling frequency. Johnson (1997: 11) significantly argues that “many linguists have become so preoccupied with the need to uncover statistically significant gender differences that they frequently seem to overlook one important fact: the two sexes are still drawing on the same linguistic resources.”

One approach to the study of language and gender which has almost disappeared is ‘language as sexist.’ It was perceived that the realization of a word as sexist is improbable since it can easily be ‘reclaimed’ by a certain speech community. In the same way, a gender-neutral word can be contextually sexist. As Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 5) argue, “identification of ‘sexist’ words did not allow for the fact that these could be used ironically or in other non-literal ways, or that both sexist and non-sexist words could be interpreted in a whole range of ways.” Crucially, this approach has underplayed the role of the context or ‘situatedness’ as indispensable in the production and interpretation of an utterance. The primary objection to sexist approach was its permitting for “theorising linguistic agency, in the form of language shaping thinking [...] [and] individual and collective agency, in the form of conscious promotion of non-sexist and gender-inclusive language” (ibid.).

2.2.3.3. Reconciling Approaches

Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 3-4) argue that the two approaches which regarded masculinity and femininity as a gender ‘binary’, were ‘necessary products of their time’ – when the ‘deficit’ models of women’s language prevailed (Jespersen, 1922; Trudgill, 1972; Lakoff, 1975), and within the context of a wider political agenda for women (Cameron 1992). Talking about gender differences as cultural differences does not mean negating the dominance of men over women (Tannen, 1994a: 7). She illuminatingly explains: “if the two phenomena are conceptualized as mutually exclusive poles, then those who suggest that women’s and men’s styles can be understood in the framework of cultural differences are represented as denying that dominance exists. In other words, it implies that ‘difference’ precludes ‘dominance,’ which is totally without basis. Quite the contrary, the cultural difference framework provides model for explaining how dominance can be created in face-to-face interaction” (ibid.: 9-10).

Tannen dismisses the two extreme assumptions that gender differences can be ascribed to pure cultural or biological bases, because “[m]any of those who believe [...] the differences to be

purely biological in origin assume that if this is the case , then women must be subordinate and there is no point in trying to effect social change.” On the other hand, “[m]any of those who believe [...] the differences to be purely cultural in origin assume that if this is so, they can easily change whatever they don’t like in the social order.” Moreover, Tannen contends that linguistics is not interested in addressing “the question of the origins of gender or other linguistic differences”. She describes contemporary linguistics as ‘descriptive’ because “our charge is to describe the patterns of language we observe—and decidedly not prescriptive [...] Thus to describe differences is not to ascribe them to either biological or cultural sources.” In this sense, the ‘nature/nurture’ question of whether differences are ascribed to biological, cultural or socialization sources has to be answered by anthropologists (1994a: 12-13).

Interestingly, Butler (1990), who adopts a feminist paradigm, argues for the performativity of gender, i.e. gender is considered to be a way of doing rather than a way of being. In this sense, the way people speak are not ascribed to their maleness or femaleness. Rather, their use of language is but one way of performing gender identity in accordance with the way that a male or a female should act as dictated by social conventions. She explains that gender performances are liable to subversion and, hence, cannot be inherently connected to one sex. Baker (2014: 3) expands that gender performances are learnt since people learn the gender performance suitable for their sex by “observing and copying other people around them.” Therefore, Butler (1990: 31) states: “The parodic repetition of ‘the original’ [...] reveals the original to be nothing other than a parody of the idea of the natural and the original.” The social conventions and expectations which Butler pointed to as shaping gender performance and the way men and women speak are connected to the notion of discourse as defined by Foucault (1972: 49), “practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak.” In the 1990s, the study of language and gender has shifted from the exclusive focus on women’s language as deficit and the dominance/difference models to the discursive construction of gendered identities and relations, along with a tendency towards a feminist and social theory (Bucholtz et al., 1999).

The early study of language and gender was problematized by the fact that it drew upon the theorization of gender in different social disciplines. The traditional definition of gender— “the culturally-shaped group of attributes given to the female or to the male” (Humm, 1989: 84)—seemed to be adhered to even by feminist linguistic researchers. Adopting this definition, many

problematic questions arise: “who is giving? how? how do the ‘recipients’ respond? are ‘the female’ and ‘the male’ actually monolithic categories?” Actually, it is not adequate to merely distinguish between ‘biological’ sex and ‘social’ gender since agency and diversity play crucial roles, and since “language is seen as shaping or constructing gender, not simply as a characteristic of it” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 5).

Most current research on language and gender focuses on the constitutive nature of discourse, i.e. rather than viewing language as a reflection of pre-existing realities, recent works view social events, institutions and situations as shaped, and simultaneously shaping, language use. In this sense, studying discourse has marked the shift from the study of sexist language to the study of power asymmetries in discourse. It has been argued (Cameron, 2006; Weatherall, 2002) that not only through sexist language but also through language stereotypical, biased use in social practices that women can be represented in disadvantaged light. Moreover, there has been a shift from the study of “what gender *is* and its expression in discourse” to the study of “how gender emerges as an outcome of discourse in situated contexts and communities of practice” (Lazar & Kramarae, 2011: 221). Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002), for example, mark the idea of ‘gender differences’ as ‘unproductive and conservative’; rather they focus on “the notion of continuous construction of a range of masculine and feminine identities within and across individuals of the same biological sex” (ibid.: 1-2) and are, thus, of favour of using a critical discourse analysis approach to the study of language and gender.

During the last two decades, identity studies—especially in the field of language and gender, have exclusively focused on identity as a category that individuals subscribe to, e.g. comparing the linguistic behaviour of men and women in general, rather than investigating the identificatory characteristics of individuals (Bucholtz, 1999a, 1999b). The work of Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992b) pioneered in shifting the focus from “groups as undifferentiated categories to complex configurations of individuals acting in part together and in part separately” (Bucholtz, 1999c: 8). This shift was instigated by researchers’ interest in looking at both feminist as well as linguistic theory in the field of language and gender studies, i.e. rather than exploring differences in the language of men and women as groups, scholars started focusing on the contextual details, the “locally meaningful social groupings rather than global gender divisions”, and the “individual

variation within, as well as across, gender categories” (ibid.: 21). The development of language and gender studies is inseparably related to the development of feminist theory.

2.2.4. Discourse and Gender

Gender is not a pre-existing, fixed state; rather it is continually worked out in behaviour and discourse. Butler (1990: 25) postulates that gender is the “repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being.” In this sense, research on language and gender has come to examine discursive practices as a site for gender identity to be produced. In doing so, cultural norms are also reproduced. If gender is something that can be performed, then it is something that can be ‘undone’ (Deutsch, 2007) or ‘deconstructed’ (Butler, 1990). Kira Hall (1995: 200), for example, found out that fantasy-line operators in San Francisco use a type of language consistent with the hegemonic male perception of the ‘ideal woman’. It should be noted that Bucholtz (2003) has identified four approaches to the study of language and gender as discourse: Discourse as culture, discourse as society, discourse as text and discourse as history.

2.2.4.1. Discourse as Culture

According to Bucholtz, gender in the rubric of linguistic anthropology has been regarded as a place of discursive study, and gender-based studies led to the establishment of discourses-based approaches to anthropology. In this sense, these approaches presented a substitute to much of the earlier linguistic approaches within anthropology, which focused on linguistic systems as descriptive ones through “elicitation of decontextualized words and sentences from native speakers” (2003: 46). At that time, the 1960s and the 1970s, the new methods relating to discourse analysis and pinpointing the importance of naturally unelicited occurring language which involves multiple speakers and different types of language use, led to the rise of new trends for the anthropological gender studies. Bucholtz has specified two frameworks, that is, the ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics, as the seeds for researches which have broadened the typical narrow research of European American middle class to other languages and cultures. Depending on the specific way in which each of these two approaches has used the term ‘culture,’ the contributions of each approach to the study of language and gender have differed.

2.2.4.1.1. Ethnography of communication

Established by Dell Hymes (1962, 1974) and termed the ‘ethnography of speaking,’ the ethnography of communication is a way of putting language as a focus point in anthropological research, i.e. language use is studied through anthropological methods. The aim is “to understand discourse from the perspective of members of the culture being studied, and not primarily or pre-emptively from the perspective of the anthropologist” (Bucholtz, 2003: 46). In this sense, ethnographers of communication normally focus on “discourse genres through which competent cultural members display their cultural knowledge - by considering speakers’ own systems of discursive classification rather than importing their own academically based analytic categories” (ibid.). Moreover, they investigate “how specific kinds of language use (speech events) are put to use in particular contexts (speech situations).” Harmonious with the tradition of anthropological research, ethnography of communication has taken “language use beyond that of White middle-class speakers in industrialized societies,” (ibid.) and particularly spoken language, as its primary concern.

Keenan’s (1989) study of gender differences in Madagascar is an important example of this sort of studies. She identifies women’s speech behaviour as direct and men’s as indirect. Moreover, she correlates different modes of discourse with different forms of power. The direct style of Malagasy women helps them to practice political and economic enterprises, men do not engage in these practices, or do them in a lesser degree. However, she remarks that the ideologies related to the Malagasy language give indirect style of speaking high esteem while denying that to direct styles. Keenan’s findings that marked the discourse genres of men as public and discourse genres of women as domestic, and that judged the speech style of men as valued and that of women as less valued, were asserted by many studies. This notion is at the heart of the present study where the topical interests of Obama as a male political candidate and Clinton as a female political candidate are linked to expectations about the role of men and women in society (see section 5.2.). It should also be noted that another approach to ethnography of communication focuses on the discourse genres of women only, instead of the differences between men and women. This approach concentrates on the discourse of African American women and disregards that of African American men (Claudia Mitchell-Kernan, 1971). Recently, some studies on language and gender, conducted in the light of this approach, have tackled similarities and differences between

men and women, with the aim of investigating women's discursive competence rather than conducting a comparison between the two parties (Bucholtz, 2003: 47-48).

According to Bucholtz (2003: 48), the ethnography of communication, in studying gender, focuses on “speaker competence, local understandings of cultural practice, and cross-cultural variation.” Thus, it draws attention to the ‘abilities and agency’ of women and to the idea that gender-based ways of speaking differ from one culture to another. In this sense, “[g]eneralizations may be made not about how ‘women’ speak, but about how women of a particular culture speak.” This is mainly because, according to this approach, “speakers are preeminently viewed as cultural actors, [...] [and] [...] individual language practices are often taken as representative of cultural patterns of gendered discourse.” Since the ethnography of communication has concentrated on the discursive genres of one culture and not the ways members of other cultures may understand these discourse forms, interactional sociolinguistics—a complementary approach to the one at hand, came to focus on ‘interaction and cultural contact’ in language use.

2.2.4.1.2. Interactional Sociolinguistics

Interactional sociolinguistics has emerged from John Gumperz's work on language contact and code-switching. Hence, its primary focus has always been on the study of “language in use that emphasizes the effects of cultural and linguistic contact” (Bucholtz, 2003: 48). While the previous approach, that is, ethnography of communication, is conducted in “small, non-Western, non-industrialized societies, or in culturally distinctive smaller groupings within Western societies,” interactional sociolinguistics investigates “language use in heterogeneous, multicultural societies that are often highly industrialized, concentrating especially on how language is used across linguistic and cultural groups within a single society” (ibid.: 48-49). Bucholtz gives a significant description of the functions performed by this approach when she argues that interactional sociolinguistics:

emphasizes how implied meanings can be derived from details of interaction that signal the appropriate cultural frame of reference for interpretation. These contextualization cues are culturally specific, and hence may give rise to miscommunication when used between speakers with different cultural systems of conversational inference. The main arena for the investigation of such communicative breakdowns is in inter-ethnic interaction of various kinds, usually

between members of the dominant social group who often occupy more powerful roles in the interaction (such as employer, lawyer, teacher, or interviewer) and members of subordinated ethnic groups who often have less powerful positions (such as employee, witness, student, or interviewee). (ibid.: 49)

Cross-cultural differences in communication have guided gender-based research within the approach of interactional sociolinguistics. One of the most prominent scholars in this approach is Deborah Tannen. Tannen has correlated her work on gender to her work on ethnic differences in communication. Daniel Maltz and Ruth Borker (1982) advocate the concept of a cultural understanding of gender and explain that distinctive female and male discursive differences emerge from ‘gender-segregated play patterns in childhood.’ Combining the results of her research on inter-ethnic communications with the research of Daniel Maltz and Ruth Borker (1982), Tannen has dealt with cross-gender communication in both the workplace and intimate relationships. She explains “how the conversational style associated with each gender can lead to miscommunication and difficulties in accomplishing one’s goals” (Bucholtz, 2003: 49).

Interactional Sociolinguistics as an approach to the study of gender and discourse have received wide criticism (e.g. Davis, 1996; Freed, 1992; Trömel-Plötz, 1991), first, for its primary focus on gender differences more than male dominance as a determining element in male-female communicative practice; and second, for its underestimation of the heterogeneity of male and female discursive practices. However, the contributions of this approach, as argued by Bucholtz, have to be acknowledged. Actually, interactional sociolinguistics “highlights women’s competence as users of discourse who have mastered the interactional rules appropriate to their gender.” It also denies favouring the style of men or women and within its tradition of limiting the power given to any of the two parties; “speakers are understood as largely constrained by the gender-based cultural system they learned as children, which they may transcend only through conscious awareness and effort” (ibid.: 49-50).

It should be noted that both approaches, i.e. ethnography of communication and interactional sociolinguistics, regard culture and discourse as ‘mutually constitutive’, but from different perspectives. Within the framework of the former, the focus is on discourse as the essence of culture, the tool of coining and spreading ‘shared cultural practices and identity’. On the other hand, within the framework of the latter, the focus is on how culture underpins discourse, ‘how

language is used and what it can mean.’ Within the study of language and gender, this difference in focus resulted into the emergence of different theories in gender studies. Whereas ethnography of communication focuses on “how women, as discourse producers, are makers of culture,” drawing attention to the “diversity of women's discursive practices in different cultures,” interactional sociolinguistics focuses not on “how women's discourse produces culture but how it is produced by culture.” The primary focus of interactional sociolinguistics scholars is to compare between men and women. While interactional sociolinguistics permits “differences in discourse style between women of different cultures,” it tends to “downplay intragender variation and to highlight intergender variation in discourse patterns” (ibid.: 50). What the two approaches share in spite of their differences is their focus on ‘cultural variability’.

2.2.4.2. Discourse as Society

Under the umbrella of the aforementioned anthropological approaches to discourse analysis, discourse is regarded in relation to culture in general and cultural variation and specificity in particular. However, from the perspective of sociological and social-psychological versions, discourse is connected to society, i.e. these paradigms address particularly the way that ‘discourse structure society’. This perspective of discourse analysis depends on the theory of ethnomethodology which was introduced by the sociologist Harold Garfinkel (1967). According to this theory, society is mainly structured by everyday interaction. Hence, these interactions and activities which constitute the social order have to be analyzed meticulously. Actually, gender was a crucial factor in enhancing ethnomethodological thoughts, especially when Garfinkel introduced the study of Agnes, a biological male who, through social gender-based interactions and activities, was successfully identified as female. The notion of social identities as achievements or accomplishments and that of gender as something that people ‘do’ rather than something that they have (Kessler & McKenna, 1978; West & Zimmerman, 1987) have largely influenced language and gender research, in particular, and gender studies, in general (Bucholtz, 2003: 51).

Tackling how a talk is organized, conversation analysis is one theory of discourse analysis that emerged from the perspective of ethnomethodology. It has been used as a paradigm of analysis by social psychology and discursive psychology. In all these methods and approaches, gender has been a crucial issue. Although discourse analysis has provided shared tools for analysis, there

have often been a conflict between feminist and non-feminist approaches to conversational analysis as to the most suitable method of tackling gender in conversation. Conversational analysis, as explained by Bucholtz, examines “the sequential unfolding of conversation moment by moment, turn by turn, to show how interactional structure constructs social organization.” Actually, the studies introduced by Fishman (1983), Zimmerman and West (1975), West (1979), and West and Zimmerman (1983)—as important and early studies of gender— reflected the ethnomethodological and conversational analysis perspective. These researches have stressed that gender-based differences which relate to power are a feature of interaction. As argued by Bucholtz (2003: 51), “men’s one-up discursive position vis-a-vis women, as indicated through their greater propensity for interruption and their lesser engagement in interactional maintenance work, does not merely reflect but actually produces male power as an effect of discourse.”

2.2.4.3. Discourse as Text

All the aforementioned approaches to discourse analysis have focused on spoken language in general and dialogic conversations in particular. Actually, contemporary linguistics has generally had spoken language as its primary concern. However, as part of the study of text linguistics, there are two analytical frameworks which focus on written, instead of spoken, language, i.e. stylistics and critical discourse analysis. As stated by Bucholtz (2003: 54): “The shift in emphasis from spoken to written language has important consequences for the theorizing and analysis of gender in discourse.” In spite of the fact that both these frameworks are ‘critical’ in nature, the sense of the word ‘critical’ is different. Stylistics is “a linguistic approach to literary criticism, where *critical* originally referred to a scholar’s evaluative role in assessing the effectiveness of a text as art” (ibid.: 54-55, italics in original). However, the word ‘critical’ in critical discourse analysis is taken from critical theory stemming from Frankfurt school of literary and cultural criticism. In this sense, “*critical* signifies a leftist (usually socialist) political stance on the part of the analyst” (ibid.: 55, italics in original); research here aims to change society. Towards the same end, Jaworski and Coupland describe discourse analysis as “a committedly qualitative orientation to linguistic and social understanding” (1999: 36).

Traditional stylistics has received considerable criticism for taking text only as its primary focus. That is why some stylisticians have adopted critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis in their work. The result of this step was the expansion of the context of stylistics and the inclusion

of texts which were previously beyond the scope of traditional stylistics, such as films, articles in newspapers, ads and TV shows. When it comes to the study of gender, the areas of stylistics and critical discourse analysis are overlapped, i.e. they seem quite inseparable. The difference depends to a large extent on ‘data selection’, i.e. feminist stylistics studies literary discourse and popular texts, while feminist critical discourse analysis takes both spoken and written language in their institutional contexts such as the government, media, etc. as its primary focus. However, ‘ideology’ is a keyword to both of them, since both of them examine “the way that ideologies (or discourses, in the Foucauldian sense) of gender are circulated and reworked in a range of cultural texts, and both seek to call attention to the linguistic strategies whereby texts locate readers within these discourses” (ibid.: 55).

Actually, Sara Mills has introduced the most fully feathered theory of stylistics ‘as critical and liberatory feminist project’ (1992, 1995a, 1998), since she has extended the contextual standards proposed by traditional stylistics analysis to encompass the history of the text, how it relates to other texts, and how it relates to the reader. How a text linguistically signals the way to be read is her primary focus. This type of hegemonic reading involves gender ideologies. In this sense, feminist text analysis “involves an explication not only of how gender is represented within the text but also of how the text draws the reader into its ideological framework, and of how, through raised awareness, the reader can resist these representations and positionings” (Bucholtz, 2003: 56). In her early analyses of advertisements, poetry and prose, she has proposed that “women are positioned - both as textual figures and as readers - as objects of heterosexual desire and violence whose agency is limited to a replication of this arrangement of power” (ibid.). However, later on she introduces different readings of texts of the same type in order to destabilize ‘normative discourses of gender.’ Recently, Mills uses both gender and language framework and contemporary feminist theory to show that research can offer multiple and even contradictory readings.

Although this liberatory trend of stylistics has moved the field a step further in the direction of critical discourse analysis (actually, the work of some writers easily fits in both areas, e.g. Talbot, 1995a; Thornborrow, 1997, the analysis of literary works remains an exclusive area of investigation for stylistics, which focuses on questions like gendered authorial style. Critical discourse analysis, contradictorily, is interested in ‘texts for mass distribution,’ and not that

produced by one author. In this sense, under the umbrella of critical discourse analysis, text are analyzed “for what they reveal not about the author’s gender but about the author’s assumptions about gender - or, more accurately, about the representation of gender that the text offers up” (ibid.) (see section 3.1.)

Closely pertinent to the present research, Baker (2014: 203) argues that within language and gender research, the study of language use is more problematic than that of discursive gender representations, since the former involves the risks of “essentializing a group or making over-generalizations from a small amount of data.” However, viewing gender through ‘the lens of performativity’ and considering “how various societies sanction or taboo certain gendered performances as appropriate or not for certain types of men and women” makes it worthy of unearthing. Moreover, research of language use gives an insight into the ‘intersectional aspects of identity’. Gender interacts “with a range of other identity characteristics that people possess” (ibid.) and varying contexts plays a role in altering the “gender performances of individuals or groups, helping to demonstrate the fiction of a stable, unchanging gender identity for most people.”

2.2.4.4. Discourse as History

Another approach to discourse analysis, stemming from linguistic anthropology, has focused on the historical perspective of discourse. There are two trends within this approach: the first is concerned with ideology as “the historically permeable systems of knowledge and power that Foucault termed discourses” (Bucholtz, 2003: 58), and the second focuses on discourse itself, studying its temporal and spatial development. This historicized study of discourse endows the study of language and gender with ‘a much-needed temporal depth’ (ibid.: 58). The pervasive nature of gender theories is explained by Bucholtz (ibid.: 62):

Theories of gender within natural histories of discourse favor a perspective in which gender, like the discourse through which it is produced as a socially meaningful category, is inherently unstable and manipulable. Gender identities and power relations cannot be determined from a reading of social structures alone, or from an ahistorical investigation of a given bit of discourse, for every text has a history of previous contexts in which those identities and relations may have operated very differently, and may continue to carry a trace of their prior effects.

As an important framework to the study of language and gender, discourse analysis encompasses more frameworks than the ones presented in Bucholtz's article in respect to analyzing discourse as 'a social phenomenon'. Moreover, different approaches to discourse analysis can be combined to form 'distinctive frameworks' (Bucholtz, 2003: 63). In fact, there are three crucial issues when it comes to the study of language and gender within the framework of discourse analysis: "the nature of context, the role of agency versus dominant forms of power, and the analytic stance of the researcher." The controversial concept of context has become the topic of a lot of discussion in discourse analysis. Conversational analysis, among other approaches, draws on the discourse itself in defining context, while the ethnography of communication, for instance, takes a broader scope of contextual factors into account in the analysis. Within language and gender studies, understanding the nature of context is crucial in understanding the nature of gender. Hence the question of whether gender is to be regarded as an achievement of discourse, as advocated by feminist conversation analysts, or as an ideological system with variant contextual factors, as perceived by critical textual analysts and language ideologists, is a crucial one.

Approaches to discourse analysis also differ in their consideration of the issue of agency. Whereas agency is restrained by 'cultural constraints' in interactional linguistics, it is rarely discernable in textual analysis. As for the perspective of analysis, conversational analysis and linguistic anthropology maintain the view that discourse has to be analyzed from the perspective of participants. However, interactional sociolinguistics, for instance, advocates "the analyst's role in revealing to participants other possible interpretations" (Bucholtz, 2003: 63). In *Critical Discourse Analysis*, the researcher has a political responsibility to uncover "how power relations may have been missed or mistaken by a text's audience" (ibid.).

Some researchers tend to adhere to one approach when analyzing discourse; however, other researchers make use of different approaches to address the queries of their research. Generally, though, certain frameworks and approaches to discourse analysis are concomitant to certain discourse data—a concomitance which is 'reasonable' and also 'limiting.' As explicated by Bucholtz (ibid.: 64):

Certainly, each form of discourse analysis has been developed to address specific issues, and hence in some ways it is best suited for those tasks and ill adapted for others. Yet there is always room for scholars to adapt and even appropriate what they need from diverse perspectives. Innovation requires that scholars of language

and gender push their theories both of discourse and of gender as hard as they can; it is always worth bringing new models to bear on one's data, as well as interrogating familiar frameworks with novel research questions. By using the insights of other modes of discourse analysis, advocates of particular approaches can improve upon them and apply them to new situations.

2.3. Language and Politics

Language plays a significant role in politicians' success, gain of support and manipulation of audience. Now, through the various types of media, politicians have more opportunities to mold public opinion and gain votes. Simultaneously, they have more risks of losing credibility or getting exposed since they have an increasingly unmatched access to great numbers of audience. Hence, the predetermined design of political language has become pivotal in political fulfillment. Politics is all about power, i.e. "the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behaviour and often to control their values" (Jones & Peccei, 2004: 36). In *Politics and the English Language*, Orwell (1969) has highlighted the political aspect of language, illustrating that language can effectively be used to manipulate thought and that "political speech and writing are largely the defence of the indefensible" (ibid.: 225).

There is an inevitable relationship between politics, power and ideology (see section 2.3.2.). One of the ways that politicians use to gain power and enforce their political beliefs is power, ranging from the 'physical coercion' to 'persuasion'. Physical coercion has most clearly been used throughout history in the shape of wars. Force is also used by dictatorial regimes and military rules to control people. It is also used in democratic countries through the legal system to restrain criminals and outlaws. As argued by Fairclough (1989: 4), more effectively, power can be exercised "through the manufacture of consent [...] or at least acquiescence towards it." At this stage, ideology interferes. There is a need, in this case, to establish an ideology, that is, to naturalize a certain idea or action so that it would be taken as a common sense or dominant ideology, rendering it hard to question or argue with (Jones & Peccei, 2004: 38).

2.3.1. Political Discourse

Descartes, among other philosophers, has stipulated that humans are linguistic animals. Aristotle, conversely, regards humans as political animals. Chilton and Schäffner (2011: 303) argue that "both definitions have a germ of truth." From a political discourse analysis point of view, each

definition is essentially involved within the other, i.e. no politics can be practiced without language, and most probably, “the use of language in the constitution of social groups leads to what we would call ‘politics’ in a broad sense” (ibid.). The study of language, though not a research priority in political science, has been mentioned by different philosophers as relating to the field. The study of rhetoric, i.e. the art of effective and persuasive speaking or writing, on the other hand, has always been part and parcel of the study of language, e.g. the Greek and the Romans have considered rhetoric to be a part of ‘political science’. The growing interest in studying political discourse has been sustained by two arguments: First, as a complex type of human activity, political discourse requires careful and intense scrutiny. Second, people, Chilton and Schäffner (2011: 304) point out, generally believe that “politicians and political institutions are sustained by ‘persuasive’ or ‘manipulative’ uses of language of which the public are only half-aware.” Hence, Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) contributes towards the interest of all people.

The area of PDA is ambiguous, i.e. the most common explanation argues that PDA is concerned with the analysis of ‘political discourse (van Dijk, 1997: 11). However, in order to define what political discourse is, a definition of what is to be considered ‘political’ is necessary. Another more critical interpretation of PDA regards it as “a political approach to discourse and discourse analysis, e.g. in the way understood in contemporary Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)” (ibid.). Both aspects, according to van Dijk (ibid.), are plausible. PDA, however, should not be collapsed into CDA (see sections 3.1. & 4.1.); “PDA is both about political discourse, and it is also a critical enterprise.” In this sense, “critical-political discourse analysis deals especially with the reproduction of political *power*, *power abuse* or *domination* through political discourse, including the various forms of resistance or counter-power against such forms of discursive dominance” (italics in original). The analysis focuses on “the discursive conditions and consequences of social and political inequality that results from such domination” (ibid.).

The analysis of political discourse also involves relating linguistic behaviour to political behaviour or to what is identified as ‘politics’. Two problems arise in this context: First, the recognition of a certain practice as ‘political’ depends on the analyst’s view point; second, various acts serving different purposes, other than the political, are performed through discourse simultaneously, e.g. the heuristic, ludic, informative, etc. Addressing the first problem, Chilton &

Schäffner (2011: 311) define the potentially ‘political’ as “those actions (linguistic or other) which involve power, or its inverse, resistance.” But, actually, defining political discourse is not a straightforward task. At the risk of effecting implausible overgeneralization of the concept of political discourse, some researchers define it in a broader sense, contending that almost all discourse is political (Shapiro, 1981). Orwell (1946: 154) argues that “in our age there is no keeping out of politics. All issues are political issues.” It logically follows that all discourse analysis is also possibly political, that is political discourse analysis. Wilson (2001: 398) suggests that in order to delimit the scope of what is political discourse, the subject matter of analysis need to be defined in terms of “formal/informal political context and political actors [...] with politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in political environments to achieve political goals.”

van Dijk (1997: 12-13) identifies political discourse in relation to three aspects. First, political discourse is defined according to its authors or actors, i.e. politicians. Most of political discourse studies focus on the text and talk of politicians, e.g. presidents, prime ministers, parliament members, members of political parties, etc. However, defining political discourse by its participants also necessitates the inclusion of other equally important participants even if only recognized as recipients in ‘one-way modes of communication’, that is, the people, the public and different groups and categories, e.g. voters, pressure groups, demonstrators, etc. The inclusion of *all participants in the political discourse* would yield a broad scope of what is to be termed ‘political discourse’. Second, political discourse may be identified with “the *activities* or *practices* being accomplished by political text and talk” rather than its participants (ibid.: 13-14, italics in original). Third, the whole context may be taken as decisive for categorizing discourse as political or not. In this sense, political discourse is primarily defined contextually in relation to certain practices, goals, aims, and functions which are political. van Dijk (ibid.: 14) argues:

Participants and actions are the core of such contexts, but we may further analyze such contexts broadly in terms of political and communicative events and encounters, with their own settings (time, place, circumstances), occasions, intentions, functions, goals, and legal or political implications. That is, politicians talk politically also (or only) if they and their talk are contextualized in such communicative events such as cabinet meetings, parliamentary sessions, election campaigns, rallies, interviews with the media, bureaucratic practices, protest demonstrations, and so on.

As for the second problem relating to the different acts, other than the political, serving political discourse simultaneously, Chilton and Schäffner (2011: 311-312) present three ‘strategic functions’ as a link between political processes and situations, on the one hand, and discourse types and levels of discourse organization on the other. The three functions are: *coercion and resistance, legitimization and deligitimization, and representation and misrepresentation*. Transcending the boundaries of what is political, these strategic functions are actually connected with our social life in a broader sense. However, “to look at linguistic behaviour and other kinds of communicative behaviour in terms of the three strategic functions is to view those behaviours politically, to politicize them” (ibid.). In this light, different social areas can be regarded as political. For example, until quite recently in many societies, certain social groups, e.g. foreigners, women, homosexuals, and the disabled were regarded as inferior. Thus, these groups have been looked at both by themselves and by other groups in a political way. This politicization “has eroded the boundaries between institutional and non-institutional politics” (ibid.). The way that these strategic functions are realized by language choices necessitates linguistic investigation. Political discourse analysts are interested in text structures, syntax and lexis in so far as they contribute towards a diversity and complexity of meanings interactively worked out by speakers and hearers. van Dijk (1997: 25-37) explains that in political discourse analysis, different linguistics investigations may be applied, e.g. topics, superstructure or textual schemata, local semantics, lexical items, syntactic structures, speech acts and rhetoric.

van Dijk (1997: 20) points out that political discourse is essentially “a form of political action, and as part of the political process [which] is perfectly compatible with the dominant paradigm in most social approaches to discourse, viz., that discourse is a form of social action and interaction.” He further argues that the analysis of political discourse should be taken as contributing to both discourse studies, political science and social sciences as a whole (ibid.: 11-12). Moreover, and at the heart of the present research, Chilton and Schäffner remark (2011: 313) that societies have institutionalized discourses communicated through various types of texts and talks which can be classified into two groups: First, ‘metapolitical discourse’ comprising “texts that discuss the political ideas, beliefs and practices of a society or some part of it (text producers need not be politicians only).” Second, “texts that are crucial in giving rise to—or, to use the political term, constituting—a (more or less coherent) political or ideological community or group, or party.” These texts may work to constitute or maintain the institutions of a whole

regime or part of it, e.g. a political party, or even individualistically. Other more fine-grained distinctions may be found in the second group, e.g. inner-state (or domestic) discourse and inter-state (or foreign policy and diplomacy) discourse; internal-political discourse (politicians talking with one another) and external-political discourse (politicians talking to the public).

In so far as the delimitation of political discourse is specified, the areas of critical linguistics, critical discourse analysis and political discourse overlap. The reasons are: on the one hand “the material for analysis is often formally political”, on the other, “the analysts have explicitly made themselves political actors” (Wilson, 2001: 399). Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011: 357), following Bourdieu (1991), regard “rhetorical power” as “the prerogative of professional politicians in contemporary societies.” This power is primarily practiced over the audience. They provide the example of Thatcher’s rhetorical power which is realized by the plethora of rhetorical linguistic devices invested in her speeches, e.g. the triple parallel structure. What renders the exploration of the linguistic contribution of Obama as a male politician and Clinton as a female politician particularly worthy is the longstanding tradition of associating men with power and women with the lack of it, and equally important, the recognition of politics as a site for power enactment.

Pertinent to the purposes of the present research is van Dijk’s remark (1997: 43) that all topics and issues are to be discursively investigated in political discourse analysis:

[G]ender equality, and the position of women [are] not merely a social, but also a political issue. Socio-economic and political rights of women, and women’s concerns (equal pay, free choice of abortions, among many others) again are not limited to political decisions on privileged access to social resources, but also related to the ways women are represented by men in cognition and discourse, whether in political discourse, the media, medical discourse or textbooks, as well as the access women have to public discourse.

One of the essential axes of political systems is voting, in the context of which speeches are delivered. Making speeches is a central part of the role of a politician since it is through speeches that a politician can announce policies and ideas and persuade people to adopt the same political views, i.e. politicians traditionally deliver speeches so that the electorate would be able to make informed decisions at the ballot box, i.e. in their speeches, politicians express their party views as well as their personal stances so that their campaigns would have a ‘distinctive identity’ (Thorne,

1997: 373). Thorne continues to illustrate the traditions related to speeches which have been written in advance:

Any speech which has been prepared ahead of delivery has been consciously planned—the politician is involved in the selection of lexical, syntactical and metaphorical features and in the overall organization [...] choices are made in advance to achieve the maximum possible effect on the audience. (Thorne, 1997: 383)

Thus, crucially germane to the corpus investigated in the present research, it should be noted that political speeches are often scripted (Sunderland, 2004: 7-8; Muntigl, 2002: 52; Beard, 2000: 37), i.e. they are generally pre-written. Concomitantly, the role assumed by publicity agents and spindoctors in political campaigns in ameliorating politicians' public image and disseminating their ideas has mounted (Chilton, 2004; Wodak, 2009). Moreover, in relation to audience, two types of political speeches can generally be identified (Sauer, 1997: 43): those addressing a general audience and those addressing particular audiences. In the former case, the speaker formulates the message in a general way so that it would target most people. In the latter case, the speaker typically formulates the message to address individuals and groups. The reason is that there is no homogeneous audience. It is always the case that speeches "address various individuals with various points of view across various media" (Muntigl, 2002: 52). Though the speech is delivered in front of an audience, it will be disseminated via different media: television, radio, newspapers and the internet. Interestingly, Muntigl (*ibid.*) illustrates:

The content of speeches are not co-constructed in real-time by speakers and audience members but they are co-constructed in a different sense. In putting together the speech, the writer(s) take(s) into account alternative views of potential audience members.

The hectically growing interest of the media to cover political competitions in the course of political campaigns, political debates, political elections, etc. led political parties and even individual politicians to have public relations experts "to channel facts to the media, and to put the best possible construction on events" (Beard, 2000: 29). These experts are known in America as 'spin-doctors'. The word 'spin' relates to baseball playing as a technique of deceiving the opponent; it also indicates the function of a healer who can resolve a crisis or a cheater who can manipulate. In this sense, a spin-doctor is "someone who deceives, who presents a false picture to suit the politician," and so "the activities of politicians are seen to be devious" (*ibid.*). Actually,

politicians do not admit using spin-doctors and usually prefer referring to their press agents or some other relevant term. Moreover, it should be noted that politicians usually have teams of speech writers to prepare and write the speeches for them.

2.3.2. Ideology

Ideology, as argued by Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011: 371), are “particular ways or representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation.” Ideologies are defined as “general systems of basic ideas shared by the members of a social group, ideas that will influence their interpretation of social events and situations and control their discourse and other social practices as group members” (van Dijk, 2011: 380), or as “*shared, general and abstract* mental representations that should be applicable to the many situations in which ideological group members may find themselves” (ibid.: 389, italics in original). An ideology is traditionally thought of as “belief systems” (ibid.: 382) and is also resembled to “a basic *self-image* of a group, including the interests and relationships (power, resistance, competition) to other social groups” (ibid.: 388). Johnstone (2002: 61) defines linguistic ideology as “the sets of assumptions, beliefs, and ways of talking about language that help shape what language is like and how it functions in society.” Fairclough (1995a: 44) contends that ideology “involves the representation of ‘the world’ from the perspective of a particular interest, so that the relationship between proposition and fact is not transparent, but mediated by representational activity.”

Broadly defined, the term ‘ideology’ is used to refer to “any set of beliefs which, to the people who hold them, appear to be logical and ‘natural’” (Jones & Peccei, 2004: 38). van Dijk stresses the multidisciplinary nature of ideology studies; ideologies have a sociocognitive nature which function as the base of the mental representations shared by social groups and which affect the social practices of group members. Ideologies may be expressed directly in discourse (these are not common cases though), e.g. party programs, catechism, etc. Often, ideologies are communicated as attitudes about particular issues in debates or speeches for instance. As argued by van Dijk (ibid.: 394): “The expression or ‘performance’ of ideologically-based structures always needs to be analysed with regard to the ongoing, and possibly dynamically changing, *functions of discourse in the current context.*” In this sense, a scrutiny of contextual factors within an ideological discursive analysis is crucial, e.g. the tradition, limitations, goals (political,

professional, or otherwise), and readership expectations governing the edition of an editorial in a particular political situation may play a significant role in the ideological interpretations textually worked out. Furthermore, ideologies are not individual personal beliefs. Rather they are social beliefs common to members of specific social groups. Members of a social group develop different ideologies relating to “their existence and history, about birth and death, gender, nature, organization, power, work, sex, competition, war and so on” (ibid.: 382). Significantly, a person may be a member of various social groups; hence, s/he may participate in different ideologies. A person may be simultaneously a feminist, a liberal, a journalist, etc. The different ideologies exert an effect on a person’s discursive practices. However, at times, only one or more may be salient to the others. This is where ideology comes to be identified as connected with identities.

Fairclough (1992a: 89) argues that “ideology is located both in the structures (i.e. orders of discourse) which constitute the outcome of past events, and the conditions for current events, and in events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures.” In addition, he stresses the inevitability and enduring changeability of ideology in discourse and practice, adding that “[i]t is an accumulated and naturalized orientation which is built into norms and conventions [...] [and it is] an ongoing work to naturalize and denaturalize such orientations in discursive events.” Kress (1993:174) argues that all texts “equally code the ideological positions of their producers. The everyday, innocent and innocuous, the mundane text is as ideologically saturated as a text which wears its ideological constitution overtly.”

The notion of ideological discourse is related to a concept of ideologies as forms of social cognition. The analysis of ideological discourse can thus be discerned into “categories of propositions about the basic properties of groups” (van Dijk, 2011: 386). van Dijk provides a list of the schematic categories of the structure of ideologies, the first category of which is identity. Such underpinning is particularly of importance to the notion of identity and its intersection with ideology in political discourse as a focal point for the present research. It is also crucial to the study of representations about gender in discourse and its intersection with ideological convictions about certain social group. Other categories are activities, goals, norms and values, group relations, and resources. These basic categories of the organization of ideologies “form a general *schema* that reflects how groups will gradually develop a self-concept that is the result of their collective, shared *experiences* in society” (ibid., italics in original).

In order to identify a certain discursive event as ideologically invoking, that is, doing ideological work, the analyst has to consider, beside the text itself, “how texts are interpreted and received and what social effects they have” (ibid.). It should be noted that ideologies are “typically quite implicit.” A politician may attach to keywords “which evoke, but leave implicit, ideological sets of assumptions” (ibid.). Thus, ideologies cannot be extracted from texts in spite of the fact that the form and content of a text may be dyed with such ideological traces. The reasons are stated by Fairclough (1995a: 71): First, “meanings are produced through interpretations of texts and texts are open to diverse interpretations”, and second, “ideological processes appertain to discourses as whole social events—they are processes between people—not to the texts which are produced, distributed and interpreted as moments of such events.” Ideology does not only relate to the representation of social reality. It is also “a process which articulates together particular representations of reality, and particular constructions of identity” (van Dijk, 2011: 372). The role played by ideology in the construction of identities does not only relate to the ways individuals conform to an admitted or imposed ideology but the ways they challenge or subvert a staunch system of beliefs. Ideologies, being inherently regarded as cultural constructs, are viewed as subject to changes and alterations by individuals and groups. Thus, ideology has been adopted as a pivotal agent in the framework of identity (Bucholtz, 1999: 14; Coates, 1999). Hines (1999), for example, has explored the ‘women as dessert’ metaphor in English language as a cultural construct and its nonlinguistic influence on women’s visual representations.

Sociological literature makes quite scattered reference to women as a minority group in comparison the other group divisions based on race, ethnicity, religion, nationality, etc. However, there is actually no systematic examination as to the issue of how the notion ‘minority group’ is applicable to the women. A minority group is typically defined as “any group of people who because of their physical or cultural characteristics, are singled out from the others in the society in which they live for differential and unequal treatment, and who therefore regard themselves as objectives of collective discrimination” (Hacker, 1973: 111). However, Some studies have explored the disadvantages involved in being a woman as intersecting with other aspects of disadvantages, e.g. having racial or ethnic origins (White, 1992; Ship, 1998; Forret, 2006; Paxton & Hughes, 2007), being physically disabled (Deegan & Brooks, 1985), etc.

In her influential paper, Hacker (1973: 111-112) proposes that women, in spite of constituting 50% or more of the population, they are underrepresented in politics due to discrimination and unequal treatment. They show psychological symptoms typical of minority groups, e.g. self-hatred, inferiority feelings, denying a feeling of group identification, while simultaneously developing a separate subculture within the general culture. Moreover, women in male-oriented fields typically dissociate themselves from the general group of women. Dahlerup (2010: 226) warns that “the theory of women as a minority group should not be confused with the problems women encounter when numerically in the minority, e.g. as politicians, engineers, mechanics, executives or journalists,” since “the theory about women in actual minority positions looks at women *within* an organization” (italics in original). Kanter (1977) explains the connection between the two positions, that is, the minority position of women in society and the minority position of women in politics, arguing that the problems that women face in politics are not the outcome of their being women, but of their being a minority in the society, i.e. other minorities such as blacks would face the same problems. Dahlerup (ibid.), however, argues that “the ‘minority’ status of women or blacks outside the organizations interacts with their status inside the organization, thus creating greater problems than white males encounter when in a minority position.” The linguistic study of women as a minority group has generally been carried out within the boundaries of feminist scholarship, inside and outside the intersectional scope of research (see sections 2.1.8., 2.1.9. & 2.2.4.). Within the traditions of discourse analysis, parliamentary debates about immigration, racism, asylum seekers, refugees and minorities of different types are the most exploited form of discourse where minority groups are scrutinized (Schuman, Steeh & Bobo, 1985; van Dijk, 1993a; Wodak & van Dijk, 2000; van Dijk, 2000; Baker et al., 2008; Baker et al., 2013).

2.3.3. Political Discourse: Gender and Public Talk

It is argued that men have dominated public talk along history (Talbot, 1998: 104). Generally speaking, the language of public talk has to be formal and ‘conveys status,’ and public speakers are supposed to be people in the position of authority. Hence, speakers in Hyde Park Corner, for example, are mainly men. In certain societies, such as the Karajà tribes in Brazil, only men can assume authoritative position and so are allowed to give public talk. Greek philosophy, which affected Western culture greatly, has deprived women of working in politics, for example.

Aristotle wrote that women should be prevented from exhausting their minds with politics; otherwise, their wombs would dry up. The fear of sterility kept women away from public talk till the nineteenth century (Jamieson, 1988: 69). In the first century AD, the apostle Paul demanded men to keep their women silent in churches—a pronouncement that let women be excluded from assuming positions of authority in church. A woman who dares to address the public, even in writing, was morally suspected. Talbot (1998: 105) lists the English words used to refer to a vocal woman, e.g. scold, shrew, gossip, etc., all of which have negative connotations.

In this way, women have been driven to silence. Robin Lakoff (1995: 29) points out: “Silence is analogous to invisibility. [...] in ancient Athens women of the upper classes were not supposed to appear in public at all (literal public invisibility), in fundamentalist Muslim societies, women must be veiled in public (symbolic public invisibility). We pride ourselves on our liberation from those humiliating constraints. We tend not to realize how recent and partial our liberation really is.” Although in some industrial societies women are no longer deprived of positions in government, jury committee, education, etc, the extent of their participation compared to men is quite interesting (see section 2.3.2.). Talbot also remarks that “developing a public voice is not simply a matter of cultivating a ‘masculine’ way of interaction” (1998: 127). In this way, “the easy set of dichotomies about women, men and language: public/private, status/solidarity, report/rapport, informational/interpersonal [...] are [not] set in stone.” The reasons are: first, they are an oversimplification, since, after all, “they are only matters of degree or focus.” The multifunctionality of language has to be taken into consideration when exploring a certain talk. Second, these dichotomies are not ‘neutral’. They tend to ‘hide’ the positive contributions of female style in public talk, i.e. only men were allowed to give public speeches. Actually, public talk has been, and is still, Talbot argues (1998: 128), controlled by men, and, since public talk is regarded as ‘status enhancing’, women “should be getting credit for it.”

In many countries at the beginning of the twenty-first century, equal opportunities have been guaranteed by laws entailing equal rights of different citizens (Kargl et al., 1997). However, ideologies, attitudes, traditional role-images and stereotyping persist in public life, hindering women from receiving equal treatment in the professional arena (Tannen, 1995; Kendall and Tannen, 1997; Kotthoff and Wodak, 1997; de Francisco, 1997; Martin-Rojo, 2000; Gherardi, 1995). Political world is no exception; the political life is dominated by men (Mazey, 2000: 334).

Wodak (2003: 671), for example, illustrates that in the European Union (EU) white men are typically the leaders and dominators of the political scene. Significantly, Wodak argues, men and women do not have equal treatment in society, not only at the professional level instantiated by women's unequal payment, but on the linguistic level as well:

For human beings develop language on the basis of reality: in other words, dependent on the particular social conditions in which they live. Language, therefore, reflects social structures in its own structure, and at the same time reacts on human beings in the form of world views and ideologies, thereby legitimizing the economic imbalance [...] Social power is reinforced; the powerful everywhere are mostly elites, and these consist, for the most part, of White men. The same behavior is judged differently in men and women: we hear of "careerist women" but of "dynamic men." (ibid.: 671-672)

Contrary to men whose existence in the public sphere is receptively self-evident and self-justified, women in the same sphere have to go through constant processes of legitimation, vying with traditional stereotypes (Wodak, 2003: 672). Interestingly, Wodak (ibid.: 673) points out that for women in leading positions, in order to succeed and be accepted in the political domain, they have to come to terms with 'conflict-ridden role requirements' and to develop their own 'individual images'. Only in this case they will have "a chance of being taken seriously as exotic 'flowers' or 'birds of paradise'—not in competition with their male colleagues but outside of such competition." Thus, they will stop being a threat, and will be accepted as simply different, and may be even admirable.

Chapter Three: Methodological Trends: CDA, CL, Functional Processes and Social Actors Representation

The aim of this chapter is to shed light on the methodological trends drawn upon in the analytic part of the present study. I make use of Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach synergizing with Corpus Linguistics as a quite new empirical method of analysis in the field of linguistics. The synergy is utilized throughout the analysis of the corpus specified. Concomitantly, I utilize Halliday's functional processes (1994) and van Leeuwen's social actors representation (1996) in order to examine gender bias and gender representations in the corpus-based part of the analytic chapter (see section 5.8.). As a foreword to the present chapter, it should be noted that Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) as an approach to discourse analysis is resorted to as far as the examination of rhetorical devices is concerned, i.e. the present study adopts a synergetic methodology of Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics where the traditions of PDA fit in respect to the examination of Obama's and Clinton's use of persuasive rhetoric in the domain of political speeches (for a detailed discussion of the role of PDA in the present study, see sections 2.3.1. & 4.1.).

3.1. Critical Discourse Analysis

van Dijk (1998: 118) points out that language has to be investigated with 'other semiotic systems', i.e. discourses where the construction of identity representation, along with power relations, are reflected. Thus, discourse is a place of identifying and defining identity culturally, ethnically, religiously and/or politically through miscellaneous, reproducing or transformative, discursive practices as first steps to social change (Gee, 1999: 6-7). Approaches to the study of social science "can be understood as a certain set of explicitly or implicitly defined theoretical assumptions which are specifically linked with empirical data, permit specific ways of interpretation and thus reconnect the empirical with the theoretical field" (Meyer, 2001: 14). Critical Discourse Analysis, i.e. henceforth CDA, is pertinently concerned with social groups under social discrimination in an advocating sense. According to CDA, "all discourses are historical and can therefore only be understood with reference to their context," relating to "such extralinguistic factors as culture, society, and ideology" (ibid.: 15). Hence, arises the interdisciplinary nature of CDA. Its crucial focus on context allows it to encompass ideological, political, social and psychological components.

Litosseliti (2002: 130) refers to the ‘concentric circle of discourse analysis’ arguing that “[d]iscourse theories offer ways of seeing how we give meaning to experience through language, by variously treating discourse (a) linguistically, as text with patterns and rules of coherence, (b) sociologically, as conversational interaction that works as social ‘glue’, and (c) as the manifestation of cultural ways of thinking and doing, and thus fuel for critical theory” (ibid.). Fairclough (1989), Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999), van Dijk (1993a, 1993b), and Wodak (1989, 1999, 2003) among other scholars, have contributed in the shaping and development of CDA as an approach most concerned with “the production and reproduction of ideology - of belief systems that come to be accepted as ‘common sense’” (Bucholtz, 2003: 57). It is particularly interested in texts containing beliefs which “encourage the acceptance of unequal arrangements of power as natural and inevitable, perhaps even as right and good.” Hence appears the material as well as the symbolic power of discourse on the lives of people. CDA is especially interested in institutions “because of their disproportionate power to produce and circulate discourse and because they promote dominant interests over those of politically marginalized groups such as racial and ethnic minorities, the lower classes, children, and women” (ibid.). This is the reason why CDA studies have taken media discourse as a target. Unlike stylistics which is interested only in written or scripted discourse, CDA can tackle written or oral discourse.

3.1.1. What is Discourse?

The term ‘discourse’ is highly problematic. It is often defined differently according to different areas of research involved. This notion is expressed by Mills (1997:1):

The term ‘discourse’ has become common currency in a variety of disciplines: critical theory, sociology, linguistics, philosophy, social psychology and many other fields, so much so that it is frequently left undefined, as if its usage were simply common knowledge. [Discourse] [...] is often employed to signal a certain theoretical sophistication in ways which are vague and sometimes obfuscatory.

In linguistics, traditionally, it is defined as “language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs 1983: 1), or “language in use” (Brown & Yule, 1983: 1). Schiffrin (1994: 39) takes a middle position by equating discourse to ‘utterances’ and, thus, combining the above-the-sentence definition and the language-use definition (since ‘utterances’ necessarily involve contextual considerations of language use). Broadly speaking, Johnstone (2002: 2) regards it as “actual instances of communication in the medium of language.” Pragmaticians and discourse

analysts use it also to refer to language in use, 'language as action' or 'language as interaction' in particular social situations. The term 'discourse' refers to a multiplicity of contradictory or exclusionary meanings in terms of its casual or philosophical uses (Wodak, 1997: 4). Fairclough (1992a: 3) notes how the term is used differently, with a focus on the way it operationalizes within discourse analysis: "samples of spoken dialogue, in contrast with written texts", "spoken and written language", "situational context of language use", "interaction between reader/writer and text", and "notion of genre" (such as newspaper discourse).

Phonologists and morphologists define discourse as 'stretches of language longer than a sentence.' It is also used to refer to forms of language use or topics, i.e. genres or registers, e.g. media discourse (Fairclough, 1995b) or political discourse (Chilton, 2004). In a Foucauldian sense, Parker (1992: 5) defines discourse as "system of statements which constructs an object," while Burr (1995: 48) regards it as "a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events [...] Surrounding any one object, event, person etc., there may be a variety of different discourses, each with a different story to tell about the world, a different way of representing it to the world." Livia and Hall (1997: 12) suggest that "it is discourse that produces the speaker, and not the other way round, because the performance will be intelligible, only if it 'emerges in the context of binding conventions.'"

Basically, discourse is agreed to be "language beyond the sentence" (Tannen, 1989: 6; Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 8-9); most researchers also adhere to inclusion of stretches of spoken and written texts, although some researchers use the term discourse to denote only speeches. Edmondson (1980: 272) contends that discourse, from an interpersonal point of view, transcends the suprasentential to the functional in relation to language use. In this sense, it refers to "language which *communicates a meaning in a context*" (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 9, italics in original), e.g. real life spoken interactions between people in groups in social situations. Thus, the context here is crucial in determining the meaning of the discourse. Moreover, 'discourse' is used also to refer to "language characteristic of different social situations", e.g. advertisement discourse, media discourse, classroom discourse, etc (ibid.). van Dijk also notes that discourse should also be perceived as action: "I understand 'discourse' [...] both as a specific

form of language use, and as a specific form of social interaction, interpreted as a complete communicative event in a social situation” (1990: 164).

Wodak (2001a: 66) regards discourse 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 genres.” In this sense, the functionalist view of discourse transcends the boundaries of language *per se* to focus on “how people use language to different ends” (Schiffrin, 1994: 39). In all cases, discourse is marked “as the general domain of all statements, sometimes as an individualizable group of statements, and sometimes as a regulated practice that counts for a number of statements” (Foucault, 1972: 80, cited in Mills, 1997: 6). From a CDA perspective, discourse is a social practice subsuming “a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and all the diverse elements of the situation(s), institutions(s) and social structure(s) which frame it” (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011: 357). The dialectical relationship is reciprocal; situations, institutions and structures shape the discursive event and are shaped by it. In this sense, discourse is both socially constitutive and constituted. It constitutes social situations, identities and relationships:

In a dialectical understanding, a particular configuration of the social world (e.g. relations of domination and difference) is implicated in a particular linguistic conceptualization of the world [...] discursive practices may have major ideological effects, that is, they can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between (for instance) social classes, men and women, and ethnic groups through the ways in which they represent things and position people [...] Both the ideological loading of particular ways of using language and the relations of power which underlie them are often unclear to people. CDA aims to make more visible these opaque aspects of discourse as social practice. (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011: 358)

Related to discourse is the term *text* which is normally used to denote only written language produced by one person. However, Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 12-13) have extended the range covered by this term to include both spoken and dialogic language. Thus, written texts, e.g. advertisements, poems, etc.; and spoken texts, i.e. a classroom talk, a talk between a female patient and a male therapist, a talk between university colleagues, etc. are labeled as texts. Text is conceptualized by Talbot as “the fabric in which discourse is manifested” (1995: 24). It

comprises formal features representing ‘traces’ and ‘clues’ of the text’s processes of production and consumption (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: 154). In this sense, text has a physical as well as mental existence. Texts are also regarded as “materially durable products of linguistic actions” (Wodak, 2001a: 66). A distinction must be established between text and discourse ‘for analytical purposes,’ Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 13) argue, as discourse has a broader sense, stemming from its social practice dimension. However, Sunderland & Litosseliti (ibid.) suspect the existence of the notion ‘text alone’ in discourse analysis and point out that analyzing a text ‘as product’ is an inevitable step in discourse analysis, “but if the ultimate concern is language in a social context, such analysis alone can only ever be of limited value.”

Discourse, on the other hand, is more elusively identified as a process “of production and interpretation by given people in given contexts” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 12) and as “interaction itself: a cultural activity” (Talbot, 1995a: 25). Gisela Brüner and Gabriele Graefen (1993: 7-8, in Wodak, 1997: 5) characterize the main differences between ‘text’ and ‘discourse’ in the following way:

By discourse are to be understood units and forms of speech, of interaction, which can be part of everyday linguistic behaviour, but which can equally appear in an institutional sphere. Orality, admittedly, is not a feature which holds true for all forms of discursive behaviour [...] but is very much the typical case. Regarded systematically, discourse requires the co-presence of speaker and listener (‘face-to-face interaction’); this can, however, be reduced to a temporal co-presence (on the telephone).

In the context of a theory of linguistic behaviour, it is an essential determination of the text that the linguistic behaviour, which is made material in the text, is detached from the overall common speech situation just as is the receptive behaviour of the reader - the common ground being understood in a systematic, not a historical sense. In a text, speech behaviour assumes the quality of knowledge, which is in the service of transmission and is stored for later use [...] the written form, which is constitutive for the everyday use of the term, and today is frequently regarded as almost synonymous with ‘text’, is therefore not a necessary feature of a text.

In this sense, discourse may be broadly defined as “text in context” (van Dijk, 1990: 164) or as a “set of texts” (Dressler & Merlini-Barbaresi, 1994: 6, in Wodak, 1997: 5).

Following Sunderland et al. (2002), I am using the term ‘text’ in its two related senses introduced by Halliday and Hasan (1989). First, in its straightforward sense as “language that is doing some job in some context [...] essentially a semantic unit” (ibid.: 10). Text is, thus, regarded as “a stretch of written language which shows unity of purpose”—a product or an output (Sunderland et al., 2002: 224). Second, it can also be considered, in social-semiotic terms, “an instance of social meaning in a particular context of situation” (Halliday & Hasan, 1989: 11), i.e. a process. From a social-semiotic point of view, the mode of these texts is “Written to be read aloud” (ibid.: 14), referring to the example of a scripted radio talk provided by Halliday and Hasan. Following Young and Fitzgerald (2006: 2), I am using the term ‘discursive’ to refer to “any event in which language plays a role and helps to shape that event.”

Foucault introduces the plural sense of discourse, i.e. ‘discourses.’ For him, as Talbot (1998: 151) explains, discourses are “structures of possibility and constraints. [...] [They are] historically constituted social constructions in the organization and distribution of knowledge. [...] what is included as truth, access to that truth, who may determine it, depend on relations of power in institutions.” Power, according to Foucault, is not a characteristic of the dominant group, e.g. men, but something used in discourse. Thus, he has explored the enactment of power in discourse or through it. Weedon (1997: 104) points out that Michel Foucault’s work has been able to integrate the poststructuralist principles into a language and social power theory which meticulously tackles discourse effects on institutions and discourse role in constituting and governing individual subjects. Foucault’s work examines “the social constitution in language of accumulated conventions that are related to bodies of knowledge [...] by investigating how power is exercised through these conventions, including how they define social identities” (Talbot, 1998: 152). Kress (1985: 6-7) follows the Foucauldian tradition of defining and delimiting discourse:

Discourses are systematically-organised sets of statements which give expression to the meaning and values of an institution. Beyond that, they define, describe and delimit what it is possible to say and not possible to say (and by extension—what it is possible to do or not to do) with respect to the area of concern of that institution, whether marginally or centrally. A discourse provides a set of possible statements about a given area, topic, object, process that is to be talked about. In that it provides description, rules, permissions and prohibitions of social and individual actions.

Talbot (1998: 154) proposes: “Discourses are historically constituted bodies of knowledge and practice that shape people, giving positions of power to some but not to others. But they can only exist in social interaction in specific situations. So discourse is both action and convention. It is never just one or the other.”

Discourse, in one of its senses relating to the social theory, is a ‘recognizable way of seeing the world’ (Fairclough, 1992a). This sense, with its countability potential, draws on the constitutive capability of discourse, i.e. the potential to construct social practices and “represent existing understandings and social practices” (Sunderland et al., 2002: 226). From an ideological point of view, discourse has been defined by Fairclough (1992a) as a sort of social practice or event and identified by Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 63) as “the sort of language used to construct some aspect of reality from a particular perspective, for example the liberal discourse of politics.” This is in accordance with Foucault (1972) who views discourse as a sort of practice rather than a sort of knowledge and draws a comparison between discourse and language (1989: 25):

I am not so interested in the formal possibilities offered by a system like language. Personally I am rather haunted by discourse, by the fact that particular words have been spoken; these events have functioned in relation to their original situation.

Kress (1985: 6-7) points out that a specific discourse offers “a set of possible statements about a given area, and organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about.” Gee (1992: 110) observes that discourses “constitute the recognisability and meaningfulness of our public acts.” Providing a gender-related example, he suggests that a woman is identified as a businesswoman, a Planned Parenthood counsellor or a church member by “carrying out performances that are recognisable within and by these Discourses.” Though Gee does not provide an exact definition of “these Discourses”, a definition can be concluded that “for a woman to be recognised as a businesswoman there must be a preexisting, perhaps dominant ‘discourse of commerce’ (as opposed to one of ‘communal sharing’); as a Planned Parenthood counsellor, a ‘discourse of fertility control as beneficial’ (as opposed to a ‘God’s will discourse’)” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 10).

The vague and complex nature of the concept ‘discourse’ is reflected in the concept ‘discourse analysis.’ It is referred to as an ‘umbrella term’ which covers, in Cameron’s point of view (2001:

7), conversation analysis, pragmatics, ethnography of speaking, interactional sociolinguistics and critical discourse analysis. Gilbert and Mulkat (1984: 14) define discourse analysis as:

an attempt to identify and describe regularities in the methods used by participants as they construct the discourse through which they establish the character of their actions and beliefs in the course of interaction.

This definition draws attention to the constitutive nature of discourse and the agency of speakers and writers. Stubbs (1983: 1) defines discourse analysis as “the linguistic analysis of naturally occurring connected spoken or written discourse,” taking interest in “language in use in social contexts, and in particular [in] interaction or dialogue between speakers” (ibid.). Kramsch (1998: 127), adding a sociocultural perspective, defines discourse analysis as: “The process of language use, whether it be spoken, written or printed, that includes writers, texts and readers within a *sociocultural context* of meaning production and reception” (italics mine). According to Fairclough (1995a: 7) discourse analysis is an “analysis of how texts work within *sociocultural practice*” (italics mine).

The critical analysis of language has been studied under two general rubrics: critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis (CDA). As noted by Johnstone (2002: 26), both fields are the outcome of a trend of research adopted by scholars who have grown to be: first, “critical of the possibility of producing a single, coherent, scientifically valid description,” and, second, “critical of the social status quo and concerned to have their work used in changing things for the better.” However, Wodak (2001b: 2) points out, that the two terms are now used interchangeably, and that CDA is now preferably used to refer to all what goes under critical linguistics. Both critical linguistics and CDA are interested in analyzing texts for political reasons. Critical linguists, e.g. Fowler, Kress, Hodge, Trew, etc., address issues of power, truth and ideology in their linguistic analysis. Critical discourse analysts, e.g. Fairclough, van Dijk, Wodak, etc., are concerned with studying language use in so much as it is entangled in social and cultural practices processes. The interrelationship between the social and the linguistic, i.e. discourse, is manifested, as argued by Fairclough (1995a: 73), in the idea that “language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology.”

3.1.2. CDA as an Approach

CDA is “an approach to discourse analysis committed to examining the way language contributes to social reproduction and social change” (Talbot, 1998: 149-150). Its aim is to “stimulate critical awareness of language, in particular awareness of how existing discourse conventions have come about as a result of relations of power and power struggle.” It is defined as “the analysis of linguistic and semiotic aspects of social processes and problems” (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak, 2011: 368). Critical examination of language is meant to denaturalize it. It also aims to identify the role that language plays in imbalanced power relations in society and how the critical analysis of this may contribute to effect change for the powerless (Fairclough, 1989; Mumby & Clair 1997; Otkar, 2001). Wodak (1996: 17) illustrates:

Critical Discourse Analysis sees discourse - the use of language in speech and writing - as a form of ‘social practice’. Describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them. That is, discourse is socially constituted, as well as socially conditioned - it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge, and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people. It is constitutive both in the sense that it helps sustain and reproduce the social status quo, and in the sense that it contributes to transforming it.

Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 19) point out that CDA has evolved originally from systemic functional linguistics. It is looked upon differently by researchers. van Dijk (1993b: 280) views CDA as “primarily interested and motivated by pressing social issues, which it hopes to better understand through discourse analysis.” As Cameron (2001:123) notes CDA is also concerned with the exposure of the role of discourse in creating and maintaining inequality and domination—what Cameron sees as “CDA’s concern with the ‘hidden agenda’ of discourse.” Fairclough (1989: 5) elucidates that the word ‘critical’ is significant because it shows up “connections which may be hidden from people – such as the connections between language, power and ideology” in what Lazar (1993) calls a process of ‘demystification’ for what has been ‘naturalized’ or ‘meant to be’. Generally, the main idea behind CDA is that ideology can basically be produced and spread through language or discourse (Foucault, 1972). Johnstone (2002: 45) argues that “[w]ays of talking produce and reproduce ways of thinking, and ways of thinking can be manipulated via choices about grammar, style, wording, and every other aspect of

language.” Cameron (2001: 123) argues that naturalization processes are typically in favour of a particular group against other groups. Thus, the exposure process conducted through critical analysis of discourse comes as an effective way of affecting the dominating and the dominated.

In addition, CDA is not a linguistic theory or methodology, but rather an approach towards, or perspective on, the study of the discursive manifestation of social troubles. Thus, Wodak (2001b: 12) notes that theories relating linguistic and social aspects should be operationalized. Meyer (2001: 18) asserts that “there is no guiding theoretical viewpoint that is consistently used within CDA, nor do the CDA protagonists proceed consistently from the area of theory to the field of discourse and then back to theory.” van Dijk (2004: online source) asserts that “CDA is not a theory or a method.” Different methods may be used in CDA studies, but CDA is rather a movement that focuses on social issues and not on academic frameworks. Fairclough, Mulderrig and Wodak (2011: 357) contend that “CDA is a problem-oriented interdisciplinary research movement, subsuming a variety of approaches, each with different theoretical models, research methods and agenda,” united by “a shared interest in the semiotic dimensions in power, injustice, abuse and political-economic or cultural change in society.”

Analyzing discourse within the CDA framework helps to unfold ideological perspectives underpinning social struggles of power which permeate, and thus can be detected, in art, law, economy and individual as well as collective life (Gramsci, 1971). Discursive practice is loaded with dominant ideologies becoming “‘commonsense’ assumptions and/or naturalized beliefs about social life” (Abdullah, 2004: 127). CDA represents a means to a critical description, interpretation and explanation of discourse as having a socially constituted as well as constitutive nature (Fairclough, 1989; 1995a; 1995b; Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Among its different aims, it provides the discursive toolkit to enable the powerless and the dominated, since “discursive practice may be effective in transforming, dismantling or even destroying the status quo” (Wodak et al., 1999: 8). Actually, it is difficult to draw a clear-cut distinction between CDA and other branches of discourse analysis. Several researchers agree that “in all but its blandest forms, such as when it remains at the level of language description, discourse analysis adopts a ‘critical’ perspective on language in use” (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 32).

Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 67) note that “a text does not uniquely determine a meaning, though there is a limit to what a text can mean.” Here arises the notion of context. There is a

dialectical relationship between language and context. Context comprises “linguistic co-text; genre; social situation, including specific (gender) relations between participants, and specific physical considerations; and cultural assumptions and understandings” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 15). Considering a word’s context, be it social, cultural or political, is part and parcel of understanding and interpreting it. Thus, in order to understand a word in a certain context, an analyst has to go through the discourse against which the word was employed ‘with all its ideological tones’ (Figureiredo, 2004: 218). Moreover, the process of discourse production and interpretation is inseparably connected to context. Thus, no discourse can be produced without context and no discourse can be interpreted without considering context (van Dijk, 2008).

Considering context involves stressing the notions of specificity and complexity (Cameron, 1998). In gender studies, specificity refers to considering “particular men and women in particular settings.” Complexity means “the way in which gender interacts with other aspects of identity – such as ethnicity, age, class, disability and sexual identity – and with power relations”. Considering context also means “looking at situated or local meanings, i.e. those assigned by participants within a given context to a given set of contextual features” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 15). The communicative phenomenon is advocated by Cameron (1992: 192):

[L]anguage is *radically* contextual. It is not just a matter of context affecting the system, the system has no existence outside a context. Thus language cannot be abstracted from time and space, or from the extralinguistic dimensions of the situation in which it is embedded... so even the simplest linguistic exchange involves a constellation of factors – linguistic, contextual, social and so on – which is always more than the sum of its parts. And this also implies, of course, that meaning is radically indeterminate and variable.

Admitting the lack of a clear theory of context, van Dijk (1997a: 19) defines it as “the structure of all properties of the social situation that are relevant for the production or the reception of discourse.” He further argues for the dialogic influence of context and discourse, i.e. contextual features evidently influence, define and change discourse, and are subsequently influenced by it. The integration of contextual characteristics in analysis is problematic for a number of reasons: First, it is sometimes difficult for a researcher to determine the local or situated meanings. Second, it is also difficult to determine the salient contextual characteristics for an individual or for a group. Third, as Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 16-17) point out, “[e]mphasising the

importance of context and accordingly of local meanings may mean that gender stereotyping [for example] outside a particular context becomes less possible.”

Within the tradition of Systemic Functional Linguistics (see section 3.2.), the notion of context is also interesting to consider. According to Hasan (2004: 21), the notion of *context of situation* has three active components: (1) field of discourse—the aspect by which “instances of discourse must always construe the specific identity of social action, what is being done by way of using language,” (2) tenor of discourse—meaning that “the language in use must be indicative of social relations being enacted between the interactants”, and (3) mode of discourse—referring to the idea that “the text’s language must also be indicative of the nature of the contact between the speaker and the addressee – whether the two are face to face, if the addressee is present, or if absent whether the addressee is actual or virtual [...]” Meurer (2004: 85) notes that these notions influence the relationship between language and context since they are pertinent to the notions of register (Halliday, 1978), genre (Eggins, 1994) and contextual configuration (Halliday & Hasan 1989). Within the tradition of CDA, the connection between text and context is approached by investigating ‘socially based topics’. Analogous to the terms ‘intertextuality’ and ‘interdiscursivity’, Meurer (ibid.: 86) suggests the term ‘intercontextuality’ which refers to “the various contexts that intermesh to influence or determine, and be influenced or determined by, texts, discourses, and other social practices.”

Roberts (2004: 197-198) distinguishes three senses to the notion of context, elucidating that these are not mutually exclusive: the first is related to “the actual discourse event” as a verbal exchange, the second is associated with “the linguistic content of the verbal exchange,” and the third relates to “the structure of the information that is presupposed and/or conveyed by the interlocutors in an exchange.” Extra-discoursal structures, that is, the economic, the political, the educational, etc., are shaped or constituted by discourse in the same way that they are represented by it (Fairclough, 1995a: 73; Johnstone, 2002: 9). In accordance with van Dijk (1997a: 15), Johnstone (2002: 9) provides six ways in which discourse shapes and is shaped by context:

Discourse is shaped by the world, and discourse shapes the world.

Discourse is shaped by language, and discourse shapes language.

Discourse is shaped by participants, and discourse shapes participants.

Discourse is shaped by prior discourse, and discourse shapes the possibilities for future discourse.

Discourse is shaped by its medium, and discourse shapes the possibilities of its medium.
Discourse is shaped by purpose, and discourse shapes possible purposes.

In critical discourse studies, the inclusion of political, social and historical backgrounds while analyzing and interpreting, Wodak et al. (1999: 12) argue, minimizes any possible bias or subjectivity on the part of the researcher. According to van Dijk (1998) and Wodak (1996), understanding the discursive patterns and strategies employed crucially necessitates understanding the social background information which triggered the formulation of discourse. The aim is to “transcend the pure linguistic dimension and to include more or less systematically the historical, political, and sociological dimension in the analysis, theory and interpretation of a specific discursive occasion” (Wodak 1996: 24). In the same vein, Fairclough (1992b: 11) stresses the importance of “placing the interaction within the matrix of social action it is a part of.” And, as argued by Fairclough and Chouliaraki (1999: 3), the times we are living now are marked by changes, causing societies and individuals considerable discomfort and interruptions and it is the aim of CDA to start a public dialogue to “bring into democratic control aspects of social use of language and to advocate a critical awareness of language as a fundamental element in contemporary social lives.” In this sense, revealing discursive inequality has far-reaching effects on non-discursive practices—influencing the actors represented.

Linguistic theories that CDA draw upon contend that the theorization of context has a constitutive nature when it comes to text analysis (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997). In this sense, ‘context’ does not merely relate to the examination of “the seemingly ‘objective’ dimensions of the broader locution of utterances (time, space, speakers, etc.)” (Baker et al., 2008: 281). Rather, context has to be perceived by speakers and interpreted by hearers in a way that allows the former to produce utterances they take as sufficient, and the latter to interpret these utterances in the light of their perceptions of contextual elements and their schematic knowledge (van Dijk, 2005). Thus, van Dijk proposes that we need to build ‘context models’ which allow subjective understanding of what is said and meant in a text.

On the other hand, a ‘critical’ analysis would be interested equally in explaining the linguistic elements and processes in a text as well as in interpreting the reasons, circumstances and consequences of the text producers’ particular linguistic choices which appear in the text and which have many other alternatives offered by the linguistic system. Hence, a critical analysis

considers both presences and absences in the data (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2001). This is the reason for “the use of CDA rather than purely descriptive, data-driven approaches which are epistemologically inadequate in accounting for the complex linguistic choices made during the processes of text production” (Baker et al., 2008: 281).

In accordance with its precedent critical theory, CDA stresses the interdisciplinary nature of its research as an important resource for attaining an adequate understanding of the ways in which language is used to constitute and transmit knowledge, to structure social institutions and to practice power in various social areas (Wodak, 2004a). There are general principles stipulated as the core of a CDA approach (Fairclough & Wodak, 1997: 271-281; Wodak, 1996: 17-20). These principles are:

- (1) *CDA addresses social problems*: Wodak (ibid.) explains: “The focus in CDA is not upon language or the use of language in and of themselves, but upon the linguistic character of social and cultural processes and structures.” In this sense, CDA is particularly interested in processes and structures (re)producing and maintain injustice or inequality.
- (2) *Power relations are discursive*: Wodak also points out that power relations are created, maintained and challenged in discourse.
- (3) *Discourse does ideological work*: Ideologies are defined by Wodak as “particular ways of representing and constructing society, which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation” (ibid.).
- (4) *Discourse is historical*: Discourse does not exist independently of and cannot be understood without its context.
- (5) *Discourse is a form of social action*: Wodak argues that CDA is “a socially committed scientific paradigm” (ibid.) aiming at changing the discursive practices producing and sustaining inequality.

CDA analyzes how linguistic patterns are used in different manifestations and exploitations of power and control (Chilton, 2004). Accordingly, the features which CDA focuses on are process types, personal pronouns, negation, agency and metaphor with the aim of determining “how discourse constructs and reflects sociocultural practices and which often involves a critique of the disempowering effect of dominant [...] discourses and ideology” (Harvey, 2004: 248).

Fairclough considers the relationship between language and society in terms of Halliday’s multifunctional linguistic theory which regards and analyzes language “as shaped (even in its grammar) by the social functions it has come to serve” (Meyer, 2001: 22). Therefore, Fairclough (1992a: 65) introduces his CDA theory in which he argues for a dialectical process between discursive practices and society by which the former is regarded as both (re)producing and transforming the latter. Thus, the relationship between discourse and social structure is rendered dynamic. It can be argued, then, that discursive practice reflects social practice. But social practices are always undergoing change and instability because of changing ideologies. Hence, discursive representations are also deemed to be unstable. Fairclough (1992a) also suggests the conducting of a two-stage analysis—a descriptive stage and an interpretative one. Since the ‘orders of discourse’ investigated are unstable, the results should be regarded as precursory. In this sense, three levels of analysis should be taken into account in the process of analysis: social practice, discourse practice and text, as explained in Figure 1.

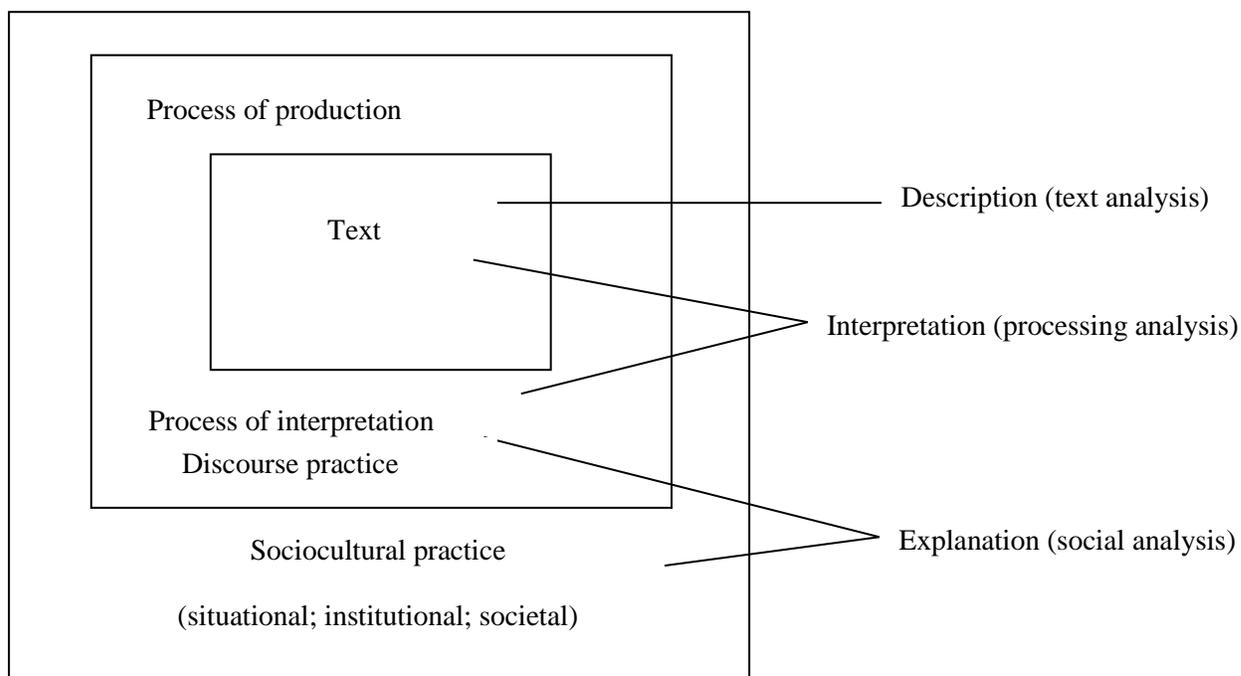


Figure 1. Dimensions of discourse and dimensions of discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1992a: 73; 1995a: 98)

Fairclough’s figure (1992a: 73; 1995a: 98) represents the notion of discourse as a social practice with its three dimensions: the text—which may be spoken or written—represents the formal aspects of language, e.g. semantic and syntactical aspects. These aspects are traces or cues of

‘how the text was produced’ and also for how it is to be interpreted. This process of reading or listening depends on the resources available to the reader or the listener for interpretation. It is understandable, then, that texts do not have static meanings independent from the social world. The meaning of a text exists only as a meaning *potential*. Only when people interpret a text that it acquires a meaning. This meaning may differ from a person to another. According to Fairclough (1989: 26), discursive practices are part of social practices. This means that using language is a social action, not only an individual one. In this sense, discourse analysis has to take interest in “the relationship between text, processes, and their social conditions, both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the more remote conditions of institutional and social structures.”

Fairclough (1992a: 3) asserts that “[d]iscourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct and constitute them.” In this sense, the task of CDA transcends the mere description of discursive structures to showing “how discourse is shaped by relations of power and ideologies, and the constructive effects discourse has upon social identities, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief, neither of which is normally apparent to discourse participants” (ibid.: 12). The goal of CDA, then, is to “uncover the ways in which discourse and ideology are intertwined” (Johnstone, 2002: 45). In choosing and interpreting discourse, every linguistic choice is ‘strategic’; “every utterance has an epistemological agenda, a way of seeing the world that is favoured via that choice and not via others” (ibid.).

CDA researchers argue that total impartiality of analysis, as in all approaches of analysis, is impossible, i.e. critical discourse analysts are not primarily preoccupied with depicting themselves as ‘neutral’, rather they are inclined to analyze language from a ‘deeply-held position’ (Baker, 2014: 201). Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 21) comment: “If language choices are sociologically and ideologically shaped, then analysts’ own understandings and interpretations of social interaction are also inextricably partial. The difference between the discourse analyst and the ‘everyday’ social interactant must however be her or his degree of self-awareness.” van Dijk (1993: 280) specifies the task of critical discourse analysts as taking “an explicit sociopolitical stance” and displaying “their point of view, perspective, principles and aims, both within their discipline and within society at large.” In the same way, CDA as an approach does not keep a

neutral stance since its aim is to reveal social practices constructing and maintaining inequality, injustice and domination in society (Fairclough, 1989; Wodak, 1989).

Moreover, though CDA is “situated firmly in the field of Applied Linguistics” (Orpin, 2005: 38), it focuses on the close investigation of small amount of data relevant to the purposes of research and interpreted against social, historical and cultural backgrounds. Although adopting a CDA approach results in deeper analyses and more fine-grained findings, it has been criticized for cherry picking only “small and unrepresentative data samples in order to suit researchers’ pre-conceived notions about hidden ideological meanings” (Maunter, 2009). In the same vein, Meyer (2001: 17) introduces and answers the following question in the negative, in the light of CDA traditions: “is it possible to perform any research free of a priori value judgement”? On the other hand, Marchi and Taylor (2009: 4) argue that CDA’s qualitative approach, though, provides “an entry into the data” offering “powerful explanations, grounded in its rich theoretical framework and in its interdisciplinary nature.” Moreover, it contributes to the validity of research by complementarily “offering a situated point of view” (ibid.).

3.1.3. Corpus Linguistics

The use of computer software or online interfaces as a means of analyzing large collections of electronically encoded data offers different possibilities for discourse analysts. These potentials, as Mautner (2009: 34) explains, encompass providing the analyst with a starting focal point in the data, endowing generalizations with reliance, as well as practically disproving the criticism directed at CDA researchers, namely that they ‘cherry-pick’ limited stretches of data which support their pre-conceived ideologies, e.g. Widdowson (2004: 102). Studies in this relatively new approach—introduced through the work of Mautner (1995) and Stubbs (1996)—have been referred to as Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (Partington, 2006). McEnery and Wilson (2001: 86) propose that statistical approaches, operationalized through corpus software packages, are useful in determining “empirically which pairs of words have a statistically significant amount of ‘glue’ between them, and which are hence likely to constitute significant collocations.” Determining collocations is a reliable departure point for conducting a qualitative analysis which can be realized through investigation.

McEnery et al. (2006: 4) define a corpus as “a body of naturally occurring language.” Moreover, “corpora are rarely haphazard collections of textual material: They are generally assembled with particular purposes in mind, and are often assembled to be (informally speaking) representative of some language or text type” (Leech, 1992: 116). Hunston (2002: 2) points out that a corpus is defined in relation to its form and its purpose. The term is generally used by linguists to refer to “a collection of naturally occurring examples of language, consisting of anything from a few sentences to a set of written texts or tape recordings, which have been collected for linguistic study.” However, it has been used recently in reference to “collections of texts (or parts of texts) that are stored and accessed electronically.” These texts are “designed for some linguistic purpose” which “determines the selection of texts” (ibid.). A corpus can also be viewed as a “large collection of authentic text” (Bowker & Pearson, 2002: 9). McEnery et al. (2006: 5) argue that most corpus linguists would agree that a corpus is “a collection of (1) *machine-readable* (2) *authentic texts* (including transcripts of spoken data) which is (3) *sampled* to be (4) *representative* of a particular language or language variety” (italics in original). Importantly, there have been quite differing points of view with regard to representativeness, that is, what to be considered representative.

Corpus linguistics, henceforth CL, is, thus, “the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 1). According to Baker (2006: 1-2) CL involves the use of “bodies of electronically encoded text, implementing a more quantitative methodology, for example by using frequency information about occurrences of particular linguistic phenomena”. McEnery et al. (2006: 7-8) consider it to be ‘a methodology with a wide range of applications across many areas and theories of linguistics’ rather than an independent branch of linguistics. Though some scholars contend that corpus linguistics ‘goes beyond’ being defined as a methodology (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 1), most researchers agree that corpus linguistics is “a methodology rather than an independent branch of linguistics,” since “it is not restricted to a particular aspect of language” (McEnery et al., 2006: 7).

Biber et al. (1998: 4) point out that corpus-based studies draw on both qualitative as well as quantitative measures: “Association patterns represent quantitative relations, measuring the extent to which features and variants are associated with contextual factors. However functional (qualitative) interpretation is also an essential step in any corpus-based analysis.” In general

terms, Baker (2006: 2) argues, corpora are “large (consisting of thousands or even millions of words), representative samples of a particular type of naturally occurring language, so they can therefore be used as a standard reference with which claims about language can be measured.” Since they are electronically encoded, they can be approached by conducting complex calculations in order to reveal “linguistic patterns and frequency information that would otherwise take days or months to uncover by hand, and may run counter to intuition” (ibid.).

Biber et al. (1998: 4) delineate the primary characteristics of corpus-based analysis as:

- It is empirical, analyzing the actual patterns of use in natural texts;
- It utilizes a large and principled collection of natural texts, known as a ‘corpus’, as the basis for analysis;
- It makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques;
- It depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques.

These characteristics, Biber et al. continue, endow the analysis with reliability which would be otherwise unattainable. However, the inclusion of “qualitative, functional interpretations of quantitative patterns” in corpus-based studies are essential, since the “goal of corpus-based investigations is not simply to report quantitative findings, but to explore the importance of these findings for learning about the patterns of language use” (ibid.: 5). In the same vein, computer-aided qualitative data analysis (CAQDAS) software has recently, and rapidly, been used, i.e. it seems that using software is part and parcel of qualitative research (Dornyei, 2007: 262). Partington (2003: 6-7) points out that readers/listeners of a text, and even authors/speakers of texts, may not be aware of the linguistic patterns used in a text, i.e. it is only through a computational analysis that discursive effects may be discerned, e.g. how a participant is always positioned as an agent rather than a patient of verbal processes.

Though CDA researchers do explicitly express their stance regarding the topic of their analysis, at times some may be found to choose texts which are mistakenly taken to be representative or have been selected so that they would ‘prove a point’ at the expense of other texts which present ‘a more complex or even contradictory picture’ (Baker et al., 2008: 283). The selection of texts for analysis and their representativeness are two related points where CDA has received criticisms (Koller & Mautner, 2004; Stubbs, 1997). As Koller and Mautner (2004: 218) put it: “The hidden danger is that the reason why the texts concerned are singled out for analysis in the first place is that they are not typical, but in fact quite unusual instances which have aroused the

analyst's attention." Relating to the issue of representativeness, Baker (2014: 9) provides the following example: "if we build a corpus containing all of the published novels written by one author in the twentieth century then we have full representation of that author published fictional output over that century." Moreover, criticism of CDA studies also encompasses the tendency to analyze a small number of texts, or short texts and text fragments (Stubbs, 1994, 1997). Baker et al. (2008: 283) point out: "A small-scale analysis may not be able to identify which linguistic patterns are cumulatively frequent (and therefore likely to represent powerful discourses) and those which are less frequent (and therefore may constitute minority or resistant discourses)." Stubbs (1994: 204) notes that "some patterns of language use are not directly observable, because they are realized across thousands or millions of words of running text, and because they are not categorical but probabilistic."

This idea is closely pertinent to the debatable issue of corpus size. On the one hand, if a corpus is large, "important features of the context of production may be lost when using such [i.e. CL] techniques" (Clark, 2007: 124). If a corpus, on the other hand, is small, it can "be analysed manually, or is processed by the computer in a preliminary fashion [...]; thereafter the evidence is interpreted by the scholar directly" (Sinclair, 2001: xi). Small corpora, however, "may lack some of the features in focus, or contain them in too small frequencies for results to be reliable, particularly when issues of statistical significance are not addressed" (Baker et al., 2008: 275). Ooi (2001: 179) proposes that the ideal size of a corpus can be reached only "when the collection of more texts does not shed any more light on its lexicogrammatical or discourse patterning." Baker (2014: 161) argues that working with equal-sized corpora, which is the case of the present research, is ideal because "claims about representativeness can be made with reasonably equal confidence." Relying on large size data typical of corpus-based studies indicates representativeness and, hence, avoids cherry-picking criticism.

Generalization is another issue related to the representativeness of a corpus, i.e. in order to generalize the findings of a corpus analysis to a larger population, such as a whole genre, the corpus being analyzed needs to be more than a sample of the genre it is affiliated to; "it is true with any kind of sample that rare elements *may* occur in higher proportions and frequent elements in lesser proportions than in the population as a whole—and this criticism applies not only to linguistic corpora but to any form of scientific investigation which is based on sampling rather

than on the exhaustive analysis of an entire and finite population” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 77, italics in original).

The use of specialized corpora, which have been collected by the analysts themselves in CDA studies, has increased in the last decade, e.g. J. Flowerdew (1997), Fairclough (2000), Teubert (2000) and Partington (2003). ‘DIY corpora’ is a term used to refer to corpora especially built by the researcher in order to address a certain research question (DIY is an acronym standing for ‘Do It Yourself’), i.e. rather than using a ready-made corpus, the researcher may decide to plan his/her own corpus to suit the specific inquiry s/he is focused on and which cannot be addressed through an already-existing corpus. This is the case of the corpus analyzed in the present study. When a researcher decides to build a corpus, s/he will have to take a number of issues into considerations. Of these issues, two are particularly pertinent to the current research: corpus size, and balance and representativeness (McEnery et al., 2006: 71). First, decisions about corpus size are guided by research question or questions. For example, the size corpus at hand—the corpus of Barack Obama’s and Hillary Clinton’s speeches in the Democratic Party Primaries—was decided upon the specific political event that the study is concerned with. In this respect, McEnery et al. argue, the availability of data plays an important role in deciding on how large a corpus will be; “the lack of data for one text type may accordingly restrict the size of the samples of other text types taken” (ibid.). However, Leech (1991: 8-29) notes that the size of a corpus is not all-important. As a matter of fact, often large data is hard to control by a sole researcher and only few researchers can attain useful information by examining numerous concordances (Hunston, 2002: 25). The optimum size of a corpus is thus “determined by the research question the corpus is intended to address as well as practical considerations” (McEnery et al., 2006: 72-73). Biber (1990) argues that a 10000-word corpus within the same text stably shows frequent linguistic features, e.g. nouns, first person pronouns, contractions, etc. Likewise, corpus balance and representativeness, though important issues in corpus design, are dependent on research questions and “the ease with which data can be captured and thus must be interpreted in relative terms, i.e., a corpus should only be as representative as possible of the language variety under consideration” (ibid.: 73). A ‘loose interpretation’ of that issue is also underpinned by Hunston (2002: 28-30) who argues that the way in which corpus balance and representativeness should be considered when designing or interpreting data is problematic.

The methodology adopted in this research involves a combination of corpus-driven and corpus-based approaches. A distinction between corpus-driven and corpus-based studies (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001) should be made. In the former approach “[t]he theoretical statements are fully consistent with, and reflect directly, the evident provided by the corpus” (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001: 85). In corpus-based studies, on the other hand, corpora are used basically to “expound, test or exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study” (ibid.: 65). Baker et al. (2013: 259-260) observe that a corpus-driven approach “lets the analysis be driven by whatever is frequent or salient in the data,” whereas a corpus-based approach “allows users to test pre-existing hypotheses.” Baker (2014: 15) explains that a corpus-driven study “uses the corpus as the data and the patterns in it are noted as a way of expressing regularities (and exceptions) in language.” The researcher, in this case, “takes a ‘naïve’ stance towards the corpus data, not imposing any pre-existing categorization scheme but using computational procedures based around frequency in order to allow the corpus itself to drive analysis along” (ibid.). A corpus-based study, however, uses a corpus “more as a way of checking research intuition or examining the frequency and/or plausibility of the language contained within a smaller data set” (ibid.). The investigation is, thus, based on a set of hypotheses which are tested by examining a pre-set list of words or phrases. In this sense, corpus-based studies has a deductive sense since they depend on pre-defined linguistic features in the analysis of patterns, while corpus-driven studies are inductive in that the research begins with the data and without pre-defined categories.

McEnery et al. (2006: 8-11) specify four areas of difference between the two categories: (1) *types of corpora used*, that is, corpus-driven linguists tend to use very large corpora without paying much attention to corpus balance and representativeness; hence, they argue that the large size of the corpus guarantee its balance and the so-called cumulative representativeness, (2) *attitudes towards existing theories and intuitions*, corpus-based linguists start from existing theories and revise the theory in terms of evidence provided by the corpus analysis, (3) *focuses of research*, corpus-driven analysis does not distinguish between different levels of language description, e.g. semantics, pragmatics, syntax, etc., but have a holistic approach focusing on “the functionally complete unit of meaning or language patterning,” and (4) *paradigmatic claims*, contrary to corpus-based methods, corpus-driven ones claim to be a totally new paradigm of language analysis. McEnery et al. (2006: 8), however, refer to the distinction between corpus-driven and

corpus-based investigations as ‘overstated’. In reality, the distinction is quite fuzzy. Baker (2014: 16) extends that it is easier to consider them as “extremes of a graded scale rather than a binary choice,” since it is rather hard to “approach a corpus from a completely naïve stance, while it is also hard not to impose some sort of categorization scheme on language data.”

Corpus-based studies are concerned with frequencies, patterns, co-occurrence, as well as grammatical items, meanings, words and word groups (for a discussion of frequency lists and keyword lists, see section 5.2.). Through corpus approach, the analyst examines results of automated analyses, then a ‘condensed reading’ (Gabrielatos, 2005) is conducted whereby particular features or items in concordance lines are targeted. Lee (2007: 88) procedurally defines what is meant by being a corpus-based linguist: “to have a particular orientation towards language (‘real language is used language, or language in use’), a particular view of language data (‘the more computerized data the merrier’) and a familiarity with a set of techniques (e.g. part-of-speech tagging, concordancing, keywords analysis).”

Since CL is concerned with the use of statistical tools to reach reliable and generalizable findings, it has been criticized for decontextualizing the data and limiting the results to “counting only what is easy to count” (Stubbs & Gebirg, 1993: 78). So, corpus linguists themselves apprise of getting caught in “using corpora just to tell you more about what you already know” (Sinclair, 2004: 185). In the context of criticizing CL for its negligence of context (Mautner, 2007; Widdowson, 2000), Mautner (2007: 65) argues that though CL has different potentials to offer, it also has some limitations; “[w]hat large-scale data are not well suited for [...] is making direct, text-by-text links between the linguistic evidence and the contextual framework it is embedded in.” However, as argued by Baker et al. (2008: 279) that these problems appear only in the light of restricted conceptions of CL, i.e. they manifest in CL studies that are limited to the automatic analysis of corpora, and which have a descriptive rather than an interpretative nature. At times, the analyst needs to explore expanded concordances or even whole texts in order to infer contextual factors with the aim of adequately recreating the context (Brown & Yule, 1982). In the process of a communicative interaction, an addressee does not need to take the full context into consideration, since, according to *the principle of local interpretation*, the hearer need not “to construct a context any larger than he needs to arrive at an interpretation” (ibid.: 59). The co-text provided by the (expanded) concordances is useful in ‘limiting the interpretation’ according to

the appropriateness and plausibility of the contextual elements (ibid.). Investigating the contextual meaning of close collocates can yield “a semantic analysis of a word” (Sinclair, 1991: 115-116).

The objectivity and descriptiveness attributed to CL are not infallible though (Marchi & Taylor, 2009: 3). Partington (2006: 268) contends that the large amount of data guarantees representativeness and “allows a greater distance to be preserved between observer and the data.” However, in a CL study, we start “from a position whereby the data itself has not been selected in order to confirm our conscious (or subconscious) biases” (Baker, 2006: 12). It should be noted, nevertheless, that bias is not exclusive to qualitative research. “A ‘disinterested’ social science has never existed and, for logical reasons, can never exist” (Myrdal, 1970: 55), Marchi and Taylor (2009: 3) comment that “the very object of research emerges from an interest, i.e. a sense of significance, i.e. a subjective judgement.” A corpus approach is not neutral, “selection comes into play throughout the process and early stages of analysis (e.g. the choice of the lexical items to investigate) can heavily determine the progress of the research. The patterns we identify and the findings we generate implement and shape subsequent questions; each previous step informs the next, possibly excluding other threads” (ibid.). Although one of the advantages of corpus approaches use is to avoid any potential bias on the part of the researcher, Baker et al. (2013: 274) point out that ‘a completely unbiased position’ is unattainable, and that “anybody who makes such a claim is misguided—all social research is biased” (Burr, 1995). It is the case that, to an extent, any analyst’s interpretation of data is influenced by aspects of his/her identity, e.g. being of a certain gender, race or religion, and cognitive biases that people generally have.

3.1.4. Collocation and Concordance

The concepts of ‘collocation’ and ‘concordance’ are of particular importance to the present research. Palmer (1938) was the first to introduce the term ‘collocation’ in his dictionary *A Grammar of English Words*. Firth (1957: 194) developed and established the term in the context of his ‘modes of meaning’, i.e. meaning by collocation: “I propose to bring forward as a technical term, meaning by collocation, and to apply the test of collocability.” Anderson (2006: 60) specifies ‘meaning by collocation’ as a ‘part of lexical meaning’, i.e. it is a level that can readily be analyzed. Using both qualitative and quantitative criteria of definition, Bartsch (2004: 76)

comprehensively defines collocations as “lexically and/or pragmatically constrained recurrent co-occurrences of at least two lexical items which are in a direct syntactic relation with each other”.

Baker et al. (2008: 278) define collocation as “the above-chance frequent co-occurrence of two words within a pre-determined span, usually five words on either side of the word under investigation (the node).” Hunston (2002: 68) defines it as “the tendency of words to be biased in the way they co-occur.” The statistical measurement of collocation depends on three measures: “the frequency of the node, the frequency of the collocates, and the frequency of the collocation” (ibid.). Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012: 409) define collocates as “words that co-occur more frequently than normal distribution with the search term;” they are calculated “in order to capture [the search term’s] most frequent lexical associations” (ibid.). Collocates are also defined as “the words that a target word commonly co-occurs with” (Biber et al., 1998: 35).

Stubbs (1996: 172) points out that “words occur in characteristic collocations, which show the associations and connotations they have, and therefore the assumptions which they embody.” Moreover, “[i]f collocations and fixed phrases are repeatedly used as unanalyzed units in media discussions and elsewhere, then it is very plausible that people will come to think about things in such terms” (ibid.:195). Salama (2011: 337) contends that collocation can be “a micro textual resource for a macro ideology-making process across opposing discourses, either within or across textual practices.” This is most evident in “clashing texts, where collocations can ideologically recontextualize social practices; the different ideological representations are actualized at collocation level in and across texts” (ibid.). Salama argues for a “close link between the writer’s use of collocations and the authorial evaluative tone of writing running through text towards a certain discourse topic,” i.e. “collocations stand as a precise indicator that reveals the authors’ distinct tones of writing about the discourse topic” (ibid.). Significantly, van Dijk’s (1998: 8) remarks that the study of collocation is related to various ideologies as “*the basis of the social representations shared by members of a group*” (italics in original). Within a CDA approach, studying collocation can be helpful since CDA is originally meant to demonstrate how linguistic-discursive practices are related to “the wider socio-political structures of power and domination” (Kress, 1990: 85).

Collocative meaning is defined by Leech (1974: 20) as comprising “the associations a work acquires on account of the meanings of words which tend to occur in its environment.” In the

same vein, Halliday and Hasan (1976: 287) regard collocation as a cohesive device: “a cover term for the kind of cohesion that results from the co-occurrence of lexical items that are in some way or other typically associated with one another, because they tend to occur in similar environments.” In this sense, collocation contributes towards a text building through the co-occurring of two words together. Relevant to Halliday’s lexico-grammar, collocation works on a semantic level by associating two words or on the syntactic level by combining the same words. Congruently, Bartsch argues: “collocation parallels more closely a notion of semantic and syntactic combinatorial properties attributed to individual lexical items, and indeed, to individual word forms” (2004: 29).

Stubbs (2001: 29) discusses the structural pattern of collocation: a ‘node’ is “the word-form or lemma being investigated” while a collocate is “word-form or lemma which co-occurs with a node word.” Salama (2012: 3) argues that Stubbs’ definition is significant in two respects: First, it draws attention to the strict statistical frequency principle which prevents relying on intuition or bias in identifying collocates. Similarly, McEnery et al. warn “intuition is typically a poor guide to collocation” (2006: 83). Second, “the node-collocate structure is a convenient way of looking at how words are collocationally strung in text” (Salama, 2012: 3). In this sense, through collocational analysis, “the textual presentation of a node word can be lexico-grammatically realized in its immediate context, or co-text, where nominational, referential and predicational meanings can be ideally captured.” Hence, the particular association or combination of a node word and its collocates “may reflect the biased stance of the text producer” (Salama, 2012: 4).

Based on Nattinger and DeCarrico’s proposition (1992) that the collocates of a node can contribute to its meaning and Sinclair’s argument (1991) that they also provide ‘a semantic analysis of a word’ along with Hunston’s remark (2002) that they ‘convey messages implicitly,’ Baker et al. further contend that one level of identifying the functions contributed by collocation relates to it as “a lexical relation better discernable in the analysis of large amounts of data, and, therefore, it is less accessible to introspection or the manual analysis of a small number of texts.” On another level, “the meaning attributes of a node’s collocates can provide a helpful sketch of the meaning/function of the node within the particular discourse” (2008: 278).

Collocational patterns can be identified and grouped. Then they can be inserted into ‘an overarching representational framework’ (Baker, 2014: 150-151). For example, verbal collocates

can be investigated using a transitivity process framework; nominal collocates can be studied using social actors representation framework. Caldas-Coulthard & Moon (2010) employed van Leeuwen's classification scheme in examining news articles in the Bank of English corpus in reference to collocates of *man*, *woman*, *boy* and *girl*. They concluded: "While men are evaluated in terms of their function and status in society, a woman is evaluated additionally in terms of her appearance and sexuality—even more so in the case of a young woman, whereas young men are evaluated in terms of their behaviour" (ibid.: 124).

As for the term 'concordance', it has been defined as "a list of all the occurrences of a word in a text or corpus in its immediate context, or more precisely, co-text" (Salama, 2011: 339), or a "program that searches a corpus for a selected word or phrase and presents every instance of that word or phrase in the centre of the computer screen, with the words that come before and after it to the left and right" (Hunston, 2002: 39). It has been defined also as "a list of unconnected lines of text, which have been summoned by the concordance program from a computer corpus, that is, a collocation of texts held in a form which is accessible to the computer. At the centre of each line is the item being studied (key word or node)", "[t]he rest of each line contains the immediate co-text to the left and right of the key word" (Partington, 1998: 9). According to Baker et al. (2008: 279), concordances are "instances of a word or cluster in its immediate co-text." Therefore, concordance analysis "affords the examination of language features in co-text, while taking into account the context that the analyst is aware of and can infer from the cotext" (ibid.). Combining corpus techniques and CDA qualitative tools, Maunter (1995) analyzed a corpus of British newspaper editorials regarding European political and economic integration and concluded that:

concordancing effectively heralds a breaking down of the quantitative/ qualitative distinction, providing as it does the basis for quantitative analysis without 'deverbalising' the data, that is, without transferring it, through human intervention, to the numerical mode. (Mautner, 1995: 24)

3.1.5. Synergizing CDA and CL

Corpus analysis is significantly informing in CDA studies (Stubbs, 1979: 112; De Beaugrande 2000: 180-183), i.e. CL has increasingly been used in critical discourse studies to explore the discourse of racism (Krishnamurthy, 1996; Baker et al., 2013), refugees (Baker & McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2008; Baker et al., 2008), homosexuality (Baker, 2004), climate

change (Grundmann & Krishnamurthy, 2010), and gender issues (Hunt, 2011), revealing the existence of linguistic patterns and messages which could otherwise go unnoticed (Jaworska & Krishnamurthy, 2012: 405). Wodak and Meyer (2009: 19-20, 22) state that ‘Corpus Linguistics Approach’ is a research strategy that CDA recognizes. They emphasize that “CDA has never been and has never attempted to be or to provide one single or specific theory. Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA” (ibid.: 5). Setting out with the computational identification of the linguistic phenomenon is a newly methodological trend. Unlike the well-established pure CDA research where “the linguistic description of a certain text is normally taken as a premise; the analysis is barely interested in, or sensitive to, offering objective criteria for identifying the textual phenomena in the research,” this state-of-the-art methodology starts with the objective identification of collocations by dint of a computational software (Salama, 2011: 338). Marchi and Taylor (2009) provide the following figure to demonstrate the distinctive nature of CL and CDA:

CL	CDA
Quantitative	Qualitative
Data driven	Theory driven
Representative samples	Individual contextualized examples
Statistical relevance = representative	Social relevance = meaningful
Breadth	Depth
Generalizability	Precision and richness
Replicability = greater objectivity	Political intent = subjective interpretation
Descriptive power	Explanatory power

Figure 2. The distinctive nature of CL and CDA (Marchi & Taylor, 2009: 2)

Of particular importance to the present research is Swann’s remark (2002: 60) that: “Quantitative approaches may also complement an analysis of more contextualised examples – e.g. employing large corpora to check the representativeness of data, or throw up general patterns, alongside a more contextualized analysis to show how these patterns are worked out in practice, draw attention to complexities, get into cracks that aren’t visible in the larger analysis, explore counter-examples [...] etc.” The significance of this methodological combination is discussed by Holmes (1996). She points out that such a combination is useful in providing more elaborate qualitative studies. On the other hand, the need for CL techniques is evident in van Dijk’s remark that “a full analysis of a short passage might take months and fill hundreds of pages. Complete discourse

analysis of a large corpus of text or talk, as we often have in CDA research, is therefore totally out of the question” (2001: 99). Baker et al. (2008: 296) argue that ‘quantitative’ and ‘qualitative’ approaches have fuzzy boundaries, i.e. “‘qualitative’ findings can be quantified, and [...] ‘quantitative’ findings need to be interpreted in the light of existing theories, and lead to their adaptation, or the formulation of new ones.”

The combination of CL and CDA has leisurely developed (Mautner, 1995; Stubbs, 1995, 1997, 2006; Partington, 2004, 2009; Baker, 2006) into a methodological synergy (Baker et al., 2008). Utilizing a combination of qualitative as well as quantitative methods in analysis has been hailed for avoiding the limitations of each approach (O’Halloran & Coffin, 2004, Orpin, 2005; van DE Mieroop, 2005). The combination is pervasively argued to endow the research with ‘the precision and richness’ of qualitative analysis (McEnery & Wilson, 1996: 77), as well as ‘the statistically reliable and generalizable results’ of quantitative studies (ibid.).

The usefulness of utilizing CL techniques in CDA inquiry has been extensively discussed (Baker, 2004a, 2006; Mautner, 1995; Koller & Mautner, 2004; Mautner, 2000; O’Halloran & Coffin, 2004). Baker (2006: 10-17) explains the advantages of employing a corpus-based approach to discourse analysis: (1) *Reducing researcher bias*. As argued by Burr (1995: 160), total objectivity is not possible; as far as CDA is concerned, for instance, Blommaert (2005: 31-32) explains that the “predominance of biased interpretation begs questions about representativeness, selectivity, partiality, prejudice, and voice (can analysts speak for the average consumer of texts?)”. By employing a corpus approach, though “we cannot remove bias completely”, we can at least “place a number of restrictions on our cognitive biases” (ibid.: 12). The unbiased procedures involved in corpus-based studies also allow for straightforward attention to ‘unpredicted patterns’. Stubbs (2001: 215) argues: “Repeated patterns show that evaluative meanings are not merely personal or idiosyncratic, but widely shared in a discourse community.” (2) *The incremental effect of discourse*. Discourse analysis is generally used “to uncover how language is employed, often in quite subtle ways, to reveal underlying discourses,” so the awareness of “how language is drawn on to construct discourses or various ways of looking at the world” makes us “more resistant to attempts by writers of texts to manipulate us by suggesting to us what is ‘common-sense’ or ‘accepted wisdom’” (ibid.: 13). (3) *Resistant and changing discourses*. The use of corpus can also refer to “the presence of counter-examples which are much less likely to

be uncovered via smaller-scale studies” (ibid.: 14). Investigating large size data inevitably means that ‘resistant’ or ‘minority’ patterns can be detected. (4) *Triangulation*. McNeill (1990: 22, cited in Baker, 2006: 16) points out that triangulation, which was basically introduced by Newby (1977: 123), refers to the use of “multiple methods of analysis (or forms of data).” Layder (1993: 128, cited in Baker, 2006: 16) lists the advantages of triangulation: “it facilitates validity checks of hypotheses, it anchors findings in more robust interpretations and explanations, and it allows researchers to respond flexibly to unforeseen problems and aspects of their research.”

The distinct theoretical frameworks that CDA and CL draw on inevitably impact their specific analytical approaches. In this respect, Baker et al. (2008), scrutinizing this methodological combination, contend that neither CDA nor CL can be considered subordinate to the other—a point of view adopted by the trend of studies called ‘corpus-assisted discourse studies’ (CADS) and indicated by the word ‘assisted’ (Partington, 2004, 2006). Rather, each of them “contributes equally and distinctly to a *methodological synergy*” (ibid., italics mine). The complementarity stems from the fact that “corpus-based analysis tends to focus on what has been explicitly written, rather than what could have been written but was not, or what is implied, inferred, insinuated or latently hinted at.” CDA approaches enable the analyst “to step outside the corpus in order to consult other types of information (such as dictionary definitions, policy documents or government correspondence to newspapers)” (Baker et al., 2008: 296). As relatively new movements in the field of linguistics (Krishnamurthy, 1996; Stubbs, 1994), the use of CL methods in conducting CDA research is rather infrequent, i.e. if the overall number of studies in the area of CDA or CL is considered, the number of studies combining CDA and CL will be extremely little. However, methods associated with CL in conducting CDA studies are being increasingly used by researchers.

A scalar view of the uses of CL methodology in carrying out a CDA research is introduced by Partington (2003: 12), providing a rationale for such a synergy:

At the simplest level, corpus technology helps find other examples of a phenomenon one has already noted. At the other extreme, it reveals patterns of use previously unthought of. In between, it can reinforce, refute or revise a researcher’s intuition and show them why and how much their suspicions were grounded.

Baker et al. (2008: 273) regard CDA as an academic movement rather than a specific method, i.e. CDA is “a way of doing discourse analysis from a critical perspective, which often focuses on theoretical concepts such as power, ideology and domination.” In this sense, it operationalizes any suitable method for the fulfillment of its aims. CDA has been utilized in qualitative studies with a special focus on the historical, social, political and intertextual backgrounds which go beyond the linguistic analysis of texts. They also do not regard CL as a sole method, but as adopting an array of methods commonly associated by the notion that “they are performed on large collections of electronically stored, naturally occurring texts” (ibid.: 274). CL studies are mostly quantitative, drawing on statistical tests enabled through computer software. The qualitative part is represented by the qualitative analysis conducted by researchers, e.g. investigation concordance lines and collocations.

However, most of these studies use methods and theoretical apparatuses typically related to CDA and CL in an unbalanced way. Despite the fact that large corpora can be useful to CDA research, “not all genres lend themselves equally to corpus analysis, and additionally, some CDA practitioners would only view CL as a method for supporting qualitative discourse analysis, such as downsizing large corpora of media texts, rather than as a full approach to CDA” (Baker et al., 2013: 276). Corpus-based studies may draw on a critical approach, Baker et al. (2008: 275) argue, “but may not be explicitly informed by CDA theory and/or its traditional methods, or may not aim to contribute to a particular discourse-oriented theory,” e.g. Krishnamurthy (1996) and Stubbs (1994). In the same way, studies targeting to fulfill CDA aims cannot be classified as corpus-based/driven by CL researchers, e.g. Fairclough (2000), Kovács & Wodak (2003) and Wodak et al. (1990). Generally, the latter type rather uses a corpus or corpus-based techniques in a limited way. For example, Flowerdew (1997) uses the corpus only as a means of providing examples instead of adopting the ‘principle of total accountability’ in analysis (Leech, 1992: 112), that is, examining the totality of corpus instances related to the linguistic phenomena that is being discussed. CDA studies utilizing corpora have generally made use of concordance analysis, e.g. Magalhaes (2006), rather than conducting quantitative analyses in the true sense of the word. Congruent with the notion that CL methodology is ‘much more than bean counting’ (Biber & Conrad, 2001), Baker et al. (2008: 289), through the results of their corpus-assisted project of scrutinizing the linguistically encoded images of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press,

assert that “‘qualitative’ techniques can be employed, even when the corpus is extremely large, while also retaining the ‘quantitative’ aspect.”

However, as argued by Salama (2011: 317), the study of collocation within (critical) discourse analysis has been unable to show “how there could be a potential ‘politics of meaning’ in the way words collocate (i.e. collocability) across meaningfully antagonistic discourses.” In this sense, corpus linguistics has been used with CDA for the purpose of objective identification of collocational pairs based on collocational statistics. Stubbs (2001: 29) provides a statistical definition of collocation which is embraced by corpus linguists: “frequent co-occurrence”. Hence, the methodological synergy of CDA and CL has been necessitated.

CDA draws strongly upon “linguistic categories [...] such as actors, mode, time, tense, argumentation” (Meyer, 2001: 25). Theories of language use within CDA framework are primarily concerned with grammatical features, such as agentivity, passivization and metaphors. CL methods are useful in quantifying discursal phenomena already identified in CDA research; that is, by establishing “their absolute and relative frequencies in the corpus, through the examination of the different linguistic means utilized to express them” (Baker et al., 2008: 285). Even in cases where the CL tools are not used to investigate existing CDA notions, they can employ a CDA theoretical framework when it comes to interpreting the results.

Focusing on political discourse in UK, Mulderrig’s work (2003, 2007, 2008, 2009) is considered a significant step on the methodological development of using CL in CDA investigations, i.e. it highlights the heuristic value of using corpus-based approach to CDA ends. For example, she uses keywords analysis to examine the political discourses of most British Prime Ministers focusing on their historical rise and fall (Mulderrig, 2008). She has also explored the use of the pronoun ‘we’ as a legitimizing tool favourably utilized by the government to deflect its public accountability (Mulderrig, 2011). Maunter (2005, 2009) also uses the same combined methodological approach, arguing that the internet is a valuable, but still under-used mine of data for this type of studies.

The synergy has been used in a variety of scholarly studies. Teubert (2000), for instance, utilized keyword analysis of a corpus of website texts to differentiate between ‘stigma’ and ‘banner’ keywords and accentuate ‘inconsistencies in the Eurosceptics’ position’. For example,

'unaccountable bankers are evidence of the perfidy of Europe, whereas an *independent central bank* is held up as an ideal, yet both *unaccountable* and *independent* indicate institutions which do not answer to a political power' (2000: 55). Focusing on 'collocations' denoting the gap between Old and New Labour, Fairclough (2000) uses a corpus of the speeches delivered by former British Prime Minister, Tony Blair, among other New Labour texts. Fairclough (ibid.: 40) argues that the word *rights* collocates significantly with *responsibilities* and *duties* in the New Labour corpus in an individualistic manner, i.e. relating to individuals. However, the word *responsibilities*, in the earlier Labour discourse, has a collocationally antagonistic sense as relating to public authorities and corporations. Baker et al. (2013) have examined the representations of Muslims in the British press 1998-2009, using a corpus-driven approach. They extracted the collocates of certain words (e.g. Muslim) using Sketch Engine, then classified the noun collocates into categories (identity, attributes, conflict, etc.). Then, an analysis of the two most frequent collocate pairs, that is, Muslim world and Muslim community, was provided. They concluded that these collocates were used to "collectivize Muslims, both emphasizing their sameness to each other and their difference to 'The West'" (ibid.: 255).

3.1.6. Gender in CDA and CL Studies

Situated within the context of language and gender studies, the present study focuses on the exploration of gender-bias and gender representations in Obama and Clinton's specified speeches. Hence, a brief presentation of how the concept of gender is tackled in CDA and CL studies is helpful in understanding the different ways gender has come to be a focal point of research in these fields. Actually, CDA provides a useful approach for language and gender studies. Since gender is an activated aspect of the present study, an exploration of the role played by CDA in language and gender studies will be useful. The aim of a CDA approach in the aforementioned field is "to ask questions about our commonsense notions of gender and text and to help to create a productive suspicion of all processes of text interpretation" (Mills, 1995a: 21). Language and gender researchers have been faced with the dilemma of 'ordinariness' and 'obviousness' which characterizes everyday language and the concomitant hazard of "treating everyday experiences as though they somehow occur independently of society" (Talbot, 1998: 156). The framework provided by CDA, i.e. discourse as social practice, "helps to counteract the tendency for the discourse in which we perform our gender identities to be naturalized."

Mills (1995a: 21) points out that CDA is used to overcome the obviousness of day-to-day experiences, the naturalness of forms of speech and the ways by which people are represented. It is also used to question stereotypical views about gender identities by creating ‘productive suspicion’ about texts. It should be noted, though, that CDA is not in itself considered a single approach in the investigation of constructions of gender identity, since it comprises a variant body of work all of which share the aim of revealing power relations, considering social constructions and, in the area of gender studies, disregarding the dichotomy of ‘men do this, women do that’ (Talbot, 1998: 168). Another critical approach on the study of gender construction focuses on gender as performance.

People do not have pre-fixed, stable gender identities; they perform them continuously. Even when we are quite unaware of gender—simply taking it for granted as an obvious and invariable part of our identity, as we do most of the time—even then, we are still engaged in routinely performing gender. (Talbot, 1998: 150)

Critical perspectives to the study of language and gender avoid ‘gender polarization’ and perceive ‘gender identity as dynamic.’

Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 20) provide a useful example to explain how Fairclough’s three-dimensional conceptualization of discourse relates to gender, i.e. they apply Fairclough’s model to *Harry Potter and the Philosopher’s Stone* (Rowling, 1997). The bolded words in the following figure (Figure 3) are Fairclough’s (1992a: 73) while the standard and italic words are Sunderland and Litosseliti’s.

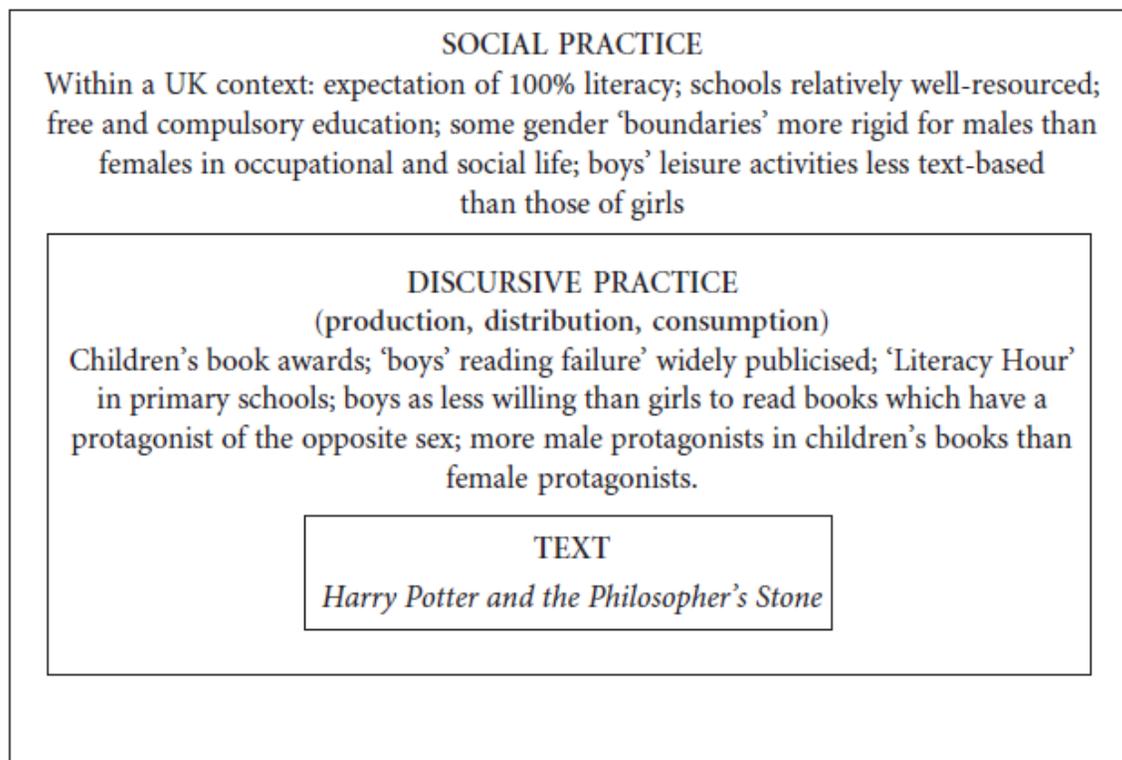


Figure 3. The application of Fairclough's (1992a) three-dimensional model on a children's book (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 20)

Although some feminist scholars have concentrated on characteristics of spoken discourse, e.g. Coates (1997); Wodak (1997b), the main trend in CDA in language and gender studies focuses on written texts. Mary Talbot, as one of the most prominent scholars in this field, has focused on printed media. One recurring argument in her work is that these texts seem to introduce one idea to the readers while actually giving a totally different idea. An article about lipstick is actually calling for consumption under the pretension of chatting with friends (Talbot, 1995b). A sexual harassment report, while seemingly taking the side of female victim, actually stresses normal gender stances (Talbot, 1997). An advertisement in British Telecom is supposed to take the stance of women while actually representing women and their language in a negative way (Talbot, 2000).

FCDA (Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis) is another approach of gender studies. It is critical of "discourses which sustain a patriarchal social order: that is, relations of power that systematically privilege men as a social group and disadvantage, exclude and disempower

women as a social group” (Lazar, 2005: 5). Hence, FCDA, taking emancipation and transformation as its primary goal, focuses on exposing the role played by language in sustaining unequal power relations based on gender. It also elucidates how gender-related ‘taken-for-granted assumptions’ can be “negotiated and contested as well as (re)produced” (Baker, 2014: 4). It should be noted that feminist stylistics and feminist critical discourse analysis have given their primary attention in analysis to gender ideologies. Unlike conversational analysis which maintains the idea that power can only be discerned and revealed in conversational interactions, CDA stresses the idea that “power permeates every aspect of society and hence is operative in all discourse” (ibid.: 58). The politicized analysis introduced by those scholars has given insight to scholars working on other frameworks in the area of gender and discourse.

In the same way that gendered discourse can be realized by sexist language use, it can be also realized by non-sexist and obviously ‘gender-neutral’ linguistic items. Women can be degraded, for example, through a pornographic text that does not use any demeaning linguistic item (Sunderland, 2002: 299). Cameron (1994: 29) marks the absence of a correlative relation between meaning and linguistic form. She elaborates:

[S]exism in language exists below the surface, so that superficial reforms (like proscribing some finite set of offensive forms or making all texts formally gender neutral) are insufficient to combat it. Many instances of sexism are manifested not in single words or specific constructions but through an accumulation of discursive or textual choices (ibid: 32).

The notion of the text-reader relationship is addressed in Bucholtz article (2003: 58) as she states:

In calling attention to the ideologies of gender embedded in the most pervasive forms of discourse in contemporary society, however, critical text linguistics presents women primarily as the consumers and the subjects of discourse rather than its producers. Agency in this approach is based primarily in the capacity of the consumer of the text to identify and reject these dominant discourses as a result of critical discourse analysis. And because critical discourse analysis does not usually investigate readers’ relationships to such texts, it is not clear whether the potential effects of the discourse that the analyst identifies are in fact the effects experienced by the text’s consumers.

Gender, according to Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 6), is now considered a ‘potential site of struggle’ (Swann, 2002; Bergvall, Bing & Freed 1996), as indicated by its departure from theoretical essentialism which considered it to be “a set of behaviours imposed upon the

individual by society” and “a masculine/ feminine binary” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 5-6). The introduction of discourse in the study of language and gender is expressed significantly by Sunderland and Litosseliti (ibid.: 6): “theoretical challenges to the earlier ideas of gender underlying investigations of both language use and of language as an abstract system have meant a gradual dovetailing of the two areas in a new acknowledgement of the importance of *discourse*, and of how ‘language *effects* gender’” (italics in original).

As argued by Baker (2014: 20-21), “[m]any researchers in the field of Gender and Language favour qualitative analyses of smaller collections of texts, while within Corpus Linguistics there is not a great deal to report on gender either,” partly because of ‘issues of practicality’. Based on former studies, Schmid (2003) has formed a set of linguistic features and topics categorized as typically male or female. Then, he created a group of words and phrases related to each category and investigated the sex-tagged spoken part of the BNC to test the statistical significance of these pre-set gender differences, e. g. females use of ‘food and drink’ words like *lunch, milk, tea, eggs, wine, dinner* and *steak*. Actually, he found out that men and women used language stereotypically with men focusing on the lexical items related to sport, abstract concepts and public affairs and women on lexical items pertinent to colours, clothes and home. Rayson et al. (1997), adopting a corpus-driven approach, explored the spoken demographic data of the BNC, extracting most frequent words and keywords (the latter function has been calculated by chi-squared tests) and introduced a list of 26 words as ‘most characteristic of male speech’ and a list of 25 words ‘most characteristic of female speech’. The former list included swear words (*fuck* and *fucking*), numbers, as well as discourse markers. The latter included reported speech markers, personal pronouns, discourse markers and evaluative words (*oh, lovely, nice, really*, etc).

Newman et al. (2008), utilizing a tool called Linguistic Enquiry and Word Count, compared 14,000 text samples to a dictionary of 2,000 words in 74 categories and concluded that men used more words related to impersonal topics and object properties while women referred more to psychological and personal process. They reported that the analyses “demonstrate small but systematic differences in the way that men and women use language (ibid.: 233). Koppel et al. (2002: 410) concluded that, according to their study, there was “convincing evidence of a difference in male and female writing styles.” Baker (2014: 30) compared the male and female context-governed part of the BNC and found that male keywords were more pertinent to

mathematical and scientific terms while female keywords revolved around healthcare, child care and pregnancy. However, he explained, this result could be dependent on gender role—“men being recorded more in workplace contexts, women more in ‘at home’ contexts where they were engaged in domestic unpaid work” (ibid.: 41).

Taking a corpus-based approach, Iyeiri et al (2004) have explored the gender differences in the use of *different from* and *different than* in the Corpus of Spoken Professional American English (CSPAEE), encompassing speech recorded in various professional settings from 1994-1998. They concluded, conforming to the stereotypical view, that women tend to use more hypercorrect forms than men. Murphy (2009) examined the use of swearing words in a corpus of 20 informal Irish all-men or all-women conversations. The corpus was tagged for age and it was found out that men and younger speakers used swear words more often. Baker (2014: 47) comments that Murphy’s study is particularly important because “rather than considering simply all males vs all females, she notes how gender interacts with other factors like age and religious belief to produce a more detailed account of difference.” Another study which related gender with age is Thelwall (2008) who also examined swear words. He used a corpus of 9,000 American and English social network homepages and found out that there is an inverse proportion between the use of the word *fuck* and the age of the user. Generally men were found to use more swear words than women.

Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) utilize corpus linguistics tools to examine the discourse of feminism in a large corpus of German and British newspaper articles, i.e. the collocational profiles of the node word ‘feminism’ are explored. Although function/grammatical words are typically excluded and lexical items are exclusively scrutinized in the process of collocational analysis (Baker, 2006: 100), Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) study the most frequent lexicogrammatical patterns of the search term ‘feminism’, e.g. *of feminism, feminism is and feminism and*. They argue that “lexical or content words carry the primary lexical meaning, they combine with grammatical words to form recurrent lexico-grammatical patterns (or chunks) that can specify or modify the meaning of a word (ibid.: 415). The findings include common salient discourse patterns related to feminism in two different cultural contexts.

Romaine (2000) examines the ways in which collocations can be used to demonstrate sexism in language. There are several gendered pairings in English language which manifest different types of semantic and discursive asymmetries, e.g. master and mistress, *governor and governess, god*

and goddess, wizard and witch, and bachelor and spinster. Romaine focuses on the collocates of *bachelor* and *spinster* in the BNC in relation to the adjectives modifying *spinster*. She concludes that there are asymmetries regarding the premodification of these two search terms. *Spinster* has more negative or pejorative adjectives, e.g. *gossipy, nervy, ineffective, jealous, eccentric, frustrated, repressed, lonely, prim, cold-hearted* and *despised*. Thus, she further suggests that these asymmetries go beyond the adjectives to the basic terms for male and female human beings. She investigates the opposite-sex pairs: *man/woman* and *boy/girl* and concludes that words with negative connotations are used more often with *woman/girl* than with *man/boy*. Similarly, Caldas-Coulthard and Moon (1999) investigates the adjectival collocates of the words *man* and *woman* in a corpus of UK newspaper articles, and introduces two lists of adjectives collocating with each. Only *woman* is found to be modified significantly by adjectives referring to physical appearance (e.g., *beautiful, pretty* and *lovely*), and only *man* is found to be modified significantly by adjectives indicating importance (e.g., *key, big* and *main*). Such collocational patterns can uncover the associations and connotations of words and, hence, the assumptions they represent (Stubbs, 1996: 172). Using one of SkE's preloaded corpora, the ukWaC British English web corpus, Baker (2014: 145-146) investigates the opposite-sex pair BOY and GIRL using the SkE function Sketch-Diff, and concluded that BOY and GIRL are positioned differently in verbal relations, i.e. girls are found to be subjects and objects of verbs like *scream, marry* and *dance* as they tend to express cognitive states like, *smile, want, suffer, love* and *decide*. Boys are more likely to be subjects of physical actions like, *grow, play, fall* and *die*. Girls are also represented as victims by being positioned as objects for verbs like, *abduct, rape, seduce, murder, assault* and *kidnap*.

Baker (2014: 73-104) investigates the COHA (the Corpus of Historical American English) in terms of functionalization, relational identification, male fitness, genericization, and pejorative and gender-inclusive terms and concludes that there is "an overwhelming male bias in American English, stretching back at least as far as the start of the nineteenth century, although the second half of the twentieth century has indicated a move towards equalization, even though this process appears to be ongoing and incomplete at the time of writing" (ibid.: 103). Baker et al. (2008: 293) note: "A traditional corpus-based analysis is not sufficient to explain or interpret the reasons why certain linguistic patterns were found (or not found). Corpus analysis does not normally take into

account the social, political, historical and cultural context of the data.” Thus, “CDA analysis provides explanatory power to the descriptive results of the CL analysis” (ibid.: 295).

3.2. Halliday’s Functional Grammar

The combination of one’s own knowledge and what is suggested by the data—the approach that Glaser and Strauss (1967) refer to as ‘grounded theory’ is deemed linguistically problematic by Sunderland (2002: 300). Textual analysis is an indispensable step when it comes to exploring the relationship between ‘what is suggested by the data’, or the textually emerging discourses, and the language realizing them. In this sense, the procedure adopted in this research would be fluctuating between emerging representations and relevant linguistic items. Meyer (2001: 17) poses the following question: “is it possible to gain insight from purely empirical data without using any preframed categories of experience?” He answers the question in the negative. Baker (2014: 197) warns against the “exclusive reliance on both corpora and corpus techniques in order to answer research questions”, since a “corpus in itself does not always yield explanations for language patterns and only by considering other forms of context can we fully account for our findings.”

Halliday (1994: xv) points out that linguistic analysis has two main aims: (1) making “a contribution to the understanding of the text. The linguistic analysis enables one to show how, and why, the text means what it does. In the process they are likely to reveal multiple meanings, alternatives, [...] and so on,” and (2) contributing to “the evaluation of the text: the linguistic analysis may enable one to say why the text is, or is not, an effective text for its own purposes—in what respect it succeeds and in what respect it fails, or is less successful.” Bartlett (2004: 69) argues: “It is necessary before undertaking any statistical analysis to ensure that the units being quantified are meaningful in themselves. In terms of CDA, this means relating relations of power in discourse as accurately as possible to linguistic features.” Whorf (1956: 158) contends that representing a concept linguistically does not rely on ‘ANY ONE SYSTEM’ within grammar as much as it relies on:

the ways of analysing and reporting experience which may have become fixed in the language as integrated ‘fashions of speaking’ and which cut across the typical grammatical classifications, so that such a ‘fashion’ may include lexical, morphological, syntactical, and otherwise systematically diverse means coordinated in a certain frame of consistency.

Bartlett (2004: 71) comments that a CDA point of view reinterprets Whorf's "primarily anthropological hypothesis sociologically in terms of the fashions of speaking that social actors display in their personal discourse." Thus, since language functions as a map of a speaker's experience (Halliday & Matthiessen, 1999: ix), then we can have an insight into their consciousness through mapping a speaker's linguistic representations of the world. In this sense, the perception of a certain relationship through linguistic patterns as ideologically significant cannot be ascribed to the language system as ordering these patterns as so, but to the fact that the speakers' ways of speaking are carriers of their ideology (Hasan, 1996: 148-149).

Language is organized by three different strands of meaning or metafunctions (Halliday, 1978: 22). The first is the *ideational* metafunction, according to which "language construes human experience," and hence, it "functions to construe an external and internal reality" (Muntigl, 2002: 50). Speakers use language to "create a version of reality of what is going on 'around' them and 'within' them" (ibid.). The second is the *interpersonal* metafunction, which entails that "language enacts social relationships," i.e. speakers use language to perform exchanges "in which propositions and proposals, status and involvement are negotiated" (ibid.). The third is the *textual* metafunction, by which language organizes "the way in which experiential reality is represented and social reality is enacted," i.e. this kind of meaning relates to text creating or semiotic reality (ibid.). Moreover, Halliday (1994) points out that a speaker or a writer's selection of a certain word, from a range of words referring to the same object, process or practice, indicates and influence their viewpoint and experience. In this sense, Fowler (1996: 215) explains that lexis should be regarded dynamically as "the encoding of ideas or experience."

Building on his vision of language, Halliday (1981, 1994, 2004) proposes his theory of functional grammar. Halliday (1981: 41) provides the following definition of the clause: "A clause in English is the simultaneous realization of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings." A clause, thus, is the product of three stands of meaning: *textual* (clause as a message), *interpersonal* (clause as an exchange) and *ideational* or *experiential* (clause as a representation) (Halliday, 1994: 34). Part of the current research draws on the notion of clause as representation and its concomitant transitivity framework. Halliday (ibid.: 106) postulates that: "Language enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of what goes on around them and inside them." In this sense, the experiential function of a clause is "a way of

representing patterns of experience.” Modeling experience is indispensably related to the clause. It is through the clause that a crucial principle of modeling experience is enacted, that is, “the principle that reality is made up of PROCESSES” (capitalization in original). These processes are crystallized in the transitivity system which “construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types” (ibid.). Eggins (1994: 228) argues that transitivity system or process type is “one major system of grammatical choice.” Transitivity patterns “represent the encoding of experiential meanings: meanings about the world, about experience, about how we perceive and experience what is going on” (ibid.: 266). A process is essentially composed of three constituents: the process, participants and circumstances related to the process. The grammatical system of the English language is based on structuring every experience as a ‘semantic configuration’ (Halliday, 1994: 108) which takes shape in the word categories of verbs, nouns and the rest of the clause, as in the following example (ibid.: 109):

the lion	chased	the tourist	lazily	through the bush
participant	process	participant	circumstance	circumstance
nominal group	verbal group	nominal group	adverbial group	prepositional group

Figure 4. Clause as composed of process, participants and circumstances

Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 606-607) argue that “agency may be ascribed through the perceptions and representations of others or assigned through ideologies and social structures.” Lynne and Brigid (2006: 145) argue that whether “readers can identify who is carrying out the actions” in a clause is significant, since the “presence or absence of agency in passive sentences is often ideologically driven.” Moreover, concealment of agency and intent can be realized by “embedding ideational processes in relative clauses and by using nominalization which not only eliminate agency but also time through loss of tense” (ibid.: 165). Thus, “the high number of nominalizations and nonhuman agents as participants in the clause [...] effectively removes people from the activities and plans” (ibid.: 166). According to Halliday (1985), there are six types of processes: material, behavioural, mental, verbal, relational and existential. These different types are scrutinized in the context of the corpus specified in the analytic part of this study, since each type, when used, corresponds to and contributes towards a particular representation of the men and women involved as participants in the clause (see section 5.8.).

(1) Material Processes: Processes of Doing

Material processes express the idea that “some entity ‘does’ something—which may be done ‘to’ some other entity” (Halliday, 1994: 110). The concept of extension, according to Halliday is relevant to those of ‘transitive’ and ‘intransitive’ processes; it relates to the entities to which a process is extended. In the following example, the clause is composed of Actor, Process and Goal. Traditionally, there are two forms of transitivity in this case: (a) clause with one Actor and Process, and (b) clause with Actor, Process and Goal.

(a)	the lion	sprang	(b)	the lion	caught	the tourist
	Actor	Process		Actor	Process	Goal

Figure 5. One-participant and two-participant clauses

In clauses that have both Actor and Goal, two forms can occur: active or passive, as in the following figure (ibid.). The difference between active and passive clauses, as Eggins (1994: 231) point out, is related to “whether the Actor role (the doer of the action) is conflated with the Mood function of Subject or not.” In active clauses, both the Actor and the Subject are represented by the same constituent, while in passive clauses, they have disparate constituents.

(Active)	the lion	caught	the tourist	(Passive)	the tourist	was caught	by the lion
	Actor	Process	Goal		Goal	Process	Actor

Figure 6. Active and passive clauses

Material processes encompass *concrete physical events*, e.g. build, catch, etc (as in the case of the previous examples), and *abstract doings and happenings*, e.g. resign, dissolve, etc (The mayor *resigned*; the mayor *dissolved* the committee). Eggins (1994: 230-231) explains that one way to identify material processes is by using the probe question: *what did x do?* In clauses which include only one participant—middle or intransitive clauses, the probe question is the same, while in clauses which have two participants—effective or transitive, the probe question is: *what did x do to y?*

(2) Mental Processes: Processes of Sensing

They differ grammatically from the category of material processes in terms of five respects:

(a) The mental process has “one participant who is human; that is the one who senses” (Halliday, 1994: 114). In the following clause, *I believe you*, *I* stands as Senser in the mental process of believing.

(b) What is felt, thought or perceived is not restrictively a ‘thing’, it may be also a ‘fact’. In the following clause, *Tim realized that he was in a big city*, the embedded clause *that he was in a big city* stands as Phenomenon in the mental process of realizing.

(c) The third criterion used to distinguish material and mental processes is the tense. The unmarked present tense in a mental process is the present simple, e.g. *I see the stars*; while the unmarked present tense in a material process is the present in present, e.g. *they are building a house*. Both tenses can be used with material and mental processes; however, “the other one is the marked option in each case” (ibid.: 116).

(d) Several mental processes are marked by bidirectionality. That is, they are two-way processes. We can say, *Mary liked the gift*, or, *the gift pleased Mary*. Other pairs of verbs denoting this characteristic are: *fear/frighten*, *wonder/amaze*, *enjoy/delights*, *admire/impress*, etc.

(e) Contrary to material processes, which can be substituted by the verb ‘do’, mental processes are those of sensing, feeling or thinking and cannot be substituted in the same way. Moreover, in a mental process, there are two participants: Sense, “the conscious being that is feeling, thinking or seeing,” and Phenomenon, “that which is sensed—felt, thought or seen” (ibid.: 117). To these distinctive features, Halliday adds that material processes might be either transitive, involving two participants, or intransitive, involving one participant; mental processes always involve two participants. Halliday (ibid.: 118) further identifies three sub-types of mental processes: (1) *Perception*: e.g. seeing, hearing, etc (2) *Affection*: e.g. liking, fearing, etc and (3) *Cognition*: e.g. thinking, knowing, understanding, etc. Eggins (1994: 241) illustrates that mental processes can be probed by using the question: *what do you think/feel/know about x?*

(3) Relational Processes: Processes of Being

The term ‘relational’ here does not refer to being as existing, but as having two parts to the being, that is, “something is being said to ‘be’ something else [...], a relation is being set up between two separate entities” (ibid.: 119). In English language, Halliday continues, relational processes have three main types:

(1)	intensive	'x is a'
(2)	circumstantial	'x is at a' (where 'is at' stands for 'is at, in, on, for, with, about, along, etc.')
(3)	possessive	'x has a'

Each type of these has two distinct modes:

(1)	attributive	'a is an attribute of x'
(2)	identifying	'a is an identity of x'

Figure 7. Types of relational processes

Hence, there are six distinctive modes of relational processes: (a) intensive attributive, (b) intensive identifying, (c) circumstantial attributive, (d) circumstantial identifying, (e) possessive attributive and (f) possessive identifying.

(a) Intensive attributive:

In attributive clauses, "an entity has some quality ascribed or attained to it" (Halliday, 1994: 120). The identity is labelled as the *Attribute*, and the identity to which it is attributed is labelled as the *Carrier*. Examples are in the Fig. 3.8. There are four characteristics distinguishing attributive processes from identifying ones. **First**, in attributive clauses, the Attribute is commonly indefinite. The Head is either an adjective or a noun, but not a pronoun or a proper noun; it can have an indefinite article, e.g. *Sarah is wise/ a poet*. **Second**, the attributive process is realized by a verb of the 'ascriptive' classes, such as: become, turn (into), remain, keep, appear, seem, sound, smell, be, etc. **Third**, the probe questions for attributive clauses are: *what?*, *how?* or *what ... like?* Halliday provides the following examples for probe questions: *what is Paula?*, *how did the minister seem?* and *what will today's weather be like?* **Fourth**, attributive clauses are irreversible and they do not have passive forms.

Mice	are	timid creatures
the baby	turned	into a big
your story	sounds	complete nonsense
Carrier	Process: intensive	Attribute

Figure 8. Examples of intensive attributive clauses

(b) Intensive identifying:

In identifying clauses, “something has an identity assigned to it,” meaning that “one entity is being used to identify another” (Halliday, 1994: 122). The entity identified is labelled as *Identified* and the identity ascribed to it is labelled as *Identifier*. Examples are in Figure 9. Halliday (ibid.: 123) specifies four characteristics distinguishing identifying clauses from attributive ones: **First**, the Identifier is commonly definite. The Head is a common noun with a specific determiner, e.g. *the*. It can also be a pronoun or a proper noun; adjectives occur as Head only if they are superlatives. **Second**, the identifying process is realized by a verb of the ‘equative’ classes, such as: play, serve as, make, comprise, represent, form, illustrate, express, be, etc. **Third**, the probe questions for identifying clauses are: *which?*, *who?* or *which/who ... as?* **Fourth**, identifying clauses are reversible. With the exception of the neutral be, become and remain, they have passive forms; clauses having be are reversed without changing the form of the verb. Examples are in Figure 10.

today’s meeting	represents	the last chance for a compromise
Mr. Garrick	played	Hamlet
c-a-t	spells	‘cat’
Identified	Process: intensive	Identifier

Figure 9. Examples of intensive identifying clauses

which is Alice?

which is the clever one?

Alice	is	the clever one
Identified		Identifier

Alice	is	the clever one
Identifier		Identified

Figure 10. Two analyses of Alice is the clever one

(c) Circumstantial attributive:

In the circumstantial mode, whether attributive or identifying, “the relationship between the two terms is one of time, space, manner, cause, accompaniment, role, matter of angle” (Halliday, 1994: 130). In attributive clauses, “the circumstantial element is an attribute that is being ascribed to some entity” (ibid.), as in: *My story is about a poor shepherd boy*. This mode comprises two sub-modes: (1) *Circumstance as attribute*: the attribute in this case is ‘a prepositional phrase’ and

“the circumstantial relation is expressed by the preposition,” e.g. *Fred is with the doctor*. (2) *Circumstance as process*: the attribute here is a ‘nominal group’ and “the circumstance is expressed by the verb,” e.g. *the fair lasted all night*, or *your ticket costs 50 Euros*. Illustrated examples are in Figure 11. By default, attributive clauses are irreversible and have no passive forms.

(1)

my story	is	about a poor shepherd boy
Carrier	Process: intensive	Attribute: circumstantial

(2)

my story	concerns	about a poor shepherd boy
Carrier	Process: circumstantial	Attribute

Figure 11. Circumstantial attributive clauses

(d) Circumstantial identifying:

In identifying clauses, “the circumstance takes the form of a relationship between two entities; one entity is being related to another by a feature of time or place or manner, etc.” (Halliday, 1994: 131). This mode also comprises two sub-modes: (1) *Circumstance as participants*: in this sub-type, “it is the participants—Identified and Identifier—that are circumstantial elements of time, place, and so on” (ibid.), e.g. *tomorrow is the tenth*, or *the best way to get there is by train*. (2) *Circumstance as process*: in this case, the process itself, and not the participants, is the circumstantial element in the clause, e.g. *Fred accompanied his wife*, or *the fair takes up the whole day*. Illustrated examples are in Figure 12. Moreover, participants are reversible and the process can be in the passive form.

(1)

tomorrow	is	the tenth
Identified	Process: intensive	Identifier

(2)

the fair	takes up	the whole day
Identified	Process: circumstantial	Identifier

Figure 12. Circumstantial identifying clauses

(e) Possessive attributive:

In possessive clauses, “the relationship between the two terms is one of ownership; one entity possesses another” (ibid.: 132). The possessive attributive relationship can be expressed either as attribute or as process: (1) *Possessive as attribute*: in this case, the relationship is formed as a possessive nominal group, where the “the thing possessed is the Carrier and the Possessor is the Attribute” (ibid.: 133), e.g. the piano is Peter’s. (2) *Possessive as process*: in this case, there are two further possibilities; either “the possessor is the Carrier and the possessed is the Attribute,” e.g. *Peter has a piano*, or “the possessed is the Carrier and the possessor is the Attribute,” e.g. the piano belongs to Peter. As mentioned before, they are non-reversible and they do not have passive forms. The following figure presents the examples illustratively.

(1)	the piano	is	Peter’s
	Carrier	Process: intensive	Attribute: possession

(2) a.	Peter	has	a piano
	Carrier: possessor	Process: possession	Attribute: possessed

(2) b.	the piano	belongs to	Peter
	Carrier: possessed	Process: possession	Attribute: possessor

Figure 13. Possessive attributive clauses

(f) Possessive identifying:

In the possessive identifying type, “the possession takes the form of a relationship between two entities” (ibid.). Again, the possessive identifying relationship can be expressed in two ways: (1) *Possession as participants*, where “the participants embody the notion of possession, one signifying property of the possessor, e.g. *Peter’s*, the other signifying the thing possessed, e.g. *the piano*” (ibid.). (2) *Possession as process*, where “the possession is encoded as a process, typically realized by the verb *own*,” e.g. *Peter owns the piano*. As the case in all identifying processes, they are reversible and they can be expressed in the passive voice. Examples are provided in the following figure.

(1)	the piano	is	Peter's
	Identified: possessed	Process: intensive	Identifier: possessor

(2)	Peter	owns	the piano
	Identified	Process: possession	Identifier

Figure 14. Possessive identifying clauses

Egins (1994: 256) provides an illustrative figure for all types of relational processes (figure 16).

(4) Behavioural Processes:

They are “processes of (typically human) physiological and psychological behaviour” (ibid.: 139), e.g. breathing, smiling, staring, dreaming, etc. the Behaver, that is, the “participant who is ‘behaving’” is “typically a conscious being” (ibid.), e.g. look, stare, listen, chatter, grumble, smile, cry, breathe, yawn, sleep, sing, dance, etc. Moreover, the unmarked present tense for this type of processes is the present in present, e.g. *you are dreaming!* (see Fig. 3.16.) But present simple still is used with behavioural processes in their unmarked sense, e.g. *why do you laugh?*

I	am thinking
you	are dreaming
Behaver	Process

Figure 15. Behavioural clauses

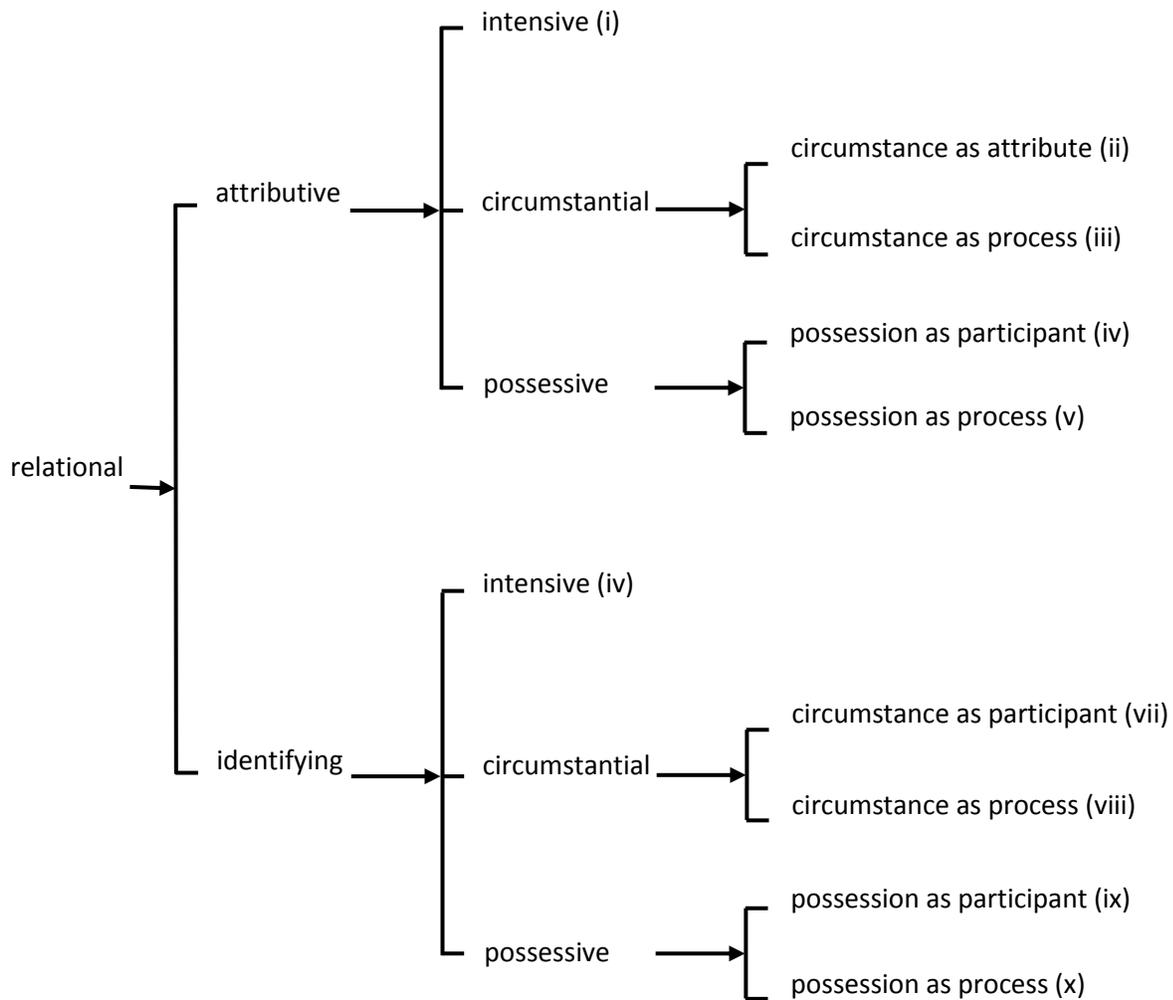


Figure 16. Halliday's relational processes (Egins, 1994: 256)

(5) Verbal Processes:

They are processes of saying in the broad sense of the word, i.e. any type of symbolic exchange of meaning is included in verbal processes, e.g. say, tell, ask, promise, describe, etc. in the clause, *my watch says it's half past ten*, *my watch* has a grammatical function of Sayer. This type of clauses has two variations: (a) directly quotes, such as, *he said, 'I am hungry'*, and (b) indirectly reported, such as, *he said he was hungry*. (see Figure 17)

(a)

John	said	'I am hungry'
Sayer	Process	Quoted
Quoting		

(b)

John	said	he was hungry
Sayer	Process	Reported
Reporting		

Figure 17. Verbal Processes

A verbal clause may comprise three other participants other than the Sayer: (1) Receiver, that is, “the one to whom the saying is directed” (ibid.: 141), e.g. *me* in *tell me the whole story*. (2) Verbiage, which is “the function that corresponds to what is said,” referring either to the content of what is said, e.g. *those earrings* in *those earrings were promised to another customer*, or to the name of the saying, e.g. *a question* in *let me ask you a question*. (3) Target, which is “the entity that is targeted by the process of saying,” e.g. *my intelligence* in *please don’t insult my intelligence*. Certain verbs are most likely to accept a Target, for example, flatter, blame, praise, insult, criticize, abuse, etc.

(6) Existential Processes:

They typically express that something exists or happens, e.g. *there isn’t enough time*. *There*, in this case, is the Subject but does not have a representational function. Verbs which realize existential processes include be, exist, happen, seem, remain, occur, take place, follow, emerge, grow, rise, prevail, etc. the term Existent is used to refer to the “object or event which is being said to exist” (ibid.: 142). An existential clause may contain a temporal or spatial circumstantial element, e.g. *there was a picture on the wall* (see Figure 18).

there	was	a storm	
	Process	Existent: event	

on the wall	there	hangs	a picture
circumstance		Process	Existent: entity

there	's	a man	at the door
	Process	Existent: entity	circumstance

Figure 18. Existential processes

Eggs (1994) explains that the analysis of transitivity patterns in text can provide an explanation of “how the field of the situation is being constructed: i.e. we can describe ‘what is being talked about’ and how shifts in the field are achieved” (ibid.: 266). The analysis of transitivity system in a clause typically involves describing three aspects:

1. the selection of a process: the process choice will be realized in the verbal group of the clause :

Last year Diana gave blood.

2. the selection of participants: participants will be realized in the nominal groups.

Last year Diana gave blood.

3. the selection of circumstances: circumstantial meanings are expressed through adverbial groups or prepositional phrases:

Last year Diana gave blood. (ibid.: 229)

Goodman (1996: 56) provides the following examples to illustrate the options offered by the system of transitivity in delineating what is going as either *action*, *transaction* or *event*.

- a. The Soldier fired
(Actor) (material process: *action*)
- b. The soldier killed innocent villagers
(Actor) (material process: *transaction*) (Goal)
- c. Innocent villagers died
(Goal: material process) (material process: *event*) (Goodman, 1996: 56)

The potential rationales behind these syntactic choices are discussed by Goodman (ibid.: 57):

Writers with a technical interest in weaponry (in a specialist magazine) might have an interest in obscuring the pain and destruction that weapons cause. Writers who are in the same side as the soldiers might also have an interest in obscuring their army’s responsibility for the death of innocent civilians.

However, Fairclough (1995a) points out that these interpretations may come fall of grasping the holistic view since they are based on single isolated utterances without considering the myriad

contextual factors that could have influenced its production. Wilson (2001: 402) provides the following alternative independent clauses originally introduced by Goodman to highlight Fairclough's remark:

Innocent villagers died last night. It was the soldiers who fired on them. It was the soldiers who killed them.

Obviously, the effect intended by the syntactic choice of the first clause, that is concealing soldiers' responsibility, is further accentuated in the next two clauses.

An interpretation of a clause is unquestionably influenced by syntactic selections. However, other contextual, stylistic, rhetorical and lexical choices verifiably come into play (Wilson, 2001: 407). In their study, Wilson & Rose (1997) explain the heated controversies prevailing the 1985 Anglo-Irish Agreement due to a single lexical item: *consultation*. In this sense, Wilson continues, a lot of linguistic aspects are involved in political output, and "all of these have the potential in their own way for political impact" (ibid.: 410), even individual sounds. The way 'thematic roles' are assigned by a speaker can be interpreted as linked with certain representations of the world or certain claims about agency, responsibility and causation (Chilton & Schäffner, 2011: 322). Thematic roles relate to, for example, who is given the role of an Actor, who is given the role of a Goal, in which processes, by what means and why.

The operationalization of SFL notions in the context of a CDA investigation, as is the case in the present study, is a profitable linguistic trend that has been addressed by researchers. Systemic functional linguistics, according to Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 139), is the linguistics theory "which [...] has most in common with CDA and most to offer to CDA." Young and Fitzgerald (2006: 23) view the relationship between SFL and CDA in terms of a continuum. SFL is the descriptive phase of analyzing a text since it offers the methodological tools that enable analysts to answer certain questions. CDA is the interpretative and explanatory phase where connections between the concepts of language, power and ideology are investigated. It should be noted that the linkage between SFL and CDA is solid since SFL represents a firm methodology, saving CDA from ideological bias (Gregory, 2001). SFL also provides the tools for situating the language and ideology issues in a concrete analysis of situated language events, helping the analyst to be clear, accurate and plain (Martin, 2000).

According to Young and Harrison (2004: 1), there are a number of denominators between SFL and CDA. First, both look at language as ‘a social construct’, investigating the mutual effect between language and society. Second, both view language dialectically in the sense that discursive events affect their contexts and the contexts are, thus, affected by the discursive events. Third, both of them stress the cultural as well as the historical facets of meaning. Graham (2004: 63) argues that “[t]he ‘contextual’ part of SFL and the ‘critical’ part of CDA are perhaps their most mutual and complementary aspects.” However, SFL and CDA have their dissimilarities. In the first place, SFL is ‘a functionally based theory’, focusing on language functions in society, examining language of real situations and studying meanings in varying contexts. Its aim is “to understand the purposes language serves in a variety of context, and to understand the way language itself functions.” CDA, on the other hand, involves analyzing varying discursive events to investigate the relationship between language and power and how it is the case that language is used to ‘produce, maintain and reproduce positions of power’ through discursive practices. In this sense, CDA aims at using analysis “not only to reveal structures of dominations, but also to effect change in the way power is wielded, maintained and produced in social organizations and relationships” (Young & Harrison, 2004: 2).

The interaction between social systems and language is the focal point of social analysis in SFL. Martin (1992) introduces the following figure to elucidate, “how each level realizes and is realized by adjacent levels, but it also helps to explain why observations at two levels that are not immediately adjacent may seem to be independent of each other” (Lassen, 2004: 268). For example, the mutual influence between ideology and genre is hard to illustrate because of the lack of an apparent ‘one-to-one relationship’ between the two notions. But actually, register affects and is affected by both of them. Hence, they appear on the phonological, morphological, graphological and lexicogrammatical level. Two inferences can be drawn: First, “text analysis becomes crucial to the understanding of social context and social practice.” Second, “analysis at separate levels becomes meaningless without interpreting the results in the light of other levels of the meta-redundancy model” (ibid.: 269). This means that no meaningful results can be concluded if analysis is conducted only on one level. This notion, Lassen suggests, is also applicable for Fairclough’s CDA model of social practice, discourse practice and text analysis. Thus, “[i]n order to be able to draw meaningful conclusions about one of these levels, it becomes necessary to include observations about the other levels of analysis” (ibid.). Fairclough and

Halliday's approaches, then, are marked by their descriptive as well as interpretative capabilities. Clearly, the text level is the locus for SFL, represented by Halliday's textual, ideational and interpersonal metafunctions, and CDA, represented by Fairclough's model of analysis, to integrate. SFL provides the tools that allow for a linguistic investigation connecting functions of grammar to social events, the same tools that CDA advocates need to investigate notions of power and ideology in social practices (Martin, 2000: 276).

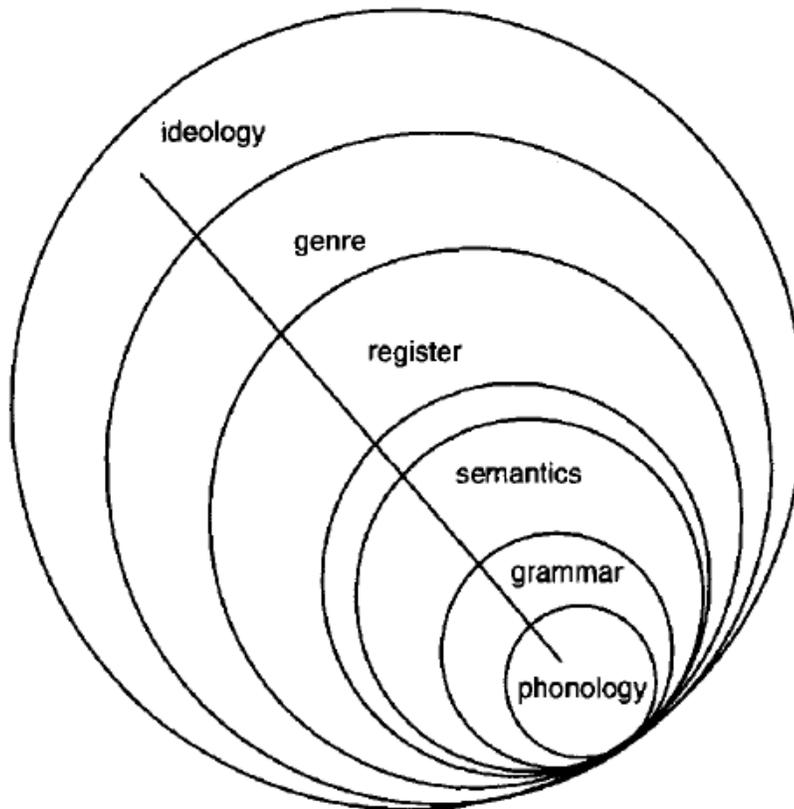


Figure 19. Interrelated language strata (Martin, 2000: 276)

De Beaugrande (2000: 160) argues for the systemic nature of language both internally and in its relation to different texts and practices. Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 139-140) point out that within the SFL theory, “although lexicogrammar does not directly interface with the social, it is historically shaped through processes of semogenesis - the historical production and change of the discursal - which opens the language system to social shaping.” They also note that there is “[n]o construction of reality without negotiation of social relations and identities, but neither of these without the unfolding of text” (ibid.: 152).

Early works that have synergized SFL and CDA have analyzed the metafunctional and lexicogrammatical aspects of language in relation to social structure. With the development of CDA as an area of study, different tools for CDA, other than SFL, have also evolved. However, CDA researchers undoubtedly recognize the importance of SFL in the study of real language events critically. Wodak (2001b: 8) asserts that “an understanding of the basic claims of Halliday’s grammar and his approach to linguistic analysis is essential for a proper understanding of CDA.” One of the milestone works which establishes the connections between SFL and CDA is Fowler, Kress and Trew’s *Language and Control* (1979), where the concept that “ideology is linguistically mediated” (ibid.: 185) is introduced. This work, along with Hodge and Kress’s *Language as Ideology* (1979), asserts that language is a means of control, meaning that “linguistic forms allow significance to be conveyed and to be distorted” (Hodge and Kress, 1979: 6). Norman Fairclough’s *Language and Power* (1989) lays the basis of CDA as a theory by specifying its goals, aspects and intentions, giving a model for analysis. Fairclough’s *Media Discourse* (1995b) uses SFL to display how the powerful groups use language, intertextual and interdiscursive patterns to produce and reproduce powerful social structures, and, in the same way, how the powerless use language to submit to the this powerlessness. Then, Fowler, in *Language in the News* (1996), further entrenches SFL into the critical study of language by analyzing lexical patterns, transitivity, modality and transformation.

A broader sense of context is the ‘*context of culture*’—a type of context that gives discourse “purpose and meaning” (Eggins, 1994: 30). Stubbs (1983: 8) argues that “there is no use of language which is not embedded in the culture.” van Dijk (1997a: 14) notes that discourse analysis cannot be separated from “*social situations* [...] within *society* and *culture* at large” (italics in original). Kramsch (1998: 3) draws attention to the inseparable interdependency between language and culture which can be realized in three realities: (1) *language expresses cultural reality*, (2) *language embodies cultural reality*, and (3) *language symbolizes cultural reality*.

Hasan (2004: 16) defines discourse in the light of SFL as “the process of language in some recognizable social context(s).” The preposition ‘in’ in Hasan’s definition represents the notion of context. Thus, the relationship between text and context is one of solidarity. Halliday (1999: 8) introduces the following figure (Fig. 3.20) to explain the relationships between: “(a) context of

culture and context of situation; (b) between language and text; and (c) among these four terms of the theory, which are closely implicated in the production of discourse.” Hence, Halliday’s figure displays “the relationship of language as system and process and to culture as system and process” (Hasan, 2004: 20).

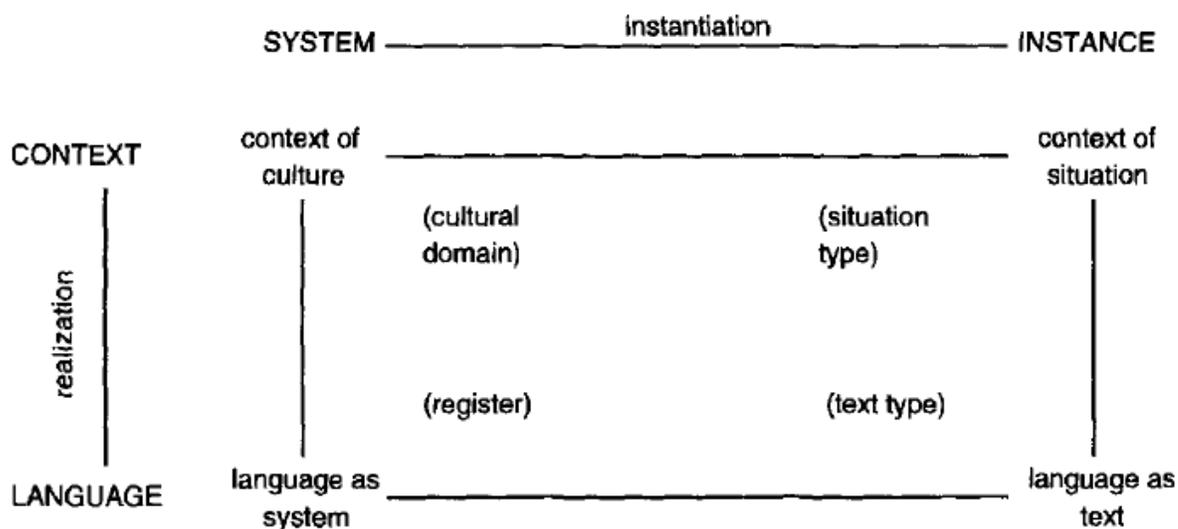


Figure 20. Language and context; system and instance (Halliday, 1999: 8)

J. R. Martin (2000: 267) investigates ideational meaning in relation to the notion of power in a child’s book:

From the perspective of ideational meaning we are interested in how a text of this kind constructs power. In the experience of CDA analysts one relevant part of language is **TRANSITIVITY**; its purpose is to construct processes, the participants involved in them and the circumstances in which they take place. ... Clearly this dimension of meaning is central to the analysis of the equality and power in discourse. It allows us to ask questions about who is acting, what kinds of actions they undertake, and how or what if anything they act upon.

In the same way that linguistic choices are significant in SFL, they are equally so in CDA.

Cameron (2001: 51) illustrates:

CDA makes use of the insight derived from traditional, structure-oriented linguistics and sociolinguistics, that meaning is about contrast. When someone expresses an idea in form X (using these particular words and this particular

grammatical structure), it is significant that they are not expressing the idea in form Y or Z, though Y and Z would also have been possibilities.

Significantly, the study of representations is to be viewed in the light of the line of argument that language can be used to steer people's thoughts and beliefs. Jones & Peccei (2004: 39) illustrate that "[i]f we accept that the kind of language we use to **represent** something can alter the way in which it is perceived, then you might wonder whether, by controlling the discourse, one can control how another person thinks" (boldface in original). Representation refers to "the issue of how language is employed in different ways to represent what we can know, believe, and perhaps think" (Wilson, 2001: 401). Representation, in this sense, effect two different views: a universalist view and a relativist one (Montgomery, 1992). According to the former, we come to have an understanding of the world in terms of universal conceptual primes. Hence, language is only used to express systems of thought, which are themselves independent from the language, and reflect these universal potentials. The latter perspective views language as inseparable from and entangled with thought. Language affects the way we perceive the world and, thus, forms of linguistic representation can influence people's beliefs and actions.

3.3. Social Actors Representation

The notion of representation, especially gender representation, is crucial to the present study. Hall (1997: 61) regards representation as:

the process by which members of a culture use signifying systems to produce meaning [...] Objects, people, events in the world do not have in themselves any fixed, final or true meaning. It is us, in society, within human cultures, who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently will always change, from one culture or period to another. Representation involves making meaning by forging links between three different orders of things: what we might broadly call the world of things, people, events and experience; the conceptual world – the mental concepts we carry in our heads; and the signs arranged into languages (and other modes), which stand for or communicate these concepts.

After Hall (1997), Baker takes representation to be "the creation of a mental image of something using signifying practices and symbolic systems (i.e. through language)" (2014: 73).

At the heart of the present research and tightly pertinent to the notion of representation is the idea that the symbolic elites, that is, people who control most influential public discourses, e.g.

politicians, journalists, writers, scholars, teachers, etc. particularly have an efficient role in reproducing prevalent ideologies in society (van Dijk, 2005). In accordance with the definition of gender as a social construct rather than an innate predetermined quality, distinctions in socially allocated roles and convictions are predominantly socially acquired, i.e. they are constructed, communicated, acquired, and challenged discursively. The public discourse of the symbolic elites is a principal source for common ideologies regarding distinctions, be it gender-related or ethnic.

The analysis of the speeches delivered by both Obama and Clinton draws partly on representations of gender-related social actors. Representations, argues van Leeuwen (1996: 38), “include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended.” Several CDA studies draw on the notion of exclusion. For example, Trew (1979: 97) illustrates that police forces as social actors were excluded from recounting the ‘riots’ in *The Times* and *Rhodesian Herald* (anno 1975). I follow CDA in looking at lexical and grammatical choices, made by each politician, which participate in representing men and women in a certain way. CDA is interested in identifying absence and presence which fits perfectly in van Leeuwen’s framework of social actors representations, i.e. gender representations, relations and identities in a text are constructed through backgrounding, exclusion, suppression, etc. (Sunderland, 2002: 301). How participants or social actors are represented in a discursive practice can be ideologically loaded (van Leeuwen, 1996, 2008). Thus, these social actors can be examined “within their concordance-based collocational environments, with a special analytic focus on their ‘contested representations’ in a given discourse” (Salama, 2012: 4), i.e. “[c]ollocation-based representations of social actors are to mark a critical shift from textual (lexico-grammatical) representations toward discursive (pragma-political) representations” (ibid.).

Crucial to a CDA investigation is the notion of agency. van Leeuwen (1996: 32) argues “sociological agency is not always realised by linguistic agency, by the grammatical role of ‘Agent’. It can also be realized in many other ways”, e.g. by possessive pronouns or a prepositional phrase. For example, for the aforementioned cases respectively: *our intake of migrants*, and *People of Asian descent say they received a sudden cold-shoulder from neighbours and co-workers*; here “the grammatical Agent is sociologically ‘patient’” (ibid.). Moreover, since there is no exact correspondence between sociological and linguistic categories, he adds, if

critical discourse analysts restricted themselves in investigating agency to linguistic categories, many relevant cases of agency may be missed (ibid.: 33). Halliday's concept of 'grammatical metaphor' (1985: ch. 10) is one way of tackling the problem of the lack of biuniqueness. Halliday considers some linguistic realizations to be 'literal' and 'congruent', while others are 'metaphorical' or 'incongruent'. van Leeuwen (1996: 33) comments that Halliday's conception of 'congruent' means 'congruent with the grammatical system', rather than 'congruent with reality'—the type which evidently goes in accordance with the concept of metaphor.

van Leeuwen (1996: 39) distinguishes between *suppression* and *backgrounding*. In the case of suppression, "there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text," while regarding backgrounding, "the exclusion is less radical: 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 (though never total) certainty who they are. They are not so much excluded as de-emphasized, pushed into the background." In both case, the number of times certain social actors are blatantly mentioned is reduced. It should be noted that at times determining whether the reader/writer should (or should not) be able to retrieve the excluded social actors is a difficult task, i.e. the question is: Is the exclusion meant in order not to be overcommunicative or is it meant "to block access to detailed knowledge or a practice [...]?" (ibid.: 41).

The way in which roles of social actors are allocated is crucial to representation. This notion of who is given the role of 'agent' or 'Actor' and who is given the role of 'patient' or 'Goal' in a certain action is closely pertinent to the concept of agency frequently discussed by critical linguistics (van Dijk, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1989; Fowler et al, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979). van Leeuwen illuminatingly draws attention to the need for "congruence between the roles that social actors actually play in social practices and the grammatical roles they are given in texts." In this sense, representations can "reallocate roles, rearrange the social relations between the participants" (1996: 43). Social actors can have either *active* or *passive* roles through representation. Activation concerns cases where "social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity," whereas passivation concerns cases where "they are represented as 'undergoing' the activity, or as being 'at the receiving end of it.'" Grammatical participant roles introduced by Halliday (1985) are one way of realizing the notion of activation and passivation, i.e. by grammatically assigning the role of Actor in a material process, Assigner in a

relational process, Sayer in a mental process, Sayer in a verbal process or Behavior in a behavioural process, social actors are activated. van Leeuwen specifies other ways of activation such as circumstantialization through prepositional circumstantials with *by* or *from* as in:

People of Asian descent suddenly received a cold shoulder from neighbours and co-workers (van Leeuwen, 1996: 44).

Activation may also be realized by premodification or postmodification of nominalization or process nouns as in: *public support* or *the influx of Asians*. Possessivation can also be used to activate, as in *our intake*, or passivate, as in *my teacher*. On the other hand, passivation comprises two subcategories: *subjection* and *beneficialization*. Subjection applies to social actors which are regarded as objects in the representation, whereas beneficialization applies to social actors which “form a third party which, positively or negatively, benefits from it” (ibid.). The two following clauses exemplify each case respectively:

Australia was bringing in about 70,000 migrants a year (ibid.: 45).

22,000 Hong Kong Chinese arrived last year, bringing bulging wallets to cities like Vancouver (ibid.: 45).

According to van Leeuwen (ibid.) subjection can be realized by participation in a material process a Goal, in a mental process a Phenomenon or in an attributive process as Carrier (Halliday, 1985: 143). It can also be realized by circumstantialization, that is, through a prepositional phrase with *against* as in:

A racist backlash against ethnic Asians has been unleashed by those who resent the prominence of centrist candidate Alberto Fujimori (van Leeuwen, 1996: 45).

Possessivation is another way of realizing passivation through a prepositional phrase with *of* as a postmodification of a process noun or nominalization, as in:

An intake of some 54,000 skilled immigrants is expected this year (ibid.).

Adjectival premodification is also used to passivate as in *racial tolerance* which passivates people of different races. Beneficialization is also realized by participation. However, it is

achieved when social actors are represented as Recipient or Client in a material process or Receiver in a verbal process.

van Leeuwen (1996) provides a list of all possible ways in which social actors can be represented. These ways comprise:

(1) genericization versus specification: The former involves representing social groups as ‘classes’ while the latter involves representing them as ‘specific, identifiable individuals.’ Genericization can be realized by the plural without article, the singular with definite or indefinite article (ibid.: 47), as in the following three examples respectively:

Non-European immigrants make up 6.5 percent of the population.

*Allow **the child** to cling to something familiar during times of distress.*

*May be **a child** senses that from the mother.*

Specification, on the other hand, is realized through the use of numeratives.

(2) association versus dissociation: The former refers to “groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actors (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labelled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the association may of course themselves be named and/or categorised” (van Leeuwen, 1996: 50). Parataxis is the most famous way of realizing association, as in:

*They believed that the immigration program existed for the benefit of **politicians, bureaucrats, and the ethnic minorities**, not for Australians as a whole.*

Dissociation is achieved through the process of association unforming which takes place as the text proceeds (ibid.: 51).

(3) indetermination versus differentiation: The former “occurs when social actors are represented as unspecified, ‘anonymous’ individuals or groups,” whereas the latter occurs “when their identity is, one way or another, specified” (ibid.: 51). Indetermination is realized through indefinite pronouns used as nouns, e.g. *someone, somebody, some, some people*, etc. it is also realized by generalized exphoric reference, as in:

***They** won't let **you** go to school until **you** 're five years old* (ibid.: 52).

Differentiation blatantly distinguishes “an individual social actor or group of social actors from a similar actor or group, creating the difference between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’, or between ‘us’ and them” (ibid.).

(4) nomination versus categorization: Social actors are nominated when they are represented in relation to their ‘unique identity’; they are categorized when they are represented in relation to “identities and functions they share with others.” Nomination is commonly realized by proper nouns which may be formal, semi-formal or informal.

(5) functionalization versus identification: The categorization of **functionalization** takes place “when social actors are referred to in terms of an activity, in terms of something they do, for instance an occupation or role” (ibid: 54). Thus, one way of realizing functionalization is by “the compounding of nouns denoting places or tools closely associated with an activity and highly generalised categorization such as ‘man’, ‘woman’” (ibid.). Other ways comprise the use of a “noun, formed from a verb, through suffixes,” e.g. –er, –ee, –ent, –ant, –ian. For example, words like interviewer, guardian, and payee are functionalized words. Nouns formed from other nouns referring to a place or a tool closely pertinent to an activity through suffixes are also functionalized words, e.g. –ist, –eer, which form words like pianist and mountaineer.

The categorization of **identification** “occurs when social actors are defined, not in terms of what they do, but in terms of what they, more or less permanently, or unavoidably, are” (van Leeuwen, 1996: 54). Identification is distinguished into three types: *classification*, *relational identification* and *physical identification*. *Classification* occurs when “social actors are referred to in terms of the major categories by means of which a given society or institution differentiates between classes of people” (ibid.). Actually, classification is one type of social actor representation that the present study is continually drawing upon, since the classes referred to by van Leeuwen comprise age, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, provenance, class, wealth and sexual orientation. Relational identification, according to van Leeuwen (1996: 56) “represents social actors in terms of their personal, kinship or work relation to each other, and it is realised by a closed set of nouns denoting such relations: ‘friend’, ‘aunt’, ‘colleague’, etc.” Physical identification occurs when social actors are represented in relation to their “physical characteristics which uniquely identify them in a given context.” It can be realized by nouns denoting physical features, e.g. cripple, blonde, brunette, etc., by adjectives, e.g. tall, thin, etc., or by “prepositional phrases with *with* or *without* postmodifying highly generalised classifications,” e.g. man, woman, girl, etc. (ibid.: 57).

(6) assimilation versus individualization: This classification corresponds to the representation of social actors in an individual sense or as a ‘group’. Individualization can be realized by singular forms while assimilation can be realized by plural forms. Assimilation includes two sub-

categories: *aggregation* and *collectivization*. The former is realized through the use of definite or indefinite quantifiers as numeratives or head of nominal groups (see the following two examples), while the latter is realized through the use of nouns referring to a group of people or mass nouns, e.g. *the nation* or *the community*.

A number of critics want to see our intake halved to 70,000.

Forty per cent of Australians were born overseas.

Using a corpus of 300,000 words, García-Marrugo (2013) explores the linguistic patterns involved in the representation of the main illegal actors in the internal Colombian conflict in press reports, focusing mainly on the categorization of differentiation and indifferentiation.

The notion of representation in both SFL and social actors representation framework is tightly related to the notion of discourse. Discourse as social practice allows us to shape our experience of the world partially through ‘the representational capacity of language’. Gender representations, for example, can be found abundantly via visual means, e.g. films and advertisement, in material objects and in spoken and written texts (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002). These representations are considered a form of ‘recontextualisation’ since they draw upon some already existing entity (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999). Equally, discourse has a constitutive nature as a powerful actor of social construction. Discourses are, thus, “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (Foucault, 1972: 49). Discourse also “organises and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about” (Kress, 1985: 6-7). Sunderland & Litosseliti (2002: 13) significantly comment “[t]he category ‘woman’ can be seen as organised and given structure by discourse, as socially and discursively constituted, since evident physiological differences (eye colour, for instance) do not in themselves lead to similar categorization.” The social cannot be considered as completely constructed by discourse, hence “[s]ocial questions are [...] in part questions about discourse – for instance, the question of power in social class, gender and race relations is partly a question of discourse” (Chouliaraki & Fairclough, 1999: vii).

One important point is that no claims about how the readers or hearers may internalize the representations and their associations, when they listen or read the speeches, can be made.

Actually, readers and/or hearers “are not passive ‘dustbins’” (Baker et al., 2013: 274). McIlvenny (1996) contends that meaning stems from the interaction between a text and its readers. The picture is complicated when considering Hall’s (1973) notion of ‘resistant readers’, especially that currently a plethora of texts, including journals, books, website contents of all life aspects, are readily available via online circulation. As a matter of fact, text producers cannot state everything about a certain thing in a text (Winter, 1994). Thus, they resort to implicit propositions, leading text consumers to build up connections between the text’s clauses and sentences. It lies within the text writers’ ability to construct their texts in a way that would predispose the readers to build up certain connections and exclude others, forming predominant readings which depend on certain commonsensical propositions. An ‘ideal reader’ is the one who will read out of the text the propositions which will result into its ‘preferred reading’ (Fairclough, 1995b). A preferred reading functions ideologically “to lead text consumers to accept as ‘natural’ the framework of common sense in which the text and the reader are positioned” (Figueiredo, 2004: 219).

Chapter Four: Research Focus and Methodology

This chapter is concerned with demonstrating the scope and focus of the current research as well as the methodological procedure adopted and operationalized in the analysis. Hence, the research questions, aims and the hypothesis of the study are presented. Then, the methodology adopted, comprising a detailed description of the corpus investigated, the tools implemented and the steps of analysis, are highlighted (for a theoretical discussion of the methodological trends and theoretical apparatus followed, that is, CDA, CL, the methodological synergy, functional processes and social actors representation, see Chapter Two and Chapter Three). A general, yet essential, caption about the nature of the present research is in order here. Discussing post-structuralist feminist discourse analysis, Baxter (2003: 59-60) endorses the notion that researchers use self-reflexivity in their research, i.e. researchers should clarify their theoretical position and epistemological assumptions which will be applied in discourse analysis. Moreover, the fictional and textual nature of the research process, especially the fact that any act of research involves a chain of authorial choices and strategies, is another fact that researchers should be self-aware of. Though Baxter has not utilized corpus techniques, her suggestions are actually useful when embarking on social and critical study based on corpus methods, specially that synergizing critical research and corpus techniques is still an emerging field, and also because “critical engagement about what we do and why we do it is important, lest others are inadvertently misled from the outset” (Baker, 2014: 199).

According to the tradition of CDA research (see section 3.1.2.), the choice of a research perspective and focus is a highly individualized and rather subjective decision. Since CDA is mainly concerned with revealing social inequalities, discrimination and oppression, the starting point of a linguistic research within the boundaries of CDA is to set the field of interest that a researcher orients to and adopts as a ‘deeply-held position’. Critical discourse analysts are not primarily preoccupied with depicting themselves as ‘neutral’ (Baker, 2014: 201) (for a discussion of the impartiality of researchers, see sections 3.1.2. & 3.1.3.). In this sense, the main areas of research that CDA has come to focus on are primarily: (1) language and gender studies—where gender bias, gender representations and gender identities are the most invested areas of investigation, (2) discourse of racism—where racial discrimination and racial identities are investigated, (3) discourse of homosexuality—where the discrimination, as well as identities,

based on sexual orientation are examined, and (4) religion discourse—where discrimination based on religious affiliation is investigated, among other different perspective encompassing issues of refugees and even climate change.

All these perspectives are readily potential research foci that an analyst can take on according to the selected perspective of analysis. Moreover, approaching the data from a certain point of view or perspective does not disallow other equally eligible perspectives that may be investigated by researchers taking different focal points. The selection of a research perspective explicitly based on empirically research gap as well as social and political interests can be seen as a legitimizing stance. Otherwise, it would be difficult to rationalize taking one perspective or another among the multifariousness of parameters and aspects that are readily dependent on a given person's point of view. Therefore, in the light of the adoption of a CDA approach in the current research, the scope of gender has been determined as the primary focus of research, encompassing the construction of gender identities, revealing gender bias and exploring gender representations (for a detailed explanation of gender identity construction and multiple identity construction in the present study, see section 4.2.). To begin with, as a way into presenting the aim of the present research and its hypothesis, a brief discussion of a key concept generally driving the inquiry of the study needs to be addressed, that is the double-bind.

4.1. Women Politicians and the Double-bind

Since women are stereotypically comprehended “to engage in co-operative, non-threatening forms of speech, [...] the speech of women in positions of power is therefore of interest because in order to be successful in these contexts, women are required to go against the stereotype” (Baker, 2014: 16). The result sometimes is that female leaders negotiate what has been called ‘competing identities’ based on their use of complex linguistic forms. In this respect, Anderson and Sheeler (2005: 6) introduced the term ‘double bind’, i.e. traditional role expectations hinder women’s move from the ‘private’ sphere of the house to the ‘public’ sphere. Moreover, when women assume a political position, “they have to negotiate the disjunction between social definitions of femininity and leadership” (Lim, 2009: 255). Hence, in order to be taken seriously in a realm ruled by men, women have to dispose their feminine characteristics to become unruly and, thus, be considered arrogant, cold and domineering. Women like Elizabeth I (The Virgin Queen) and Margret Thatcher (The Iron Lady), as argued by Lim (ibid.), “are all remembered to

be strong leaders, but they were thought so at the expense of their ‘femininity’ and likeability.” On the other end of the bind, when a woman takes a political position and does not endeavor to negotiate a ‘masculine’ behaviour, she is likely to be taken as ‘vulnerable, weak and out of her league.’ Moreover, “because she is only covertly or partially overturning traditional role expectations, she would also appear less threatening and more appealing” (ibid.).

Lakoff (1990: 206) explains that “[w]hen a woman is placed in a position in which being assertive and forceful is necessary, she is faced with a paradox; she can be a good woman but a bad executive or professional, or vice versa. To do both is impossible.” This inability on the part of women stems from the fact that the “very notion of authority is associated with maleness” (Tannen, 1994a: 167). Lim (2009: 256) summarizes the bind:

[T]raditional expectations of how a woman should behave are mutually exclusive the moment she steps out of the private into the public sphere. The double bind squeezes woman leaders into a practically non-existent bandwidth of what is acceptable behaviour for them. When it comes to embracing ‘masculinity’ as a survival tactic in the public sphere, women are damned if they do, doomed if they do not.

The two ends of the bind are represented, for example, respectively, by Clinton and Sarah Palin. The unlikeability problem that Clinton faced can be interpreted as a double bind, a gender problem that female leaders confront rather than an idiosyncratic one related to her personality per se. Referring to Clinton, Podhoretz (2006: 69) notices that “when the nicest thing that’s said about someone by her colleagues is that she’s ‘hardworking’, you’re not going to win any Miss Congeniality awards.” Lim (2009: 256) relates to the gendered dimension of the unlikeability dilemma arguing that the best thing Hillary Clinton could (should) have hoped for from her colleagues in the Senate was a consolation prize in a beauty pageant.” Similarly, *The New York Times* significantly reports that Clinton admits that Obama is very likeable: “He’s very likeable”. To that Obama responds: “You’re likeable enough, Hillary”. Lim (ibid.) comments that “the comment was not always perceived as such probably because the media and the public had accepted the double bind as a given premise for aspiring woman politicians.”

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 101) note that one staple of gender construction is: “Men argue, women quarrel or bicker.” Hence, when a woman is involved in an activity type traditionally related to men, she is liable to criticism. In other words, “if a woman uses more

powerful and assertive forms of language she could be viewed negatively or as ‘trying to be like a man’” (Baker, 2014: 53). Carlson and Crawford (2012: 3) explain that the role congruity theory, which depends on social role theory, and the stereotype fit hypothesis underpin the social stigma of female leaders. The social role theory postulates that “the social role of being ‘feminine’ is incongruent with the social role of being a ‘leader.’” The reason is that “people observe men in management roles and then correlate the characteristics of men with the definition of an effective leader” (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Three main consequences result from this role incongruity for women leaders. They are estimated less favourably than men; they face more difficulty in assuming leading positions than men; and they are not accepted to be as successful and efficient as men (ibid.). Podhoretz (2006: 60–61) observes: “A president is, first and foremost, a leader. And the very image of the word leader invokes a masculine image, a father image [...] those indefinable “leadership” qualities are the reason many Republicans quietly doubt Hillary’s chances in 2008.” Besides, marking the polarizing charge that Clinton faced as part of the double bind problem, Lim (2009: 257) explains that the value of heroic leadership and ‘patriot kingship’, and not dividing and factious leadership, were crucially highlighted when the founders of the US Constitution drew the Oval Office and its inhabitants:

The patriot king, the model of leadership envisioned by the founders, stood above faction and party, unifying the diverse components of the body politic by standing as an imposing and inspiring model of virtue [...] Against these mythic expectations, the ‘polarizing’ narrative of Hillary Clinton stood as a coded counterpoise to the ‘masculine’ metaphor of patriot kingship – a metaphor that Hillary Clinton could not possibly deliver by virtue of her biological sex.

Furthermore, Clinton’s use of the ‘experience’ versus Obama’s use of ‘change’ as campaign slogans enhances a “gendered reading of men as adventurous and women as more risk-averse” (ibid.).

The inevitable question, hence, arises: If men and women use language differently, as suggested by a long-established literature of research (see section 2.2.), and if the arena of politics is dominated by men, what kind of language do women adopt when they occupy a political position? Do they utilize the same language patterns used by men as a majority? As pointed out by Cameron (2008) and Koller and Semino (2009), “do men and women exhibit certain patterns of linguistic behavior which may make them appear as either masculine or feminine?” Or “do they highlight their differences with their male colleagues by using [language strategies] that

reflect their own perspectives on life and on the political situation as they see it?” (Ahrens, 2009: 1).

There is a gap of research, to the best of my knowledge, concerning the construction of multiple identities of politicians in the context of electoral political speeches in the USA, particularly as regards gender representations based on the comparative corpus-driven and corpus-based explorations of the linguistic behaviour of a particular male and female candidates—either collectively or in an individualized sense—in the political arena, investigated by dint of corpus tools and interpreted in the light of a CDA approach. In this respect, instead of simply regarding the language used by Obama and Clinton as different, I focus on how multiple identities in general and gender identities in particular can be constructed and sustained through topical interests, gender bias notions and gender representations. Contrary to the great bulk of extended and long-established literature in the field of identity studies as well as language and gender studies which primarily, and sometimes exclusively, qualitatively draw upon ‘cherry-picked’ instances of language use in the light of subjective and intuitively-worked out criteria (see sections 3.1.6., 1.1. & 2.2.), the present study synergizes quantitative methods of analysis operationalized empirically through the use of objective criteria in the analysis of research data.

4.2. Research Questions and Hypothesis

Regarding the question of gender identity construction, following Wodak (2003) in her seminal study about gender identity and multiple identities, this study is mainly concerned with the ways in which Obama and Clinton resort to gender as an aspect of identity construction. It is also within the scope of research to see what other sources Obama and Clinton orient to in the process of constructing their political identities. Taking gender as a starting point, bedrock and perspective is substantiated by the much explored and concluded arguments of gender as a quintessential parameter around which an identity is constructed, as will be explicated below.

The hypothesis of the current research has been worked out on the basis of an extensive line of literature that firmly argues for gender as a salient and dominant category of social division. For example, West (1984: 18) argued that gender functions as a superordinate factor; it can overcome other factors of social power, e.g. occupational status. In spite of her problematizing stance towards the analyst’s decision on which aspect of identity is relevant to analysis (see section

2.1.7.), Swann (2002: 60) argues for the consideration of gender as an ‘a priori explanatory category’ in the study of language and gender. O’Barr and Bowman Atkins (1980: 104) argue that:

[T]he tendency for more women to speak powerless language and for men to speak less of it is due, at least in part, to the greater tendency of women to occupy relatively powerless social positions. What we have observed is a reflection in their speech behaviour of their social status. Similarly, for men, a greater tendency to use the more powerful variant (which we will term powerful language) may be linked to the fact that men much more often tend to occupy relatively powerful positions in society.

A gendered society, which is probably the case in all societies, is one in which “gender represents an important division,” since being male or female is not just ‘a biological fact’, rather “it assigns one to membership of one of two social groups” (Graddol & Swann, 1989: 8). This membership has social, economic and political repercussions transcending the accounts presented by biological sex differences. These differences are regarded as a “natural and obvious part of our existence that we are usually unaware of their full extent.” Language is “one of these all-pervasive and unobtrusive aspects of gender behaviour” (ibid.). Talbot (1998: 7) states: “People are ‘gendered’ and actively involved in the process of their own gendering,” while Ann Weatherall (2000) argues for the omni-relevance of gender in interaction.

Significantly, the jobs which are perceived as masculine represent a fruitful area of gender identity research. For example, McElhinny (1995) addresses two inquiries: what should women in masculine jobs do? And what happens as a consequence to the masculinity of the job? Conducting her study about the police in Pittsburgh, she suggested that women in the police are advised to take up some strategies to manipulate gender markers. They have to “wear long-sleeved shirts and bulky sweaters to suggest upper-body strength, and well-worn boots to suggest familiarity with doing ‘hard’ work” (McElhinny, 1995: 220). Talbot comments: “Paradoxically, women in ‘masculine’ jobs need to perform gender in order to make gender invisible” (1998: 199). Women officers, as they said in an interview with McElhinny, have developed a professional personality marked by emotional distance (McElhinny, 1995: 225). However, they are not impersonating a male character. Rather, they have redefined the qualities required in the work of a police officer to be institutional. The job is no longer based on violence and strength as much as on unemotional efficiency. Talbot (1998: 200) comments: “The presence of a woman in

the police, while perhaps not changing the perception of it as masculine, is contributing to its shift from a ‘blue-collar’ masculine job to a more middle-class form of masculinity.”

Notably, Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002: 29) note:

Any spoken or written text concerning people (and few do not) must be gendered in some way, regardless of whether the ‘actors’ in it are of the opposite sex, and regardless of whether it uses ‘gender-neutral’ terms such as *people*, or gender-specific terms. Some epistemological sites and the data they offer may however be more revealing than others in terms of what their texts and discourses can and do teach about gender.

Using discourse as an analytical approach to gender is particularly ‘productive’, since discourse approach renders it hard to generalize about men’s and women’s linguistic behaviour (ibid.: 31). Holmes (2005: 49) significantly posits that “gender is potentially relevant in any and every social interaction.” At times, it is foregrounded as in the case of gendered discourse, “but more often it is simply assumed background information which influences the ways people behave in a variety of subtle and not-so-subtle ways” (ibid.). Furthermore, Holmes asserts: “There is no neutral discourse.” A well-established powerful male versus supportive female pattern (Tannen, 1994b; Holmes, 1995; Coates, 1996) is always activated in the background of any workplace interaction, “underlining its normality or, less often, indicating its abnormality” (Holmes, 2005: 49). Similarly, Cameron (1994: 26) asserts that “every alternative is politically loaded, because the meaning of each is now defined by contrast with all other possibilities.” In this sense, how people *behave* in interactions can be seen as “reinforcing the status quo, or alternatively as resisting and challenging the norms” (Holmes, 2005: 49).

As argued by Ang (2001: 24), identity is ‘strategically fabricated’ with the aim of highlighting a particular aspect or feature about oneself and hence, communicate it to the public world. Graddol and Swann (1989: 66) remark that although this point is not meant to address gender explicitly, gender is verifiably “an important social division in all cultures [and] a part of the social identity which people demonstrate through their use of language.” Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 85) note:

Stereotypes are the starting point of much research on language and gender for a reason. First of all, any research begins with a focus or a hypothesis, and foci and hypotheses have to come from somewhere. If gender stereotypes are part of our

sociolinguistic life, they need to be examined—not simply as possible facts about language use, but as components of gender ideology.

Speakers signal gender and, meanwhile, they signal their membership to other social groups which may be relevant to gender also. They further remark: “To the extent that other aspects of social identity correlate with gender, any language behaviour which signals them will also, indirectly, be signalling gender” (ibid.).

At the heart of the present research is Wodak’s remark that gender, though it may be constituted in a particular text in a certain way, “is always out there.” She proposes that:

ultimately we are always perceived as women or men, in every interaction; this is validated by very banal facts such as the different payment of men and women for the same jobs. In such basic and fundamental social domains, human beings are reduced to their biological gender. On the other hand, [...] we all have a whole range of possibilities of enacting our gender roles, and that in many other situations gender is certainly not the basic issue. But as a result of long years of gender research and my own experience, I have come to see that gender classification seems - consciously or subconsciously - to direct the interaction and behavior of many people [...] in very many contexts. (Wodak, 2003: 676)

Drawing on the longstanding ideological profile of women in leading positions in general, and in politics in particular, Clinton’s taking part in the US presidential elections as an active candidate is in itself incompatible with traditional gender role. In this case, Clinton is most likely to be viewed as dominant, threatening and at times even irritating when defending a cause (Wodak, 2003: 685). This is most evident in the way in which the media in the USA has regarded Clinton in the light of her gender as a woman. For example, it has frequently, metaphorically, been described as ‘the unruly woman,’ ‘bitch’ and ‘witch’ (Lim, 2009: 259-266).

Studies, e.g. West (1984; 1990), Pizzini (1991), Ainsworth-Vaughn (1992), Fisher (1993), Tannen (1994a,1994b), Horikawa et al. (1991), Nelson (1988), Woods (1989), Holmes and Stubbe (2003) and Holmes (2005), suggest that the way in which men and women in leading positions speak and the way in which they claim that they would speak in different situations are actually influenced by both gender and status. Kendall & Tannen (1997: 91) point out that “the predominance of one sex in institutional positions creates and maintains gender-related expectations for how someone in that position *should* speak.” In this sense, the hypothesis underpinning the proceedings of the present research relates to the salience of gender as a

dominant aspect of identity. Therefore, in the light of the aforementioned studies, I hypothesize that gender is a dominant dimension around which the identities of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton are discursively constructed. That is to say, how the identities of Obama and Clinton are projected, assumed, constructed and interpreted is saliently shaped by the fact of the former as a male politician and the latter as a female one.

With the above-presented background in mind, and relating to the areas of identity, gender and politics, the research questions of the present study can be formulated as follows:

- (1) What aspects of identity do Obama and Clinton orient to in the speeches specified?
- (2) What resources are exploited in constituting an identity, whether explicitly or implicitly, on the part of Obama and Clinton, comparatively? That is, how are the different identities linguistically indexed?
- (3) Does gender overrule other aspects of identity as potential parameters in the process of discursive identity construction?
- (4) How can the construction of Obama's and Clinton's identities be methodologically unfolded?
- (5) Do they represent themselves differently and, if yes, how?
- (6) Do they textually exhibit any gender bias?
- (7) What kind of gender representations do they communicate in the context of their speeches, and how do these representations contribute towards the construction of their identities?
- (8) How can the gender representations communicated by each politician be methodologically and linguistically explored?
- (9) Is the language, and hence the message communicated, tailored to suit the politicians' various identities and to match the audience expectations regarding the image of Obama and that of Clinton?

Correspondingly, the aims of the current research are: (1) to investigate the discursive construction of identity for two USA politicians, that is, Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, as exhibited and communicated in the course of the USA 2008 primary speeches of the Democratic Party elections, (2) to explore gender bias, or lack thereof, permeating through the speeches specified in comparative terms, (3) to examine gender representations contributed to by each

politician, and (4) to investigate the interaction between gender and other identity dimensions, e.g. race, ethnicity, religion, familial affiliation, professional role, etc. These aims are sustained by Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak's distinction (2011: 370) between three wide areas of social life that can be constituted through discourse: *representations* of the word, the people's social and personal *identities* and *social relations* between them. The former two areas are explored within the boundaries of the present research.

4.3. Methodology

With the previously-stated gap of research, as well as the research questions, in mind, the following methodological questions arise: (1) what type of data would be suitable to explore this gap? and (2) what methodological tools could be operationalized to explore it? These questions can be answered through the following line of discussion. Logically, texts can be classified into two types: 'gendered' texts and 'non-gendered' ones. The former type is labeled 'gendered' in so much as it revolves around people, while the latter is related to 'English for specific purposes' (ESP) text type—a type dedicated to passivated scientific processes. Gendered texts can be further classified into 'gender-neutral' (referring to persons, people, travelers, students, for instance) or 'gender-specific' (referring to men, women, boys, girls, for instance) (Sunderland et al., 2002: 230). However, spoken gendered discourse

can logically occur whether or not a text alone has any gender significance. For example, teacher or student talk around a text on 'the process of winemaking', in which the verbs are all passivated and deagentialised, may include comments and opinions about the relative expertise of managers of wine cellars, people who collect and crush the grapes, and wine-tasters, in relation to how these practices are characteristically gendered. A text on winemaking might accordingly be talked around in a way which draws on existing stereotypes about women and men, or which directly or indirectly challenges them. A textually-gendered text, then, is not the only text type around which gendered discourses may be evident (ibid.).

In this sense, gendered talk is not necessarily related to gendered texts, e.g. a politician may take on a discourse of gender-blindness which would be an interesting point for gender query. Thus, though "already-gendered texts seemed to have the greatest potential as relevant epistemological sites for our study" (ibid.: 231), gender-related aspects and dimensions can readily be studied in any given text. The selection and compiling of the present corpus has been partially guided by the previous argument. In the following two sub-sections, an elaborated description of the corpus,

including the guidelines for the process of selection and the rationale behind it, will be provided as well as an explanation of the methodological procedure adopted in the analytical part, that is, the corpus methods implemented, the statistical tools used, the criteria guiding the analytic process and the steps of analysis.

4.3.1. Data

In the current study, the corpus under discussion is a specialized corpus, serving a different purpose from that of the more general corpora, i.e. the corpus to be analyzed is designed in accordance with the research's focus and aims, and is representative with regard to the text source (USA 'webcized' political speeches), text genre (political discourse represented by Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's Democratic Party elections speeches) and time span (2006-2009) (Gabrielatos, 2007). The corpus includes two sub-corpora: one encompassing Barack Obama's speeches in the context of the Democratic Party primaries which amount to the total of 107 speeches with 312,803 words, delivered from February 2006 to January 2009. The other comprises Hillary Clinton's speeches within the same primaries which amount to the total of 95 speeches with 313,377 words delivered from May 2006 to December 2009. The rationale behind the selection of data is three-fold: *First*, the corpus is compiled in the light of the gap of research previously outlined (see section 4.1.). *Second*, the corpus design encompassing Obama's and Clinton's political speeches, as male and female politicians, corresponds to the aims of research (see section 4.2.). Moreover, the design of the present corpus comes into accordance with issues of corpus size, balance, representativeness and comparability between the two sub-corpora (see section 3.1.3.). In the light of these theoretical explanations, it is discerned that the size of the two sub-corpora tackled is nearly the same. Hence, the corpus is balanced. The notion of representativeness as an underpinning corpus-specific research idea is important to address in this context. The data collected for a corpus analysis should claim some sort of representativeness of language. However, "we need to be cautious in claiming that [...] [corpora] can allow us to make generalization statements which apply worldwide or through time" (Baker, 2014: 201). In this sense, the corpus drawn upon in this study can only claim to be representative of one language variety (American English), one genre (political speeches), of two politicians (Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton), at a particular span of time (from 2006 till 2009), in the context of a specific political event (the elections of the Democratic Party Primaries).

Third, the selection of only those speeches delivered in the course of the American Democratic Convention primaries endows the study with a sense of uniformity of goal and direction, and homogeneity of background engendered by the commonality of political circumstances, i.e. Obama and Clinton are positioned in the same contextual setting as political rivals. Semino and Koller (2009: 55) have identified political orientation and tradition, goals of speech, topics, institutional roles, national audiences as possible reasons of creating metaphorical difference. These respective domains can actually create disparities in results on the topical, ideational and representational levels as well. In this sense, the selection of two politicians who share the same partisan affiliation and institutional role, who deliver speeches in the context of the same political event and for the same audience, and who are positioned as political competitors in the same elections, verifiably contributes towards the comparability of the two sub-corpora and endows the findings of the study with a sense of meaningfulness, homogeneity, comparability and validity which would certainly be lacking if the aforementioned prerequisites were otherwise carried out.

4.3.2. Procedure

The current study draws on the methodological synergy introduced by Baker et al. (2008). Thus, a CDA approach, more specifically Fariclough's (1992a, 1995a) tripartite model, is synergized with CL techniques, e.g. wordlists, key wordlists and concordancer, in order to investigate Obama's and Clinton's topical interests, gender-marked functionalizing words and binomial pairs, with sporadic operationalization of van Leeuwen's categorization of social actors representation (1996) (these investigations stretch from section 5.2. to section 5.6.). The exploration of gender representations also draw on the aforementioned methodological synergy. However, the CL tools utilized are the collocation and concordance functions, with close focus on Halliday's (1994) functional processes and van Leeuwen's (1996) as operationalized linguistic tools (this notion is addressed in section 5.8.).

As a way into a more fine-grained understanding of the categorical notion underlying the present research, it is worth mentioning that two methodological trends are adopted, resulting into a corpus-driven and a corpus-based analysis (for the distinction between corpus-driven and a corpus-based analyses, see section 3.1.3.). The corpus-driven part encompasses the sections extending from 5.2. to 5.5. and focuses on the delineation of each politician's topical interests as well as their self-identity construction. The corpus-based part includes sections 5.6., 5.7. & 5.8.,

where gender-marked functionalizing terms, male fitness and gender representations are investigated. The interdisciplinary nature of the current research set aside, sections extending from 5.2. to 5.7., related to the exploration of how Obama and Clinton use language, can be broadly classified under the rubric of sociolinguistics defined generally as “the study of language in relation to society” (Hudson, 2001: 1), while section 5.8., pertinent to how men and women are represented may be categorized under discourse analysis. However sociolinguistics and discourse analysis have substantial areas of overlap, and it is difficult to set definitive disciplinary boundaries amongst different stages of analysis. The rationale behind the juxtaposition of the two methodological classifications is related to the complementary nature and function of the two trends. Research based on representation eschews the criticism leveled at usage-based research; for example, the tendency of usage-based researchers to make “overgeneralizations about male or female speech from their research findings if their samples are not representative in terms of size or variety” (Baker, 2014: 73). Second, researching usage based on statistical corpus tools push researchers into a ‘difference mindset’, risking oversimplifying the situation “by dividing people into large social categories based on only one or two variables” (ibid).

Corpus-assisted approaches to language and gender studies are noticeably less popular than qualitative approaches, i.e. people researching in this field have been ‘slow’ to fathom its potentials (Baker, 2014: 6-7). Most important, corpus-assisted approaches to identity studies are still unfathomed. Thus, I decided to base part of the analysis around the notion of quantitative corpus-driven investigation of data with the aim of exploring multiple identity construction of each candidate, since I have hypothesized that gender identity would be salient for each politician. Another part is based around the concept of corpus-based studies as a way of qualitatively examining gender representations and how they contribute towards an identity construction. Both parts draw upon a CDA approach.

The rationale behind choosing CDA as an approach for the present study is closely associated with (1) the nature of the corpus under discussion as affiliating to the genre of political discourse, i.e. the investigation of political discourse is immersed into power relations and ideological conceptions and representations which can only be unfolded by dint of a critical approach (see section 3.1.), (2) the type of inquiry that the study is concerned with, that is, the construction of multiple identities of Obama and Clinton generally, and the construction of their gender identity

particularly as a male and a female politician, along with the gender representations permeating their speeches. These inquiries presumably rest heavily on the traditions of language and gender studies, i.e. the socio-political context against which different aspects of identity can be identified and interpreted are most efficiently revealed through CDA trend with its primary focus on contextual elements, and (3) the scripted nature of political speeches in general, i.e. approaching the speeches of Obama and Clinton from a linguistic micro-analytic difference stance, in the light of the possibility that these speeches may not have been written by them in the first place, would put an overemphasis on linguistic peculiarities that could be easily ascribed to their team of speech writers rather than differences in the personal linguistic styles of each politician. CDA is an optimally suited approach in this case since it puts substantial stress on the incorporation of contextual factors, processes of production and interpretation, and sociocultural practices, in addition to the text, as essential steps in the process of analysis.

The construction of identity is based on the notion of identity as performative (see section 2.1.2.). In this sense, it can be argued that both Obama and Clinton have the choice of projecting, or ascribing to, the type of identity and representation that they deem fitting to the purposes of the speeches, the community of practice³, and the expectations of the audience, with the ultimate aim of gaining votes in the elections. In so much as they are having the choice to assume and project, or perform, a particular identity, they are held responsible for the linguistic identity-constructing and gender-relating contributions that they make, regardless of the amount of interference played by spin-doctors and speech writers. This study primarily draws on concepts and practices used in CDA, particularly, elements of Fairclough's textually oriented discourse analysis are operationalized. These elements involve "linguistic *description* of the language text, *interpretation* of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and *explanation* of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes" (Fairclough, 1995a: 97, italics in original). In this sense, how processes of production

³ Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992a:64) define a Community of Practice as "an aggregate of people who come together around mutual engagement in an endeavour. Ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices – emerge in the course of this mutual endeavour. As a social construct, a Community of Practice is different from the traditional community, primarily because it is defined simultaneously by its membership and by the practice in which that membership engages." The norms and conventions of a particular CofP as well as institutional roles and status should be taken into account in order to reach a more finely grained understanding of a certain text (Baxter, 2011: 235). The political field is not a gender-balanced CofP, therefore, contextual factors like role expectations prevail.

influence the content of the speeches is examined. For example, the role of women in American politics, both as candidates and electorate, and the impact it exerts on the inclusion of topic choices by each candidate.

This study aligns itself with a CDA tradition of looking at lexical and grammatical choices made by speakers, i.e. lexical and grammatical choices of Obama and Clinton which participate in representing themselves as well as representing other men and women in certain ways will be explored. Importantly, CDA focuses on identifying absence and presence, a feature which is well-suited in van Leeuwen's framework of social actors representations, i.e. gender representations, relations and identities in a text are constructed through backgrounding, exclusion, suppression, etc. (Sunderland, 2002: 301). The selection of the two linguistic tools operationalized in the analytical part, that is, Halliday's functional processes and van Leeuwen's social actors representations is based on three rationales: (1) Both notions are complementary, i.e. grammatical participant roles introduced by Halliday (1985) are one way of realizing the notion of activation and passivation. Social actors are activated by grammatically ascribing the role of Actor in a material process, Senser in a mental process, Assigner in a relational process, Existent in an existential process, Sayer in a verbal process or Behavior in a behavioural process. However, "sociological agency is not always realised by linguistic agency, by the grammatical role of 'Agent'; it can also be realized in many other ways" (van Leeuwen, 1996: 32). Social actors representation scheme, in this sense, comes as a further development and complement to the ways of activation and passivation provided by functional processes (for a detailed discussion of the complementary nature of SFL and social actors representation scheme, see section 3.3.).

(2) Both tools are well-suited in the context of CDA inquiries. The notion of grammatical role allocation, that is, who is given the role of 'agent' or 'Actor' and who is given the role of 'patient' or 'Goal' in to a particular action or event, is inseparably related to the concept of agency frequently discussed by CDA researchers (van Dijk, 1991; Fowler, 1991; Fairclough, 1989; Fowler et al, 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1979). On the one hand, SFL is the linguistic theory which has most denominators with CDA. Alternatively, the notion of agency, pertinent to van Leeuwen's categorization, is crucial to a CDA investigation. Both theories focus on the representation of social actors, or participants in Halliday's terms, as powerful or powerless agents which is at the heart of CDA research (for a detailed discussion of the well-suitability of

SFL and CDA, see section 3.2., and of the congruency between social actors representation categorization and CDA, see section 3.3.). (3) Both are adjacently correspondent with the present study's aim of detecting gender representations. Halliday (1994: 106) stipulates that the experiential function of a clause, which is represented through the transitivity system of functional processes, is "a way of representing patterns of experience." The important principle of modeling experience is realized in a clause, that is, "the principle that reality is made up of PROCESSES" (capitalization in original). Eggins (1994: 266) argues that transitivity patterns "represent the encoding of experiential meanings: meanings about the world, about experience, about how we perceive and experience what is going on." Moreover, how allocations of social actors roles are grammatically realized is essential to the exploration of representations. Representations can "reallocate roles, rearrange the social relations between the participants" and social actors can have either *active* or *passive* roles through representation (van Leeuwen, 1996: 43).

It should also be noted that the current study adopts a performative as well as a constructivist view of identity construction in the sense that identities are acted rather than possessed, i.e. identities are constructively constituted, and different aspects of identity construction are resources that people may draw on in a non-essentialist way (see sections 2.1.2. & 6.1.1.). As for the role of Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) in the present study, PDA is considered as far as rhetorical devices is concerned, i.e. the exploration of gender as represented in political discourse remains primarily a sociopolitical and critical enterprise rather than a subject subordinate to the domain of political discourse per se (for a discussion of the domains of PDA and its relation to CDA, see section 2.3.1.).

Meyer (2001: 18-19) characterizes the relationship between theory and discourse in terms of the following model for theoretical and methodological research procedures (Figure 21). The focus of this figure is the operationalization of abstract theories or concepts on the basis of empirical data in text/discourse. In this sense, this figure ideally describes the approach of the present study which starts from theorization and goes along the previously illustrated cycle to the theory back again.

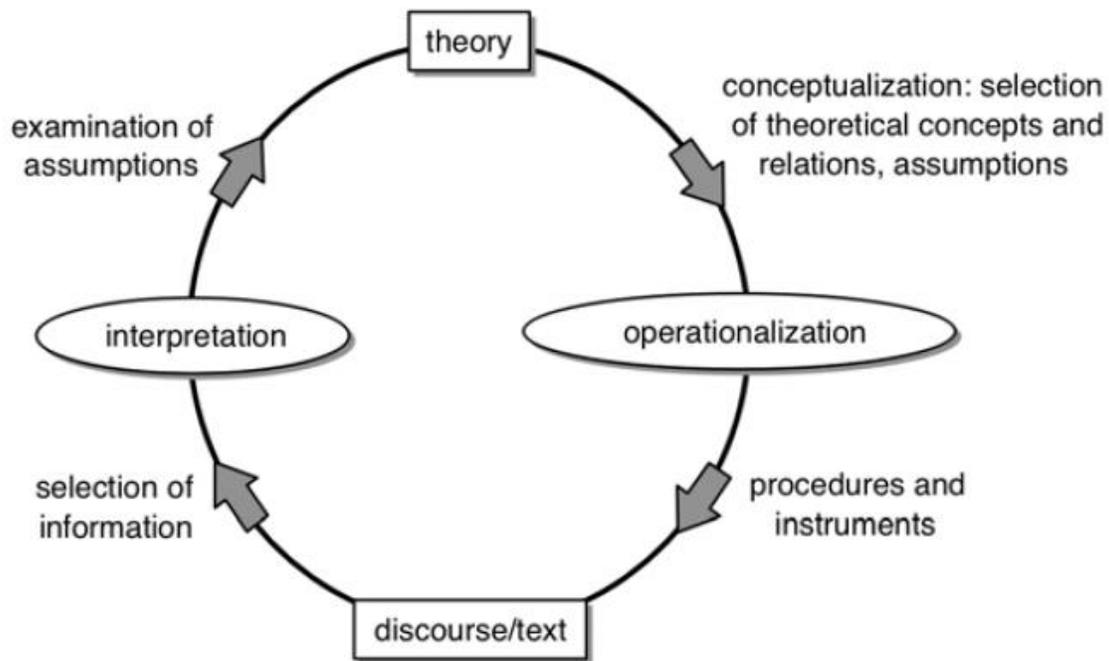


Figure 21. Empirical research as a circular process (Meyer, 2001: 19)

The data earlier specified, that is, Obama’s and Clinton’s speeches, are basically analyzed through the following five steps or lines of inquiry:

- (1) Wordlists and key word lists of each corpus are calculated and examined to define the topical interests of each politician.
- (2) Wordlists and key word lists of each corpus are examined to explore the self-identity construction of each politician.
- (3) Gender-marked functionalizing words are extracted and examined to investigate potential gender bias.
- (4) Binomial gender-related pairs are extracted and investigated in order to reveal any potential gender bias.
- (5) Gender representations are examined through the collocational analysis of the node words MAN and WOMAN in their textual environment.

4.3.2.1. Identifying Topical Interests through Wordlists and Keyword Lists

Extracting most frequent words and keywords is a first step in order to recognize the different textual foci. Initially, the ‘compare corpora’ function offered by the online corpus analysis interface Sketch Engine (i.e. SkE) (Kilgarriff et al., 2004) will be used to have a general view of how different or similar the two corpora are. Then, Wordsmith Tools version 5 software package (Scott, 2007) will be used to extract wordlists of the most frequently occurring words in each sub-corpus. Wordsmith Tools is deemed most appropriate to this task, since SkE is case sensitive which would necessitate, in case it would have been used to perform this function, adding similar words which appear in lower and upper cases in the same list. It was decided that the strongest 20 words in the frequency lists are adequate to give an idea about the thematic interests and topical profile of each politician, since the inclusion of more words is unlikely to add up to the results.

It should be noted that for the purposes of the present research inquiry, only the grammatical category of nouns will be considered, i.e. I shall be focusing on the lexical, meaning-denoting, functional rather than the grammatical items, e.g. articles, auxiliary verbs, pronouns, etc., used by text producers. The rationale behind this specification is directly related to the discerning functions that wordlists of the most frequently used linguistic items offer. After examining the verbal, adverbial and adjectival most frequent words in context through concordance lines, it is discerned that topical profiles are only possibly signified by nouns, which are found to refer to topical areas, rather than verbs, which typically denote actions, i.e. by focusing on the nouns as lexically and functionally telling items, topical areas of interest for a speaker can be recognized. This is in accordance with the definition of a noun provided by Wordnet Dictionary,⁴ defining nouns as “a content word that can be used to refer to a person, place, thing, quality, or action.” This is also in accordance with van Leeuwen’s notion of social actors. Since the speeches specified are delivered in the context of the Democratic Party Primaries, the participants, or social actors in van Leeuwen’s sense, involved are multifariously related to different areas, e.g. politicians, people, the military, Iraq, Washington, firms, patients, etc. Specifying the topics tackled, in this sense, is associated with the nouns used rather than any other grammatical category.

⁴ <http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>

The wordlists then will be used to map the textual and topical foci of each corpus. The word forms which can be used in both nominal as well as verbal case have been checked through Sketch Engine online interface which offers the option of selecting the part of speech required to implement the inquiry. Hence, only the nominal cases of word forms have been examined for the same purpose that the category of noun have been specified as most correspondent with the task of pinpointing the topical interests (for the sake of clarity and differentiation, corpus tools word results are indicated in capitals). In order to decide upon the actual thematic areas that these words belong to, the textual environment of most frequent words is to be examined through the generation of concordance lines for each word occurring on the wordlists of each corpus. These concordances will be examined thoroughly according to the following procedural steps. *First*, a set of criteria for the classification of most frequent words will be provided, i.e. according to the resultant words, the two axes of classification are domestic/foreign affairs and gender-related/gender-non-related issues. In this respect, the classification of a word as belonging to this or that category will be guided by these criteria. For the axis of domestic/foreign affairs, the criteria encompass definitions of domestic and foreign policy provided by political science textbooks, topic classifications provided by official US political websites and contextual factors which include co-textual linguistic features and non-linguistic features. The categorization of most frequent words as belonging to gender-related issues or not is also governed by a set of criteria comprising: textbooks and dictionary definitions of gender, word field specification provided by word filed dictionaries and contextual features which include linguistic features and non-linguistic ones (for a thorough explanation of the criteria utilized, see section 5.2.1.).

By operationalizing these criteria, each word occurring on the wordlists will be objectively categorized in relation to the aforementioned two axes so that, by the end of the process of thematic classification, each word will have a profile with number of occurrences categorized in terms of the two pivots mentioned earlier. In this sense, each word will be ascribed a percentage which denotes its affiliation to this or that category. At the end of this stage of analysis, a categorization of textual foci on the part of Obama and Clinton will be provided and discussed. It should be noted that in some instances, the concordance line needed to be extended in order to go through the whole paragraph and, in cases, the whole speech so that an informed understanding is obtained.

The same process is implemented for the words appearing on the key word lists of each corpus. The reason for repeating the same procedure on the key words to achieve the same end, which is identifying the topical interest of each politician, is directly related to the importance of the notion of keyness. Keyness is defined by Baker et al. (2008: 278) as “the statistically significantly higher frequency of particular words or clusters in the corpus under analysis in comparison with another corpus, either a general reference corpus, or a comparable specialized corpus.” The aim of examining keyness “is to point towards the ‘aboutness’ of a text or homogeneous corpus [...], that is, its topic and the central elements of its content” (ibid.). Baker (2014: 13) elucidates that keyness depends on statistically comparing each word in the two corpora against each other, so “any words which occur relatively more often in the other corpus will be seen to be key.” In this sense, keywords “do not necessarily need to be highly frequent then, just more frequent than expected, when compared against something else” (ibid.). Baker (2006: 125) argues that a keyword list of each text is generally considered more helpful than a wordlist in “suggesting lexical items that could warrant further examination.” They can be regarded as ‘signposts’, providing the analyst with a ‘way in’ to the corpus. Scott and Tribble (2006) argue that the significance of key words as lexical items in a text stems from their “unusual [marked] frequency in comparison with a reference corpus of some suitable kind” (ibid.: 55). This significance is reflected, by default, in the definition of a key word as “a word which occurs statistically more frequent in one text when compared against another text” (Salama, 2011: 324), or a word which is significantly more frequent in one corpus than another (Hunston, 2002: 68).

Along the aforementioned line of argument, it is clear that key words show “potential sites of difference between the two texts—such differences may reflect topic choices [...] or they may reveal stylistic choices [...]” (ibid.). Since frequency lists have traditionally high numbers of grammatical words, e.g. pronouns, prepositions, articles and conjunctions, which are indicative of the language used in general terms rather than of the individual features characteristic of a certain corpus, the measure of keyness is used. It should be noted that keyness lists also include pronouns, prepositions, articles, and conjunctions—however, with a noticeably lesser degree than the frequency lists—but I decided to filter for nouns because, as argued earlier, topical interests are best outlined through an examination of nominal occurrences rather than verbal ones. A ‘cut-off point’ for statistical significance was determined, i.e. with the p value ≤ 0.0000000001 , which is “very small by the standards of most social science research, but in the case of linguistic

comparisons actually yields a manageable number of key words.” (ibid.). Utilizing Wordsmith Tools version 5 software package (Scott, 2007) also, I have created two key word lists for the two sub-corpora, one for each corpus. This list includes all the words that meet the cut-off point specified. To generate the key word lists, I have used each corpus as a reference corpus for the other. After the examination of each key word for each corpus in their co-textual environment, the textual foci of each corpus will be further sharpened and validated.

As previously illustrated (see section 2.1.8.), the application of the concept of intersectionality involves a number of complexities ascribed to the ‘multidimensional conceptualizations’ which would demonstrate how the process of interaction between the socially constructed categories with the aim of representing a social hierarchy could be investigated (Browne & Misra, 2003). The operationalization of intersectionality is further problematized by the vagueness involved in the identification of what is to be considered ‘intersectional’, that is, whether the concept is to be applied to all identities or only to multiple oppressed identities, e.g. black women (Nash, 2008: 9). In the absence of a definitive methodology of intersectionality, it has generally been regarded as a perspective to consider the complexity inherent in studying identity rather than a normative framework in itself. With this notion in mind, any potential aspects of identity that will appear, through the previously empirical line of argument, as intersecting with gender in order to constitute the political identity of each politician will be marked and analyzed in the same way as gender identity.

4.3.2.2. Investigating the Construction of Self-identity

The second step in the analysis relates to the concept of self-identity construction. This phase is concerned with investigating the ways that Obama and Clinton resort to in order to construct their identities explicitly (for a discussion of explicit and implicit ways of indexing identity, see section 2.1.4.). In this step, most frequent words and key words will be used in order to explore the ways in which Obama and Clinton explicitly contribute towards a construction of their own identities. For this purpose, all the words occurring in the wordlists and the keyword lists for each politician will be scrutinized in its linguistic environment in order to determine its status as a potentially identity constructive word. For this purpose, again, a concordance line list is going to be generated for each word using SkE. The detected sources of explicit identity construction will be identified. By default, the specification of potential explicit self-identity constitutive words is

relevant to expressions where the speaker linguistically uses self-referent structures and patterns, e.g. “As a woman,” “I am the son of a Kenyan man,” “I am a senator,” etc. At the end of this section, that is, section 5.5., an elaborated discussion of the actual sources that Obama and Clinton have drawn upon in the creation of their respective identities will be provided.

4.3.2.3. Investigating Gender-marked Functionalizing Words

Since one aim of the present research is to reveal potential sources of gender bias practiced by each politician, van Leeuwen’s notions of backgrounding and functionalization are investigated in this stage. van Leeuwen remarks (1996: 38-39): “Some exclusions leave no traces in the representation, excluding both the social actors and their activities. Such radical exclusion can play a role in a critical comparison of different representations of the same social practice, but not in an analysis of a single text, for the simple reason that it leaves no traces behind.” A distinction is then provided between two types of exclusion: suppression and backgrounding. *Suppression* relates to cases where “there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text” (ibid.: 39). *Backgrounding*, on the other hand, relates to cases where the exclusion is less radical, that is “the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given activity, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text” (ibid.). In this sense, comparing the frequencies of female-related words like, *woman, mother, wife, girl* and *daughter* with their plurals to male-related words like, *man, father, husband, boy* and *son* will provide an insight into one gender bias notion marked by van Leeuwen. The relevance of these opposite-sex pairs to gender has been checked through the use of Wordnet and FrameNet dictionaries, i.e. the lexical entries of the following words were checked in both WordNet and FrameNet to examine their potential relevance to the domain of gender: MAN, WOMAN, HUSBAND, WIFE, FATHER, MOTHER, BOY, GIRL, SON, DAUGHTER, BROTHER and SISTER. Moreover, these words have been used as related to gender in previous studies, e.g. Baker (2014: 186) and Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012). Other words which may relate to gender may also exist in the corpus at hand. However, drawing on the analysis process of the corpus-driven part as well as previous studies (see section 5.8.), it was deemed that these words are adequate to decide upon any potential comparative backgrounding of male- or female-related words from each sub-corpus. Thus, SkE is used to extract number of occurrences of the abovementioned words. Then, a chi-squared test is then implemented in order to decide upon the significance of the resultant figures.

A test of statistical significance is normally used to “determine how high or low the probability is that the difference between the two texts on these features is due to chance” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 84). The chi-squared test is one of the most frequently used significance tests in the field of corpus linguistics since (1) it is more sensitive than other tests, e.g. *t*-test, (2) it does not work by the assumption that the data are ‘normally distributed’, as linguistic data is typically not as such, and (3) it is very easy to work with, even without the need to have a computer statistics package, as it typically has a 2×2 table (ibid.). McEnery and Wilson (ibid.: 84-85) illustrate how the values yielded by chi-squared are interpreted:

The chi-squared test compares the difference between the actual frequencies which have been observed in the corpus (the observed frequencies) and those which one would expect if no factor other than chance had been operating to affect the frequencies (the expected frequencies). The closer the expected frequencies are to the observed frequencies, the more likely it is that the observed frequencies are a result of chance. On the other hand, the greater the difference between the observed frequencies and the expected frequencies, the more likely it is that the observed frequencies are being influenced by something other than chance, for instance, a true difference in the grammars of two language varieties.

The second notion denoting gender bias and introduced by van Leeuwen is the gender-marked functionalizing words for profession. van Leeuwen (1996) provides a scheme for the classification of social actors according to how they are represented. Such a framework is useful in considering the different ways in which gender identities can be differentiated, covering categorizations like genericization, assimilation, nomination, functionalization and identification (see section 3.3.). It offers also a helpful perspective through which the gendered and biased use of words in a given discourse can be fathomed. A number of categorizations have been selected, according to their applicability, to explore the corpus at hand. In this context, it is illuminating to highlight the following remark by Baker et al. (2008: 290-293): “A corpus-assisted approach, which looks for specific linguistic patterns and carries out tests of statistical significance is [...] able to quantify notions like ‘bias’.” It should be noted, however, that “corpus-assisted discourse analysis is rarely able to eschew the analysis of context.” Hence, the examination of expanded concordance lines is sometimes needed to clarify stances or interpret certain occurrences.

Following Romaine (2001), Fuertes-Olivera (2007) and Baker (2014), functionalization categorization are operationalized in order to examine the use of gendered functionalized words

used by each politician. Initially, I have set a list of all the gender-marked words investigated in previous studies. These words included all words which end with the suffixes *man*, *woman*, *male*, *female*, *lady*, *lord* (the suffixes which “are often used to refer to the sex of people who perform certain roles or jobs” (Baker, 2014: 81), or the words premodified by *Madam*. The list also encompassed gender marking suffixes, such as *-ess*, *-ette* and *-e*. To do so, I have used Wordsmith tools which provide the possibility of searching for parts of words by using the asterisk, e.g. **man*, **woman*, **lady*, **lord*, etc. with their plurals. The resultant list of concordance lines produced relevant as well as non-relevant cases, for example, the search of **man* produced instances of *woman*, *human*, *German*, *Amman*, *Truman*, *Roman*, *Friedman*. Since these cases do not refer to males (false positives), they had to be manually excluded. Other cases which referred to states other than profession were also removed, e.g. *madman*.

Then, a list of all possible gender-marked functionalizing words is checked and extracted via SkE. A list of these words is provided with their frequencies. Though the two sub-corpora at hand are actually balanced, which indicates that raw frequencies can be taken as denoting significance, in this section—and actually throughout the whole analytic part—all raw frequencies are tested through a chi-squared test in order to examine their significance. A discussion of the results is provided by the end of this section (section 5.6.).

4.3.2.4. Examining Binomial Gender-related Pairs

The fourth section of the analytic part relates to the notion of male-fitness. That is, the use of two opposite-sex items connected through a conjunctive relation. Freebody and Baker (1987: 89) refer to ‘male fitness’ as a type of gender bias. In their analysis of children’s books ‘Peter and Jane’, they noticed that when referring inclusively to both sexes, speakers and writers tend to mention the male referent first. Baker (2014: 94) significantly elucidates the importance of male fitness in gender research by noting that “[e]vidence about the frequencies of other binomial pairs in American English suggests that powerful identities tend to come first.” For example in the COHA (the Corpus of Historical American English), orderings of *parent and child*, *teacher and pupil*, *master and slave*, are most likely to occur rather than the opposite. Moreover, preferable states are normally given precedence, e.g. *good and bad*, *happy and sad*, *rich and poor*. However, Baker notes, as far as binomial pairs are concerned, “it could be argued that people are primed to consider the first element of the pair as being the preferred one, due to the vast amount

of prior experience that they have had of language” (ibid.). Thus, this stage of analysis will be concerned with exploring the comparative use of binomial pairs in Obama’s and Clinton’s corpora.

Following Baker (2014: 92-94), different gendered binomial pairs will be examined, including *man and woman, boy and girl, male and female, Mr. and Mrs., madam and sir, he and she, him and her, father and mother, husband and wife, and ladies and gentlemen*. The search extended to include singular as well as plural forms, forms with the male referent in the first position and forms with the female referent coming first, and forms with the conjunction *and* and *or*. Then, the frequencies of occurrence of these opposite-sex pairs are offered. Then, as explicated earlier, a chi-squared test is implemented to decide upon the significance of these frequencies. At the end of this section, a discussion of the results is provided.

4.3.2.5. Examining Gender Representations

The last section in the analytic part is dedicated to the investigation of the gender representations contributed by each politician. To this end, the following steps are followed: (1) node words will be selected, (2) the collocational profile of these words will be calculated through corpus methods and then (3) the resultant collocates will be examined in their concordance lines in the light of Halliday’s functional processes (1994) and van Leeuwen’s social actors representation scheme (1996).

1- Node word selection: The delineation of gender representations contributed by Obama and Clinton in the context of the speeches specified, that is, in their respective corpora draws upon the examination of node words. Although the node words would not have captured all instances where gender representations are contributed—that is, reference to individual men and women by name is not enabled through the use of the specified node words—the instances raised by the use of MAN and WOMAN elicit large enough number of occurrences to claim considerable representativeness. Thus, the present analysis can make no claims of exhaustiveness. Even when exploring small amount of data, identifying every instance which contributes towards a certain gender representation is almost unachievable. Nevertheless, consistent collocational analysis should lead to a representative analysis and enable different discourse prosodies within the same sub-corpus and across the two corpora to be compared. SkE “allows corpora to be uploaded onto

an online database. The corpora are then grammatically tagged in such a way that when collocates are derived, it is possible to identify grammatical relationships between collocates” (Baker et al., 2013: 260). However, Baker (2014: 104) notes that ensuring that search terms “are representative of the phenomena that we want to investigate” is as important as realizing that not all the results that a search term yields “are actually meaningful examples of the linguistic phenomena that we are trying to count.” *Father*, for example, can be used as a familial relationship or religious title; therefore, “[s]upplementing our analyses with a scan of concordance lines allows us to check our expectations about the characteristics of words.” This is the strategy adopted in the current investigation.

The selection of the node words to be examined is governed by a set of criteria, i.e. their identification of node words is based upon three criteria: gender-relevance, collocational significance and semantic relations. **The first criterion is qualitative**; drawing on the purposes of the present research, which is gender-based in nature, gender-related words are further examined in order to draw a collocational profile for each. Generally, utilizing certain words or phrases to search a corpus is ‘understandable’ since, in such a case, “there is little chance of false positives (cases where the search term elicits unwanted examples) or false negatives (cases where the search term misses a relevant example” (Baker, 2014: 49). Actually, Baker (2014: 186) identified *woman*, *girl*, *lady* and *female* as ‘words relating to gender’. Therefore, he explored their concordance lines to uncover gendered discourse referenced. Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012) have classified words like WOMAN, MAN, MALE, FEMALE, SEX, MACHO, MOTHER, FEMININ and SEXISM as belonging to the thematic group of ‘sex, gender roles and body.’ Pearce (2008) employs Sketch Engine to generate word sketches of the lemmas MAN and WOMAN in order to examine the representations of men and women in the British National Corpus. In this sense, corpus analytic tools are used to examine how the basic terms for adult male and female human beings pattern with other word forms in different grammatical relations” (ibid.: 1). He focuses on three grammatical relations: MAN/WOMAN as subject, MAN/WOMAN as object, and attributive adjectives associated with MAN/WOMAN which allow for examining the representations of men and women as doing and experiencing agents or as undergoing patients and beneficiaries, and also explain the way they are delineated and categorized. Collocational patterns are then categorized into four domains: power and deviance, social categorization, personality and mental capacity, and appearance and sexuality. According

to the findings, WOMAN occurred most likely as a grammatical subject of verbs that reference annoyance and nuisance, e.g. annoy, cluck, fuss, nag, etc., while it came as a grammatical object of negative verbs, that is, verbs that have a discourse prosody for sexualization, such as bed, ravish and shag, or physical and ideological violence. MAN, on the other hand, came as subject of verbs of physical strength and ownership, crime and violence. Cases where MAN/WOMAN modifies a noun are related to issues of markedness, e.g. woman doctor. In instances referring to professional roles held by women, “the noteworthiness and perhaps rarity of a female occupying these roles is indicated by the use of WOMAN as a noun modifier [...] [whereas], the ‘default’ doctor, lawyer or MP is male” (ibid.: 12). Moreover, the disparity between men and women in terms of the aspects of social identity represented and highlighted are manifest through collocational evidence. Extending on Baker, Jaworska and Krishnamurthy as well as Pearce, and deploying the same barometers, I have chosen the node words: MAN and WOMAN. Gender relevance of node words is determined by consulting semantic field and semantic network dictionaries, i.e. FrameNet and WordNet.

Adrienne Lehrer (1985: 283) defines semantic field as “a set of lexemes which cover a certain conceptual domain and which bear certain specifiable relations to one another.” Brinton (2000: 112) defines ‘semantic field’ or ‘semantic domain’ by relating it to the concept of hyponymy: “Related to the concept of hyponymy, but more loosely defined, is the notion of a semantic field or domain. A semantic field denotes a segment of reality symbolized by a set of related words. The words in a semantic field share a common semantic property.” Relevantly, based on Charles J. Fillmore’s and colleagues ‘frame semantics’ as a theory of meaning (Fillmore 1976, 1977; Fillmore and Baker 2001), FrameNet is a lexical database of English which draws upon the notion that

the meanings of most words can best be understood on the basis of a semantic frame: a description of a type of event, relation, or entity and the participants in it. For example, the concept of cooking typically involves a person doing the cooking (Cook), the food that is to be cooked (Food), something to hold the food while cooking (Container) and a source of heat (Heating_instrument). In the FrameNet project, this is represented as a frame called *Apply_heat*, and the Cook, Food, Heating_instrument and Container are called frame elements (FEs). Words

that evoke this frame, such as fry, bake, boil, and broil, are called lexical units (LUs) of the Apply_heat frame.⁵

WordNet is a lexical database of English also where “nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs are grouped into sets of cognitive synonyms (synsets), each expressing a distinct concept.” These Synsets are “interlinked by means of conceptual-semantic and lexical relations”, resulting to a “network of meaningfully related words and concepts”. WordNet differs from a thesaurus in that “interlinks not just word forms—strings of letters—but specific senses of words. As a result, words that are found in close proximity to one another in the network are semantically disambiguated.” Moreover, “WordNet labels the semantic relations among words, whereas the groupings of words in a thesaurus does not [sic] follow any explicit pattern other than meaning similarity.”⁶

According to WordNet, GENDER has two senses, the first related to grammatical gender and the second to sex and sexuality and hence denoting “the properties that distinguish organisms on the basis of their reproductive roles.” The latter sense, as the one connected to the purposes of the present research, has ‘maleness’ and ‘masculinity’ on the one hand, and ‘femaleness’ and ‘femininity’, on the other, as direct hyponyms. ‘Maleness’ is set as the antonym of ‘femaleness’ while ‘masculinity’ is set as the antonym of ‘femininity’. The lexical entries of the words MAN and WOMAN have been checked in both WordNet and FrameNet to examine their potential relevance to the domain of gender. Other words which may relate to gender do exist in the corpus at hand, e.g. HUSBAND, WIFE, SPOUSE, PARTNER, FATHER, MOTHER, BOY, GIRL, SON, DAUGHTER, BROTHER and SISTER. However, the low frequency of these items in the corpus investigated caused their collocational profiles to be rather scarce and infertile for linguistic exploration.⁷ On the other hand, the high values of occurrence for MAN and WOMAN yielded prolific collocational results. It was deemed then that the aforementioned words are enough to

⁵ About FrameNet Section: <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/about>

⁶ About WordNet Section: <http://wordnet.princeton.edu/wordnet/>

⁷ The relatively low frequency of other opposite-sex pairs, e.g. *father and mother, boy and girl, husband and wife, son and daughter*, in the present corpus makes the collocational analysis of these words quite disadvantageous, i.e. only with large corpora where a node word is used few hundred times is such analysis rendered profitable since the higher the frequency of a particular word is, the higher the number of collocates it tends to have. For example, for *wife*, which has a frequency of 39 in Obama’s speeches, SkE gives only 8 collocates that match the preset criteria.

cover gender representations realized in the two texts. For the lexical entry of MAN, FrameNet provides the definition: “an adult human male” and for WOMAN: “an adult human female.” WordNet defines MAN as an “adult male (an adult person who is male (as opposed to a woman))”, setting its direct hypernym as “male, male person (a person who belongs to the sex that cannot have babies)” and its antonym as WOMAN which is defined as “adult female (an adult female person (as opposed to a man))”, with its direct hypernym as “female, female person (a person who belongs to the sex that can have babies)” and its antonym as MAN. In this sense, since the meaning of maleness versus femaleness is inherent in the meaning of MAN and WOMAN, they are verifiably justified to belong to the domain GENDER.

The second criterion is quantitatively motivated; following Sinclair’s principle – “Decide on the ‘strongest’ pattern and start there” (2003: xvi), the significant collocations of the node words selected within the texts are calculated. Using SkE, two collocational statistics, namely MI and *t*-score, are used to identify words as collocates of the node words. The span of ± 5 as a default setting is maintained, i.e. the collocational inquiry is conducted within a span of five words on both sides of the node word as is common practice in corpus linguistics (Sinclair, 1991: 105). MI score is used as “a measure of collocational strength.” In other words, “[t]he higher the MI score, the stronger the link between two items”, the lower the MI score, “the more likely it is that the two items co-occur by chance” (McEnery et al., 2006: 56). Evert (2009: 1228) points out that the MI measure (or Mutual Information) asks “how strongly are the words attracted to each other?” Baker (2014: 134) stipulates that the MI measure “assigns a score to a pair of words.” The higher the score the stronger and the more salient is the collocation. Hunston (2002: 71-72) proposes that an MI score of 3 or higher can be regarded as an evidence that two items are actually collocates. Clear (1993: 281) argues that “the items that have MI values are idiosyncratic instances peculiar to [a particular] corpus” – a notion which corresponds to the aim of comparing two corpora specific to the current research. The *t*-score, on the other hand, “measures the confidence with which we can claim that there is some association (Church & Hanks, 1999, cited in McEnery et al., 2006: 57). It is “a hypothesis-testing measure which tests the null hypothesis that two words appear together no more frequently than we would expect by chance alone, considering their frequency in the corpus and the size of the corpus” (Baker, 2014: 135). Jaworska and Krishnamurthy (2012: 409) remark that *t*-score statistics “calculates the co-occurrence frequencies expected from corpus frequencies, and compares this with the actual

number of co-occurrences.” Other measures, which are as a whole referred to as ‘confidence-based measures’ and which are generally used to test the same hypothesis, comprise Z-score and LL (or Log Likelihood). Clear (1993: 279-282) notes that whereas “MI is a measure of *the strength of association between two words*”, measures like LL score are ones of “*the confidence with which we can claim there is some association*” (italics in original). It should be noted that the aforementioned three confidence-based measures “are based on comparing what has actually occurred in a corpus against a model of words occurring in a completely random order across a corpus” (Baker, 2014: 135).

The very notion that language data is random has been criticized by Kilgarriff (2005), and Durrant and Doherty (2010: 130-131) who argue that:

Grammar, semantics, and real world occurrences all constrain the construction of real language. It is therefore very common for word pairs to co-occur ‘more frequently than random’, regardless of specifically collocational relations. Given this, levels of statistical significance are not usually thought to constitute useful cut-off points in identifying collocations. Rather, the statistical tests are used to *rank* word pairs according to their relative likelihood of being a collocation.

Normally researchers are interested in delineating what is typical of a corpus, therefore, they take on a cut-off procedure in considering collocates. As proposed by Hunston (2002: 71-2) and McEnery et al. (2006: 56), “[a] t-score of 2 or higher is normally considered to be statistically significant”. Since “[c]ollocations with high MI scores tend to include low-frequency words whereas those with high *t*-scores tend to show high-frequency pairs”, it would be most suitable to follow the tradition, suggested by Church et al. (1994), of “intersecting the two measures and looking at pairs that have high scores in both measures” (McEnery et al., 2006: 57). Therefore, only collocates which meet a score of 3 or higher on the MI measure and a score of 2 or higher on the *t*-score measure simultaneously are examined. It should be noted that these quantitative criterion, namely the MI scores and *t*-scores, paired with the above mentioned qualitative criteria, are used in identifying collocates in both sub-corpora, i.e. only collocates which meet the above quantitative cut-off points and qualitative criteria will be considered.

The third criterion is basically linguistic; the node words elected in both texts are semantically related, e.g. MAN and WOMAN, along with their plural forms, are members in the same semantic relation of antonymy. This oppositional relation inherent in these opposite-sex pairs is

significant to the present research since the ultimate aim is the comparative and contrastive analysis of gender representations, and hence the use of oppositional node words, realized by Obama a male and Clinton as a female politician. It should be noted that Baker (2014) compares the frequencies of ‘gendered pairs’ of words, e.g. MAN, WOMAN, HUSBAND, WIFE, BOY and GIRL, with their plurals. He also explores the frequencies of ‘female relational nouns’ such as *wife, mother, daughter, aunt, niece grandmother, sister, granddaughter*, and ‘male relational nouns’ such as *husband, father, son, uncle, nephew, grandfather, brother, grandson*.

In this respect, an overview of the functions offered by SkE would be helpful in deciding upon the suitable tools to be used in the current investigation. Actually, SkE provides “a more sophisticated picture of collocational patterns than merely considering pairs of words together” (Baker et al., 2013: 260). It offers different routes to explore the collocational and grammatical behaviour of an item, e.g. collocation function (enabled through the concordance option), thesaurus function, Word Sketch and Sketch-Diff. For the thesaurus function, SkE online help page points out that it “checks to see which words occur with the same collocates as other words, and on the basis of this data it generates a ‘distributional thesaurus’”.⁸ A distributional thesaurus is an automatically produced ‘thesaurus’ which finds words that tend to occur in similar contexts as the target word. It is not a man-made thesaurus of synonyms. The thesaurus function lists, for any given adjective, noun or verb, the other words most similar to it in terms of grammatical and collocational behaviour.” To clarify the function of Word Sketch, the SkE manual reads: “A Word Sketch is a corpus-based summary of a word’s grammatical and collocational behaviour.” It is an automated summary displaying the ways in which a certain word patterns with other words and showing the different patterns grouped into grammatical relations (Kilgarriff, 2002; Kilgarriff & Tugwell, 2002; Kilgarriff et al., 2004). This function “reveals patterns which can be difficult to uncover using an ordinary concordancer. It shows which grammatical roles a lemma prefers or avoids, and also displays its collocates in dozens of grammatical relations” (Pearce, 2008: 5). As for Sketch Difference, it “allows the behaviour of two target lemmas to be compared” (ibid.). It is “a neat way of comparing two very similar words: it shows those patterns and combinations that the two items have in common, and also those patterns and combinations that are more typical of, or unique to, one word rather than the other” (SkE manual). Besides

⁸ <https://www.sketchengine.co.uk/documentation/wiki/SkE/GettingStarted>

showing information about patterns and combinations that are common between two words, Sketch Difference also “identifies combinations which occur exclusively with one lemma in the target pair (‘exclusive’ patterns)” (Pearce, 2008: 6).

For the purposes of this research which encompass the examination of gender representation in both sub-corpora, the thesaurus function was dismissed since the results it yields would miss gender representations that may appear in contexts other than the ones bound by the collocational and grammatical similarity between words, albeit node words. Word Sketch function has also been dismissed since the focus of the present analysis is on the gender representations which can be worked out from every collocational instance of the node words—this is enabled through the collocation function provided by SkE—rather than the collocational instances classified by grammatical relations. Though the current section is concerned with examining the node words MAN and WOMAN in comparative terms, which would theoretically be congruent with the functions offered by Sketch Difference, the latter has been actually excluded since the aim of the present analysis is not to compare the grammatical behaviour of collocates. In this sense, on the ground of attaining all possible instances of the collocational co-occurrence of node words, it has been decided that the collocation function of SkE would be used.

2- Collocates extraction: To highlight the role played by collocates in this respect, a brief sketching of what collocation is and what node words are needs to be addressed. Collocations are not simply lexical items. Rather, they “are also widely shared within a speech community” (Stubbs, 200: 35) and are often “nodes around which ideological battles are fought” (ibid.: 188). It is essential here to account for the researcher’s selection of node words which will undergo an elaborated collocational analysis. Baker (2014: 109) argues that “all search terms are limiting to an extent because there are many ways of referring to a topic.” For example, negative representations about a group of people, e.g. homosexuals, may be implicated through a story about a certain person without using words like *gay* or *homosexual*. Furthermore, the absence of any words referring to a particular group can be highly indicative as well. Such interesting sites of research can only be uncovered by examining the whole corpus. However, time and capacity limitations with such large corpora, along with the potential resultant diminishing returns yielded, necessitate the use of search terms as legitimized ways of language analysis. Kennedy (1998: 251) refers to these keywords as “target term, node word or search item”. Thus, ‘node word’ will

be used to refer to “the word or form being investigated” (Stubbs, 2001: 29) or as “a technical term for those keywords that are elected to be investigated in terms of their collocates in each text” (Salama, 2011: 325). Another important term for the analytic part of the present study is semantic preference which refers to semantic aspects, rather than evaluative ones. It is the relation “between a lemma or word form and a set of semantically related words” (Stubbs, 2001: 65). For example, *glass of* as a two-word cluster has a semantic preference for the group of words denoting cold drinks (water, milk, etc.).

Collocates can be helpful in “revealing how meaning is acquired through repeated uses of language.” As suggested by a ‘strong’ collocation theory, “words can act as psychological triggers for certain concepts if they occur often enough and in mutually exclusive relationships” (Baker, 2014: 13). Collocational patterns “are often unavailable to intuition or conscious awareness. They can convey messages implicitly and even be at odds with an overt statement.” (Hunston, 2002:109). Teo (2000: 34) asserts the role of lexical collocations in textual as well as ideational meanings:

Lexis is not merely a static element embedded within the lexico-grammar of a text expressing a fixed and stable meaning. Instead, through a deliberate interplay of lexical items that are collocationally related or even just baldly repeated, another level of meaning that superseded the sense of each word in isolation can be created. In this way, lexical cohesion transcends its cohesive role as textual linkers and assumes a role in the Ideational function in language, re-shaping and re-contextualizing meaning and experience.

I start by examining the collocational profile for MAN and WOMAN using the collocation function in SKE. I have calculated the concordances of the lemma WOMAN within Obama’s corpus (i.e. Obama’s speeches) without defining the part of speech (PoS) of the node word (in this case, the results will comprise all instances WOMAN and WOMEN in upper as well as lower cases). The results provided a total number of occurrences of 308 in their linguistic environment. Then, as a way into more refined investigation of results, I have calculated the collocations related to the word WOMAN, using ‘lemma’ as an attribute in the search window (i.e. the results in this case will include all the collocates of WOMAN with all their inflections). The criteria specified through the online software ‘collocation candidate’ window are set to a range from -5 to 5 and a ‘minimum frequency in corpus’ of 5, with a ‘minimum frequency in a given range’ of 3. Different spans were experimented until it was deemed that the default setting of five words on

each side is a good compromise. Following the criteria specified earlier, i.e. relating to the intersection of an MI value of ≥ 3 and a *t*-score value of ≥ 2 , the resulting collocates of the node word WOMAN includes 40 words. A classification of the yielded collocates has been conducted in order to specify the meaning-laden linguistic items.

Following Baker (2014: 136), who advises collocates to be grouped according to their semantic or grammatical relations, all the collocates were manually examined within their linguistic environment to clarify the PoS of each word and hence the meaning potential of each. With the exclusion of pronouns (e.g. she, me, her, that, our, they, their, this, I, and it), adverbs (e.g. especially, percent, just, right, not, when, today, and up), determiners (e.g. many, those, every, the, that, and this), conjunctions (e.g. and, when, that, or, and because), and prepositions (e.g. like, of, for, from, at, in, with, by, on, and up), the linguistic items that have been found to collocate significantly with the node words MAN and WOMEN in each corpus were extracted and grouped according to their PoS for the sake of a structuralized and systematic examination of resultant collocates, following the methodological procedures provided by Baker et al. (2008). In their seminal study, Baker et al. have used corpus methods in order to scrutinize the linguistically encoded images of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press. By extracting wordlists and keyword lists, migration-related words such as *immigrants*, *refugees*, *asylum seekers*, *migrants*, etc., are specified, examined in context and grouped so that a general impression of how migrants, asylum seekers and refugees are presented in the UK press is discerned. Collocates of these node words are then extracted and, utilizing CDA approach, particularly the Discourse Historical Approach (DHA) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001), the collocates are classified into non-theory-specific categories of topical relevance. The phase of concordance analysis follows where concordance lines of collocates are engendered and examined in the light of the DHA notions in order to explore representations and discourse prosodies related to RASIM, that is, refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants and migrants. Findings of the study are contextually supported by migration-related statistical information in the UK, official definitions, government statistics, etc.

3- Concordance lines examination: At this stage, concordance lines of every collocate on the collocational list for each corpus are going to be engendered by dint of SkE, and then the collocational environment of every collocate that meets the set of criteria specified will be examined in the light of Halliday's functional processes and van Leeuwen's social actors

representation scheme (see sections 3.2., 3.3. & 4.3.2.) with the aim of qualitatively detecting gender representations communicated by each politician. Thus, this stage is essentially a concordance-based aiming at analyzing the textual data. These collocates are classified according to the representation that they contribute to in order to have a clear picture of the representations as well as the role of collocates in producing these representations. At the end of this section, tables introducing the gender representations detected and the collocates contributing towards them will be introduced and discussed. It should be noted that in the same way that Obama and Clinton potentially represent themselves in an intersectional light, their representations of men and women in the American society are also potentially intersectional. In this respect, the intersectional gender representations where different aspects of identity construction, e.g. race, ethnicity, religion, etc., intersect with gender will be highlighted and discussed in order to mark Obama's and Clinton's potential interest in addressing various dimensions of identity.

Chapter Five: Analysis of Topical Interests, Gender Bias and Gender Representations

This chapter is concerned with analyzing the two sub-corpora that have been specified, that is Barack Obama's and Hillary Clinton's speeches delivered during the 2008 primaries of the Democratic Party elections, using the methodological synergy of CDA and CL with the aim of identifying the topical interests peculiar of each politician, exploring gender bias notions, that is, the use of gender-marked functionalizing words and male fitness terms, and examining gender representations contributed by each of them. Prior to the stage of analysis, it would be helpful to shed light on Obama's and Clinton's lives and backgrounds, and also to highlight the political scene in the USA in relation to the electoral procedure of such events.

5.1. Obama and Clinton: Setting the Background

Mautner (1995) points out that rather than approaching the corpus from a naive stance, analysts need to conduct background research and form hypotheses prior to carrying out corpus-assisted analysis. Thus, in accordance with CDA approaches, an initial starting point for the current research was to investigate aspects of the wider context surrounding the issue of women's and African-Americans participation in the USA politics either as politicians or electorate. In the USA, female politicians have started to step into the political arena in 1866, when Elizabeth Cady Stanton ran for the U.S. House of Representatives. In 2001, Hillary Rodham Clinton became the first woman to be elected as a US Senator from New York, the first First Lady to have a well-established full-time professional career when moving to the White House, and the first, and only, First Lady ever to be elected to public office in the US Senate. It should be noted that in the same year, Condoleezza Rice was the first woman in the position of National Security Advisor (formally known as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs) after being appointed by President George W. Bush.

On the 8th of January 2008, Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton won the primary in New Hampshire and, thus, became the first woman to win a major party's presidential primary aiming towards delegate selection. She was also the first woman to become a presidential candidate in every primary and caucus in every state. In the same year, Sarah Palin, Alaska's Governor, became the first woman on a national GOP ticket when she was appointed by Senator John McCain as his

vice presidential mate.⁹ Since Hillary Clinton has stood “at the frontier of women’s struggle to break into the public sphere in their own right” (Lim, 2009: 254), she has become the focus of a number of gender-based studies working towards a conceptualization of her role in public life. For example, Elvin T. Lim (ibid.) explores the gendered metaphors that have been used by Clinton’s defenders and critics alike, e.g. characterizing her as a ‘Madonna’, an ‘unruly woman’, a ‘bitch’ and a ‘witch’, arguing that “gendered conceptual metaphors, in variously imposed and/or retracting ‘masculine’ and/or ‘feminine’ traits, empower and disempower women leaders” (ibid.).

On the other hand, in 1870, Hiram Revels was the first African-American to be seated in the USA Senate. In the same year, Joseph Rainey was the first African-American to be elected in the USA House of Representative. In the following years, the number of African-Americans’ participation in political life has gradually increased. In the USA House of Representative for the 113th Congress, from 2013 to 2015, 43 African-Americans have been elected with a percentage of 9.8%. In 2004, Obama published his autobiographical *Dreams from my Father* when he was thirty three years old. It sheds light on his attempt to accept and become consistent with his racially mixed heritage. Throughout his diaries, Obama’s perplexity about how his true identity could be defined is apparent. Josselson (2012: 2) psychologically analyzes Obama’s identity construction in this autobiography and posits that “Obama writes from a stance of a subjective, nonracialized self about his creation of a personal racial identity.” She also points out that identity is to be conceptualized dynamically, “as a structure or structures that hold together multiple versions of the internal and the discursive” (ibid.).

Interestingly, Obama was raised in a family where each member is of a different race. The mother is a white American; the stepfather is an Indonesian; his sister is mixed white and Indonesian; and Obama himself is a mix of a white mother and a black father. His white mother was originally from Kansas and his black father was a Kenyan. He left the family as Obama was turning one year old. Thus, Obama was raised in Hawaii by his mother and her white parents. When he was six years old, his mother remarried an Indonesian man and moved with the family to Indonesia. At the age of ten, Obama returned to Hawaii to live with his mother and

⁹ CAWP: Center for American Women and Politics, <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/index.php> (last accessed on the 13th of April 2013)

grandparents again, and got the chance to see his father only for several weeks. They corresponded only sporadically until his father's death when Obama was twenty one. So, even the racial experience of Obama is multifaceted.

The primaries of the Democratic Party are the processes and procedures by which the Democratic Party selects its candidate for the presidential race. The candidate to be selected has to win a majority of combined delegate votes at the Democratic National Convention. The delegates are the people at the Democratic National Convention who determine whom to be nominated.¹⁰ In order to earn the nomination of the Democratic Party, a candidate needs to win at least 2,117 votes at the convention or a simple majority of the total 4,233 delegate votes.¹¹ The Democratic Party decides on the number of delegates that each candidate receives in each state through the proportional representation of each candidate in the state's vote in the primary election. For example, if a candidate is awarded 30% of the state's votes, s/he will be reckoned to get 30% of the state's delegates. In all cases, a candidate must win at least 15% of the state's vote in the primary in order to receive any delegates. In the 2008 Democratic Party primaries, the race was heated between Senator Barack Obama of Illinois and Senator Hillary Rodham Clinton of New York. The competition lasted longer than expected since neither of them could secure enough delegates from state primary races to attain a majority in the convention without resorting to the superdelegate votes. Superdelegates are typically Democratic members of Congress, state governors, former presidents, and other party leaders. On the 3rd of June 2008, eventually, Obama received enough superdelegate endorsements to claim that he had secured the simple majority of delegates necessary to win the nomination. Four days later, Clinton conceded the nomination.¹² Obama won and became the Democratic Party's nominee for presidency. Then, he also won the presidential elections, and became the 44th President of the USA; Clinton served as his Secretary of State for his first term.

Political speeches delivered in the context of an electoral campaign are an interesting site to explore the notion of identity construction in general and, in the case of the present corpus,

¹⁰ <http://edition.cnn.com/POLITICS/> (last accessed on the 6th of December 2014)

¹¹ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2008/05/24/ap-obamas-political-team_n_103396.html (last accessed on the 4th of December 2014)

¹² <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2008/06/03/AR2008060304268.html> (last accessed on the 4th of December 2014)

gender identity construction in particular because the requirements of a politician may collide with expectations about gender, since the two politicians in question belong to different social gender categories. Hence, in the following sections, an analysis of the two sub-corpora specified will be implemented following the lines of methodological procedures and theoretical apparatuses in order to examine the notion of identity construction as specified in the previous chapters.

5.2. Wordlists and Topical Interests

In this section, the way in which CL techniques provide a ‘map’ of a particular corpus is examined. Areas of interest are highlighted through frequency lists and keyword lists which are then taken as a starting point for a subsequent close analysis through the examination of concordance lines and even of whole texts when needed. This approach comes in accordance with Stubbs (1994: 212) who accentuate “the need to combine the analysis of large-scale patterns across long texts with the detailed study of concordance lines.” The approach used in the first part of the present research closely draws on the ‘corpus-driven’ paradigm of CL research (Tognini-Bonelli, 2001). That is, at the outset of the analysis, relative frequencies and emerging statistically significant lexical patterns in the two sub-corpora under investigation were extracted and, then, closely examined in their concordances.

Initially, I have utilized the online corpus analysis interface Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2004) to draw an overall sketch of the most frequent words as to the two sub-corpora at hand, i.e. Obama’s speeches and Hillary Clinton’s speeches, with the aim of drawing a general and preliminary picture of the degree of difference, if any, as to the wordlists between the two corpora. Comparing these lists for two corpora can provide interesting information about the differences between the two corpora, especially in the case of specialized corpora (ibid.), that is, the case of the present study. A frequency list is “a list of all the types in a corpus together with the number of occurrences of each type” (Hunston, 2002: 67). Frequency lists “provide information about the sorts of concepts that are privileged in society” (Baker, 2014: 75); they also help in “revealing common patterns or themes in corpora” (ibid.: 13). With the help of ‘Compare corpora’ function, SkE provided a disparity value of 1.81 which indicates a considerable degree of difference. As pointed out in the SkE manual, the ‘Compare corpora’ function is “‘Word List with Keywords’ applied to all pairs in the language in both directions (focus = A, reference = B

and focus = B, reference = A)”. Thus, the higher the values are, the lower the similarity between the two corpora.

Applying the methodological procedure earlier explained (see section 4.3.), the top twenty most frequent nouns used by Obama have been extracted and were intuitively found to relate to foreign affairs (e.g. WAR, IRAQ, and WASHINGTON) and internal affairs (e.g. HEALTH, TAX, FAMILIES, ENERGY, ECONOMY, and GOVERNMENT). Actually the classification of these words as belonging to these particular fields could not be validated through textbook dictionaries or online ones, e.g. Wordnet or Wortschatz¹³ since these resources normally offer a word’s hyponyms, hypernyms and significant collocations. However, they do not offer such classificatory schemes—the fact which necessitated and instigated a procedure of classification operationalized on the basis of a predefined set of criteria and concordance line examination (sections 5.2.1 & 5.2.2.). Following the same line of argument, the top twenty nouns which are used most frequently by Hillary Clinton can be potentially classified as relating to the area of foreign affairs (e.g. IRAQ and WAR) and internal affairs (e.g. HEALTH, GOVERNMENT, FAMILIES, ENERGY, ECONOMY, and TAX). Interestingly, the plural noun WOMEN, which directly relates to the concept of gender, appears in Obama’s corpus only with a frequency of 227 occurrences and a rank of 189. On the other hand, the plural noun WOMEN appears in a more advanced rank (117) with a comparatively perspicuously high frequency of occurrence (392).

Baker (2014: 75) notes that “frequencies should not be taken at face value but interpreted in relation to our knowledge about society, along with concordance analyses of how particular words are used in context in a corpus.” Since a concordance is “a table containing all the occurrences of a particular linguistic feature [...] with a few words of the immediate context displayed either side,” they “allow the conduct of “functional qualitative analysis, based on making sense of the contexts and patterns that a word occurs in” (Baker (2014: 14). This is why concordance analysis has come to be the single CL tool most favoured by discourse analysts. In order to find a way into a more systematized and valid classificatory method for the aforementioned raw classification, SkE has been used to extract the concordances (or KWIC, Keyword in Context) for each word enlisted on the wordlist for each sub-corpus. The aim is to examine each word in its context as a means of exploring, and perhaps validating, the

¹³ http://corpora.informatik.uni-leipzig.de/?dict=eng_news_2008

classification potential set earlier. For the sake of practicality, the close investigation of these concordances required word instances to be randomly ‘thinned’ to a specified number. Actually, “randomized samples are not truly random, however, as they are usually based on the software accessing a pre-set list of random numbers and using this list to select which concordance lines to look at” (Baker, 2014: 84). In the same vein, Hunston (2002: 25) argues that few researchers can gain useful information from a long list of concordances; the solution is either to work on a smaller corpus or to maintain the large corpus but “to use software which will make a selection of data from the whole, either by selecting at random a proportion of the total concordance lines, or by identifying and allowing selection of the most significant collocates or other significant features.” Hence, through the function of sampling offered by SkE, a sample of 200 concordances has been extracted for each word that has a frequency of ≥ 500 , a sample of 100 concordances for each word that has a frequency of ≤ 499 and ≥ 200 and a sample of 50 concordances for each word with a frequency of ≤ 199 . It is essential here to clarify the criteria operative into identifying individual concordances as belonging to one category or another.

5.2.1. Criteria of Classification

Each word on both wordlists, that is, the wordlist of Obama’s corpus and that of Clinton’s corpus, has been meticulously examined in its context through the use of the concordance function provided by SkE and according to a set of parameters indicated in Figure 22. In other words, the classification processes is guided by the provided criteria and operationalized through the concordance function.

The first criterion enacted in order to guide the topical classification of the most frequent words draws on the definitions of what foreign and domestic policy are. Such definitions are important because they provide guidelines for deciding what instances are to be classified as foreign policy and what to be classified as domestic policy. Foreign policy is defined as the “[g]eneral objectives that guide the activities and relationships of one state in its interactions with other states. The development of foreign policy is influenced by domestic considerations, the policies or behaviour of other states, or plans to advance specific geopolitical designs [...] Diplomacy is the tool of foreign policy, and war, alliances, and international trade may all be manifestations of

it” (*Encyclopedia Britannica Online*).¹⁴ *Merriam-webster* defines it as “the policy of a sovereign state in its interaction with other sovereign states”, the *American Heritage Dictionary* as the “diplomatic policy of a nation in its interactions with other nations.”

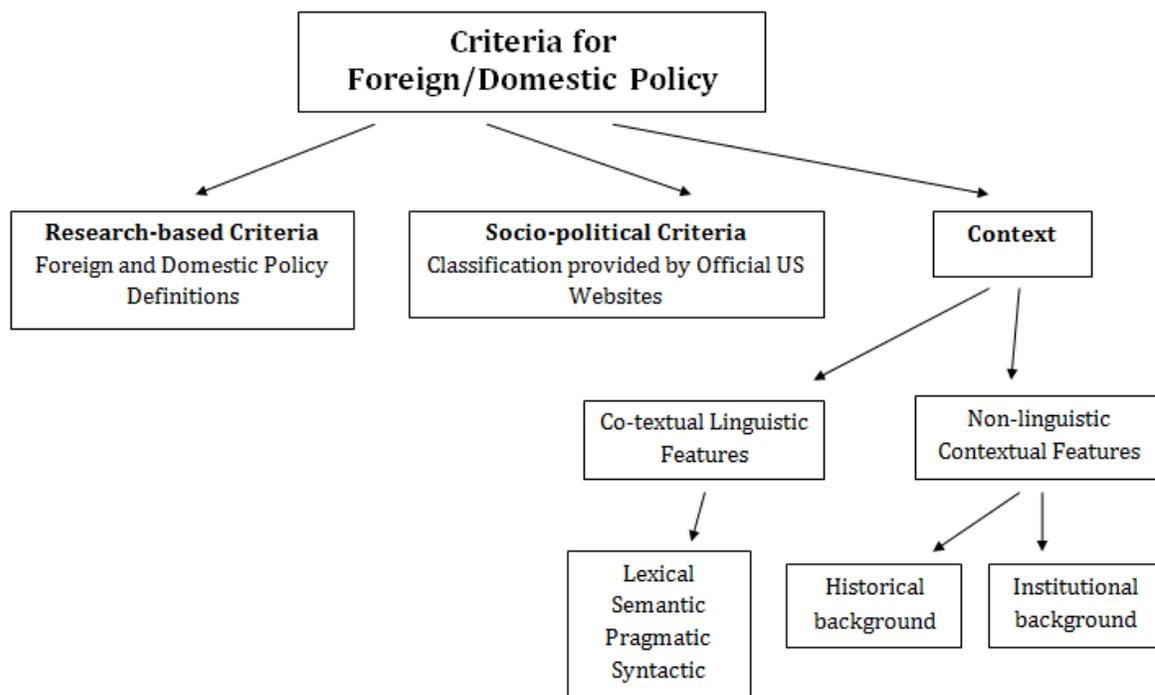


Figure 22. Criteria for Foreign vs. Domestic Policy Concordance Classification

Gibson (1944: 9) defines foreign policy: “a well rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation. This calls for a clear understanding of what those interests are and how far we can hope to go with the means at our disposals. Anything less than this falls short of being a national foreign policy.” Sharma & Sharma (2000: 112-113) provide several definitions of foreign policy that have been introduced through different historical periods: C.C. Rodee (in *Introduction to Political Science*, 1957) defines it as involving “the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behaviour of a slate while negotiating with (contracting) other stales to protect or further its

¹⁴ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/213380/foreign-policy> (last accessed on the 7th of March 2014)

vital interest”. George Modelski (in *A Theory of Foreign Policy*, 1962) defines it as “[t]he system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behaviour of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment.” Professor Charles Burton Marshall (in *The Exercise of Sovereignty*, 1965) introduces a definition of foreign policy as “the course of action undertaken by authority of state and intended to affect situations beyond the span of its jurisdiction”. Northedge (1968: 9) considers foreign policy to be “the use of political influence in order to induce other states to exercise their law-making power in a manner desired by the states concerned; it is an interaction between forces originating outside the country’s borders and those working within them.” According to Joseph Frankel (1963: 1), foreign policy “consists of decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent relations between one state and the others.”

Mahendra Kumar (in *Theoretical Aspects of International Politics*, 1995, cited in Ghosh, 2013: 96), however, adds that a foreign policy definition should “include within its range all activities of a state to regulate the behaviour of other states, either through change or status quo. in order to ensure the maximum service of its interest.” Ghosh (2013: 96) contends that “foreign policy is the output of the state into a global system.” Foreign policies, then, Ghosh argues (ibid.: 97), “are strategies devised by governments to guide their actions in the international arena. Therefore, they spell out the basic objectives that the state leaders have decided in pursue in a given relationship or situation as the general means by which they intend to realize their basic objectives.” The essential idea underlying all of these definitions is that foreign policy is concerned with the behaviour of a state towards other states.

In the same way that the definitions of foreign policy are illustrated in order to be guidelines for the process of classification, the definitions of domestic policy are equally important in order to set the distinguishing features on the basis of which a categorization process can be enabled. *Cambridge Dictionaries Online*¹⁵ defines domestic policy as: “the set of decisions that a government makes relating to things that directly affect the people in its own country.” US Legal,¹⁶ a website dedicated to all law and legal definitions, defines it as “a government’s policy decisions, programs, and actions that principally deal with internal matters, as opposed to

¹⁵ <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/de/worterbuch/business-englisch/domestic-policy> (last accessed on the 7th of March 2014)

¹⁶ <http://definitions.uslegal.com/d/domestic-policy%20/> (last accessed on the 7th of March 2014)

relations with other nation-states. Domestic policy covers areas such as tax, social security, and welfare programs, environmental laws, and regulations on businesses and their practices” (both). As Hill (2003: 222) argues “the domestic and the foreign are easily distinguishable conceptions” since they “can be distinguished as two separate concepts in International Relations, because a state does not have an homogenized set of aims”; however, foreign policy stems originally from within.

A caveat is in order here: there are, nevertheless, some issues where that distinction is inconspicuous. In an interview with Yoani Sanchez, published on the 19th of November 2009 (*The World Post Online*)¹⁷, president Obama gave the following answer to a question regarding the status of Cuba as belonging to the foreign as well as the US domestic affairs: “All foreign policy issues involve domestic components especially issues concerning neighbors like Cuba from which the United States has a large immigrant population and with which we have a long history of relations.” Harmoniously, in an article of *The National Interest*¹⁸ published on the 14th of November 2012, Dov S. Zakheim draws attention that issues like illegal immigration has to be considered a foreign as well as a domestic policy issue. The coming classificatory analysis will show that such ambiguity is also true of issues like foreign oil. Thus, most frequent words that are mentioned in the context of discussing immigration and oil issues are classified as affiliating to both foreign and domestic affairs.

The second criterion that the classification of words on the wordlist draws upon is a socio-political one, i.e. the official website of the USA White House offers a readily sketch of areas covered by the USA Domestic Policy Council (DPC). Such readily delineated classification is another guideline according to which the classification of concordances where most frequent words appear can be carried out. Originally, President Richard M. Nixon founded the Office of Policy Development in the 1970s to attend to economic as well as domestic policies. In 1993, President William J. Clinton split it into the USA Domestic Policy Council and the National Economic Council (NEC), i.e. the split was necessitated by the addition of international and global economic affairs to the domestic ones, as an area of specialty. According to the website of

¹⁷ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/yoani-sanchez/president-obamas-answers_b_363553.html (last accessed on the 14th of April 2014)

¹⁸ http://www.realclearworld.com/2012/11/14/americas_most_pressing_foreign_policy_issue_142246.html (last accessed on the 11th of March 2014)

the current Domestic Policy Council (DPC), it attends to following issues: education policy, health policy, immigration policy, energy and climate change, the Office of Social Innovation and Civic Participation, justice and regulatory policy, Office of National AIDS Policy, urban affairs and economic mobility, rural affairs, Office of Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships, native American affairs. Thus, immigration-related issues excluded, all most frequent words that are discussed within the context of these domains are classified as belonging to domestic affairs.

The third criterion operationalized for the classification of concordance of the most frequent words is context-dependent. And I take the term *context* here to encompass: (1) *Non-linguistic Contextual Features*, and (2) *Co-textual Linguistic Features*. The former covers both historical and institutional backgrounds, that is, the historical events as well as the titles and roles of institutions which directly correspond to and guide the process of classification. The latter covers the linguistic meaning denoted by the clauses in the context of which the most frequent words appear. In a commonsensical way, the meaning of words appearing on the wordlist can only be understood, and thus classified, through its lexical meaning, semantic meaning, the syntactic structure within which a word is located and the pragmatic deep meaning which can be discerned through the concordance analysis. For example, in her speeches, Hillary Clinton mentions the following incident: “*And in 1995 Madeline was asked if she would represent our **country** at the 50th Anniversary commemoration of the end of WWII and she immediately said yes. And she went to Europe particularly to countries behind what we used to call the Iron Curtain and everywhere she traveled she saw American flags but when she looked more closely she realized that a lot of those flags had only 48 stars.*” The word *country* which occurs on the wordlist appears in the aforementioned concordance, the understanding of which depends largely on a set of historical background incidents related to the fact that in 1995 Madeline Albright was the United States ambassador to the United Nations, that the American flag currently has fifty stars, not forty eight, that the number of stars on the US flag refers to the number of American states, that there are two states, namely Alaska and Hawaii, that joined the US after World War II, and that the US forces interfered in the former Soviet Union countries by the end of World War II. Moreover, the lexical meaning of the linguistic items involved, their semantic and syntactic relations, and their pragmatic connotations contribute to understanding, and hence classifying, the utterance specified. The *Iron Curtain*, for instance, is a dysphemism referring to the countries of

the former Soviet Union; the use of the contradiction connector *but* with the adverb *closely* marks a conventional implicature, indicating that what Albright saw was non-conventional. This historical background, along with the co-textual linguistic features, indispensably, bearing in mind the definitions of foreign and domestic policies, contributes to the interpretation and classification of the wordlist item *country* which in that particular concordance has been classified as a third category ‘Other’ which includes word instances that do not belong to the categories *Foreign* or *Domestic Policy*.

Another example is the following utterance which is taken from a speech of Obama: “*And in 2004, she said, ‘I think, on balance, NAFTA has been good for New York and America.’ One million jobs have been lost because of NAFTA, including nearly 50,000 jobs here in Ohio. And yet, ten years after NAFTA passed, Senator Clinton said it was good for America.*” In order to categorize the word *America*, which appears on Obama’s wordlist, it is necessary to draw upon a certain institutional background, i.e. that NAFTA is the North American Free Trade Agreement that is signed by Canada, Mexico and the United States. The historical background about Clinton’s political position of the NAFTA in 2004 is also invoked in the current utterance; both types are pertinent to non-linguistic contextual factors. The co-textual linguistic features invoked encompass lexical, semantic and syntactic relations held between the words, with the anaphoric reference person pronoun *she* which refers to Clinton. Operationalizing these criteria simultaneously with the definitions of what foreign and domestic policies are contributes towards classifying the wordlist word *America* as relating to foreign policy.

More interestingly, a different type of classification forced itself in the process of concordance examination—a gender-based classification. Initially, the thread of a gender theme permeating through the most frequent words’ list was flimsy, especially, intuitively speaking, in the absence of any gender-related words from Obama’s wordlist, and the presence of only one salient word which is potentially gender-related in Clinton’s wordlist, namely WOMEN. However, the concordance analysis perspicuously elucidated that a considerable number of concordances relating to the most frequent words extracted necessitates another classification based on gender relevance/non-relevance. The current investigation is, thus, rendered bi-dimensional: (1) an analysis of the wordlists of the two sub-corpora with the aim of delineating how different, or similar, the most frequent words—and hence the topical interests, of Obama and Clinton are, and

(2) an analysis of the wordlists of the two sub-corpora with the aim of exploring how Obama and Clinton would be topically interested in gender-related issues.

Considering official definitions and statistics is always helpful in framing the more linguistic-based research findings from both perspectives: CL and CDA within a wider context. Hence, the criteria applied in recognizing concordances as belonging to the gender-related categorization comprise: (1) *Definitional Criterion*: This criterion is related to textbooks and dictionaries which provide distinguishing characteristics for what *gender* is (for a detailed discussion of the various definitions of *gender*, see section 2.2.1.). Gender has generally been defined as relating to the social distinction between what male is and what female is. In this sense, all concordances where distinctive reference is made to a male or female person are actually potential sites for gender-related investigation and legitimate candidates for further scrutiny based on other classificatory criteria. (2) *Word Field Specification*: Semantic field and semantic network dictionaries, particularly FrameNet¹⁹ and WordNet²⁰ respectively, were consulted to further validate the distinction established earlier between *male* and *female* as related to the *gender* and to validate the ascription of certain words to the gender-related category. These words include the following lemmas and their derivatives: MAN, WOMAN, BOY, GIRL, FATHER, MOTHER, SON, DAUGHTER, HUSBAND, and WIFE (For a detailed discussion of the role of FrameNet and WordNet in determining gender-related note words, see section 4.3.2.5.). (3) *Contextual Features*: The context of concordances that were found to comply with the aforementioned criteria was further investigated to determine its gender relevance.

The following example demonstrates how these criteria are operationalized in the process of classifying most frequent words as relating to gender or not. In her speech delivered in Grafton on the 11th of May 2008, Clinton says, “*Or the mother who takes matters into her own hands and sends body armor to her son or daughter in Iraq when the military didn’t provide it. This is not a new phenomenon. **Women** have been standing up for what we believe in, defying convention, and going forward for a long time.*” WOMEN here, as a most frequent as well as keyword, was categorized as gender-related relying on the textbook and dictionary definitions of the word *woman* as “an adult female human being”, which suggests a major distinctive characteristic

¹⁹ <https://framenet.icsi.berkeley.edu/fndrupal/home>

²⁰ <http://wordnetweb.princeton.edu/perl/webwn>

opposed to *man* defined as “an adult male human being” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online). Both FrameNet and WordNet confirm the distinction—*man* and *woman* are defined as “an adult human male” and “an adult human female” respectively— and hence, the plural form WOMEN is a potential site for gender-related ascription. The socio-political non-linguistic contextual background is exemplified in the Iraq War and the role of the soldiers’ mothers in facilitating their children life. Clinton continues, “*What about Harriet Tubman, who wouldn't back down in the face of danger as she led slaves out of bondage on an underground railroad? What about Dolores Huerta, who helped to found the United Farm Workers and worked long and very unglamorous hours as a grassroots activist [...]?*” The relevance of gender becomes evident in the light of the historical background of prominent figures like Harriet Tubman and Dolores Huerta. Moreover, on the co-textual linguistic level, a semantic relation of hyponymy holding between *women* and both *Harriet Tubman* and *Dolores Huerta* can be located in this quotation. There is also a pragmatic meaning conveyed by the two indirect speech acts taken on the surface level as questions inquiring about the role of the two prominent figures but intended as statements for acknowledging the role of women and their contributions throughout history. Both phenomena along with the lexical meaning and syntactic relations invoked, are co-textual linguistic features that contribute to classifying this particular concordance of WOMEN as a gender-related case. The following clause is an example of cases where WOMEN is mentioned in a context non-relevant to gender-related issues: *Here's what I would do as president; I would strengthen our national defense that support both our men and **women** in uniform and American workers.* Here, *women* is raised in a conjunctive relation to *men* while addressing Clinton’s plans for American soldiers when she is elected as a president, and thus is not categorized as relating to gender issues.

Put in a nutshell, the following analytic steps have been performed in order to create a categorization for the most frequent words on Obama’s and Clinton’s wordlists:

- (1) Most frequent words were categorized according to a set of parameters (Figure 23) and using an operationalizing technique.
- (2) Categorization was underpinned by concordance analysis.
- (3) Two different types of categorizations were located based on the topics invoked in the speeches, one relating to the foreign/domestic policy and the other to gender.

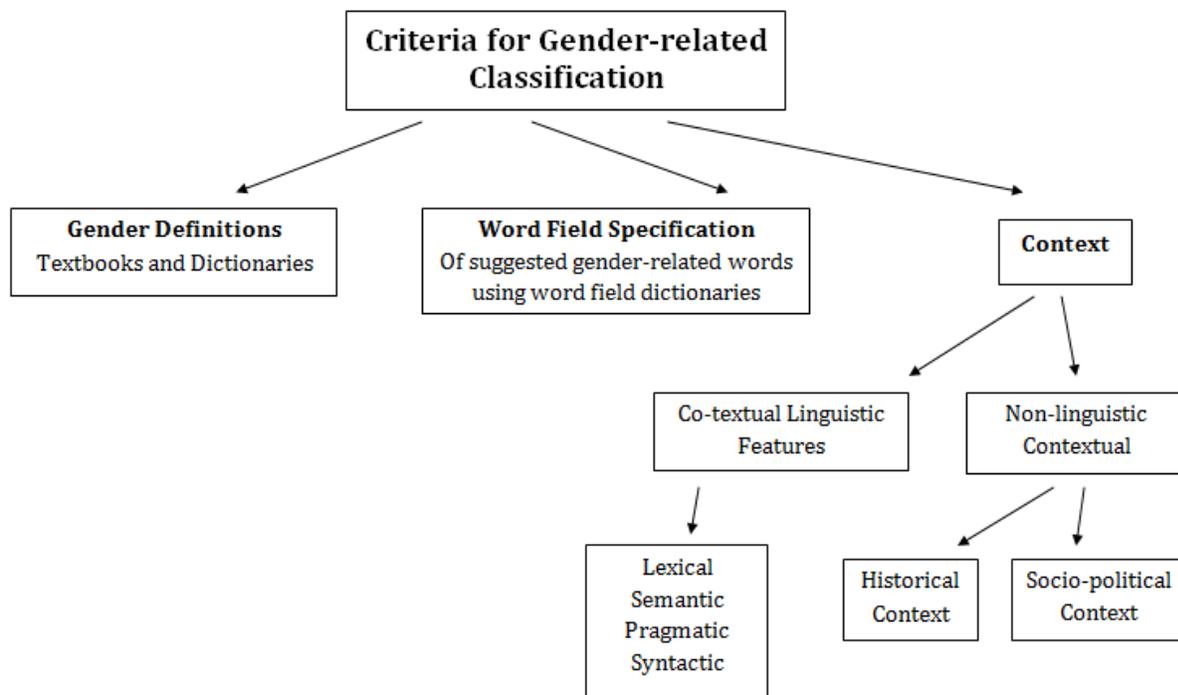


Figure 23. Criteria for Gender-related Concordance Classification

Word instances that did not yield to any of the aforementioned categories through concordance analysis were grouped into a category labeled ‘Other’ which most often covers the instances where the most frequent words were contextualized as part of a welcoming or thanking notes of a speech or a personal note or anecdote of the life of one politician or another, or where they served in the context of the emotional, sensational, or laudatory language typical of the electoral rhetoric. *Other* category also encompasses general politics and religious theme as well as enthusiastic, instigative and propagandistic jargon characteristic of political speeches in general and in particular. Relevant to this point is Wodak’s (1989: 141) definition of ‘jargon’ as “a special language which is based grammatically on the common language, but which contains special features in the lexical, semantic and syntactic areas.” Jargon is generally used in order to gain prestige, “but without this prestige being justified by the imparted content of the form” (ibid.). It is also used to manipulate listeners (in this case, the audience) who are “influenced on the emotional level” and hence, the speaker gains an appeal to a wide range of audiences (ibid.: 144).

It is worth noting here also that concordance examination has forced the exclusion of some nouns that are readily enlisted in the Wordsmith wordlist from the current classification relating to sketching areas of topical interest. Based on the reason of exclusion, the words excluded can be classified into three categories: (1) *Words excluded for syntactic grounds*: focusing on the nominal status of words caused the alteration of their frequency as they appeared in Wordsmith which does not offer the possibility of distinguishing different syntactic categories of words that have the same form in the nominal as well as verbal cases. However, since SkE can readily provide concordance lines for words classified according to their PoS, I have used SkE to determine the PoS of the words under investigation. In this sense, the exclusion encompasses, in Obama's wordlist, lexical items like NEED whose grammatical category has been determined through SkE and has been found to occur as a noun only 34 times. The same applies to HELP which occurs as a noun only 47 times and WORK occurring 256 times which is a less frequency than that of the last word in the wordlist, i.e. GOVERNMENT which has a frequency of occurrence of 308. On Clinton's side, the word NEED occurs as a noun 39 times, while HELP and RIGHT occur 93 and 117 times as nouns consecutively which is less than the last word in the wordlist, i.e. the last word is SENATOR occurring 278 times. (2) *Words excluded on a political non-relevance ground*: The close scrutiny of concordance lines of time denoting nouns, e.g. TIME, YEARS, YEAR, DAY and FUTURE, has revealed that they are often used as a part of the political jargon associated with electoral speeches. Indeed their temporal field specificity indicates their ubiquitousness, that is, they are used most pervasively as non-entity denoting nouns, i.e. they can facilely fall within any topical field and, thus, have been excluded from the classification on both sides, i.e. Obama's and Clinton's wordlists. (3) *Words excluded on a categorization non-relevance ground*: The noun CHANGE, on Obama's wordlist, has been excluded from the final classification because, after the close concordance analysis of its occurrences as a noun, the results showed that in most cases (55% of occurrences) it is used in enthusiastic and propagandistic context. The result is further validated by the fact that CHANGE has always been a part of Obama's electoral campaign slogans "Yes, we can change!" On Clinton's side, WORK in 67% of its occurrence, has been used in instigative and emotional context typical of political speeches.

5.2.2. Findings of Wordlist Examination

After close examination of each of the most frequent words induced by Wordsmith in their concordances generated by SKE, a classification of each word has been implemented, one for each sub-corpus. The two following figures, i.e. Figure 24 and Figure 25, show the results of the classification carried out. For a table-based form of the results, see the appendix.

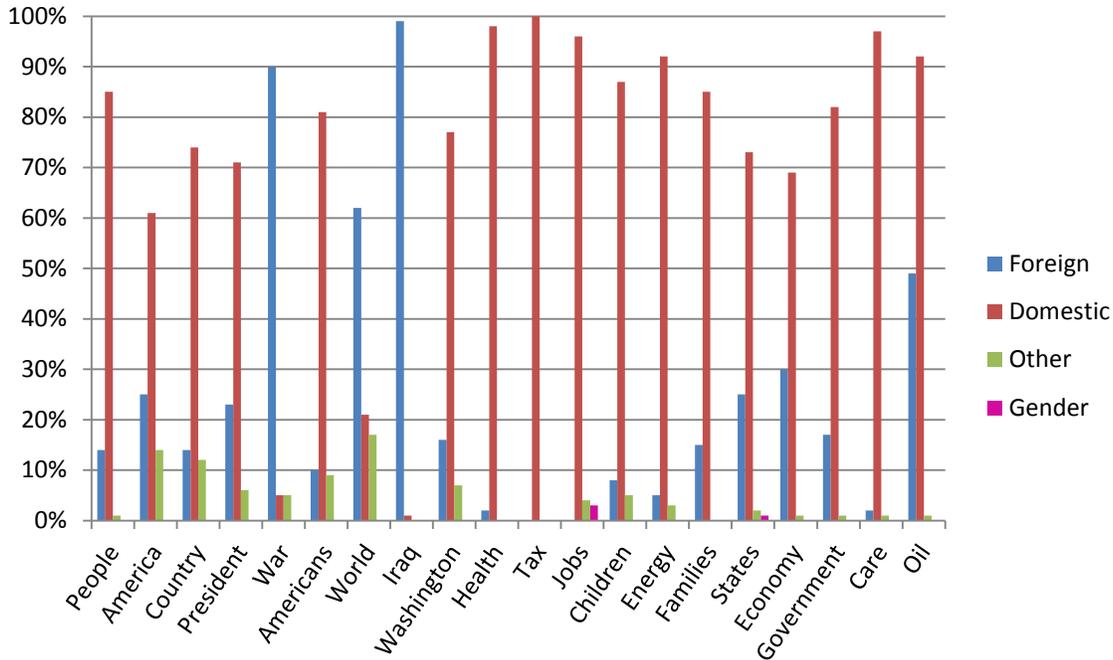


Figure 24. Classification of Obama's most frequent words

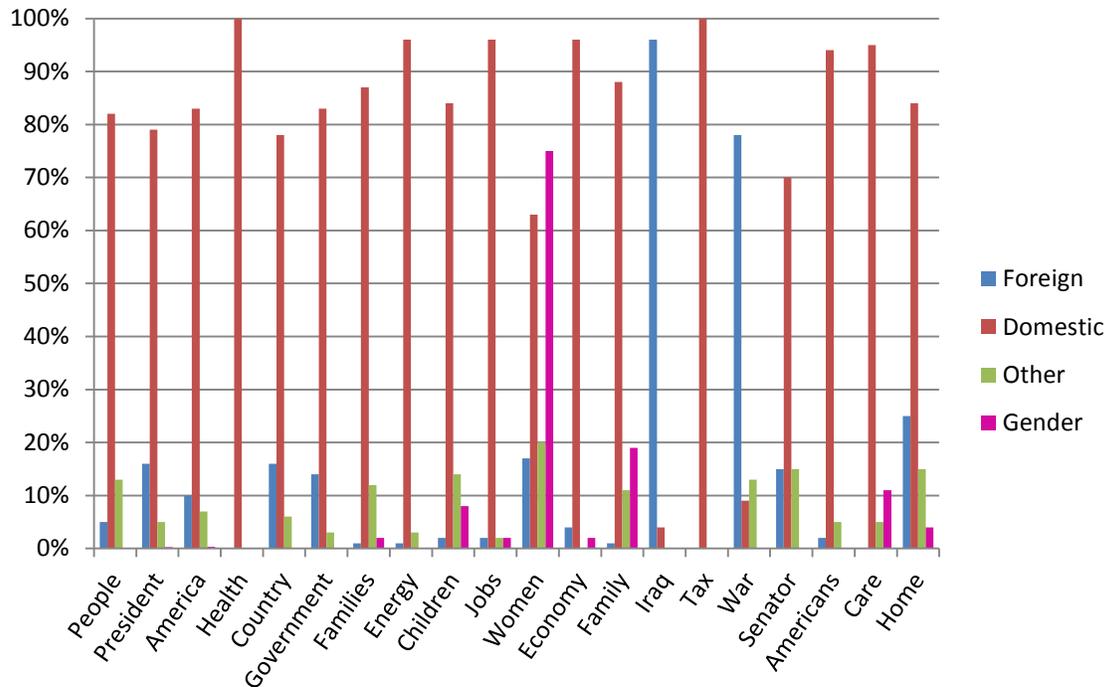


Figure 25. Classification of Clinton's most frequent words

Discernibly, Figures 24 and 25 reflect disparate textual foci of the two texts. Clinton seems more interested in addressing domestic issues which are reflected by the high percentage allocated to words like PEOPLE, PRESIDENT, AMERICA, HEALTH, COUNTRY, GOVERNMENT, FAMILIES, ENERGY, CHILDREN, JOBS, ECONOMY, FAMILY, TAX, SENATORS, AMERICANS, CARE, HOME and to a lesser extent WOMEN. These words which belong to the area of domestic affairs represent 90% of the twenty most frequent words used by Clinton. Thus, a tendency on the part of Clinton to raise issues related to the political domestic affairs of the USA is perspicuous. Moreover, drawing on the results of the classification contributed, Clinton seems also more interested than Obama in addressing gender-specific issues which are reflected by the comparatively high percentage allocated to words like WOMEN, which was found to correspond directly to the concept of gender in 75% of its instances of occurrence, and to a lesser extent to FAMILY, CHILDREN and CARE. By ‘gender-specific’ here, I mean two types of occurrences: utterances where gender is invoked and utterances of gendered use of language. The former type is manifested in utterances like, “*What about the **women** around the world like the extraordinary Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who became the president of Liberia in 2005 and whose leadership has literally helped to mother a wounded and suffering nation? I find inspiration from*

all of these women and from their stories and I find inspiration as I travel around West Virginia and America.” Gender here is invoked by Clinton’s raising of Women’s Capabilities and Achievements Discourse.

The following utterance, within concordance analysis of Obama’s wordlist item STATES, is an example of the latter case, i.e. the use of a gendered language, *“I know that because of our campaign, because of the campaign that Hillary Clinton waged, my daughters and all of your daughters will forever know that there is no barrier to who they are and what they can be in the United States of America. They can take for granted that women can do anything that the boys can do. And do it better and do it in heels. I still don't know how she does it in heels. I don't know.”* Referring to Clinton’s appearance, *“I still don't know how she does it in heels,”* is a type of creating a gender distinction based on wardrobe choices which contributes to an Opportunity Inequality Discourse. Ironically, the pragmatic meaning conveyed by Obama’s utterance is exactly the opposite of the surface meaning, i.e. that currently women in the USA are having exactly the same opportunities as men do. Words like FAMILY, CARE, CHILDREN and HOME were found, through concordance analysis, to relate directly to gender in 19%, 11%, 8% and 4% respectively in Clinton’s corpus. It should be noted here that the classification of words as affiliating to the foreign/domestic categorization or the gender-relevant/gender-non-relevant categorization are not mutually exclusive, i.e. a word may readily fall within the category of foreign policy while simultaneously affiliating to the category of gender-related issues as in the following examples contributed by Clinton, *“Women who run for office in their own countries against some tough odds like Angela Merkel in Germany and Michelle Bachelet in Chile, and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in Liberia”* and also in *“about 60 percent of people living with AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa are women. They are young girls who are taken in marriage or in rape. They are women who are abused and mistreated; who have no say in their own lives, who work from sun up to sun down; who never believed they have any way to speak up or be heard. Their societies and their country don't recognize their rights to health care or education.”* In the same vein, a word may be classified as belonging to domestic policy while not belonging to gender-related categorization, or vice versa. In this sense, there is no nexus between the two axes of classification.

Per contra, based on the wordlist results, Obama seems to have a marked interest in addressing issues related to foreign affairs, with words like WAR, WORLD, IRAQ and OIL having percentages of occurrence of 90%, 62%, 99% and 49% respectively as directly related to foreign affairs. Other words like AMERICA, PRESIDENT, GOVERNMENT, ECONOMY and STATES have a salient high percentage of occurrence with the foreign policy category. On Clinton's part, IRAQ and WAR come with percentages of 96% and 78% of relevance to foreign policy classification, HOME with a rather dubious salient percentage. This can be described as a tendency on the part of Obama to focus on hard politics, i.e. foreign and external politics, rather than soft politics, i.e. internal and local affairs which are attended to by Clinton. Moreover, Obama seems less interested than Clinton in addressing gender-related issues. The comparative lack of interest on the part of Obama in accosting gender-specific issues is reverberated by the seeming absence of the most gender-denoting word in the list of the most frequently used words and by the nearly absence of gender-specific cases of occurrence.

A caveat is in order here. Though the exploration of individual words like *women*, *men*, *mothers*, *fathers*, etc. would not lead to exhaustive results about gender representations for example—since gender representations can readily permeate through the use of myriad words and expressions, this is not the case in determining the thematic focal fields of each politician, that is, Obama and Clinton. The reason lies in the very definitions of wordlists and keyword list as functions based on corpus tools which are introduced earlier in this section. By default, wordlists are based on the quantitative calculation of the most frequently occurring words throughout the whole corpus; a keyword list relies on the statistical calculation of words that are significant to one corpus when compared to another one. In this sense, wordlists and keyword lists are used to have an insight into the topics that each corpus is mainly concerned with and the topics that are most significant to each corpus in comparison to the other. Thus, these two functions, that is, wordlists and keyword lists, are adequate in determining the topical interests of each politician in relation to a certain domain, e.g. foreign/domestic policy, gender-relevant/gender-nonrelevant, or any other potential classification, especially when these words are examined in their co-textual concordances lines.

Back to the analysis, from a CDA perspective, an important question arises: Why is *men*, as the opposite-sex counterpart word for *women*, absent from the lists of most frequent words for both

politicians? That is to say, how to, contrastively, account for the absence of the equally gender-related word *men* from both lists? In order to answer this question two points need to be clarified. First, the general rule states that “males receive more attention than females in society, so they will be normally written about more than females” (Baker, 2014: 92). Second, frequency lists can offer information about “the concepts that are privileged in society,” though there is no “perfect relationship between a word’s frequency and how important, typical or preferable it is viewed to be in a society” (ibid: 75). For both Obama and Clinton, contrary to the normal case where men should have been talked about more often than women, what is related to men is assumed to be the norm and the ‘preferred state’, so it does not need to be equally addressed since it is already more pervasive and privileged. Thus, MAN (as a lemma) is less frequent than WOMAN for each politician individually. The question is further developed when considering the frequency results of both politicians contrastively since even WOMAN is less frequent in Obama’s sub-corpus than Clinton’s which suggests less interest of genderization on the part of Obama. The fact that MAN is more frequently used by Obama than WOMAN does not necessarily mean that the aforementioned rule is in act or that Obama is more interested in issues related to men than Clinton is. The reason is that MAN can possibly be used generically to refer to human beings rather than MAN as the opposite sex of WOMAN. Hence, I have used SkE to extract all instances of the lemma MAN (that would include both the singular and the plural form) in both Obama’s and Clinton’s sub-corpora. I have, then, examined all occurrences, i.e. 298 cases on Obama’s side and 246 cases on Clinton’s, in their linguistic environment through the function of concordances in order to sort the two possibilities. In 9% of cases, MAN is used by Obama in a generic sense, which means that Obama mentions MAN as distinct from *woman* 272 times. Clinton uses MAN generically in 2% of cases, i.e. in 239 instances MAN is used as opposite to *woman*.

MAN	Obama	Clinton	WOMAN	Obama	Clinton
man	136	82	woman	71	143
men	162	164	women	241	443
SUM	298	246	SUM	312	586
SUM (Net)	272	239			

Figure 26. Frequencies of MAN, MEN, WOMAN, WOMEN in both sub-corpora

In order to decide upon the significance of the potential difference which appears between Obama’s and Clinton’s use of MAN and WOMAN, a significant test needed to be conducted. A

test of statistical significance is normally used to “determine how high or low the probability is that the difference between the two texts on these features is due to chance” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 84). Thus, chi-squared test has been implemented. Testing the significance of the values related to MAN in Obama’s and Clinton’s corpora, the chi-squared test yielded a p-value of 0.138886 which means that the difference is insignificant. Thus, there is no significant difference between Obama’s and Clinton’s use of MAN. Applying the same procedure to WOMAN, the p-value yielded was 0 which indicates that the difference between Obama’s and Clinton’s use of WOMAN is significant. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is a significant difference between Obama and Clinton when it comes to invoking WOMAN in the context of their speeches. Within Obama’s sub-corpus, applying chi-squared test as well, the p-value came as 0.098038 which means that there is no significant difference between values of MAN and WOMAN in Obama’s corpus. On the other hand, the test yielded a p-value of 0 for the difference between MAN and WOMAN in Clinton’s corpus which indicates that there is a significant difference in Clinton’s corpus between the frequencies of MAN and WOMAN. These findings contribute towards two interpretations: (1) the significant disparity between Obama’s and Clinton’s use frequency of WOMAN further validates the aforementioned finding that Clinton is significantly more interested in addressing women’s affairs than Obama is. Moreover, the fact that there is no significant difference between them in the frequency of MAN indicates that gender is invoked by Clinton in so much as it relates to women’s issues and not men, and (2) the significant disparity between the frequency of MAN and WOMAN within Clinton’s corpus compared to their insignificance in Obama’s corpus also strengthens previous findings of Clinton’s concern about genderization in relation to the status and issues of women (for an analysis of all male- and female-related words, see section 5.6.)

5.3. Keyword Lists and Topical Interests

Implementing the methodological procedures specified earlier (see section 4.3.2.), the keywords specific of each corpus have been extracted. The results appear rather interesting as well (for a table-based display of the results, see appendix). Maintaining the same classificatory distinction established earlier, the keyword list of Obama’s corpus yielded by Wordsmith Tools comprise linguistic items (e.g. WASHINGTON, WAR, QAEDA, and IRAQ) which can arguably be

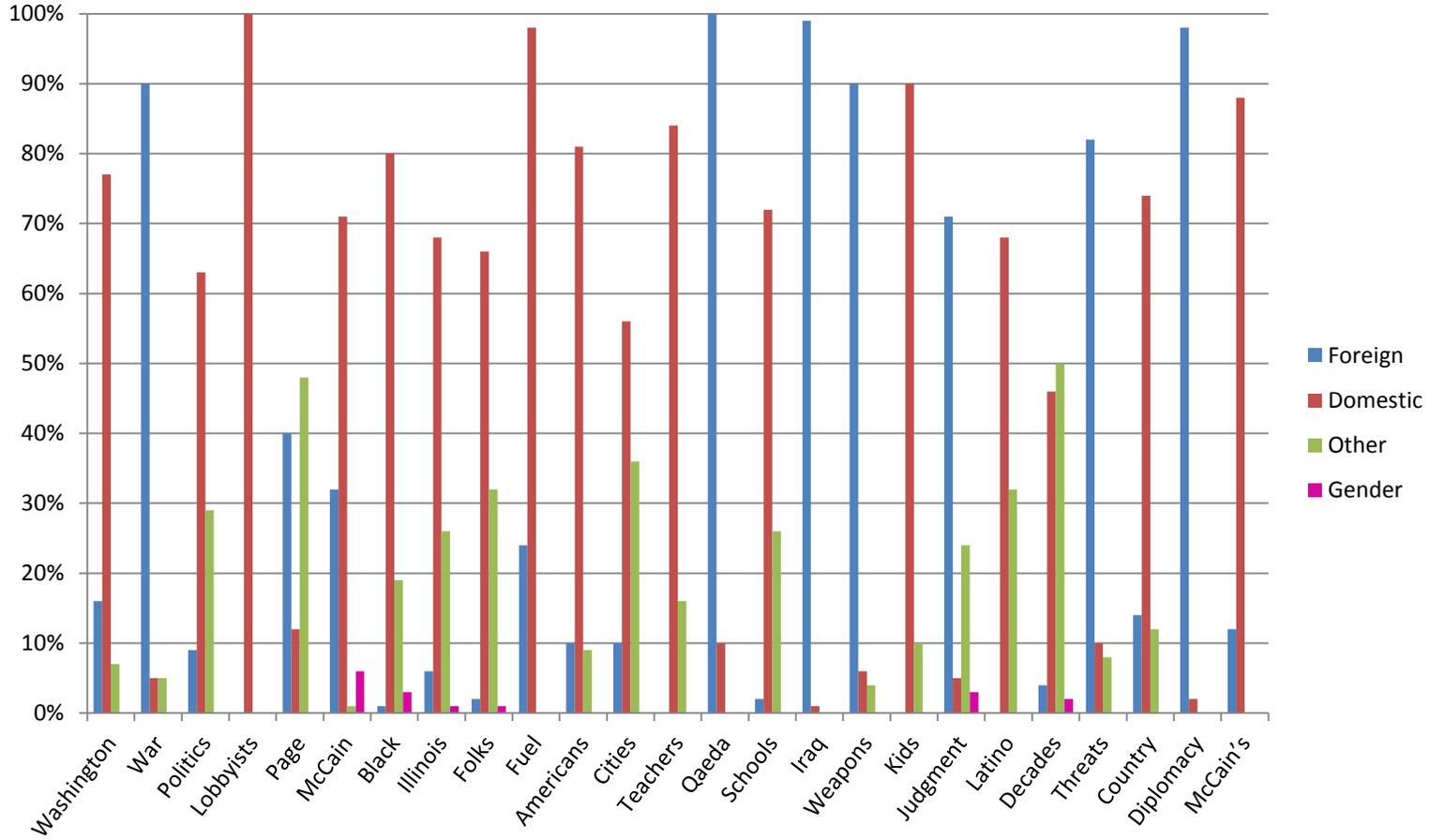


Figure 27. Classification of Obama's keywords

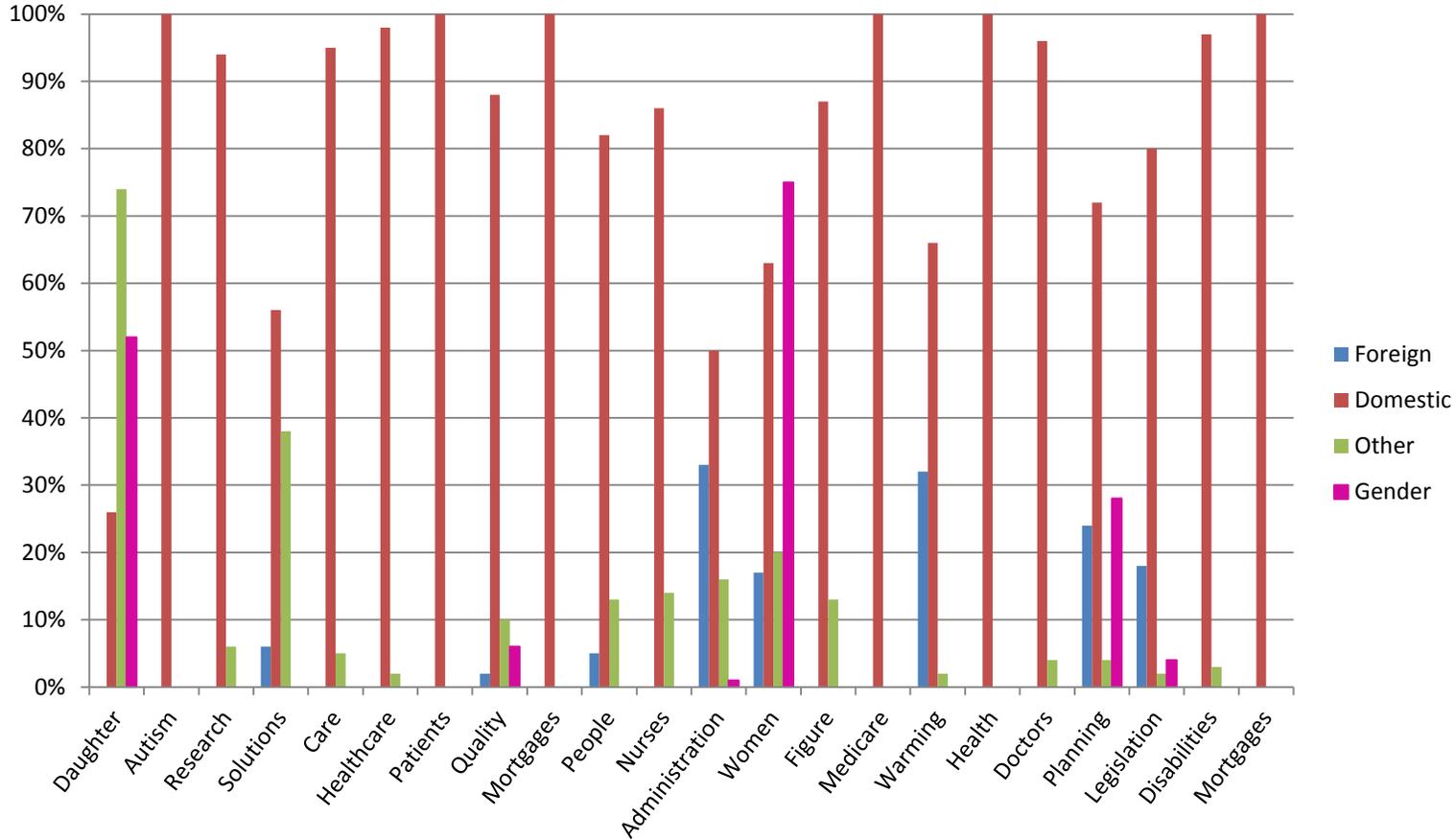


Figure 28. Classification of Clinton's keywords

associated with the field of foreign affairs. Other items (e.g. CHICAGO, MCCAIN, and ILLINOIS) can readily fall within both fields, internal or external affairs, while TEACHERS, SCHOOLS, and KIDS are more prone to fall within the domestic policy category. The foremost gender-related lemma WOMAN, with all its derivations, is absent from Obama's keyword list. Apropos the keywords of Clinton's corpus, none of the words enlisted were found to belong clearly to the field of foreign affairs. Contrarily, several words (e.g. AUTISM, HEALTHCARE, PATIENTS, MORTGAGES, NURSES, MEDICARE, ARKANSAS, HEALTH, DOCTORS, CONNECTICUT, FLORIDA, and MORTGAGE) are arguably comprehended within the area of internal affairs. Again, the plural gender denoting noun WOMEN appears as a keyword in Clinton's corpus. In order to validate this initial intuitively drawn schema of topical interests, the same methodological procedure earlier used with the most frequent words is implemented here (see section 4.3.2.). The results are reified in Figure 27 and Figure 28 (For a table-based form of the results, see appendix).

A number of words that appeared readily on the keyword list of each sub-corpus was disallowed in the current classification on the ground of categorization non-relevance. On Obama's side, the words disallowed included words like STREET which is used by Obama almost exclusively as a metaphorical representation of the American people in general or the population of a certain city in the context of recounting personal as well as historical and national incidents. For example, *"And when Kennedy turned to the reporters traveling with him, with tears in his eyes he asked a single question about poverty in America: "How can a country like this allow it?" Forty years later, we're still asking that question. It echoes on the streets of Compton and Detroit, and throughout the mining towns of West Virginia."* Hence, with a percentage of 64% of instances irrelevant to the foreign/domestic dichotomy, it was disallowed. The same applies to NEIGHBOURHOODS which is used in personal and historical recounts of Obama's achievements as a politician—a concomitant rhetorical characteristic of electoral speeches intended to raise people's pathos. These instances represent 78% of the word's instances of occurrence, for example, *"My work took me to some of Chicago's poorest neighborhoods. I joined with pastors and lay-people to deal with communities that had been ravaged by plant closings."* His use of BULLET is figuratively dedicated to the procedures that have to be taken to handle harsh situations, *"it's time to take the bullet out."* This metaphorical use is drawn from, and is actually quoted in 9 instances of the word BULLET use, the story of a pregnant woman who took a bullet, got admitted in hospital and then delivered a baby with a bullet in his arm. STORY, with a percentage of

78%, is used in a glorifying type of talk about the history and the future of the USA. The exclusion also comprises PURPOSE, BLOCK, CYNICISM, PATRIOTISM, JOSHUA, HOPE, ORGANIZER, KEEPER, TRUTH, STEEL, KENYA, GRANDFATHER, PLANET, POLITICIANS and CHICAGO.

From Clinton's keyword list, ARKANSAS is often used in the context of personal notes and experiences as a means of raising the audience interest and involvement, since Bill Clinton was previously the governor of Arkansas (63% of concordances were classified under the label 'Other'). For example, *And I remember his mother, Virginia, telling me that she was so happy to see him but it was so heartbreaking when he left on the train going back to Arkansas . One of Bill's earliest memories is seeing his mother drop to her knees and just sobbing as her son left.* Most of the concordance of FLORIDA (87%) relate to 2000 and 2002 national incident when the votes of Florida and Michigan were tampered. From a foreign/domestic perspective, DAUGHTER could have been excluded (74% of concordances under the label 'Other'); however, it figures out on the gender scale with a percentage of 52%. Other words excluded encompass OBAMA, AIDS, CONNECTICUT and HOUSE.

The exploration of keywords in their contexts and the subsequent classification demonstrate that the following keywords on Obama's part clearly belong to the field of foreign policy: WAR, QAEDA, IRAQ, JUDGMENT, THREATS, DIPLOMACY, and to a lesser degree, PAGE and MCCAIN. On Clinton's part, none of the keywords can be affiliated to the classification of foreign policy. Contrarily, most keywords on Clinton's side perspicuously belong to domestic policy: AUTISM, RESEARCH, CARE, HEALTHCARE, PATIENTS, QUALITY, MORTGAGES, PEOPLE, NURSES, FIGURE, MEDICARE, WARMING, HEALTH, DOCTORS, PLANNING, LEGISLATIONS, DISABILITIES, MORTAGAE and to a lesser degree, SOLUTIONS, ADMINISTRATION and WOMEN. Thus, these results further validate the previously-demonstrated findings of the most frequent words exploration that Obama is more focused on foreign policy issues than Clinton. As for the gender axis, none of Obama's keywords affiliate to the category of gender, whereas three of Clinton's keywords show noticeably high percentage of gender relevance, namely DAUGHTER, WOMEN and PLANNING. The latter keyword, that is, PLANNING, is particularly interesting because its affiliation to gender cannot be discerned intuitively, i.e. only through concordance examination that PLANNING can be categorized as relevant to gender-related issues. In all of its gender-related instances, which constitute 72% of its total occurrences, it is mentioned in the context of discussing women's right to have new healthcare programs that

cover contraceptives, e.g. *This is not just about Roe, this is not just about choice, this is about contraception, family **planning**, and, most profoundly, women's roles and responsibilities and rights.*

The inherent significance of keywords, rather than the most frequent words, stems from their ability to guide us to any possible areas of difference between two texts. In this sense, what has been grasped as a *prima facie* hypothesis stemming from the wordlist analysis is further validated. The absence of the prime gender-specific keyword WOMEN in Obama's corpus (or any potential site of gender relevance) vis-à-vis its evident salience in the keyword list of Clinton's corpus marks Obama's comparative lack of interest in addressing gender issues in his speeches versus Clinton's interest in declaiming gender issues. Moreover, predicating on the conducted thematic keyword analysis, Obama seems to be comparatively more concerned with foreign politics which is not heedfully attended to by Clinton.

According to the principles of analyzing identity, namely the principle of indexicality, the ascription of an identity can be conducted either explicitly or implicitly (see section 2.1.6.). The former case is marked by an "overt mention of identity categories and labels," whereas the latter is related to "the use of linguistic structures and systems that are ideologically associated with specific personas and groups" (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 594). For example, if Clinton resorts to invoking gender as an aspect of identity projection, potentially by using the linguistic form 'as a woman' or 'because I am a woman', this would be taken as an explicit projection of a self-identity—in this case a gender identity. However, the same gender identity could be oriented to implicitly, not by resorting to direct self-identity construction, but rather by transmitting—or, in accordance with the identity related concept, by *indexing*—this aspect through linguistic means such as the selection of particular topics, the use of certain accents or dialects, the adoption of specific disagreement strategies, the use of certain involvement techniques (or non-use of them), etc. The same implicit means of identity projection may be operationalized through non-linguistic tools as well, such as body postures, gestures or even cloth choices. These features are an interesting site to explore; however, they are not tackled in the current research mainly for two reasons. *First*, non-linguistic features are typically and most fruitfully investigated within the boundaries of semiotic models (van Leeuwen, 2008) which are outside the scope and focus of the present study. *Second*, the studies tackling these features are of a pure qualitative nature focusing on small amount of data, i.e. they cannot be unproblematically suited in the context of quantitative research.

In this sense, the aforementioned results can further be positioned in the overall picture of constructing a political identity for each politician, that is, Obama and Clinton. The topics tackled in the speeches credibly implicitly contribute towards a construction of their political identities; in other words, Obama's and Clinton's divergent political identities are partly based on the disparity they show in their topic selection. On the one hand, Obama concentrates on hardcore politics—foreign and external issues—rather than soft politics—internal issues and local affairs, whereas Clinton focuses on soft politics rather than the hard ones. On the other hand, the noticeably disparate attention paid to women issues on the part of each politician—seen in the light of Obama's and Clinton's affiliation to different gender social categories which corresponds to the topics raised—strongly signals that the political identity of Obama and Clinton is in part constituted around their different gender identities, that is, Obama as a male politician and Clinton as a female one. In this sense, topic selection in the case of Obama and Clinton within the context of Democratic Party Primaries implicitly contributes towards the construction of a particular image of each candidate which leads, in its turn, to ascribing an identity to each of them. Thus, the topics selected function indexically in the process of constructing an identity for each politician.

When Obama, as a male politician, stresses issues of foreign affairs in contrast to Clinton who, as a female politician, focuses on domestic affairs, an ideological stratum is being raised and addressed, invoking into the minds of the audience the corresponding traditional longstanding image of man as the 'breadwinner' and woman as the 'housewife'. From a CDA perspective, this discursively established representation contributes towards maintaining and sustaining a gender traditional role allocation, and to a certain degree, expectation about Obama and Clinton. The image is further validated and deepened by Obama's negligence of women's issues compared to Clinton's focus on them which takes the process of gender-related ideological working a step forward by projecting a political identity of Obama as a male politician who is less concerned about women affairs versus a political identity of Clinton as a female politician who is much keen on addressing these issues. What Obama and Clinton are projecting as activated aspects of their identities indexed by their thematic choices, and what identities the public interpret and ascribe to them as politicians are thus partially dependent on the social category of gender. Thus, their disparate thematic foci implicitly transmit an image, or an identity, which corresponds to the gender traditional role expectations and allocations. Whether this image and this kind of identity projection is intentionally decided upon and communicated by each candidate with the aim of addressing

the needs and anticipations of the public as a kind of strategic identity communication relates to the issue of intentionality and strategic use of linguistic resources in order to project a particular aspect of an identity which is typically considered to be outside the boundaries of linguistic research (for a discussion of the issue of intentionality, see section 6.1.1.).

5.4. Racial, Ethnical and Religious Aspects within Keyword Analysis

It should be noted that myriad of topic-based classifications may readily be plausible to be implemented to the data at hand, or actually to any set of data, i.e. providing a classification for the thematic focus in a corpus can be conducted through various lines of argument based on the particular perspective and focus of research. Classifying the topical interests of the speeches of Obama and Clinton under investigation has been conducted in alignment with the focus of the present research as primarily gender-based. In this sense, the two categorical axes of (1) foreign/domestic policy and (2) gender-relevant/gender-nonrelevant have been set as the pivots of classification. The reasons for the selection of this perspective partly take roots in language and gender tradition as well: (1) by focusing on the foreign/domestic classification, an explicit dimension of political identity is oriented to, but also an implicit correspondence to a gender identity is contributed, and (2) by addressing the gender-relevant/gender-nonrelevant pivot, each candidate's focus on gender-related issues is explicitly examined.

However, in this respect, it should also be noted that, in order to have an overall understanding of the data at hand, the exploration of other barometers that would appear as salient during the process of analysis would be helpful in having a comprehensive view of the factors at play concerning the corpus under investigation. The examination of keywords on Obama's part has shown that three words can potentially be considered as related to racial and ethnic issues, namely BLACK, LATINO and KENYA. This remark, if validated, can signal a comparative tendency on the part of Obama to address issues related to race and ethnicity rather than Clinton—a notice which instigated an exploration of all words on the wordlists and keyword lists in their concordances for both sub-corpora in order to examine their potential relevance to the issue of race and ethnicity.

Of importance here is defining the term 'ethnicity' and setting the distinguishing boundaries between 'ethnicity' and the much akin term 'race'. Thus, taking a step outside the analytic framework, a distinction between 'race' and 'ethnicity' is to be provided. Weiß (2001: 29) defines race as "human groups that, through symbolic classification, become 'Races'"

(translated in Winker & Degele, 2011: 55). The term ethnicity, on the other hand, is used to refer to a group with “a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration” (Weber, 1968/1987: 18). Conzen defines it as: “a process of construction or invention which incorporates, adapts and amplifies pre-existing communal solidarities, cultural attributes and historical memories” (1992: 4-5).

The distinction between race and ethnicity is inextricably problematic (Grosfoguel, 2004). The term ‘race’ is primarily used in the American context in reference to differences based on visible characteristics or phenotype, e.g. skin colour (Waldiger & Bozorgmehr, 1996; Alba and Nee, 1997). The term ‘ethnicity’, on the other hand, is used in both the American and the European context in reference to people who originally come from Latin America. Drawing on longstanding literature, Grosfoguel argues, “ethnicity is frequently assumed to be the cultural identity of a group within a nation state while race is assumed to be the biological and/or cultural essentialization/naturalization of a group based on a hierarchy of superiority and inferiority related to the biological constitution of their bodies” (ibid.: 315). Grosfoguel also introduces the terms ‘racialized ethnicities’ and ‘ethnicized races’ as pertinent to and dependant on the context of power relations involved. Racialized ethnicities appear in the racialization of Puerto Rican identity in New York City while ethnicized races are exemplified by the use of racial categories such as ‘black’ as an ethnic identity. He further argues that the concept ‘racial/ethnic identity’ is to be regarded as one concept since concepts of race and ethnicity cannot be used as separate and autonomous categories.

Griffith (1993: 222) regards racial and ethnic categories as symbolic markers for incorporating different people coming from different parts of the world into a global economy:

The opposing interests that divide the working classes are further reinforced through appeals to ‘racial’ and ‘ethnic’ distinctions. Such appeals serve to allocate different categories of workers to rungs on the scale of labor markets, relegating stigmatized populations to the lower levels and insulating the higher echelons from competition from below. Capitalism did not create all the distinctions of ethnicity and race that function to set off categories of workers from one another. It is, nevertheless, the process of labor mobilization under capitalism that imparts to these distinctions their effective values.

Wallman (1977: 531-2) considers how the term ‘ethnic’ is used in the ordinary language of Britain and the United States, arguing that ‘ethnic’ is widely used in Britain to refer to race

‘only less precisely, and with a lighter value load’. In North America, on the other hand, ‘race’ is commonly used to refer to colour, while ‘ethnics’ has come into use relatively recently with the increasing immigration from non-English-speaking countries.

Ethnicity entails skin colour, country of origin, language and religion; it is considered a dialectical social construct since it involves a process of negotiation between people orienting to it as an identity and people ascribing a certain identity to others. Although people would assume certain social identities relating to their ethnic identity, power relations also could position people within ethnic categorizations so that to shape their access to opportunities and resources. In this sense, ethnicity is regarded as other social constructs, influencing the debate of identity and representation in the same way that gender, class, race, etc., do. Although affiliating to non-white groups, whether on the basis of ‘race’ or ‘ethnicity’, is related to experiences of oppression and inequality (McIntosh, 1995), the concept of ‘race’ has come to comprise the social and political demands of recognition and representation of oppression on the part of non-whites, while that of ‘ethnicity’ has come to be attached with cultural identity (Arboun, 2009). In all cases, both race and ethnicity are socially constructed, complex, fluid and negotiable social identities that are oriented to, ascribed and challenged (Omi, 2001).

Returning to the analytic process, by race-related issues I mean two types of concordances: **First**, concordances where race is generally invoked and resorted to in the context of presenting an argument, i.e. cases where reference is made to different races without actually addressing racial discrimination, such as: *It requires all Americans to realize that your dreams do not have to come at the expense of my dreams; that investing in the health, welfare, and education of **black** and **brown** and **white** children will ultimately help all of America prosper*. These cases are considered significant because by invoking the distinction between people based on skin colour, the speaker is actually linguistically indexing the issue of race as vital to the argument proposed. **Second**, instances where reference is directly made to racial discrimination and inequalities, such as: *a woman who once confessed her fear of **black** men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered **racial** or **ethnic** stereotypes that made me cringe*. Consistently, the same categorization is maintained for the categorization of concordances in relation to the issue of ethnicity as well.

Equally interesting is that one keyword on Obama’s side has shown a potential relevance to a religious theme, that is, JOSHUA, which indicates that another pivot of classification—and hence of delineating the comparative thematic focus of the candidates—may be at work, that

is, religion. In this sense, by identifying an occurrence as religion-related, I refer to instances where religion is invoked or drawn upon in the process of addressing an issue or making an argument. For example, Obama mentions POLITICS in relation to religion, invoking biblical notes and explicitly referring to the Scripture, in the following concordance line: *Let us be our brother's keeper, Scripture tells us. Let us be our sister's keeper. Let us find that common stake we all have in one another, and let our **politics** reflect that spirit as well.* Therefore, in this phase of analysis, all keywords are again examined in their concordance lines in order to decide upon their relevance to race, ethnicity and religion. It should be noted that the classification implemented around the axes of race, ethnicity and religion here is not mutually exclusive, i.e. a word can readily belong to the category of race and religion simultaneously, as in: *And if it weren't for the particular attributes of the historically **black church**, I may have accepted this fate. But as the months passed in Chicago, I found myself drawn - not just to work with the church, but to be in the church.* Another example which demonstrates that a word may be classified as affiliating to race and ethnicity is: *I had grown up without a sense of roots. My father was **black**, he was from **Kenya**, and he left us when I was two.*

Interestingly, it has been found out that in relation to race, two keywords on Obama's part are classified as perspicuously corresponding to racial issues, that is, BLACK and LATINO, with a percentage of 96% and 98% respectively (for a table-based display of the results, see appendix). As for BLACK, which comes with a frequency of 120, except for 2 cases where BLACK is used in a metaphorical sense as an idiom (*Everybody has a black sheep in the family*), BLACK concordance lines relate to the conditions of black people in the American society, raising issues of health, education, jobs and social equality. In a total of 60 cases, i.e. 50% of his use of BLACK, he pairs the mention of the black race with other races, whites, browns, Latinos, Asians, and Hispanic. It should be noted that in Obama's sub-corpus WHITE is mentioned 99 times in a race-related sense with false positives and diminishing returns removed, while in Clinton's sub-corpus, there are 19 race-related cases for WHITE and 14 cases for BLACK with false positives and diminishing returns removed. The word LATINO, occurring with a frequency of 67, is also used either to address racial issues or to invoke the racial-based division within society. On Clinton's part, there is a semi-absence of the issue of race in relation to keywords.

In this sense, these cases of occurrence on Obama's part fall within three types: (1) cases where racial discrimination is addressed, such as, *Legalized discrimination - where **blacks** were prevented, often through violence, from owning property, or loans were not granted to*

*African-American business owners, or black homeowners could not access FHA mortgages, or blacks were excluded from unions, or the police force, or fire departments - meant that black families could not amass any meaningful wealth to bequeath to future generations. And also in: it's about all the **Latino** families who are the first ones hurt by an economic downturn and the last ones helped by an economic upturn. (2) cases where a division based on race is invoked in the course of addressing different issues, as in the following example where Obama is discussing the conditions of American soldiers: *no matter whether they are **black, white, Latino, Asian, or Native American**; whether they come from old military families, or are recent immigrants – their stories tell the same truth.* And (3) cases where he draws upon his own racial affiliation, as in: *I am the son of a **black** man from Kenya and a **white** woman from Kansas* (for an elaboration on this point, see section 5.7.).*

As for the issue of ethnicity, only one word in Obama's corpus has been identified as most obviously relating to the ethnical axis, that is, KENYA. In all its instances, KENYA comes in the context of Obama's addressing his ethnical origins as the son of a man who has originally come from Kenya, as in the following example, *my father grew up herding goats in **Kenya**. His father - my grandfather - was a cook, a domestic servant to the British.* Comparatively, the theme of ethnicity is most feeble in Clinton's corpus. Regarding the religious dimension in Obama's corpus, two words have been recognized as affiliating to the axis of religion, namely, JOSHUA and KEEPER with a percentage of 100% for each. Obama uses JOSHUA exclusively to refer to the biblical figure Joshua who led the Israelites to the Promised Land. In all occurrences, Obama utilized this scriptural reference to create an allusion of himself as Joshua in his leadership of his people into a better future, as is obvious in the following example (for an elaboration on this point, see section 5.4.):

*Now, some of you may have heard me talk about the Joshua generation. But there's a story I want to share that takes place before Moses passed the mantle of leadership on to **Joshua**. It comes from Deuteronomy 30 when Moses talks to his followers about the challenges they'll find when they reach the Promised Land without him. To the Joshua generation, these challenges seem momentous - and they are. But Moses says: What I am commanding you is not too difficult for you or beyond your reach. It is not up in heaven. Nor is it beyond the sea. No, the word is very near.*

Obama's use of the second word which corresponds to the religious pivot, that is KEEPER, is most interesting. In all its occurrences KEEPER is used in reference to Obama's belief that the American people have to support one another in time of crisis, e.g.: *America is the sum of*

*our dreams. And what binds us together, what makes us one American family, is that we stand up and fight for each other's dreams, that we reaffirm that fundamental belief - I am my brother's **keeper**, I am my sister's **keeper** - through our politics, our policies, and in our daily lives. It's time to do that once more. It's time to reclaim the American dream.* As recounted in Hebrew Genesis (4:9), when Cain killed his brother's Abel and the Lord asked Cain, "Where is your brother Abel?" Cain's answer was: "I do not know; am I my brother's keeper?"²¹

Except for one instance, where Obama highlights the source of the allusion used by explicitly referring to the Scripture: *Let us be our brother's **keeper**, Scripture tells us. Let us be our sister's **keeper**. Let us find that common stake we all have in one another, and let our politics reflect that spirit as well,* Obama does not explicitly state that he is referring to the Bible. Thus, the listeners who are not familiar with this biblical text most probably will take his biblical reference as an idiom or old saying. Those who recognize the biblical story of Cain and Abel as recited in the Bible will interpret it as a signal from Obama that not only is he well-acquainted with the Bible but he also deliberately chooses to use a biblical reference to project this knowledge of his (Junior, 2014: 28-29). It is interesting also to note that "Obama adds a gender-inclusive note," which is 'my sister's keeper' (ibid.: 29). Moreover, Obama "broadens out the scriptural allusion to make a nondenominational yet still religious argument about the power of faith and connection" (Petre & Langsdorf, 2010: 121). Hence, in Obama's point of view, "even if our individual lives are free from crisis, we should turn out attention towards those experiencing crisis, and do the work that's needed if the system is to work for them, also" (ibid.).

All in all, drawing upon the findings of the keywords analysis in context, it is discerned that, again, Obama and Clinton seem to have obvious different textual foci in relation race, ethnicity and religion. Whereas Obama is conspicuously more concerned with addressing issues related to or invoked by race, ethnicity and religion, these aspects are almost absent from Clinton's corpus. This finding takes the interpretation of the political identity of Obama and Clinton a step further, i.e. Obama's interest in racial, ethnical and religious issues contributes towards the comprehensive image of his political identity, along with the previously drawn conclusions about his comparative non-heeding for the gender related issues. On the other hand, Clinton's relative eclipsing of racial, ethnic and religious topics participates in constructing a political identity of her as comparatively less concentrated on

²¹ Biblical translation taken from the New Revised Standard Version.

these issues to the favour of gender-related ones.²² Importantly, the results of the keyword analysis also suggest that Obama and Clinton draw on different sources for identity construction. In the same way that focusing on gender issues can be regarded as a salient source of implicit identity construction on the part of Clinton, focusing on race, ethnicity and religion are considered salient sources of implicit identity construction on the part of Obama, i.e. whereas Clinton resorts to gender as the main source of projecting an identity, Obama resorts to race, ethnicity and religion as the primary sources of constituting an identity. These findings can be further investigated in the light of the self-identity construction projected by each politician, as will be discussed in the following section.

5.5. Self-identity Construction

As previously explicated, an identity can be indexed either explicitly or implicitly (see section 2.1.6.). In sections 5.2., 5.3. and 5.4., an exploration of how an identity can be implicitly indexed has been conducted. In this section, an examination of how identity can be explicitly projected will be introduced. The notion of self-identity involves both an explicit, rather than implicit, construction of identity as well as the use of linguistic self-referent patterns and structures, e.g. *as a woman*, *I am a black man*, *when I was a senator*, etc. Moreover, the explicitness involved in self-identity construction restricts the role played by the audience. Implicit projection of identity gives space to the audience's interpretative intervention so that the link between the linguistic, or the non-linguistic, features and their correspondent invoked identity would be worked out. On the other hand, explicit invocation of identity allows for a limited role enactment on the part of the audience.

Another interesting finding of the aforementioned corpus-driven analysis relates to the ways in which identity can be constructed and revealed through keyword lists. Obama's frequency list does not seem to offer any clue into his identity construction, albeit PRESIDENT which

²² It should be noted also that the examination of words on the wordlists in their co-textual environment for the two sub-corpora has been conducted but has not yielded high values in relation to race, ethnicity or religion as axes for the classification of thematic interests. For example, on Obama's side, the highest word that relates to race is CHILDREN with a percentage of 11%. As for ethnicity, only CHILDREN occurs in ethnic context with 2%. NATION is the highest word occurring in relation to religion with 3%. On Clinton's side, Only WOMEN and AMERICANS occur in terms of race each with a percentage of 3%. COUNTRY occurs in terms of ethnicity with 3% while WOMEN and FAMILY are the highest words occurring in relation to religion with 1% (for a complete table-based display of the results, see appendix).

may be argued possibly to signal a *future* identity construction of his—a notion which is further borne out by the concordance line investigation, as in the following example:

*That's why I led the fight to reform a death penalty system that had sentenced 13 innocent men to death. That's why I led the fight to reform racial profiling. And that's why you can trust that I'll fight for you as **President**.*

*Now, I've heard that some folks aren't sure America is ready for an African-American **president**, so let me be clear: I never would have begun this campaign if I weren't confident I could win. But you see, I am not asking anyone to take a chance on me. I am asking you to take a chance on your own aspirations.*

The same remark also applies to Clinton's wordlist which does not offer an insight into her self-identity construction, except a *future* one contributed to by the word PRESIDENT, as in, *When I am **president**, you are never going to have to worry about anybody privatizing your Social Security.* Also in: *As **President**, I will invest in alternative energy with a \$50 billion strategic energy fund paid for in two ways, by taking the tax subsidies away from the oil companies.* In the light of the purpose of the speeches under investigation, that is, speeches delivered in the context of the Democratic Party Primaries electoral race, the salience of a word like PRESIDENT as a source of identity construction is not unconventional. However, unlike the wordlists, the keyword lists exhibit different words which may contribute towards a self-identity construction on the part of both candidates. On Obama's side, four words on the keyword lists come as potential sites of signaling Obama's identity construction, i.e. BLACK, KENYA, KEEPER and JOSHUA. In order to validate the authenticity of this remark, concordance lines analysis of all keywords need to be implemented. Therefore, I have used SkE to generate concordance lines for all the words occurring on the frequency and keyword lists. The results were congruent with the aforementioned remark.

Concordance lines for BLACK show that in 5 cases Obama straightforwardly invokes his identity as a black man, for example: *I am the son of a **black** man from Kenya and a white woman from Kansas,* and also in, *And it is because of these victories that a **black** man named Barack Obama can stand before you today as a candidate for President of the United States of America.* Hence, Obama's use of BLACK—which represents him in connection with the category of classification, according to van Leeuwen's social actors representation (1996: 54)—as a keyword reveals his drawing on race as a source of constructing his identity. The

following example is most instructive of Obama's explicit use of race as a major aspect of his own identity projection:

*I can no more disown him than I can disown the **black** community. I can no more disown him than I can my white grandmother - a woman who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me, a woman who loves me as much as she loves anything in this world, but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe. These people are a part of me.* Extending on the social context where this remark has been mentioned by Obama, Reverend Wright has issued comments which were taken as disqualifying Obama's worth as a presidential candidate. To these remarks, Obama contributed the aforementioned quotation, i.e. he is not only drawing upon his identity as an African-American, but also as partially white which further strengthen the effect of race as a salient aspect of Obama's self-identity construction.

The proper noun KENYA, which came on the keyword list with a frequency of 27, was also found to be resignified by Obama as a source for constructing identity in all its occurrences, e.g. *I am the son of a black man from **Kenya** and a white woman from Kansas.* In all these instances, Obama explicitly draws on ethnicity as a salient aspect in his self-identity construction. In 9 instances of those, his reference to Kenya is connected to *father* as in: *with a father from **Kenya**,* (actually *father* appears as a collocate for Kenya with a *t*-score of 2.9 and an MI score of 10.7) and one instance to *man*, which is also used in reference to his father as in: *Where else could a young man who grew up herding goats in **Kenya** get the chance to fulfill his dream of a college education?* Again, in the following example, Obama invokes both ethnicity and race in delineating his identity, by referring to the origins of his father as a Kenyan man from whom Obama got his name and the USA home state of his mother: *And I'd tell them that my father was from **Kenya**, and that's where I got my name. And my mother was from Kansas, and that's where I got my accent from.*

Obama draws upon ethnicity in projecting an identity of his also in relation to his grandfather and grandmother as in the following two examples:

*You see, my Grandfather was a cook to the British in **Kenya**. Grew up in a small village and all his life, that's all he was -- a cook and a house boy.*

And it's a vision informed by knowing what it's like to live in the wider world, beyond the halls of power; of playing barefoot with children in Indonesia who couldn't dream the same

dreams that I could because they weren't American; of having a grandmother living in Kenya without electricity or plumbing; of being born to a father who set out from a distant land in search of the light of hope offered by a dream called America.

In this sense, closely linked to the notion of race, the notion of ethnicity is also evidently explicitly drawn upon by Obama as a way into constructing himself as descending from non-American origins.

Of interest is also Obama's mention of JOSHUA which occurs as a keyword with a frequency of 30. Unlike Clinton whose frequency and keyword lists do not reference any religious discourse or refer to a religion-drawn-upon identity, Obama seems keen on identifying himself as a religious Christian and that is evident through his recurrent use of the Joshua story, "*I urge you to think about the risks you will take and the role you will play in building the movement that will get us there. And I ask you remember the story of Moses and Joshua. Most of you know that Moses was called by God to lead his people to the Promised Land. And in the face of a Pharaoh and his armies, across an unforgiving desert and along the walls of an angry sea, he succeeded in leading his people out of bondage in Egypt*". Recurrently, in all the occurrences of the keyword JOSHUA, Obama recounts the story of Joshua who received the mantle of leadership from Moses in order to lead the Israelites to the Promised Land. He uses the story mainly metaphorically to liken himself to Joshua, in leading one's own people to a better future, and the American people to the Israelites in their courage and helpfulness.

In the same way, in using the keyword KEEPER Obama also implicitly projects an identity as a devoted Christian (for an explanation of the biblical background and intended meaning, see section 5.3.). With a frequency of 32, KEEPER is entirely reserved for the dominant forms *brother's keeper* and *sister's keeper*, as in the following example: *But we also believe that 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 are our brother's keeper. That we are our sister's keeper.* Obama's aim is, thus, to argue for the belief that all Americans are to be in the aid of one another in time of crisis. The use of a reference from the Bible, though, contributes towards a delineation of Obama's identity not only as well-acquainted with biblical notes, but also as deeply influenced by them to the extent of utilizing them in his speech which ultimately helps him to implicitly ascribe to religion as a source of identity construction.

Critically, Obama's use of both JOSHUA and KEEPER can be rhetorically interpreted as a way of raising the religious pathos of the audience as well as construct an identity of himself

as a religious Christian. Following the CDA tradition of relating linguistic items to the broad social context, it should be noted that Obama's focus on a religious story can potentially be expounded by the then widespread talk that Obama is a Muslim. The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and the Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life has conducted a national survey to find out that a substantial and growing number of Americans say that Barack Obama is a Muslim; a declining number of people say that he is a Christian while the majority of people actually do not know his religion. According to the survey conducted in July and August 2010, 18% of Americans say Obama is a Muslim, 34% say he is a Christian, and 43% say they do not know what religion he follows (The Huffington Post)²³. Thus, the rationale behind Obama's self-identity construction in the light of religious notions becomes clear.

As for Clinton, through the concordance line examination of frequent as well as keywords, it was found that three words contribute towards a self-identity construction, i.e. DAUGHTER, WOMEN and SENATOR. Examining all concordance lines where Clinton uses DAUGHTER, it turns out that she draws upon DAUGHTER twice with the same structure in order to construct a dimension of identity based on relational identification (van Leeuwen, 1996: 56), e.g. *I ran as a daughter who benefited from opportunities my mother never dreamed of*. Interesting, in both cases, gender permeates as a source of identity construction, since Clinton references the difference between two generations of women, a past one (her mother's) who was deprived of rights and opportunities due to their gender to the extent that they never even thought about these chances, and her generation of women who has the chance of nominating a woman for presidency. However, the use of *daughter* as a linguistic item semantically entails drawing upon the familial relation inherently invoked by the word, i.e. Wordnet provides 'mother's daughter' as a direct hyponym of *daughter* and 'son' as an antonym, which position *daughter* as invoking and drawing upon familial relations.

WOMEN, occurring with a frequency of 392, is also recognized as contributing towards an identity construction on Clinton's part—a construction which is in this case also gender-related. In 5 instances, Clinton affiliates herself to different groups of women. First, she constructs an identity of herself as a female students in the following clause: *Later, in a class*

²³ http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2010/08/19/barack-obama-muslim_n_687360.html

(last accessed on the 27th of November 2013)

of 235 students at law school, I was one of only 27 **women** enrolled, at that time the largest group ever, referring to the small number of female students in the law school at the time—an incident resorted to twice as a means of exposing practices of gender discrimination in the American society. Second, she affiliates herself to the group of American women in general, as in: *Thankfully, I, like generations of **women** today, are able to make our own choices because other women stood up and demanded that for us.* Here, Clinton praises the efforts of women in the past which led to empowering present women in the process of life decision making. In the following instance, Clinton also refers to herself as a woman by means of allusion: *If we can blast 50 women into space, we will someday launch a **woman** into the White House.* Clinton marks her affiliation to the group of women in the following occurrence through the use of the inclusive ‘we’: *There’s no better place for us to gather than the Sewell-Belmont house. One of the iconic structures that really was the home of so much that went into the women’s movement, the suffrage movement and everything that we gained during the 20th century as **women**.*

A concordance line list of SENATOR on Clinton’s part yielded 278 cases, 20 cases of which involved the prepositional phrase ‘as a senator’ or ‘as senator’ as in: *As a **senator**, I’ve seen how working with Congress as a president makes a real difference, and the absence of presidential involvement leaves a vacuum,* which explicitly projects a self-identity construction on the part of Clinton in relation to her professional occupation. In 7 cases the same marking of identity construction is contributed to through different linguistic structures, for example: *Every year I have been a **senator** I have introduced legislation to create an environmental health tracking system.* Drawing on her occupational status, Clinton provides another dimension of identity construction as she constructs herself as a politician assuming substantial duties and responsibilities. Interestingly, even in cases of resorting to a professional identity, in 5 cases gender emerges as a defining factor of her occupational identity, as in the following instance where Clinton refers to the fact that she owns her position as a senator for the brave women and the few brave men who marched and fought for women’s rights in 1848: *I’m a United States **Senator** because in 1848 a group of courageous women and a few brave men gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, many traveling for days and nights, to participate in the first convention on women’s rights in our history.*

The keyword analysis of BLACK, KENYA, JOSHUA and KEEPER on Obama’s part, and DAUGHTER, WOMEN and SENATOR, on Clinton’s part as a whole proves that different aspects of identity amply influence a politician’s discursive identity construction as

demonstrated in figure 29. Here, the intersectionality involved in the self-identity construction of Obama and Clinton is most obvious. Obama’s self-constructed identity revolves around the intersection of race, ethnicity and religion, i.e. he is black, his origins are Kenyan and he is Christian. Per contra, in the case of the three identitative lemmas on Clinton’s part, her self-constructive identity is intersectionally based on family relations, gender affiliation and profession. However, in Clinton’s case, the aspect of gender seems to permeate through the different dimensions that she ascribes to when constructing an identity to herself, i.e. Clinton is focused on projecting her identity primarily in relation to gender, even when invoking her familial affiliation or professional status as explicated above. The intersection of race, ethnicity, gender and institutional role is, thus, necessary to understand Obama’s and Clinton’s identity construction. Based on the wordlists and keywords, Obama seems to resort to multi sources in constructing his identity, i.e. by intersecting race, ethnicity and religion rather than gender, the multiple identities of Obama come into play. On the other hand, by intersecting gender, familial relations and profession, the multiple identities of Clinton are revealed. It should be noted, though, that there are verifiably myriad of possible identities that one can orient to in the process of identity construction. Moreover, the current analysis of the identities projected by Obama and Clinton cannot claim exhaustiveness, that is, within the corpus there are instances where Obama refers to himself as a father, husband, grandson, etc. and there are also occurrences where Clinton refers to herself as a mother and wife. However, using keywords—which typically are the words peculiar of one corpus against another—as a tool of locating possible sources of identity projection leads to identifying those aspects that are most salient and, by default, most peculiar and distinctive to each politician.

Obama	All Conc.	Self-Ref. Conc.	source utilized	Clinton	All Conc.	Self-Ref. Conc.	source utilized
Black	120	5	race	Daughter	58	2	gender & family
Kenya	27	27	race & ethnicity	Women	392	5	gender
Joshua Keeper	30 32	30 32	religion	Senator	278	27	gender & profession

Figure 29. Self-identity constructive words in frequency & keyword lists

But how to interpret this relational disparity of sources oriented to in self-identity construction for both politicians? Adopting a CDA perspective, statistics about women’s and African-Americans contribution in U.S politics may provide a background against which these different foci on the part of Obama and Clinton can be interpreted. As for women, statistics

show that 18.5% of both U.S Senate and U.S House of Representatives are congresswomen, according to the CAWP (Center of American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University).²⁴ The first woman to be chosen as a Democratic Leader of the U.S. House of Representatives was Nancy Pelosi in 2002; in 2007, she became the first spokeswoman of the House. Women represent 24.1% of state legislators in the USA and only 32 women have been elected state governor since the founding of the USA. There are only three female justices in the Supreme Court and 12 female mayors for the 100 largest cities in the United States. On the other hand, the first African-Americans to win the elections of the US House of Representatives was Joseph Rainey in 1870, and the first African-American to be seated in the US Senate was Hiram Revels in the same year. The number of African-Americans' participation in US politics gradually increased; in the U.S. House for the 113th Congress (from 2013-2015), the percentage of elected African-Americans is 9.8%, that is, 43 African-Americans US Representatives. The total number of African-Americans who have been elected US Representatives in the history of the country is 127 (University of Minnesota blog on smart politics).²⁵

Drawing on these statistics, it would be expected that gender and race intersect to play significant roles in constructing a politician's discursive identity in the USA, equally interestingly both by their presence and their absence. Obama refrains from taking on gender as a source of identity construction since it is a taken-for-granted, normalized and ideologically naturalized fact that it is normal for a man to be in the field of politics so his gender is not a problem to be addressed. Being 'white' is regarded as natural and neutral (Wright, Thompson & Channer, 2007), while 'non-whites' are ascribed as having 'racialised identities' (Dabydeen, Gilmore & Jones, 2007). Thus, what he deems to be controversial and non-traditional in American politics, and hence worthy of emphasizing and drawing upon, is his race as a black man and his religion as a Christian which has raised many doubts. In a sense, being a man in the arena of politics is a taken-for-granted fact which does not need to be addressed, raised, problematized or emphasized. Clinton, on the other hand, seems more inclined to construct an identity which is gender-related since it is her gender as a female politician in the arena of men that she considers crucial in her self-identity construction.

²⁴ <http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/>

²⁵ http://blog.lib.umn.edu/cspg/smarts politics/2013/08/african-american_us_representa.php (last accessed on the 8th of December, 2014)

Remarkably, the absence of a gender dimension in Obama’s self-identity construction is equally significant as its presence on Clinton’s side (figure 30).

source of identity	Obama	status	Clinton	status
gender	man	normalized	woman	non-normalized
race	African-American	non-normalized	White	normalized
ethnicity	Kenyan origins	non-normalized	American origins	normalized
religion	doubtfully Christian	non-normalized	Christian	normalized

Figure 30. Sources of identity construction of Obama and Clinton

5.6. Gender-marked Words for Professions

The reason why I have started this analysis with the corpus-driven analysis is that it helps in familiarizing oneself with the corpus prior to the corpus-based analysis which usually requires a high sense of qualitative engagement with the data. This part of analysis, the corpus-based part which comprises the rest of the analysis part, draws on notions and concepts that are peculiar to language and gender research, that is, gender-marked words for professions (the current section), male fitness (section 5.7.) and gender representations (section 5.8.). I start the corpus-based section of the analytic part by examining the notion of *exclusion*. As explicated in the methodological chapter (see section 4.3.2.3.), van Leeuwen (1996: 39) refers to two types of exclusion: suppression and backgrounding. *Suppression* refers to cases where “there is no reference to the social actor(s) in question anywhere in the text” whereas *backgrounding* refers to cases where the exclusion is less radical, that is “the excluded social actors may not be mentioned in relation to a given activity, but they are mentioned elsewhere in the text” (ibid.). The notion of backgrounding appears in the present data when comparing the frequencies of female-related words like, *woman*, *mother*, *wife*, *girl* and *daughter* with their plurals to male-related words like, *man*, *father*, *husband*, *boy* and *son*.

Thus, I have used SkE to extract the number of occurrences of the aforementioned words. The following table (5.4.) presents the frequencies of these words in both sub-corpora. In order to examine the significance of the values introduced, a chi-squared test has been implemented. Testing the significance of the difference between Obama’s corpus and Clinton’s corpus in relation to male-related words, the chi-squared test yielded a p-value of 0.0638872 indicating that the difference is not significant. This means that there is no significant difference in Obama’s and Clinton’s use of male-related words. Applying the same test for the values of the female-related words, the p-value of the test turned out to be 0 which indicates that the

difference between the two sub-corpora in relation to the female-related words is significant. In this sense, the lower frequency of female items in Obama's sub-corpus compared to the relatively high frequency on Clinton's part significantly suggests the comparative backgrounding of female social actors on Obama's part.

Male-related Words	Obama	Clinton	Female-related words	Obama	Clinton
MALE	4	6	FEMALE	–	2
MAN	298	246	WOMAN	308	579
FATHER	97	71	MOTHER	123	140
HUSBAND	11	69	WIFE	39	35
BOY	23	34	GIRL	35	52
SON	40	56	DAUGHTER	48	94
BROTHER	39	16	SISTER	51	11
SUM	512	498	SUM	604	913

Figure 31. Frequencies of female- and male-related words in Obama's corpus and Clinton's corpus

Following van Leeuwen's scheme for the classification of social actors (1996), Romaine (2001), Fuertes-Olivera (2007) and Baker (2014), I have operationalized functionalization categorization in order to examine the use of gendered functionalized words used by each politician as methodologically illustrated in section 4.3.2.3. In such a highly specialized corpus, it would be expected that the gender-marked words for roles or professions would include only political positions and indeed this was the case. Search words like **lord*, **person*, **ess*, **ette* and **e* yielded no relevant results to the purposes of analysis. Figure 32 shows the gender-marked functionalized words with their frequencies in comparative terms. The words considered for the search are lemmatized, i.e. they include the singular as well as the plural forms. Initially, for some male-marked words, no female counterparts on either side were found, e.g. Clinton mentions *spokesman* once, but neither politicians speaks of a *spokeswoman*; Obama mentions *policeman* once but there is no mention on either sides of a *policewoman*; both Obama and Clinton speak of *chairman* and *statesman* but not of a *chairwoman* or *stateswoman*; both refer to *gentleman*, but not *gentlewoman*. Obama refers to *male coworkers* and *male figure*; Clinton mentions *male counterparts*, *male companions*, *male students*, *male supervisors*, but there is no mention of the female equivalent. Contrarily, Clinton speaks of *female commander* and *female leaders* but neither Obama nor Clinton speaks of the male counterparts. On the whole, Clinton seems to be more inclined to use gender-marked functionalized and identified words which critically indicates her

preoccupation with genderization—a result which is congruent with, and also contributes to, the aforementioned profile of Clinton’s and Obama’s gender identity. In order to determine upon the significance of difference in the gender-marked profession between Obama and Clinton, chi-squared test has been implemented, measuring the sums of values of each category, that is, gender-marked professions for male and gender-marked professions for female, against the total number of words in each respective corpus. As for the gender-marked professions for male, the p-value is 0.033402 which indicates that there is a significant difference between Obama and Clinton in relation to using gender-marked professions for male. The p-value for gender-marked professions for female, according to chi-squared, is 0.023643 which suggests that there is a significant difference between Obama and Clinton in terms of using gender-marked professions for female. However, a concordance search at this stage may be useful in revealing the ways each candidate uses these gender-marked words.

In 50% of the word’s occurrences in Obama’s sub-corpus, he nominates *congressman* rather than categorizing it, i.e. the word is followed by a proper noun—the name of the congressman, in an applauding sense, for example, *somebody who I have admired all my life and were it not for him, I'm not sure I'd be here today, **Congressman** John Lewis. I'm thankful to him.* Nomination, according to van Leeuwen (1996: 52-3) occurs when social actors are represented “in terms of their unique identity”, while categorization takes place when they are represented “in terms of identities and functions they share with others.” In one case *congressman* is post-possessivated referring to Senator Kennedy who is Congressman Kennedy’s father. In more than 30% *congressman* is used generically to refer to both congressmen and congresswomen, so they are used as plurals without article, e.g. *And it's because they marched that the next generation hasn't been bloodied so much. It's because they marched that we elected councilmen, **congressmen**.* In one case Obama uses the singular form *congressman* with an indefinite article in a generic sense, *Everyone will be able buy into a new health insurance plan that's similar to the one that every federal employee - from a postal worker in Iowa to a **Congressman** in Washington - currently has for themselves.*

Gender-marked profession –man	Freq. in Obama	Freq. in Clinton	Gender-marked profession –woman	Freq. in Obama	Freq. in Clinton
congressman	16	31	congresswoman	1	14
gentleman	3	6	gentlewoman	–	–
chairman	7	15	chairwoman	–	–
statesman	1	4	stateswoman	–	–
serviceman	7	1	servicewoman	6	1
airman	4	1	airwoman	–	–
males	1	–	females	–	–
male coworkers	2	–	female coworkers	–	–
male figure	1	–	female figure	–	–
male counterparts	–	3	female counterparts	–	–
male champions	–	1	female champions	–	–
male students	–	1	female students	–	–
male supervisors	–	1	female supervisors	–	–
male commander	–	–	female commander	–	1
male leader	–	–	female leaders	–	1
Mr. speaker	–	–	madam speaker	1	1
Mr. president	–	–	madam president	–	2
SUM	42	64	SUM	8	20

Figure 32. Gender-marked words of Obama’s corpus and Clinton’s corpus

The generic use of male forms typically refers to cases where the meaning of a masculine term extends to include any or all of human beings. The ‘generic masculine’ or ‘false generic’ in Hellinger and Bußmann’s terms (2001: 9) is when the speaker or writer uses certain masculine forms with the intention of including male *and* female referents. Holmes (1994: 36) distinguishes between instances where *man* is used to refer to ‘generic man’ or ‘humankind’, e.g. *the prosperity of man*, and ‘pseudo-generics’, i.e. forms which “claim to be generic while in fact suggesting male”, such as *the tax man* or *the man in the street*. In these cases, *congressman* is represented in genericized terms, where social actors are represented as ‘classes’ rather than as ‘specific, identifiable individuals’. According to van Leeuwen (1996: 46), the former case is genericization while the latter is specification. However, it is rather difficult in this context to judge about the intentions of speakers, hence, the general category of ‘generic’ would be most appropriate here. Interestingly, all of Clinton’s instances with reference to *congressman* are nominations—the singular instances as well as the plural ones, and in a positive sense, i.e. there are no cases of generic use on the part of Clinton for *congressman*.

Interestingly, Obama mentions *congresswoman* once in the whole corpus in the context of a thanking tradition. In that single case *congresswoman* is nominated, “*Congressman Al Green, Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson, and Congressman Chet Edwards, thank you so much*”; all references to *congresswoman* made by Clinton, amounting to 14 times, are also nominated. Critically, a question rises here: why is *congresswoman* never genericized? Genericization involves representing social groups as ‘classes’ (van Leeuwen, 1996: 46) which, at times, would be considered disempowering and pejorative, and occasionally, would be taken as referencing the existence of the social group that the individual members belong to as an acknowledged and accepted group. Representing *congresswoman* as nominated rather than categorized or genericized promotes an image of individuals who are not adequate, statistically or ideologically, to form a well-acknowledged group. In a critical sense, statistics released by the CAWP (Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University) about women officeholders state that 18.5% (99 of a total 535) of seats in both the U.S Senate and the U.S House are congresswomen which is noticeably feeble, especially when compared to the number of women voters. According to the CAWP, in 2008, 78.1 million women were registered as voters versus 68.2 million registered men voters. Moreover, in the same year, 60.4% of eligible female adults (70.4 million women) voted in the presidential election compared to 55.7% of eligible men (60.7 million men). This is referred to as ‘gender gap’ of voting, that is, “the difference in the percentage of women and the percentage of men voting for a given candidate” (CAWP)²⁶. The gender gap also exists in the number of women affiliating to certain political parties—a gap which became most evident since the 1980s. For example, in 2008, 42% of women were identified as Democrats versus 25% identified as Republicans. On the other hand 32% of men affiliated to the Democratic Party versus 29% affiliating to the Republican Party. Actually, female voters have outnumbered their male counterparts in every presidential election since 1964.

For both Obama and Clinton, *statesman* is used generically. Both Obama and Clinton use *servicemen and women* collectively and in a genericized sense, *Because America's commitment to its **servicemen and women** begins at enlistment, and it must never end*. However, in one case made on Obama’s part, a nominated reference is made to the first killed soldier in Iraq, *I understand that the first **serviceman** killed in Iraq was a native West Virginian, Marine 1st Lieutenant Shane Childers, who died five years ago tomorrow*. Clinton

²⁶ http://www.cawp.rutgers.edu/fast_facts/voters/gender_gap.php

mentions *servicemen* as collectivized with *women* in one instance, *I saw American servicemen and women performing their duty admirably.*

Obama uses *chairman* in a particularized sense, except for one case where he refers to the the Chairman of the Federal Reserve as a position in a generic sense, *I will make the Director of National Intelligence an official with a fixed term, like the **Chairman** of the Federal Reserve - not someone who can be fired by the President.* All occurrences of *chairman* on Clinton's part are genericized. In two cases of the word *gentleman*, reference is made to a political adversary on Obama's part, while one case is a part of formal address used to raise attention, i.e. *ladies and gentlemen*. Except for one case where Clinton uses *gentleman* as a form of addressing the audience, all 5 cases are real-life personal humane examples of men in distress rhetorically meant as reinforcement and rationalization for adopting a particular political stance and intended to raise the pathos of the audience, e.g. *and **a gentleman** came up to me and introduced himself. And he said to me, Senator, I am from India. I never thought I would move to the United States and see electricity disruptions. And it really struck me. Because we think of ourselves of being so far advanced of any other country, and yet we're not keeping that advantage. I think we can do better. That's why I sponsored the Electric Reliability Act which has been signed into law.*

Again Obama uses *madam* only once, as it premodifies the head noun *speaker* in, *To the congressional delegation of Iowa that is doing outstanding work and to Nancy Pelosi, **Madam Speaker**, thank you all for the wonderful welcome and the wonderful hospitality.* Clinton uses *madam* to premodify both *speaker* and *president*. The case of her using *madam speaker* is particularly interesting. In her speech at the Iowa Jefferson-Jackson dinner in Des Moines on the 10th of November 2007, she refers to herself, *Isn't it a special treat to have the speaker of the house, **madam speaker** here tonight?* She mentions the noun *speaker* initially referring to herself without modification, then mentions it again as modified by *madam* in what seems to be a digression based on gender as a point which should not be missed. Clinton noticeably invokes her identity as a female speaker and stresses the dimension of gender in her speeches once again. In both cases of *madam President*, Clinton addresses the president of one session of the US Senate. Contrarily, neither candidate premodifies *speaker* or *president* with *Mr*. Not marking gender for maleness in this case is congruent with the critical interpretation formerly introduced about the normalization of men's status in the arena of politics and the non-normalization of that of women in the same field (see section 5.5.).

The use of *male* and *female* by each politician is rather interesting. Obama uses the plural noun *males* premodified by the numerative *300,000* (in this case, *males* are being represented by specification) and by an adjective *black* (and thus are identified by classification) as in, *In the last six years, over 300,000 black males have lost jobs in the manufacturing sector - the highest rate of any ethnic group.* Obama speaks of black men losing their jobs, dropping from school and hence having difficulties raising their families but does not speak of females losing their jobs or dropping from school. Single-moms are only spoken about as having difficulties raising their children because of the absence of a second financial source represented by the fathers. (To avoid the effect of diminishing returns, representations of men and women will be tackled in section 5.7.). *Male* is used as a pre-modifier for the noun *figure* in, *I know what it means when you don't have a strong male figure in the house,* where Obama exclusively highlights the role played by the male figure in the house, presumably referring to the role of a father. It is worth noting that Obama's use of *figure* which typically denotes a significant entity accompanied by the premodifier *male* marks his activation of a salient familial gender-based division, especially in the absence of using the equivalent opposite-sex term *female*. *Male* is also used as a premodifier for the noun *co-workers* in, *It's why I brought Democrats and Republicans together in Illinois to put \$100 million in tax cuts into the pockets of hardworking families, to expand health care to 150,000 children and parents, and to help end the outrage of Latinas making 57 cents for every dollar that many of their male coworkers make.* In this instance, Obama displays his efforts in improving the poor work conditions and wages of Latin women compared to their male coworkers. Interestingly, Obama nearly repeats the same sentence substituting 'Latinas' for 'black', *That's why I brought Democrats and Republicans together in Illinois to put \$100 million in tax cuts into the pockets of hardworking families, to expand health care to 150,000 children and parents, and to end the outrage of black women making just 62 cents for every dollar that many of their male coworkers make.* In the two cases where *male* collocates with *coworkers*, Obama intersects race with gender. It seems that the salience of race issues overrides that of gender issues for him. Taking a critical perspective, according to the AAUW (the American Association of University Women), statistics about the pay gap between men and women in the U.S, surprisingly, show that the gap is most obvious among white Americans (78% representing women's earnings as a percentage of men's earnings) compared to 89% among Hispanic, Latino/a and African Americans. It should be noted that the income itself varies among each race. In spite of these facts, the kind of women that Obama single out to discuss unequal payments is the Latin and black women, not all of the American women. Therefore,

among the four cases of *male* used by Obama, he seems to be rather focused on men's issues to the exclusion of women's; when women are talked about, it is done in so far as their gender intersect with their race.

Clinton uses *male* as a pre-modifier to *counterparts*, *champions*, *supervisors* and *students*. As for *counterpart*, she also addresses the issue of unequal wages for women. However, race is not invoked, e.g. *Unfinished business that resonates not only for women but for all of us - for children whose lives and well-being is affected because their mother is paid lower wages than **male counterparts** doing the same job*. In another instance, she particularizes the issue through the nomination of a social actor, that is, through mentioning a specific case of a woman called Lily Ledbetter, *For almost two decades, before she learned she was being paid far less than her **male counterparts** doing the same job*. In a third case, Clinton raises the issue of retirement plans and particularizes the case of women who do not have the same opportunities as men because of unfair social conditions, *Women who work full-time are likely to have on the same level as their **male counterparts** a retirement plan. But a lot of women don't work full-time, they work part-time or, I like to say, they work two part-time jobs to try to make enough money to support themselves and their children. Male is used to pre-modify *champion* in, *I read a story recently that Wimbledon finally agreed to pay their women tennis champions the same amount of prize money as their **male champions***, where Clinton further develops and substantiates the widespread practice of payment inequality worldwide and in different, probably unexpected, fields. Clinton uses *male* with *supervisor* to refer again to the case of Lily Ledbetter who *did the same work that all of the **male supervisors** did, but had never been paid the same as all of the men*. The case where *male* premodifies *students* is equally interesting; Clinton recounts her experience as a student when she tried to choose from available opportunities to join college—the opportunities which were limited by her being a woman. *I knew a couple of the **male students** who were there and they were showing me around*. The male students introduced her to a professor in Harvard Law School who told her that they *don't need any more women*. Here, Clinton directly addresses unequal study opportunities for women in the American society by resorting to a personal experience. The use of *male* contributes to a representation of an educational system (at least as far as Harvard Law School at that time is concerned) dominated by men who are denying students the right to study a particular field based on their gender (for a detailed analysis of gender representations, see section 5.8.)*

It is noteworthy that the adjective *female* is not used at all by Obama which, again, suggests a type of exclusion, particularly backgrounding, of what is relevant to femaleness (van Leeuwen, 1996: 39), which is a strategy of disempowering. Neither candidate uses *female* in combination with nouns like *coworker* or *counterpart*; this absence suggests that the comparability of problematic issues like equal payment or study opportunities based on maleness or femaleness appears only when the discussion relates to women and not men, i.e. starting the argument with women being prone to certain injustice logically leads to comparisons made to the male opposites, but not vice versa which asserts that men do not have equal problems to tackle. Germane to this point is Clinton's use of *female* to premodify *commander* and *leaders*. In *Well today, Iowa's own Peggy Whitson has been appointed the first female Commander of the International Space Station*, Clinton relates to her experience when her application for a position as an astronaut in NASA was rejected because *these positions weren't open to women* and compares that to America today where women can be commanders in space stations. Interestingly, Clinton raises the issue of female leadership styles, *In a project at my alma mater, the Wellesley Centers for Women, interviews with female leaders from across professions, ethnicities, and different financial backgrounds, reveal that as women obtain positions of leadership in corporations, universities and elsewhere, new styles of leadership emerge - more team oriented, less hierarchical, for example*. Clinton does not assimilate to men's leadership styles as *the ways of being a successful leader*; instead she advocates—and in the process admits their existence and their being different from male leadership styles in the first place—the female strategies of leading which involve having dialogues and adopting supportive style rather than giving orders (for a discussion of female leadership styles on Clinton's part, see section 5.8.2.).

Obama uses an equivalent adjective for *female* once in the corpus—an instance which appeared when using **woman* as a search term, that is, *women-owned*, in: *And in recent years, there has been a significant decline in the share of the Small Business Investment Company financings that have gone to minority-owned and women-owned businesses*. According to van Leeuwen (1996: 50), association “refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actor (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labelled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the association may of course themselves be named and/or categorised).” By means of association, Obama represents minority-owned business and women-owned businesses as a group of social actors who have a problem in obtaining enough share from the financings introduced by Small Business

Investment Company. The association, realized through the use of parataxis and established between women and minorities, contributes to a representation of women as a small-numbered unfitting group of powerless and oppressed outcasts. More significantly, when introducing his solution to the problem, Obama establishes a dissociation (ibid: 51) between the two groups, *We are going to change that and strengthen the Small Business Administration to provide more capital minority-owned businesses. We can do that.* The exclusion of the women-owned business from the solution presented marks a further negligence on his part for women as a group.

Obama uses a group of functionalizing words, each occurring once in a generic sense, e.g. *guardsmen, countrymen, salesmen, councilmen, policeman and businessmen* (twice) with no reference to the female equivalent, e.g. *It was here, in Springfield, where I saw all that is America converge -- farmers and teachers, **businessmen** and laborers, all of them with a story to tell, all of them seeking a seat at the table, all of them clamoring to be heard.* He also mentions *airmen*, occurring 4 times, and *sportsmen*, with a frequency of 3, generically, for example, *they're risking everything to save not their own lives, but the lives of their fellow soldiers and sailors, **airmen** and Marines.* Clinton generically speaks of *journeymen, airmen* and *spokesman*, each once, *I started my morning at the William J. Donovan Company where I got to visit with sheet metal workers at a company that's been in business for 95 years, understands the importance of having trained workers, starting people off as apprentices moving towards becoming **journeymen**.*

To précis the findings of the aforementioned analysis of gender-marked functionalizing nouns used by both politicians, Obama generally backgrounds female-marked functionalizing words, e.g. *congresswoman, madam* and *female* used in relation to political positions, or actually any other context, whereas Clinton seems to highlight them. Backgrounding, as a form of exclusion, contributes to disempowering women as social actors (van Leeuwen, 1996: 38-39). In this sense, drawing on the significance analysis formerly conducted and the analysis of the gender-marked functionalizing words in their context enabled through concordance lines analysis, it can be concluded that in comparison to Clinton, Obama's use of the gender-marked functionalizing words in the corpus at hand contributes to disempowering women, whereas Clinton's comparative highlighting of these words acts as an empowering strategy. Moreover, Obama is more inclined than Clinton to use generic forms of *man, e.g. *airmen, sportsmen, businessmen*, referring to both men and women which can be interpreted as a type of male bias in discourse (Cooper, 1982). This result goes hand in hand with the previously

worked out finding of the generic use of MAN (see section 5.2.). The frequency of Obama's use of MAN in a generic sense is 26, whereas that of Clinton is only 7. The significance of this result has been examined through chi-squared test which yielded a p-value of 0.000924 indicating that the difference between Obama's and Clinton's generic use of MAN is significant. Hellinger and Bußmann's (2001: 10) note that the "asymmetries involved here, that is the choice of masculine/male expressions as the normal or 'unmarked' case with the resulting invisibility of feminine/female expressions are reflections of an underlying gender belief system, which in turn creates expectations about appropriate female and male behaviour." The frequency of Obama's and Clinton's use of gender-marked functionalizing nouns and the representations of men and women realized by the use of *male* to the exclusion of *female* on Obama's part, and the use of both adjectives on Clinton's part further validate and enhance the identity profile drawn through the analysis of frequency and keyword lists.

5.7. Male-fitness Pairs

The use of opposite-sex pairs where either a male or a female term comes in the first position has been studied as a strategy signaling gender bias. Following Baker (2014: 92-94), a list of all possible binomial pairs has been prepared and checked for each corpus through SkE as explicated in section 4.3.2.4. Figure 33 shows the results enabled through the concordance function of SkE. On the whole, Clinton seems less inclined than Obama to use male fitness terms and also more inclined to use opposite-sex pairs with the female term in the first position. However, a chi-squared test of the values included in the table would be most instructive in showing if the different values on Obama's and Clinton's parts are significant. Applying the test to the number of instances where the male term comes first, the p-value came as 0.331915 which indicates no significant difference between the two corpora. However, applying the test to the number of instances where the female term comes first, the p-value contributed was 0.011407 which indicates a significant difference between the two corpora. After examining all concordances where these terms appear in their co-textual environment, what is most salient in Obama's and Clinton's use of male fitness terms is the disparity between their comparative use of *men and/or women* versus *women and/or men*. Obama uses *men and women* mostly in the context of US wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, e.g. *And on this fifth anniversary, we honor the brave **men and women** who are serving this nation in Iraq, Afghanistan, and around the world.* It is also used to foreground domestic issues, as in: *But what good are these efforts if **men and women** can't afford the bus fare or the subway fare or the car insurance to get to the training center or new job.* Interestingly,

Obama also saliently uses men and women in relation to racial issues, as in: *And yet words on a parchment would not be enough to deliver slaves from bondage, or provide **men and women** of every color and creed their full rights and obligations as citizens of the United States.*

As for the pattern *women and men*, Obama mentions it only once; that was in his speech ‘Change that Works for You’ delivered in New York on the 9th of June 2008, in the context of thanking Clinton when she finally ended her campaign and endorsed him: *She ran an historic campaign that shattered barriers on behalf of my daughters and women everywhere who now know there are no limits to their dreams. And more, she inspired millions of **women and men** with her strength, her courage, and her unyielding commitment to the causes that brought us here today – the hopes and aspirations of working Americans.* Interestingly, the unusual use of *women and men* on Obama’s part is associated with invoking the gender identity of his rival as a woman and resorting to the gender identity of his daughters as well as of women everywhere. More interesting, though, is Clinton’s adherence of the same strategy of associating the use of *women and men*, rather than *men and women*, when it comes to addressing issues related to women. In her speech of endorsing Obama as the Democratic Party candidate for the presidential elections on the 7th of June 2008, Clinton begins her speech by addressing and praising women’s struggle for the right to vote, then immediately she thanks all those who have voted for her: *You have inspired and touched me with the stories of the joys and sorrows that make up the fabric of our lives. And you have humbled me with your commitment to our country. Eighteen million of you, from all walks of life, **women and men**, young and old, Latino and Asian, African- American and Caucasian, rich, poor, and middle-class, gay and straight, you have stood with me.*

Again, in her remarks on Mother’s day on the 11th of May 2008, she says: *Not only the women in my own life, like my mother and my grandmother, or my wonderful daughter whom I am so thrilled to have with me here today, but it is also because of countless **women and men** whose names we may never know who really believed strongly in what they thought would make their community and their country better places.* Actually, in all instances where the pattern *women and men* is used by Clinton, reference is made to women’s issues and women’s struggle for their rights, which renders her use of that binomial pair strategic. This notion is further highlighted and validated by an exploration of concordances where Clinton uses the opposite form *men and women*. Like Obama, in all instances of using *men and women*,

Clinton addresses domestic as well as war issues, e.g. *Tonight, our brave **men and women** in uniform are serving across the globe, some on their second, their third or their fourth deployment. And also in: I've met families in this state and all over our country who've lost their homes to foreclosures, **men and women** who work day and night but can't pay the bills and hope they don't get sick because they can't afford health insurance, young people who can't afford to go to college to pursue their dreams.* In this sense, it is obvious that Clinton resorts to the binomial *women and men* only when it comes to raising gender issues, women problems and women role and accomplishments on the personal, national and worldwide levels. The use of male fitness strategy, or the non-use of it, in this sense, is a strategic one. Though Clinton uses the female term in the first position more often, both Obama and Clinton use it strategically when they speak of women issues only.

As for the binomial *man or woman*, in all its occurrences in Obama's corpus, it is used in a definitive sense, *It's the **man or woman** who stays past the last bell and spends their own money on books and supplies.* In all cases where *man or woman* is used by Clinton, it is premodified by the adjective *young*, e.g. *I believe that when a young **man or woman** signs up to serve our country in the United States military, we sign up to serve that young **man or woman**.* However, neither uses the counterpart formula *woman or man*. The use of *young* marks a further step of van Leeuwen's classificatory identification; the classification here is operationalized on two strata: gender and age, and is realized through the use of classifiers in nominal groups.

Male term first	Obama	Clinton	Female term first	Obama	Clinton
men and/or women	109	88	women and/or men	1	10
man and/or woman	3	6	woman and/or man	–	–
fathers and/or mothers	2	1	mothers and/or fathers	8	7
father and/or mother	–	–	mother and/or father	–	2
dad and/or mom	–	–	mom and/or dad	–	5
boys and/or girls	–	–	girls and/or boys	1	1
boy and/or girl	–	3	girl and/or boy	–	–
husbands and/or wives	–	1	wives and/or husbands	–	–
husband and/or wife	–	1	wife and/or husband	–	–
SUM	114	100	SUM	10	25

Figure 33. Opposite-sex pairs in Obama's corpus and Clinton's corpus

Extending on Freebody and Baker's idea (1987), I have checked how the aforementioned binomial pairs are used in sequences rather than in conjunctive relations by each politician. It turned out that Obama uses the sequence *man, woman and child* twice in the same context:

*They distort Islam. They kill **man, woman and child**; Christian and Hindu, Jew and Muslim*, attacking Muslim extremists and terrorists. However, no other sequence in any different order which encompasses the same three terms is used by him. Clinton uses the plural form of the same sequence only once, that is, *I witnessed the promise of America in the eyes of men, women and children*, but she uses the singular form 11 times, all except one are related to health care issues, e.g. *I see an America where we don't just provide health care for some people, or most people, but for every single **man, woman and child** in this country - no one left out*. Nevertheless, Clinton does not mention the same three items in any order other than that. The association held between the three elements, *man, woman and child*, is meant by both candidates as a reference to every citizen in American. However, the context in which they choose to represent every American is different and congruent with the results of word frequencies and keywords analysis. Obama views the issues that instigate mentioning every individual in the US as related to foreign national threat, while Clinton individualizes every American only when addressing domestic problems like health care. Notwithstanding, it should be noticed that in respect to sequences including gendered terms, Obama is more disposed to use male fitness sequences, which suggests that the 'default' gender of particular roles is male.

Of interest also is the pattern *mother and father* as the first most occurring binomial pair where the female term is positioned in the first place. In both corpora, the pattern occurs exclusively in the plural form: *mothers and fathers*. However, in half of the occurrences on Obama's side, it is used in the context of addressing parent's responsibilities towards their children, e.g. *To help those **mothers and fathers** who are juggling work and family, I'll expand the Child Care Tax Credit, extend the Family Medical Leave Act to give more parents more time with their children, and make sure that every worker in America has access to seven days of paid sick leave. And also in: **Mothers and fathers** can leave work to spend time with their newborns*. In the rest of cases, it is used in different contexts, e.g. discussing humanitarian and foreign policy issues, as in *At a camp along the border of Chad and Darfur, refugees begged for America to step in and help stop the genocide that has taken their **mothers and fathers**, sons and daughters*. It seems also that part of Obama's use of this pattern is used strategically in accordance with the stereotypical view of children's familial responsibilities being allocated to mothers in the first place. As for Clinton, she uses the same pattern in more than 70% of its concordances in relation to discussing her gender as a female candidate for president, e.g. *We are, in many ways, all on this journey together to create an*

*America that embraces every last one of us, the women in their 90s who tell me they were born before women could vote. And they're hopeful of seeing a woman in the White House. The **mothers and fathers** at my events who lift their little girls on their shoulders and whisper in their ears, "See, you can be anything you want." Tonight, more than ever, I need your help to continue this journey.* The remaining cases are dedicated to different issues, e.g. *Driven by their love and devotion, **mothers and fathers** across the country have raised awareness, demanded funding, and opened our eyes to the needs of so many children.* In this sense, positioning *mothers* in the first place in a binomial pair is also used in a strategic manner by Clinton, since in most cases it corresponds with Clinton's invoking of gender as an important factor in her candidacy.

It is worth mentioning that when testing the significance of difference between binomial pairs within the same corpus, the p-value appears as 0 for both corpora which means that both Obama and Clinton have significant differences when it comes to using male or female referents in the first position in binomial pairs, i.e. each uses these patterns disproportionately in the favour of the male term in the first position. To précis the findings of this section, there is a significant difference between Obama and Clinton in relation to using binomial pairs where the female item comes first. However, the difference in the opposite case is not significant. In this sense, Clinton is significantly more inclined to using opposite-sex pairs where the female item is positioned in the first place than Obama. However, the close examination of concordance lines shows that this pattern is strategically used by Clinton in connection with invoking and discussing women's issues, problems, struggle, role and accomplishments. The sole case where Obama uses the same pattern is also strategic. Both Obama and Clinton use binomial pairs where the male item comes first in relation to people in the military; however, Obama uses it specifically in connection with racial issues. The strategic use related to *women and men* is also maintained with the binomial *mothers and fathers*. All in all, both Obama and Clinton have gender biases in relation to using binomial pairs. With Obama and Clinton using opposite-sex pairs with the male referent in the first position in the same frequency and significance, using opposite-sex pairs with the female referent in the first position stands out as referring to Clinton's relative gender impartiality compared to Obama.

5.8. Gender Representations

The aim of this part of analysis is to explore and identify gender representations communicated by Obama and Clinton in order to specify the ways in which men and women are represented within this specific socio-political and cultural context²⁷ and how these representations contribute towards an identity construction for each politician. To this end, the methodological synergy introduced by Baker et al. (2008) is operationalized (see section 3.1.5.). Thus, in this section, gender representations will be qualitatively worked out through collocational analysis. The methodological procedure adopted goes along the following line: *first*, node words will be decided upon; *second*, the collocates of node words will be determined through SkE; and *third*, the collocates are going to be examined in their linguistic co-textual environment through concordance lines analysis by dint of Halliday's functional processes (1994) and van Leeuwen's social actors representation scheme (1996), so that gender representations would be investigated (see sections 3.2, 3.3. & 4.3.2.5.). According to the methodological procedures introduced earlier (see section 4.3.2.5.), the collocation function in SkE has been used to explore the collocational profile for the node words MAN and WOMAN in each sub-corpus. After the extraction of collocates, they have been manually examined within their linguistic environment to clarify the PoS of each word in order to specify the meaning-laden linguistic items. The collocates were then grouped according to their PoS. This procedure resulted in 38 collocates for MAN and 39 collocates for WOMAN in Obama's sub-corpus. In Clinton's sub-corpus, the number of the collocates of MAN is 33 whereas the number of the collocates of WOMAN is 77. I have then categorized the resultant collocates for WOMAN and MAN comparatively for each politician according to their PoS as a way into more facilitated and structured analysis as shown in figure 34 and 35.

Initially, it is noticed that a number of collocates is common to both corpora with their two sections relating to MAN and WOMAN. Common collocates comprise MAN, UNIFORM, RIGHT, SERVE, WORK, YOUNG, BRAVE, etc. This is not particularly surprising—it is expected that the two sub-corpora would have some similarities and features in common since they are all from the same genre of political speeches and within the same contextual political event—genre being defined as “a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity” (Fairclough, 1995a: 14), or as “the conventionalised, more

²⁷ Culture here is taken to be “a fuzzy set of attitudes, beliefs, behavioural conventions, and basic assumptions and values that are shared by a group of people, and that influence each member's behaviour and each member's interpretations of the 'meaning' of other people's behaviour” (Spencer-Oatey, 2000: 4).

or less schematically fixed use of language associated with a particular activity,” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001: 36; Wodak, 2001a: 66).

WOMAN Collocates			MAN Collocates		
Nominal Collocates	Verbal Collocates	Adjectival Collocates	Nominal Collocates	Verbal Collocates	Adjectival Collocates
man	serve	young	woman	serve	young
pay	work	brave	uniform	meet	brave
uniform	meet	equal	moon	name	black
serviceman	tell	working	Pennsylvania	see	old
right	choose	old	glass	seem	nice
percent	earn	white	prison	honor	perfect
discrimination	make		ability	put	
issue	sign		country	lead	
promotion	honor		faith	have	
nation	challenge		law	leave	
million	see		service	want	
life	lose		place	make	
America	mean		McCain	can	
	give		million	help	
	hear		family	could	
	lead		child	do	
	have				
	help				
	do				
	get				
	let				

Figure 34. Collocates of the node word lemmas WOMAN and MAN in Obama’s corpus

It should be noted that collocates which belong to different parts of speech, e.g. challenge, work, name etc., were categorized according to the affiliation of the majority of cases. For example, CHALLENGE, as a collocate for WOMAN, occurred in Obama’s sub-corpus 7 times, 5 of which are in the verbal form and, hence, was categorized as a verbal collocate. However, in the examination of concordance lines all grammatical cases are explored. Another important remark is that in Obama’s sub-corpus WOMAN collocates significantly with 39 items, while MAN collocates with 38 items; in Clinton’s sub-corpus, WOMAN collocates with 77 items while MAN collocates with 33 items. Moreover, the nearly equal number of significant collocates of WOMAN and MAN in Obama’s speeches reflects equal interest, or rather seemingly non-invoking of gender-related issues on Obama’s part, i.e. gender does not seem to play a pivotal role for Obama. However, the striking disparity in

number between the collocates of WOMAN and MAN in Clinton's sub-corpus suggests her interest in women's issues in general and her invoking of gender as an axis of concern.

WOMAN Collocates			MAN Collocates		
Nominal Collocates	Verbal Collocates	Adjectival Collocates	Nominal Collocates	Verbal Collocates	Adjectival Collocates
man	vote	young	woman	serve	young
right	name	brave	uniform	leave	brave
President	serve	human	generation	work	White
uniform	sign	African	child	get	single
vote	could	single	Corps	believe	few
woman	bear	American	moon	been	old
child	think	first	Marine	think	
work	have	unremarkable	two	make	
world	grant	working	dollar	sign	
America	meet	few	House	send	
girl	take	gay	oil	stand	
generation	work	enough	man	see	
group	run	White	health	give	
time	tell	hard	care	have	
day	support	old			
leader	pay	same			
life	see	sure			
minority	face				
majority	try				
House	stand				
hand	grab				
leadership	wear				
health	did				
income	continue				
country	cast				
responsibility	get				
million	become				
opportunity	fight				
pay	mean				
worker	affect				
insurance					

Figure 35. Collocates of the node word lemmas WOMAN and MAN in H. Clinton's corpus

The third step of this methodological procedure is to qualitatively examine the concordance lines for every collocate that meets the criteria that have previously been set (see section 4.3.2.5.) in the light of Halliday's functional processes (1994) and van Leeuwen's social

actors representation scheme (1996) in order to identify the gender representations contributed by each politician. It should also be noted that sometimes examining the short concordance line is not enough and the researcher has to examine larger stretches of data in order to extract useful information about patterning or contextual elements (Hunston, 2002: 51). That is the trend adopted in the analysis of the current research as a whole. I will examine the collocates in the following order: (1) the collocates of WOMAN on Obama's side, (2) the collocates of WOMAN on Clinton's side (3) collocates of MAN on Obama's side, and then (4) the collocates of MAN on Clinton's side.

5.8.1. Collocates of WOMAN in Obama's Speeches

5.8.1.1. Nominal Collocates of WOMAN

The lemma WOMAN appears in Obama's sub-corpus 308 times. In 120 instances, WOMAN collocates with MAN which constitutes nearly 40% of each word's total separate mention in his speeches, i.e. the association of these two social actors can be viewed as a dominant lexical pattern. Close examination of collocates in their linguistic environment shows that 94% of instances are formed typically as predicated on the syntagmatic relation of conjunction, e.g. *In the face of oppression, it's what led young **men and women** to sit at lunch counters and brave fire hoses and march through the streets of Selma and Montgomery for freedom's cause.* In this sense, the two social actors form one syntactic unit, namely noun phrase, assigning them the same semantic role in the text. Hence, men and women are represented as pluralized—this pluralization is linguistically realized through the syntactic juxtaposition and semantic association between the two actors. In 41% of these cases, men and women are pluralized while addressing military issues, e.g. *and it's not change when he promises to continue a policy in Iraq that asks everything of our brave **men and women** in uniform and nothing of Iraqi politicians.* In different instances men and women are pluralized in a racialized sense, that is, reference is simultaneously made to different races with the American society, e.g. *It is because **men and women** of every race, from every walk of life, continued to march for freedom long after Lincoln was laid to rest.* In the rest of cases, pluralization is done against different social affairs and conditions, e.g. raising the audience's pathos, resorting to oratorical style or operationalizing rhetorical devices to exert a political impact. For example, *I'm betting on the American people. The **men and women** I've met in small towns and big cities across this country see this election as a defining moment in our history.* And also in, *It's what I saw in the eyes of **men and women** and children in Indonesia*

who heard the word “America” and thought of the possibility beyond the horizon. It seems that Obama, by the frequent pluralizations of men and women in different contexts, is referring to the equal opportunities and common struggle and future for both social categories, albeit through using the male fitness strategy of placing men in the first position.

The cases where WOMAN collocates with MAN in other structures are equally interesting. In one speech delivered in Pennsylvania, 18 March 2008, Obama discusses discrimination in the American society which created a generation devoid of hope, as in the following excerpt:

*But for all those who scratched and clawed their way to get a piece of the American Dream, there were many who didn't make it - those who were ultimately defeated, in one way or another, by discrimination. That legacy of defeat was passed on to future generations - those **young men and increasingly young women** who we see standing on street corners or languishing in our prisons, without hope or prospects for the future.*

Here, both *men* and *women* are attributively premodified by *young*. However, *women* is additionally premodified by *increasingly* which has a semantic preference for growth and expansion. The use of this adverb with *women* juxtaposed with its lack with *men* suggests and participates in representing women at that time, i.e. 1950s and 1960s, as non-active in the social field—a state which was progressively changed. In two instances, *man and woman* rhetorically occurs in a paratactic relation of parallelism, e.g. *They distort Islam. They kill **man, woman and child**; Christian and Hindu, Jew and Muslim.* UNIFORM collocates equally with WOMAN and MAN, since it occurs concomitantly with the noun phrase *men and women*, e.g. *For years, this Administration has refused to count all of our wounded **men and women** in uniform.*

Though the collocates table presents SERVICEMEN as particularly associated to WOMAN, close examination of concordance lines reveals otherwise. SERVICE is used as a modifier for both MAN and WOMAN, e.g. *What makes America's **servicemen and women** heroes is not just their sense of duty, honor, and country.* Interestingly, in 8 cases, race is invoked in reference to men and women, e.g. *In big cities and small towns; among men and women; young and old; **black, white, and brown** - Americans share a faith in simple dreams.* The same reference is made only once in Clinton's speeches. This goes in accordance with the previous results about Obama's particular interest in race and its role in constructing his identity. The use of MAN, UNIFORM and SERVICEMAN as collocates of WOMAN, hence,

represents and contributes towards a representation of women serving their country as men do.

RIGHT collocates with WOMAN in 12 cases in relation to women's prerogatives in voting and working. In 75% of total cases WOMAN is genericised and passivated which strongly participates towards a representation of women as disempowered social agents. In nearly 15% of cases, Obama uses the singular form of both WOMAN and RIGHT, as in the following instance taken from a speech delivered jointly with Hillary Clinton on the 10th of July, 2008 in New York, *And I've made it equally clear that I will never back down in defending a **woman's right** to choose. But the Supreme Court also affects women's lives in so many other ways – from decisions on equal pay, to workplace discrimination, to Title IX, to domestic violence, to civil rights and workers' rights.* WOMAN is both genericised and passivated; genericization is realized by singularity with an indefinite article while passivation is realized by subjection (circumstantialization). In *women's lives*, *women* is also genericised as a plural without article and passivated by participation. Ideationally, Obama stresses his support for women's right to choose. The use of the first person pronoun *I* in this respect expresses an individualistic representation of the self, i.e. he expresses his personal support of women's rights. However, the recantation, realized by the contradictory conjunction *but* and the adverb *also*, in the following sentence is equally interesting. Obama suggests that his support is inadequate to enable women's rights and that other factors such as the Supreme Court has its share in deciding how women live in the USA. The parallel structure invested in the anaphora used in '*from decisions on equal pay, to workplace discrimination, to Title IX, to domestic violence, to civil rights and workers' rights*' acts rhetorically as an enumeratio meant to detail all aspects of injustice that women are suffering from. Again in, *he had read an entry that my campaign had posted on my website, which suggested that I would fight "right-wing ideologues who want to take away a **woman's right** to choose,"* *woman* is embedded in a relative clause, genericised by singularity and passivated by participation. Drawing on the whole speech, women's rights are found to be mentioned in the context of addressing religious convictions in society.

Actually, in 40% of collocation instances, a possessive relation holds between RIGHT and WOMAN, e.g. *women's rights*, activating women as social actors by marking adherence between them and their rights. In 60% of cases where WOMAN collocates with RIGHT, reference is made to women in relation to race or in the context of other social parameters such as education. For example in, *In the following century, men and women of faith waded*

into the battles over prison reform and temperance, public education and **women's rights** - and above all, abolition. Women's rights are represented by means of both association and dissociation. Association is realized by the rhetoric parallelism enacted through the paratactic relation between issues of prison reform, public education and women's right. Such association references an equality of the priority given to each issue. Interestingly, these issues are dissociated from abolition by the adverb *above all*, which gives the latter a sense of further priority. Parallelism, as a device used to express several ideas in a series of similar structures, allows politicians to shed light on a certain part of their message and highlight it most prominently. It contributes to the message that "the ideas are equal in importance and can add a sense of symmetry and rhythm" (Jones & Peccei, 2004: 51). Harmonious with the previous results, Obama invokes the gender-based issues of women mostly casually and by dint of other societal issues, mostly race as in, *And so we've broadened the American family by winning civil rights and voting **rights for women** and then African Americans or you go to the first school in the United States west of the Mississippi to grant **women** the same **rights** and privileges as men. You go to a school that resolved in 1870 that race would not be a factor in admission.* The casualness apparent in Obama's contribution in these cases can be substantiated by the disparity of occurrences where *woman's rights* is used in a parallel relation to other social groups, e.g. gays, African Americans, workers, etc., in the case of Obama compared to that of Clinton. That is, Obama mentions RIGHT collocationally with WOMAN 11 times, in 4 of which (with a 36% of concordances) women's rights stand in a parallel relation with other groups' rights. In Clinton's speeches, RIGHT collocates with WOMAN 58 times, only in 7 cases (with a 12% of concordances) other groups' rights are invoked through parallelism.

In nearly 35% of cases, WOMAN is positioned as Actor in the material processes of facing, living and winning; however, half of these cases, collocating with RIGHT as an adverb, represent women as economically suffering, e.g. *That starts with acknowledging the economic difficulties so many **women** are facing **right** now.* Here, suffering is referenced by the plural head noun *difficulties*. *Women* here is aggregated by the frequency modal *many*, which references the prevalence of this misfortunate conditions within the classification of women. The present progressive tense *are facing* indicates the continuity of the process. Similarly, in another utterance, *So many working **women** today are living **right** on the edge,* *women* is both aggregated, by the frequency modal *many*, and attributively premodified, by *working*. The continuity of the living process is also realized by the use of the present progressive tense. All

in all, the collocation preference of RIGHT indicates that women as social actors are represented as disempowered and in need of support. Though at times women are represented as winning the right to vote, the low frequency of such instances along with their paratactic positioning within a context of other societal issues through the use of rhetorical parallelism lowers the positive representation invested in these instances. Furthermore, the frequent depiction of women as suffering involves a denaturalization of the notion of women actually getting these rights.

The collocate PAY is associated with WOMAN in Obama's sub-corpus in so far as he addresses women's being paid less than men for the same work. In 80% of these cases, Obama discusses the issue in relation to Senator John McCain's support of the Supreme Court's decision which objected to the act of equal pay, e.g. *That's why I was proud to co-sponsor the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Restoration Act, which would have reversed last year's Supreme Court decision, which made it more difficult for women to challenge pay discrimination on the job. But Senator McCain thinks the Supreme Court got it right. He opposed the Fair Pay Restoration Act.* Such adherent adjacency of the two themes, i.e. women's unequal pay and McCain's opposition of the Fair Pay Restoration Act, can be interpreted as a tendency on Obama's part to attack a political opponent using the issue of women's equal pay rather than addressing the issue per se. In political speeches, frequently the views of others are used indirectly, that is, not being used directly by those who originally express them, as "the speaker's or writer's construction, interpretation or re-embedding of the other's voice" (Muntigl, 2002: 52). The aim of constructing an opponent's point of view "plays a major part in effacing alternative forms of sociation. This is so because opponents are often depicted as barriers to obtaining desired goals and outcomes" (ibid.).

Apropos PAY, women as social actors are passivated in different ways. In the aforementioned instance, for example, passivation is realized by beneficialization—a recurrent functional choice. In *He suggested that the reason women don't have equal pay isn't discrimination on the job – it's because they need more education and training, women* is functionally embedded as Carrier in a possessive identifying process. However, socially they are denied the right of equal pay which is realized linguistically by negation, i.e. *don't*. Hence, I suggest that negation be added to the ways through which a social actor's passivation can be realized. Being embedded in a dependent that-clause, *But I can't think of any problem more important than making sure that women get equal pay for equal work, women* is activated functionally as Actor and socially which is linguistically realized by participation. However, *making sure*

perspicuously mitigates the power of activation. Powerlessness of women is doubly invested in, *We can't let the **women** in our workforce get **paid** even less for doing the same work*, by passivation realized first by participation (as a Goal in a material process), and second, by using the passive voice. Recurrently, women are passivated by participation as Goals in the material process of paying, e.g. *Or that we'd at least be united in our determination to guarantee that **women** are **paid** fairly for their work*. Interestingly, in *The problem is that too many **women** aren't able to challenge employers who are **underpaying** them. And the solution is to finally close that gap and **pay women** what they've earned, nothing less*, women are being aggregated by using an adverb which has a semantic preference for vastness and a frequency modal, suggesting prevalence. The use of the negated predicative postmodifier along with the present simple verb *aren't able* which indicates timeless universality, strongly delineates women as oppressed and powerless. Since *able* has a semantic preference for capability and competence, the intensive relational process invested in *women aren't able* further stresses the incapability of women in fighting and confronting the status quo. As a whole, the collocate PAY contributes to the representation of women as economically disadvantaged, oppressed and powerless.

PERCENT collocates with WOMAN in so far as it numerates the percentage of women who are facing professional hardships, e.g. *Forty **percent** of working **women** do not have a single **paid** sick day*. The use of the numerative nominal group *forty percent* aggregates women as a social actor passivated by negation. In more than 70% of instances where MILLION collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to women in economically and professionally indigent conditions, e.g. *It's unacceptable that 22 **million** working **women** don't have a single **paid** sick day*. In 80% of those cases *women* is attributively premodified by *working* as a way into representing the social actor of *women* by dint of classificatory identification. The numerative noun *22 million* is used to represent women as aggregated while the nominal group *22 million working women* is socially passivated by negation maintaining the same representation of women as oppressed and discriminated against. Women are further passivated in two other structures which position them either as circumstantial or adverbial complement, e.g. *it'll be \$9.50 by 2011, giving 8 **million women** a well-deserved raise*, and *This will deliver tax relief for over 70 **million working women***. Generally, both PERCENT and MILLION delineate a picture of women in a categorizing and aggregating sense. They contribute towards a representation of women in an impersonalized manner as reduced to numbers and a representation as powerless and underprivileged.

DISCRIMINATION appears as a collocate for WOMAN in association with the bias against women at work. In all instances women are passivated and represented as powerless and negative, e.g. *But Senator McCain thinks the Supreme Court got it right last year when they handed down a decision making it harder for women to challenge pay discrimination at work*. Thus, passivation is realized here by beneficialization. Furthermore, the use of the comparative modifier *harder* with the non-finite verb *challenge* propels the passive image of women a step further by representing them as incapable of defying the injustice imposed on them. The finite verb can be negotiated; the non-finite verb cannot be contested. Martin (2000: 281) elucidates the non-negotiability of the non-finite verb:

Non-finite clauses [...] are clauses which might have been part of an argument, but have been backgrounded, to take them out of the repartee. Non-finite clauses simply remove the dialogic potential by eliminating the meaning which makes a clause negotiable—its finiteness.

The second dominant structure is: *That's why I stood up for equal pay in the Illinois State Senate, and helped pass a law to give 330,000 more women protection from paycheck discrimination*. In this instance, passivation is realized through participation and women are aggregated and categorized through the numerative nominal which drives them to be treated statistically rather than individually. The verb *give*, though integratively transactive (van Leeuwen, 1995: 90) since the Goal is a human being, is de-agentialized which further stresses women's passivation as subjected to the verb. Obama activates himself in relation to the two verbs *stand up* and *help* which empower and represent him as a defender of women.

As a collocate of WOMAN, ISSUE is used also in addressing women's social difficulties. In all cases women are passivated either by circumstantialization or beneficialization, e.g. *Senator McCain and I also have a real difference on the issue of equal pay for women*. Again, it seems that Obama uses women's issue to attack a political opponent rather than addressing the problems in essence. Interestingly, in *But let's be clear: these issues – equal pay, work/family balance, childcare – these are by no means just women's issues. When a job doesn't offer family leave, that also hurts men who want to help care for a new baby or an ailing parent*, Obama seems to discuss women's issues in so far as they concern the whole family, not women themselves. This can be interpreted as an abstraction from the real problem of women, that is, women's problems are considered solely apropos to the damage they cause the whole family rather than the woman herself. In *men who want to help care for a new baby or an ailing parent*, the issue of the responsibility of childcare floats to the surface. Hochschild and Machung (1989) have introduced the term 'the second shift' referring

“the fact that responsibilities of childcare and housework tend to be disproportionately borne by women, in addition to paid labour” (Baker, 2014: 30). Here, the identifying relative clause *who want to help* suggests that there are men who do not want to help and, hence, the burden of childcare lies on women. Moreover, even in the case of the *men who want to help*, the verb *help* has a semantic preference for aiding and assisting which suggests, in this case, that the task that men help in is not originally their responsibility. Rather, they only *help* the women getting these tasks accomplished and they are empowered to do these tasks or not.

As for PROMOTION as a collocate for WOMAN, all its instances are textually formed identically which renders it into a dominant form, i.e. *More and more women are denied jobs or promotions because they've got kids at home*. Evidently, women are passivated through the passive voice. Moreover, the use of the present simple verb *are* turns the problem into a timelessly prevalent and persistent predicament. The use of *deny* as a main verb further works out towards a representation of women as disempowered and negative. In more than 65% of the cases where WOMAN collocates with LIFE, reference is made to men and women collectively as a dominant form, e.g. *This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once provided a decent life for men and women of every race, and the homes for sale that once belonged to Americans from every religion, every region, every walk of life*. Only 2 cases are particularly dedicated to women per se. To avoid diminishing returns, I will discuss one case where LIFE is essentially associated with women, and where Obama—contrary to all the aforementioned representations—gives a highly positive representation of women:

Now, I come to this conversation not just as a candidate for President, but as the father of two young daughters who will one day have careers and families of their own. I come to it as a son, a grandson, and a husband who's seen the women in my own life confront so many of these challenges themselves. Growing up, I saw my mother, a young single mom, put herself through school, and follow her passion for helping others while raising me and my sister. But I also saw how she struggled to provide for us, worrying sometimes about how she'd pay the bills. I saw my grandmother, who helped raise me, work her way up from a secretary at a bank to become one of the first women bank vice presidents in the state.

Interestingly, Obama is invoking an institutional identity, that is, being a presidential candidate, as well as multiple gender-related identities of his, that is, being a father, a son, a grandson and a husband, all of which are specifically cultivated in his gender identity and crucially associated with the relational identificatory social roles invoked by him. All the

social actors in this instance are equally activated and passivated. Obama is initially activated by participation as Actor in the material process of coming but also passivated as a father. Occurring in a circumstantial complement, his social role is passivated by subjection (circumstantialization). The role of the two daughters is also once passivated by circumstantialization, but activated as social actors as Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process in the identifying relative clause *who will one day have careers and families of their own* which participates towards a positive representation of the daughters as future career holders as well as family raisers. Homogeneously, Obama's role as a son, grandson and a husband is first passivated by circumstantialization, and then activated through the relative clause *who's seen the women in my own life*. The women, in their turn, are passivated by participation as Phenomenon in the mental process of seeing but also activated in the material process of confronting. The same applies to both *mother* and *grandmother*. Generally, in this excerpt, women are represented in noticeably highly favourable terms by being exceptionally activated and associated with verbs that have positive semantic preferences, e.g. *have* which has a semantic preference for possession, *struggle* which has a semantic preference for battling, *confront* which has a semantic preference for audacity and intrepidity, *help* which has a semantic preference for benevolence and *work* which has a semantic preference for fulfilment. However, this positiveness is only salient when it comes to women in the personal life of Obama. Relating to the relational identification of the female social actors pertinent to Obama's life history, it seems that positive representations are abundantly bestowed upon the women 'in the family' rather than the American woman in a genericized sense. This could be interpreted as a political rhetoric meant to raise the pathos of the audience in favour of a political candidate rather than addressing the issues of women or drawing a positive image of the American woman.

As for the collocate AMERICA, excluding the diminishing returns which amount to 50% of the total number of AMERICA as a collocate, in 25% of instances the same form persists: *As the son of a single mother, I also don't accept an **America** that makes **women** choose between their kids and their careers*. Though *women* is activated as Actor in connection with the material process of choosing, the circumstantial complement *between their kids and their careers* is evidently restricting and disempowering. Moreover, *women* is passivated by participation (as Goal in a material process of making), genericised (as a plural without articles) and categorized (as lacking nomination). Disempowering is further highlighted through the verb *make* which has a semantic preference for enforcement. Obama uses the first

person pronoun *I* again to express individualistic representation of himself, that is, he is activating himself as Actor in the material process of accepting. The main verb *accept* itself has a semantic preference for giving consent. Thus, it seems that Obama is creating a chain of power in which he is given supremacy as Actor whereas America is passivated as Goal. Then, America is ranked second in the chain by being activated as Actor while women are passivated as the weakest in the chain.

In New Orleans, 7th of February 2008, Obama speaks of a distressed woman who has suffered the destruction of hurricanes: *America failed that woman long before that failure showed up on our television screens*. Again, on the primary night in Raleigh, the 6th of May 2008, he recites an incident of a poor woman: *We need change in America. The woman I met in Indiana who just lost her job, and her pension, and her insurance when the plant where she worked at her entire life closed down*. Passively represented as powerless, *woman* is passivated by participation as a Goal in the material process of failing and meeting. In the latter case, *woman* is activated only when it relates to the material process of losing. Contrarily, at the Kennedy endorsement event on the 28th of January 2008, he represents Caroline Kennedy in favourable terms: *For a woman who was introduced to America in the spotlight, Caroline has worked out of public view to bring about change in our communities*. Interestingly, represented as a woman, Caroline is passivated by circumstantiation, while represented by nomination, i.e. in terms of her unique identity realized by the proper noun (van Leeuwen, 1996: 52), she is activated by participation as Actor in a material process. The disparity between the negative representation of women in a genericized sense and the positive representation of women in a nominated or specified sense is problematic since it patently suggests that Obama's representations of women as positive or negative is politically motivated. However only a thorough investigation of all proper nouns as well as WOMAN used in a genericized sense can prove such a hypothesis. It should be noted that close examination of collocates in their linguistic environment enabled through concordance lines tools has revealed that all cases where NATION collocates with WOMAN are actually dedicated to both men and women and used in a laudatory manner, e.g. *we honor the brave men and women who are serving this nation in Iraq, Afghanistan, and around the world*.

To summarize the findings of this section, the nominal collocates of the node word WOMAN in Obama's sub-corpus contribute towards different representations of women. MAN collocates with WOMAN in nearly 40% of the separate occurrences of each of them. In 94% of collocational cases, the dominant pattern *men and women* prevails. In 41% of these cases,

military issues are addressed. Some of these cases (less than 10%) are racialized, i.e. men and women are addressed in relation to racial division, which is the case also with the collocate SEVICEMEN. The collocate RIGHT is particularly important since it yields an insight into the way in which Obama represents women in terms to their prerogatives. In 75% of these cases, WOMAN is both genericized and passivated. In 15% of instances Obama uses the singular form of both WOMAN and RIGHT rather than the plural. In 40% of collocational instances, RIGHT collocates with WOMAN possessively, activating women in relation to having rights. In 60% of cases race is juxtaposed with gender in the same context, i.e. women's rights are addressed in vicinity of other racial groups. In 35% of cases WOMAN are activated as Actor in different material processes and aggregated through the use of frequency modals. As for the collocates PAY, MILLION, DISCRIMINATION, ISSUE, and PROMOTION, women are passivated and aggregated in most cases, and sometimes entirely.

In all collocational cases of NATION, Obama refers to men and women in a laudatory sense. In 65% of cases where LIFE collocates with WOMAN, reference is also made to both men and women. In most remnant cases, women are activated and drawn in a positive light. In relation to the collocate AMERICA, woman are mostly passivated and genericized, i.e. they are only activated when it comes to verbs which have negative semantic prosody such as *lose*. According to the analysis of nominal collocates of WOMAN, women are represented as equally serving the country as men through the collocates MAN, UNIFORM, SEVICEMEN, and NATION. They are also represented as winners of voting rights through the collocate RIGHT—a representation which is occasionally deformed by representing women in the past as non-active social agents through the collocate MAN. Moreover, various collocates are invested to represent women as in need of support and protection, and as disadvantaged, oppressed and disempowered both economically and professionally e.g. RIGHT, PAY, MILLION, PERCENT, DISCRMINATION, and ISSUE. Obama represents himself as a defender of women's rights—a representation which comes into enactment through different collocates, that is, AMERICA and DISCRIMINATION. He also invokes his institutional identity as a candidate for presidency and different gender-related identities as a father, son, grandson and husband. Interestingly, a stereotypical representation of the parental roles of men and women is contributed to by Obama as he allocates to women the traditionally conceived role of raising children while men may only *help* in the process.

5.8.1.2. Verbal Collocates of WOMAN

Analyzing the verbal collocates in particular necessitates using a linguistic framework based on syntactic grammatical categories in order to analyze and tease out the potential of verb collocates like, CHOOSE, EARN, MAKE, LOSE, LEAD, HAVE, HELP and DO. How the social actors are positioned as subjects or objects in a clause is crucial in determining the representation textually promoted, for example, *So I think faith and guidance can **help** fortify a young **woman**'s sense of self, a young man's sense of responsibility, and a sense of reverence that all young people should have for the act of sexual intimacy.* In this instance of using HELP, a representation which would have initially worked out for women as powerful societal agents is instantly dismissed when categorizing the grammatical position of WOMAN as well as the semantic preferences of verbs and complements used. In this sense, both Halliday's functional processes (1994) and van Leeuwen's social actors representations will be operationalized. Halliday's ideational (or experiential) meaning is concerned with exploring the clause as a representation by investigating transitivity and process.

The verb collocates SERVE and HONOR are mutually shared by WOMAN and MAN, e.g. *We have much further to go to keep our sacred trust with the **men and women** who **serve**;* it contributes towards a representation of both men and women as serving their country committedly. As for the collocate SIGN, though solely collocating with WOMAN, concordance lines examination shows that in nearly all of its instances, it equally refers to men and women, and hence contributes towards the same representation, e.g. *Our brave young **men and women** have **signed** up to make these burdens their own.*

In 55% of the total cases where WORK collocates with WOMAN, i.e. in the nominal and verbal forms rather than the adjectival one (section. 5.8.1.1. & 5.8.1.3.), Obama uses identifying relative clauses to describe women, which renders it into a dominant pattern, e.g. *We could be fighting for the young **woman** who **works** the night shift after a full day of college and still can't afford medicine for a sister who's ill.* In this case which was delivered in Charleston, 20th of March 2008, *woman* is specified and passivated by subjection (circumstantialization). *Woman* as a social actor, syntactically substituted by the identifying relative pronoun *who*, is activated though as Actor in the material process of working. In spite of being Actor in the material process of affording which is extended across the conjunctive *and*, *woman* is actually passivated by negation. The ideational meaning of the clause represents the specified woman who is virtually being raised as a referent to a horde of

women in the same disadvantaged situation, as negative and powerless. The same incident appears in a speech delivered on the Iowa caucus night, 3rd of January 2008:

*Hope is what I saw in the eyes of the young **woman** in Cedar Rapids who **works** the night shift after a full day of college and still can't afford health care for a sister who's ill; a young woman who still believes that this country will give her the chance to live out her dreams.*

Again, activation and passivation are extended over a new line of arguments. The young woman, substituted by the identifying relative pronoun *who*, believes, and thus she is positioned as Senser in a mental process; she is further passivated as Goal in the material process of giving which further stresses the activation of *country* and the passivation of *her*. Though activation is presumed to add positiveness to the representation of that woman, the associated mental process of believing versus the passivation associated with the material process of giving indicates a sense of helplessness and powerlessness on the part of the young woman.

The identifying relative structure persists. In the following excerpt WORK collocates with WOMAN in the context of discussing racial issues, i.e. the common work between different races in society and racial discrimination within politics:

*When I hear that we'll never overcome the racial divide in our politics, I think about that Republican **woman** who used to **work** for Strom Thurmond, who's now devoted to educating inner-city children and who went out onto the streets of South Carolina and knocked on doors for this campaign. Don't tell me we can't change. Yes we can change.*

Woman is referred to in connection with race-related discussions rather than gender-related ones. Again, *woman* is both specified and passivated by subjection (circumstantialization); she is activated as a social actor, substituted by an identifying relative pronoun, in relation to the material processes of working, going out and knocking and the relational intensive attributive process of being devoted. The representation worked out here, though a positive one, is marked by intersectionality, i.e. the woman is represented in the light of her race, as a black, and her gender as a female. However, the context her mention is set against is race-related and, thus, Obama seems to activate her identity as a black person rather than her identity as a woman. Women are further passivated through the use of the passive voice in: *And we won't truly have an economy that puts the needs of the middle class first until we ensure that when it comes to pay and benefits at **work**, **women** are treated like the equal partners they are.* Fairclough (2003) notes that when the passive voice is used to represent

social actors, their subjection to the process specified is intensified, i.e. they are represented as being influenced by the actions of others. Therefore, the social disempowerment of women represented is reflected by the linguistic agency. Generally, the representation of women permeated through the collocate WORK indicates disempowerment and helplessness.

Examining concordance lines has revealed that in 70% of its occurrences, the verb collocate HAVE is used primarily as an auxiliary verb in forming the perfect tense formulas, e.g. *Senator Hillary Clinton has made history in this campaign not just because she's a **woman** who **has** done what no woman has done before, but because she's a leader who inspires millions of Americans with her strength, her courage, and her commitment to the causes that brought us here tonight.* Delivered after the final primaries, 3rd of June 2008, this clause contributes towards a highly positive representation of Obama's political opponent Hillary Clinton who is perspicuously activated as an Actor in the material processes of making and doing, the mental process of inspiring, and the intensive identifying relational process of being throughout the whole excerpt. The Goals of the transitive processes are also significant: *history* and *millions of Americans*, since they highlight her outstanding influence. The circumstantial and beneficiary complements *with her strength, her courage, and her commitment to the causes that brought us here tonight*, including words which have highly favourable semantic preferences, also contribute towards the same laudatory representation. However, with the tradition of the CDA, such extraordinary representation can be interpreted in the context of the conventions of the American primaries and the historical incidents of that particular election. On the 7th of June 2008, Clinton delivered a concession speech declaring her endorsement for Obama's candidacy and ending the presidential race. Obama's aforementioned excerpt can thus be understood as politically strategic. Significantly, in the following instance, women are represented by association which is realized through the paratactic structure as a means of rhetorical parallelism. In this sense, women as a group are equated to other disadvantaged groups—a verifiably negative representation, *There are young people, and African-Americans, and Latinos, and **women** of all ages who **have** voted in numbers that have broken records and inspired a nation.* Women here are Existent in an existential process; they are post modified by the prepositional phrase *of all ages* and they are represented in relation to the aspect of age. Women are then substituted by the relative pronoun *who* as Actor in the material process of voting which contributes towards a positive representation of women, among other unprivileged groups, as potent agents.

In another case where HAVE is used as an auxiliary, *And ever since I met this frail, one-hundred-and-five-year-old African-American **woman** who **had** found the strength to leave her house and come to a rally because she believed that her voice mattered, I've thought about all she's seen in her life*, *woman* is represented by passivation, realized by participation, and classification which marks Obama's invoking of both age and race. Avoiding the diminishing returns, in the remainder of cases, HAVE is used to express obligation or possession. The obligatory *had* in, e.g. *The dreams of my grandmother - who was up at dawn and worked twice as hard at her job because a **woman had** to work harder to get ahead*, represents women, though activated by participation, as compelled and obliged against their will. Controversially, women's economic conditions seem to be set as a parameter for general social welfare in, *But too often, we lose our sense of common destiny; that understanding that we are all tied together; that when a **woman has** less than nothing in this country, that makes us all poorer*. Formed as a singular with an indefinite article, *woman* is genericised in order to refer to any given American woman. Though activated as a Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process, *woman* is still negatively represented when the content of the Attribute is revealed as *less than nothing*. Again, women do not take the chance; rather, they are given that opportunity or confirmed that they will have it as in, *And unlike Senator McCain, I'll make sure every working **woman has** the chance to not just get by, but get ahead - to save, invest, build a nest egg, and provide a better life for their children*. The dominant juxtaposition of women's issues with Senator McCain is again invested. The use of the first person pronoun is again meant to express individuality as contrasted to McCain's stance.

Verb collocates EARN, CHOOSE, HEAR, LEAD, MAKE, etc are particularly interesting to examine in their concordance environment. CHOOSE, for example, intuitively indicates a representation of women as having the power to take a decision freely and willingly—a positive representation. However, concordance investigation shows that, actually, it contributes towards a negative representation of women as disempowered, disadvantaged and in unfavourable conditions. The following form dominates in more than 65% of cases: *I also don't accept an America that makes **women choose** between their kids and their careers*. As explicated earlier, Obama is positioned as Actor in the material process of accepting while passivating *America* as Goal; *America*, substituted by the relative pronoun *that*, is then activated as Actor in the material process of making while passivating *women* as Goal. Women are thus linguistically and socially rendered the weakest ring in the chain of power represented by Obama. Semantically, they are doubly weakened by the verb *make* which has a

semantic preference for enforcement. Furthermore, the kind of choice posited sustains the traditional social role allocation—women are fundamentally responsible for ‘keeping the household and raising the children’; a choice comes to the act when she has a career to build. The following form: *And I've made it equally clear that I will never back down in defending a woman's right to **choose***, further represents women as weak and vulnerable. Women are genericized by singularity, that is, *a woman* is meant to refer to every American woman. Besides passivation which is realized by circumstantialization, the use of the verb *defend* suggests the vulnerability of the defended—women, and the powerfulness of the defender—Obama. This image is supported by Obama's use of the first person pronoun twice in the same clause as Actor in two material processes suggesting strength and assertiveness.

In nearly 85% of the cases where LEAD collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to both men and women in a laudatory sense. The verb collocate LEAD falsely gives a discourse prosody of women as powerful and capable of commanding. However, the contrary is the case in the sole instance where LEAD is associated with women per se, *It's what **led** you to make **women** equal partners in the battle for civil rights long before so many other organizations did the same*. Women are not equal partners; rather, they are made equal partners. As for the collocate MEET, in 30% of cases it actually collocates with both men and women in the context of addressing Obama's recounting of his personal history and the suffering of his ancestors. In nearly 60% of occurrences, Obama represents women in economic misfortune—women that he met to hear their stories about the financial hardships they are suffering from. WOMAN, in this case, is always passivated by participation. When activated, they are engaged in a series of negative processes and statuses: *miss, began, was worried, can't breathe, can't get, can't afford, had nothing, had less than nothing, wake up, take care, works two jobs, did not have insurance, lost, needs*, etc. As a whole, the collocate MEET contributes towards a negative representation of women as disadvantaged and underprivileged. The same applies to TELL as a collocate since it is used in nearly the same personal stories where MEET is used, e.g. *It's the dream of the **woman** who **told** me she works the night shift after a full day of college and still can't afford health care for a sister who's ill*.

In all cases where EARN collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to the pay gap between men and women in the American society. In 80% of cases, women are activated by participation as Actors in the material process of earning. However, in the following example for instance, the ideational meaning realized through the adverbs *still* and *only*, represents women as treated unequally to men, *But **women** still **earn** only 77 cents for every dollar*

earned by men. The same applies to all cases of activation. Occurrences of passivation have been explored before—diminishing returns. CHALLENGE collocates with WOMAN exclusively in two syntactic forms: a nominal form and a verbal one. First, in the nominal form which occurs in 30% of cases, a positive representation of women is enabled, e.g. *It's great to be back in New Mexico, and to have this opportunity to discuss some of the **challenges** that working **women** are facing.* Women are activated as Actor in the material process of facing challenges. However, in the latter type which occurs in 70% of cases, women are highly passively represented as unable to challenge their oppressors, e.g. *The problem is that too many **women** aren't able to **challenge** employers who are underpaying them.* Women is premodified by an adverb indicating vastness, *too*, and a frequency modal indicating excessiveness, *many*. Women are thus aggregated, denoting prevalence. The same applies to, *That's why I was proud to co-sponsor the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Restoration Act, which would have reversed last year's Supreme Court decision, which made it more difficult for **women** to **challenge** pay discrimination on the job,* where women are genericized to indicate pervasiveness. Focusing on the suffering of working women involves denaturalizing the position of women as workers which is the case in Obama's use of CHALLENGE as a verbal collocate of WOMAN.

In nearly 60% of cases where SEE collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to both men and women in a variety of themes relating to civilian and military challenges. In 20% of cases, reference is made to the women he has seen as striving their way into life (to avoid diminishing returns, see the collocate LIFE). In the remaining 20% of instances, Obama speaks of an old black female supporter of his and recounts the history of both blacks and women through her own story: *"That she was born under the cloud of Jim Crow, free in theory but still enslaved in so many ways. That she was born at a time for black folks when lynchings were not uncommon, but voting was."* Obama's depiction of the woman involves the processes of living, seeing, having to sit, watching, believing, thinking and having faith, i.e. all verbs range from mental to behavioural processes which indicates passivity and lack of the power to act rather than involvement and positiveness. The intersectionality of being black and being a woman marking double discrimination is invested in the representation of this particular woman. In the following case, for example, *"And I thought about how she **saw women** finally win the right to vote,"* she is activated in a mental process but *women* is positioned as passivated into an embedded relative clause. In the process of winning, though, *women* is given the role of Actor. The same structure persists in, *And when she finally she*

saw hope breaking through the horizon in the Civil Rights Movement, she thought, "Maybe it's my turn." And in that movement, she saw women who were willing to walk instead of ride the bus after a day of doing somebody else's laundry and looking after somebody else's children because they walked for freedom. After the sentential adverb, *women* is again passivated by subjection realized by participation as a Phenomenon. However, they are activated as social actors (a Carrier) in a relational intensive attributive process embedded into a dependent relative clause. The implicature communicated by flouting the maxim of quantity here, "**women** who were willing to walk instead of ride the bus after a day of doing somebody else's laundry and looking after somebody else's children because they walked for freedom" is rhetorically meant to show both the harsh conditions and the great effort exerted by women to win their freedom.

The lemma LOSE collocates with the recurrent pattern *men and women* in 60% of cases where it is used in the context of Obama's discussion of medical care plans for war injured soldiers who have lost their limbs. LOSE collocates exclusively with WOMAN as in, "*Or the woman from Anderson who just lost her job, and her pension, and her insurance when the Delphi plant closed down.*" However close examination of extended stretches of concordance lines shows that the same pattern is used with men in nearly the same context, e.g. "*Like the young man I met in Pennsylvania who lost his job but can't afford the gas to drive around and look for a new one.*" Nevertheless, it should be noted that LOSE does not appear on the collocation profile of MAN on Obama's side which suggests a sense of exclusiveness for the representation of women. Though *woman* is activated with regard to the material process of losing, the negative presentation emerge through the passive meaning of *lose* as a verb which has a semantic preference for inability and deprivation. The same passive representation is maintained and amplified in the following excerpt:

This election is about working women who can't find affordable childcare or afterschool programs for their kids; women forced to lose their wages or quit their jobs to care for a newborn baby or an elderly parent. They're counting on us to help them make a living while raising their kids - to fight for equal pay, for equal work, and for childcare, family leave and sick leave, because here in America, there should be no second class citizens in our workplaces.

Women is triply passivated by negation, circumstantialization and the use of passive voice within an embedded relative clause. Obama's use of *force* which has a semantic preference for coercion, compulsion and intimidation further enhances the representation of women as

passive, vulnerable and oppressed social actors. The absence of men as social actors in assuming familial responsibility is noteworthy; i.e. Obama assumes the exclusive female accountability for childcare (see similar implicit assumptions in the exploration of the collocate ISSUE). In case of working women, the accountability automatically moves to *affordable childcare or afterschool programs*. Interestingly, women are represented through a relational intensive attributive process, indicating close association, as **counting on us to help them make a living while raising their kids**, which further accentuates their powerlessness through passivation and by the semantic preference invested in the verb *help*. The denaturalization of women as workers persists. HELP also appears as a collocate for MAN; however, contrariwise, in 80% of cases men are activated as powerful social agents. The parallel structure of anaphorical enumeratio invested in “*for equal pay, for equal work, and for childcare, family leave and sick leave*” stresses the plentiful aspects of problematic issues women suffer from. The use of apophasis in “*because here in America, there should be no second class citizens in our workplaces*” is particularly worth mentioning since it actually implies that women are actually being treated as second class citizens.

In 20% of concordances where MEAN collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to both men and women in the uniform as a prevailing context where Obama juxtaposes both social actors. In 40% of cases MEAN is used within the sentential adverb *by no means*, as in: “*But let's be clear: these issues—equal pay, work/family balance, childcare—these are by no means just women's issues.*” In this case, Obama is using *enumeratio* as a rhetorical device to indicate the amount of women's social problems; *by no means* indicates decisiveness. Activating *women* by possessivation is strongly mitigated by the semantic preference of *issue* as a problem and the rhetorical enumeratio of these problems. The following clause is particularly interesting (see another perspective for the examination of the same instance in the collocate ISSUE): “*When a job doesn't offer family leave, that also hurts men who want to help care for a new baby or an ailing parent.*” The use of *want* indicates that the absence of jobs with family leave will not hurt the men who do not want to help, i.e. only women will get hurt in this case. Moreover, *help* suggests that the primary responsibility of childcare lies on women which sustains a traditional role allocation and creates a stereotypical picture of role expectations on the part of men and women. In 40% of cases, MEAN is used as a verb as in: *I think we can all agree that raising our children and caring for our loved ones is the most important job we have. And it's time we started making that job a little bit easier, especially for working women. That means giving folks a hand with childcare.* In this case, Obama is

using *distinctio* as a rhetorical device to specify exactly what he means by *making that job a little bit easier*. Again, the specification realized by the adverb *especially* and the adjective *working* further underscores the same traditional discourse. In another identical instance, Obama ends up with a different argument, “*That means giving working parents tax credits to help with childcare.*” The generic *folks* is rendered to the more specified *working parents*; however, the same stereotypical representation still permeates through the precedent adverbial phrase *especially for working women*.

In nearly 40% of concordances where GIVE collocates with WOMAN, Obama is referring to men and women mostly in relation to military duties. Avoiding diminishing returns, the two dominant patterns in relation to the collocate GIVE are related to the representation of Obama as defending the empowering of women. In the following instance, *That’s why I stood up for equal pay in the Illinois State Senate, and helped pass a law to give 330,000 more women protection from paycheck discrimination*, within an infinitive phrase, women—who are specified by a modifying numerative—are passivated by participation as Goal; *protection*, associated with Obama and the law, has a semantic preference for powerfulness, which renders women, accordingly, vulnerable and powerless. Again Obama creates a power chain where he is represented as most powerful—the representation is highlighted by the use of the first person pronoun, *I stood up for equal pay*, the law is given a second rank, *pass a law to give 330,000 more women protection*, and then women at the end of the chain. The same structural and functional pattern persists in: *Unlike Senator McCain, I’ll make sure the minimum wage rises each year to keep up with rising costs - it’ll be \$9.50 by 2011, giving 8 million women a well-deserved raise*. McCain’s mention persists in relation to discussing women’s issues.

Obama refers to two female political figures, i.e. Hillary Clinton and Caroline Kennedy, in 60% of cases where HEAR collocates with WOMAN. In a joint speech with Clinton in New Hampshire on the 27th of June 2008, Obama addresses the people: *I want to start by saying a few words about the woman you just heard from. You know, for 16 months, Senator Clinton and I have shared the stage as rivals for the nomination. But today, I could not be happier and more honored and more moved that we’re sharing the stage as allies to bring about the fundamental changes that this country so desperately needs*. Obama uses *woman* rhetorically as a cataphoric reference to Clinton. Though *woman* is doubly passivated by circumstantialization, *Senator Clinton* and *I* are equally activated through participation and positioned in a paratactic relation which indicates parallelism. Moreover, the antithesis

involved in the representation of his former relation to Clinton, i.e. one of rivalry, versus his current one, i.e. one of confederacy, rhetorically index the political shift of positions as a result of Clinton's endorsing Obama. In the 10th of July 2008 at a joint breakfast fundraiser in New York, Obama uses the same linguistic structure to represent Clinton as a 'journey mate': *I want to start by saying a few words about the **woman** you just **heard** from. As someone who took the same historic journey as Senator Clinton – who I shared a stage with her many times over those sixteen months – I know firsthand how tough she is, how passionate she is, how committed she is to the causes that bring us here today.* In this case, although Obama's message can be superficially taken as equating, through the use of the attributive premodifier *same* and a verb of commonality *share*, functionally it is not. Besides being doubly passivated as formerly shown, Clinton is further doubly passivated through circumstantialization in *as Senator Clinton* and *with her*, while Obama is activating himself through participation. Clinton is represented in a positive light through the exclamatory patterns, *how tough she is, how passionate she is, how committed she is*, and is rhetorically coined equally through epistrophe and anaphora. However, the predication of the epistemic verb *know* on the first personal pronoun *I* and the adverb *firsthand* contributes towards a self-representation on the part of Obama as more superiorly well-informed.

In the Kennedy endorsement event in the 28th of January 2008 in Washington, Obama equally activates and passivates Caroline Kennedy who *embodies* and *worked out*, but also who is represented through the passive voice, *was introduced*, and circumstantialization, *for a woman: No one embodies this proud legacy more than the people we've just **heard** from. For a **woman** who was introduced to America in the spotlight, Caroline has worked out of public view to bring about change in our communities.* With respect to the collocate HEAR, ordinary women are represented in a passive sense, as in: *We are the hope of the **woman** who **hears** that her city will not be rebuilt; that she cannot reclaim the life that was swept away in a terrible storm. Yes she can.* *Woman* is passivated by circumstantialization in *We are the hope of the woman*. Though activated as a Behaver in the behavioural process of hearing, passivity is socially inherent in the limitedness of the verb *hear*—a point validated by the following negated ability modal verb *can*. Obama uses the same ability modal verb in, *Yes she can*, as a sententia on the presidency campaign slogan, *Yes we can*. Rhetorically, it is implied, by flouting the maxim of quantity, that she can, only when Obama is a president. Thus, the woman's potential is rendered conditional. In the following excerpt, again *woman* is passivated by participation as Goal in a behavioural process (hear) and material ones (help,

allow). She is activated in a series of verbal (told, spoke), relational (gets), material (works, afford) and mental processes (wonders). The vulnerability permeating through the processes used in reference to the woman is revealed through the verbs ascribed to government as Actor in the material processes *help* and *allow* which have a semantic preference for powerfulness and authority: *Just two weeks ago, I **heard** a young **woman** in Cedar Rapids who told me she only gets three hours of sleep because she works the night shift after a full day of college and still can't afford health care for a sister with cerebral palsy. She spoke not with self-pity but with determination, and wonders why the government isn't doing more to help her afford the education that will allow her to live out her dreams.*

In nearly 30% of concordances where HELP collocates with WOMAN, Obama refers to both men and women. Another 30% is dedicated to cases where HELP appears as a collocate in so far as reference is made to Obama's grandmother—the exclusive cases where a woman is activated as an Actor in the material process of helping, e.g. *I can no more disown him than I can my white grandmother - a **woman** who **helped** raise me.* Exploring the extended stretch of concordance line, it turns out that Obama resorts to the issue of race, rather than that of gender, since he explicitly projects a racial identity based on his being half black and half white.

Obama refers to women as social actors in 40% of occurrences, e.g. *We're going to finally **help** folks like the young **woman** I met who works the night shift after a full day of college and still can't afford medicine for a sister who's ill.* Once again *woman* is passivated by circumstantialization (*like the young woman*); when she is activated in the process of working, she is represented as incapable of making both ends meet. In the following excerpt, special reference, indexed by the adverb *particularly*, is made to women at the head of the parallel groups of people in need of help. The verb *help* particularly represents these groups as further passivated and disempowered: “*we should make sure it benefits part-time and non-traditional workers, something that will particularly **help women**, African-Americans and Latinos.*” Parallelism is used, as earlier indicated, to put the groups paralleled on equal footing, in this case, regarding discrimination and suffering. In the following instance, *Women* is used hypotactically as a premodifier, albeit it performs the same function of passivation: *I'll cut the capital gains rate to zero to **help women** small business owners grow their businesses and create jobs.*

As for the collocate GET, the dominant pattern of ‘making sure that women get equal pay’ prevails, e.g. *I’ll make sure that **women get equal pay for an equal day’s work, because that’s what’s right and that’s what families need to get ahead.*** Though *women* is functionally activated by participation as Actor in relation to the material process of getting, predicating the whole dependent clause on the material process of making sure renders women’s equal pay conditional. Thus, women’s getting of equal pay is dependent on Obama’s ensurance of it. Again, Obama represents himself as defender of women’s rights. Cases other than that also position women in unfavourable conditions include, for example, *Because they’re focused on [...] the young **woman** who **gets** three hours of sleep a night because she works the late shift after a full day of college and still can’t afford her sister’s medicine.*

Nearly 20% of concordances related to the collocate DO are used to refer to both men and women. In addition, more than 40% of collocate occurrences represent the following dominant pattern: *Forty percent of working **women do not have a single paid sick day.*** Here, women are represented by aggregation which is realized through the use of a numerative quantifier; they are premodified for the sake of specification. Functionally, they are represented as Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process and thus activated. However, socially they are passivated by negation; the adjective *single* further confirms the gravity and injustice involved. Nearly 10% of concordances are dedicated to each of the following patterns: *When women still make just 77 cents for every dollar men make – black and Latina women even less – that **doesn’t just hurt women, it hurts families who find themselves with less income, and have to work even harder just to get by.*** Though activated in the former clause, *women* is juxtaposed with the two adverbs *still*, indicating lateness, and *just*, indicating underpayment, in order to represent women as an oppressed group. Again, in the parenthesis *black and Latina women even less* the race issue is rhetorically highlighted by Obama, representing black and Latino women as a more oppressed group within the original blueprinted one. Interestingly, in the latter clause, *women* is passivated by participation, but not solely. Women are represented here as parameters for the whole family; women’s issues are ipso facto represented as family issues. On the 20th of January 2008, Obama delivered a speech in Atlanta about “The Great Need of the Hour”—unity, where he said: *If a few more **women** were willing to **do** what Rosa Parks had done, maybe the cracks would start to show.* Here, Obama speaks of Rosa Parks, the black woman who refused to leave her seat in the coloured section in a bus for a white passenger after the white people section was filled. Obama uses exemplum rhetorically to show the importance of unity as a civil tool of

achieving a nation's progress. Aggregated through the use of frequency modality (*few more*) which indicates scarcity, women—though activated—are positioned in a conditional *if*-clause as a Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process which contributes towards a representation of black women at that time, namely in 1955, as passive and unresisting.

The next excerpt is taken from Obama's speech in the New Hampshire on the 27th of June 2008:

*I know that because of our campaign, because of the campaign that Hillary Clinton waged, my daughters and all of your daughters will forever know that there is no barrier to who they are and what they can be in the United States of America. They can take for granted that **women** can **do** anything that the boys can do. And do it better and do it in heels. I still don't know how she does it in heels. I don't know.*

Clinton, Obama's daughters, American daughters, and American women in general are represented as agentive, powerful and positive by being positioned as functional and social agents in all processes. The collocation clause, *They can take for granted that **women** can **do** anything that the boys can do*, is an epistrophe meant to equalize the potentials and opportunities of both men and women. What is strikingly interesting is the following clause: *And do it better and do it in heels. I still don't know how she does it in heels. I don't know*, referring to Clinton. Metaphorically, *heels* refers to Clinton's identity as a woman—the distinctive gender that can wear heels, at least within the realm of politics. Obama is accordingly producing a gender distinction based on wardrobe choices which contributes to an Opportunity Inequality Discourse. Ironically, the pragmatic meaning conveyed by Obama's utterance is exactly the opposite of the surface meaning, i.e. that currently women in the USA are having exactly the same opportunities as men do. Moreover, this instance also contributes to previous studies arguing that appearance is an important criterion by which women are evaluated (Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010: 124).

As for the collocate MAKE, in nearly 25% of its occurrences, Obama refers to both men and women. In 15% of cases where MAKE and WOMAN collocate in Obama's sub-corpus, the following pattern persists: *I'll **make** sure that **women** get equal pay for an equal day's work* (to avoid diminishing returns, see the discussion of the collocate GET in Obama's sub-corpus). The following pattern also has a percentage of 15%: *But Senator McCain thinks the Supreme Court got it right last year when they handed down a decision **making** it harder for **women** to challenge pay discrimination at work*. Again women are passivated by

circumstantialization as beneficiaries in a material process (see also the analysis of the collocates PAY and CHALLENGE in Obama's sub-corpus). With the same percentage, the following pattern also appears: *I also don't accept an America that **makes women** choose between their kids and their careers*. According to the above-mentioned three patterns, women are passivated through dependency, circumstantialization and participation, contributing towards a representation of women as powerless and in need of help (see also the analysis of the collocate AMERICA in Obama's sub-corpus). In 15% of cases women are activated as Actor, yet, the negative image still permeates (to avoid diminishing returns, see the discussion of the collocate DO in Obama's sub-corpus): *When women still **make** just 77 cents for every dollar men make, that doesn't just hurt women, it hurts families who find themselves with less income, and have to work even harder just to get by*. The intersectional identity of black women as doubly oppresses appears again in the following quote: *I brought Democrats and Republicans together in Illinois [...] to end the outrage of black **women making** just 62 cents for every dollar that many of their male coworkers make*. The following collocate instance is particularly significant: *It's what led you to **make women** equal partners in the battle for civil rights long before so many other organizations did the same*. Besides the functional passivating positioning of women as Attribute, the juxtaposition of 'make women equal partners' as a relational intensive attributive process rendering women to be 'equal partners' negates women's ability of self-fulfillment, i.e. they are not represented as equal partners, or as making themselves equal partners, rather *people* have made them equal partners.

In sum, verbal collocates verifiably enable fruitful fathoming of gender representations permeating through a corpus. The verb collocates SERVE and HONOUR are mutually shared by MAN and WOMAN, while SIGN, though appearing as an exclusive collocate for WOMAN, is textually discerned to refer to both men and women. In 55% of cases where WORK collocates with WOMAN, a pattern of identifying relative clauses is maintained; activation and passivation are invested equally while women are saliently represented by specification. Again, Obama uses WORK to refer to racial discrimination in society and in politics, i.e. the black woman who is participating in his campaign is represented intersectionally by addressing her race and gender. However Obama seems to activate her racial rather than her gender identity. In relation to the collocate HAVE, which is used in 70% of its occurrences as an auxiliary, women are represented mostly as activated and genericized. Moreover, race is also intersected with gender and age in addressing a woman's identity. In

most cases where CHOOSE collocates with WOMAN, women are represented as genericized and passivated. Obama uses the collocate LEAD, not to address women's leadership abilities as it may be taken misleadingly to denote, but to establish women as *made* equal partners; the remaining cases are devoted to referring to both men and women.

The collocates MEET, EARN, TELL and SEE are nearly entirely dedicated to women's unprivileged conditions. The collocate MEET occurs in 60% of its clauses as referring to women's economic misfortune where women are mostly passivated and genericized; the remaining cases are references to both men and women. In 80% of occurrences where EARN collocates with WOMAN, women are activated and genericized. The collocate CHALLENGE, in 70% of its occurrences, represents women as passivated and either genericized or aggregated. 60% of cases of the collocate SEE is used to refer to men and women, 20% in relation to women striving in life and 20% to an instance of an old black woman supporter of Obama where the issue of black women as being doubly oppressed is raised marking another case of resorting to female intersectional identities on the part of Obama. In general, as far as SEE is concerned, women are equally activated and passivated. The collocate LOSE represents women saliently as passivated and specified; in 60% of its cases, Obama refers to men and women.

Through the collocate GIVE, a representation of women as passivated and specified is maintained. The collocate HEAR, in 60% of its occurrences, is most saliently associated with Hillary Clinton and Caroline Kennedy, represented through nomination. Clinton, however, is doubly passivated when mentioned in relation to Obama. The remaining cases where women are represented as genericized, represent women as activated and passivated alternatively. 30% of HELP instances are dedicated to both men and women while another 30% is used to refer to Obama's grandmother in a famous and much quoted utterance of Obama where he explicitly activates his racial identity as constituted of a black as well a white race. The remaining cases represent women by passivation and specification. Repeatedly, the issue of gender is juxtaposed with that of race and ethnicity when addressing disadvantaged groups in society. In most cases of the collocate GET, women are activated and genericized, while in most cases of the collocate DO women are activated and aggregated. Extensively, women are represented intersectionally in relation to their race as black and their gender as women which render them as doubly marginalized. Women are passivated and genericized in most cases of collocating with MAKE where Obama again separately mentions black women, away from the category of all women, as doubly oppressed through intersecting their gender and race.

In this sense, different representations of women are contributed by Obama: women as equally serving the country as men (SERVE, HONOR and SIGN), women as winners of voting rights (SEE), women as needing support and protection (MEAN, GIVE and GET), women as economically and professionally oppressed and disadvantaged (WORK, MEET, LOSE and MAKE), women as socially disempowered (WORK, CHOOSE, GIVE, HELP and MEAN), women's issues as the whole family's issues (MEAN and DO), women as a minority and disadvantaged group (HAVE and MEET), women as the sole caretaker of children (LOSE and MEAN), and black and Latin women as a more oppressed, passive and non-resistant sub-group (DO and MAKE). Through the use of the collocates CHOOSE, GET and GIVE, Obama again represents himself as a defender of women by activation himself in various power chains where women are assigned the weakest position. Four stereotypical representations maintaining ideologically conventionalized gender role and gender perceptions are communicated by Obama. The first, worked out through the collocates CHOOSE, MEAN and LOSE, relates to women as fundamentally, and sometimes solely, responsible for the household and children. The second, contributed through the collocate LEAD, relates to the image of women as *made* equal partners rather than *being* equal partners. The third, communicated through the collocates CHALLENGE and LOSE, denaturalizes the status of working women by focusing only on their suffering. The fourth, projected through the collocate DO, relates to Obama's referring to Clinton in terms of her appearance and wardrobe options which corresponds to a distinction based on gender.

5.8.1.3. Adjectival Collocates of WOMAN

The two adjectival collocates of WOMAN—YOUNG and BRAVE—are shared collocates with MAN in Obama's corpus, i.e. they co-occur with the noun phrase *men and women* in nearly 75% of the instances of YOUNG and in all instances of BRAVE. Thus, they position both men and women positively. The collocate EQUAL also contributes towards a representation of Obama as fighter for women's rights and of women as passive, oppressed and marginalized. Excluding diminishing returns, two patterns appear in relation to EQUAL: first, *And we won't truly have an economy that puts the needs of the middle class first until we ensure that when it comes to pay and benefits at work, women are treated like the equal partners they are.* Women as social actor are passivated both functionally and sociologically through the passive voice. The whole dependent clause is a predicate of *ensure* which positions *we* as an activated empowered Actor and *women* as a disempowered one. However, women, substituted by the pronoun *they*, are activated as Carrier in a relational intensive

attributive process, and thus represented as equal partners. Second, *Senator McCain and I also have a real difference on the issue of **equal pay for women***. Again women are passivated through beneficialization in respect to the issue of equal pay.

WORKING as a collocate of WOMEN contributes towards a representation of women's work as an additive, non-essential attribute. If a person is described as working, it would be taken as insinuating the notion that s/he is doing something that s/he should not by default do, especially in the absence of the same adjective being a collocate of MAN. Thus, women's work is presented as non-naturalized which, consequently, contributes towards sustaining traditional and stereotypical representations of women. Moreover, as explicated by Paul Baker in a YLMP workshop (April, 2014), *working* as a premodifier suggests that what women do in the domestic sphere is not a kind of 'work' as well. Clinton uses the same collocate, albeit in half the frequency that Obama uses it. Additionally, her use of *working woman* is accompanied by *working man*, except for one case. In Obama's sub-corpus, women are passivated by beneficialization in the following instances: *But when you look at our records and our plans on issues that matter to **working women**, the choice could not be clearer* and *This will deliver tax relief for over 70 million **working women***. In the latter case, women are aggregated through the use of the numerative.

OLD and WHITE contribute towards a representation of women as defined in terms of their age and race. In the following clause, for example, Obama speaks of a woman organizer in his campaign as a means of addressing women health care issues; he does so by invoking the age and race of the woman who is represented by specification and individualized by nomination: *There is a young, twenty-three year **old white woman** named Ashley Baia who organized for our campaign in Florence, South Carolina*. In 50% of cases where WHITE collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to Obama's mother or grandmother, e.g. *I am the son of a black man from Kenya and a **white woman** from Kansas*. In the following excerpt, Obama speaks lengthily of his grandmother's love and care for him and of her discriminatory attitudes as well:

*I can no more disown him than I can my **white** grandmother - a **woman** who helped raise me, a woman who sacrificed again and again for me, a woman who loves me as much as she loves anything in this world, but a woman who once confessed her fear of black men who passed by her on the street, and who on more than one occasion has uttered racial or ethnic stereotypes that made me cringe. These people are a part of me. And they are a part of America, this country that I love.*

The contradictory attitudes of Obama's grandmother is marked by the use of the contradiction conjunction *but*. Repeatedly, race is being raised as a dominant perspective through which Obama addresses different issues and resorts to in constructing his identity. As for OLD, in nearly 70% of concordances, it is used in differently-oriented pairs in order to pluralize the American people, e.g. *In big cities and small towns; among men and **women**; young and **old**; black, **white**, and brown - Americans share a faith in simple dreams.*

All in all, the adjectival collocates of WOMAN in Obama's sub-corpus are also interesting sites of gender representations. YOUNG and BRAVE collocate with both MAN and WOMAN. The collocational cases of EQUAL represent women mostly by passivation and genericization. WORKING as a premodifier is particularly interesting because it contributes towards a representation of women's work as additive and non-essential which is a stereotypical gender role allocation; in most cases women are passivated. In the cases of the collocates OLD and WHITE, Obama represents female identities in terms of age, race and gender where most cases are represented through nomination, i.e. in 50% of WHITE cases, reference is made to Obama's grandmother. Saliently, race is highlighted as an important scope through which Obama constructs his own identity as well as the identity of women while addressing different social issues.

5.8.2. Collocates of WOMAN in Clinton's Speeches

5.8.2.1. Nominal Collocates of WOMAN

The lemma WOMAN occurs in Clinton's sub-corpus with a frequency of 579, according to SKE, which offers more potential into exploring the collocational profile of the node word WOMAN than is the case in Obama's sub-corpus. Unlike Obama who associates *women* with *men* (the plural inflection) as the first and most-likely-to-occur collocate (i.e. the singular form occurs in Obama's sub-corpus only in 4% of instances), Clinton associates it with both *men* and *man*, respectively. In the former case, 80% of the instances where WOMAN and MAN collocate form the dominant pattern *men and women* as in: *Tonight, our brave **men and women** in uniform are serving across the globe, some on their second, their third or their fourth deployment.* As explicated above, the conjunctive relation between the two social actors renders them into a single syntactic unit, i.e. a noun phrase. Hence, they are represented in a collectivized pluralized sense. The pattern *women and men* constitutes 9% of this class, as in: *These women and men looked into their daughters' eyes, imagined a fairer and freer*

world, and found the strength to fight. As for the noun collocate MAN in the singular form, Clinton uses it 27 times, 30% of which is dedicated to the sequential pattern *man, woman and child*, e.g. *In fact I am the only candidate left in this race - Democrat or Republican - with a health care plan to cover every single **man, woman and child**.* In 22% of the cases, the two social actors are also predicated on a conjunctive relationship with either *and* or *or*.

Significantly, with a frequency of 58, RIGHT collocates with WOMAN in Clinton's speeches contributing towards a representation of women as oppressed and deprived of their prerogatives, e.g. *We've overcome tyranny, we've ended the injustice of slavery, we've expanded civil rights and **women's rights**.* In nearly 8%, RIGHT is used as an adverb or an adjective as in, *we've got to continue to stand up for American values and make sure those values are heard around the world, and when I am president I will continue to make the changes on behalf of **women** that are good and **right** for women and smart for American security*, where Clinton activates herself (through the use of the first person pronoun *I* which suggests individualistic representation of the self) as an Identified in a relational intensive identifying process. By the use of the transitive verb *make* and the Goal *changes* accompanied by the prepositional phrase *on behalf of* (which inherently suggests inclusion and self-marking as salient), Clinton empowers herself as a defender of women, and yet, she represents herself as belonging to the group of women. The use of the main verb *continue* which has a semantic preference for sustainment and persistence indicates that her struggle for women's rights is not novel to her. Women are represented as in need of defending through the passivation realized by circumstantialization twice in the same clause. However, Clinton's inclusion of herself as a member of the women group critically mitigates their disempowerment. Not only does she set herself as a protector of women, but also (through self-inclusion in the group of women and self-marking as one of the group of high achievers) she signals women's ability to challenge the limitations imposed on them—a readily achievable goal by her support of them. In the following clause, ***Right** now when **women** try to find out if they are being treated fairly by asking around about what others get paid, they can get in trouble or even be fired, right now* is rhetorically used as a sentential adverb. Women are activated as Actor in the material process of trying which suggests positive attempts on women's part to achieve equality—an attempt suppressed by managers. Nevertheless, the semantic preference for endeavor which is not necessarily successful invested in the verb *try* verifiably mitigates the powerfulness conveyed by being positioned as Actor. Women are again activated as Actor in the material process of getting in. However the passive connotation of *get in trouble* along with the

passive voice in *be fired* contribute towards a representation of women as oppressed and disempowered.

RIGHT, used as a noun, appears in a variety of patterns, e.g. *Florence was born before **women** had the **right** to vote, and she was determined to exercise that right, to cast a ballot for her candidate, who just happened to be a woman running for president.* Embedded within a dependent clause, women's past deprivation of their voting prerogative is represented through juxtaposition of the temporal conjunction *before* and the relational possessive identifying process *had* where *women* is activated as a Carrier (Possessor). Again, Clinton sets a close connection between herself and the American women, representing herself both as a member of the group of women through the repetitive semantically-denoting *women* and *woman*, as a model for the great leap that American women were able to achieve, and as one of the group of high succeeders. Clinton's recount of the story of Florence is both a rhetorical exemplum and an individualization realized by nomination (proper noun), i.e. rather than representing women in a categorized assimilated sense, Clinton individualized them suggesting involvement and humanistic interest. Clinton uses association as a tool of representing women's rights. In the following instance, for example, *Frederick Douglass, the great abolitionist who did some of his best work here in New York, spoke out not only for the abolition of slavery but for **women's rights**,* Clinton establishes an association between slavery and womanhood through the adverbial structure *not only/but*. This instance marks one of the infrequent cases where Clinton intersects and associates race with gender.

A strong dominant pattern of association appears between women's rights and human rights, taking place in nearly 35% of concordances, as in: *When I went to Beijing as first lady, I stood up for the core American value that **women's rights** are human rights and human rights are women's rights.* The relational intensive attributive process holding between human rights and women's rights interchangeably suggests the overemphasized close association. An elaborative example is proposed by Clinton on the 29th of November 2007 at the global summit on AIDS and the church at Saddleback Church in Lake Forest, California: *Well, what did I mean by saying that **women's rights** were human rights? And I said, I want you to stop for a minute, maybe close your eyes and think about all the rights you have as a man. The right to work, the right to pursue an education, the right to start a business, the right to be active in your country's affairs. Those are the rights I'm talking about. The rights that are the real core of who we are as human beings.* Rhetorically, Clinton uses hypophora, by raising a question and answering it. By means of both anaphora and enumeratio, she paratactically

counts the rights men enjoy and women are striving to accomplish, relating those rights (through a relational intensive attributive process which suggests close association) to the state of being a human being rather than being a woman. Here, Clinton represents men and women as polarized, first, by exclusively addressing men as the gender enjoying the enumerated rights and, second, by ascribing a diversity of human rights only to men to the exclusion of women. Moreover, throughout Clinton's use of the pattern *women's rights*, women are represented as genericized as plural without articles. This excerpt verifiably, though representing Clinton as an advocator of women's rights, represents women as oppressed.

Clinton sets underpinning women's rights as a defining factor of progress and modernization on the domestic level: *Is it any surprise in our own country that those who face difficulties coping with modernization of the economy, of society, of the changes that come at us from all directions would want to chip away at the **rights of women**?* The use of the rhetorical question is meant to emphasize the ideational content laden in her clause. Taking her argument a step further, Clinton refers to women's rights as a *key* to human rights which, in its turn, is *an integral part* of the American foreign policy. Then, she sets adherence to women's rights as a parameter of a good relation with the U.S.A: *Because it was important for the United States both to be represented and to make absolutely clear that human rights is an integral part of our foreign policy and that **women's rights** is key to that. What we have learned is that where women are oppressed and denied their basic rights we are more likely to have regimes that are more adversarial to American interests and values.* Here, Clinton sets another polarization based on women's rights between countries *where women are oppressed and denied their basic rights* and the USA where women presumably are not. The use of *basic* as a qualitative premodifier for women's rights is in accordance with Clinton's total argument: women are oppressed and denied their rights in the USA and in other countries. In the USA, however, they are not deprived of their *basic* rights.

Clinton uses association, realized also through paratactic anaphora, to relate women's rights to other issues, e.g. civil rights, labor rights and gay rights: *We all want an America defined by deep and meaningful equality, from civil rights to labor rights, from **women's rights** to gay rights.* Here, women are further represented as an oppressed group on equal footings with workers, homosexuals, and people fighting for political and social freedom and equality (see the analysis of the collocate RIGHT on Obama's part). Representing women as a social group through association is maintained: *In an increasingly interdependent world, it is in our*

*interest to stand for the human rights to promote religious freedom, democracy, **women's rights**, social justice and economic empowerment.* Here, drawing upon an extended stretch of the concordance line, supporting women's rights is represented as a benefit for the American people.

Representing herself as a fighter, advocate and defender of women in the U.S.A and worldwide, Clinton activated herself as Carrier in the relational circumstantial attributive process of spending: *I haven't spent the past 35 years in the trenches advocating for children, campaigning for universal health care, helping parents balance work and family, and fighting for **women's rights** at home and around the world to see another Republican in the White House squander the promise of our country and the hopes of our people. Trenches* which has a semantic preference for striving in unfavourable conditions is used by Clinton in order to stress her efforts in this respect. The verb *help* passivates the parents who need assistance to strike a work/life balance, but contributes towards a representation of men and women as equally responsible for the family. In the following clause, she expands on the same idea. The premodifier *basic* refers to her fighting even for the minimum amount of rights for both women and children: *I've spent my entire life trying to make good on it. Whether it was fighting for **women's basic rights** or children's basic health care.*

Significantly, Clinton ascribes her position as a senator to the efforts of past brave women and men: *I'm a United States Senator because in 1848 a group of courageous women and a few brave men gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, many traveling for days and nights, to participate in the first convention on **women's rights** in our history.* Activated as Actor in the material process of gathering, women are represented through possessivation and premodification as a *group* and *courageous*. Men supporting women's rights are represented also by possessivation and premodification as a *group* and *brave*. However, the brave men are also hypotactically represented as *few*, which indicates scarcity. A quite positive image of women in the past, though in a lesser degree, is maintained through activation as Senser in the mental processes of deciding, wanting and claiming in: *It was a hot July and a group of women decided that they wanted to meet together at the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls to see if they could draft a statement claiming their **rights** as **women**. At that time of course our laws didn't really give **women rights** in any aspect of life, not just at the voting booth but in inheritance and marriage and child custody and so much else.* Women are here passivated by participation as Goal in the material process of giving, which empowers the *laws* but represents women as oppressed. Enumeratio is paratactically used rhetorically to list aspects

of injustice. Moreover, the use of hedging techniques in the *if*-clause and the mitigating modal *could* also contribute towards a representation of women as uncertain and non-assertive.

In the following clause, *it wasn't by accident that the first meeting ever held in the world to talk about and write down what **rights women** were entitled to happened in America*, Clinton associates women's rights with America's pioneerism. The meeting holders are backgrounded through passive voice, probably because it has been mentioned elsewhere in the speech. Women are passivated through the passive voice also. Predicating the Rheme *happened in America* on the marked predicated Theme is meant to highlight the importance of the event, the process and the place where it took place. In the following clause, the inclusive *we*, presumably referring to the American people, is activated in relation to the modal verb of necessity *have to* and the infinitive *make sure* to stress the common responsibility of ensuring that women's rights are protected. Representing women in a genericized sense persists, here as a singular with an indefinite article, i.e. *And we also have to make sure that we stay vigilant about protecting a **woman's right** to choose and smart about making family planning available*. Again, women are passivated by circumstantiation and hence presented as in need of protection. Supporting women's rights is again represented as a necessity through the modal verb *need*, e.g. *We need to lead the world in standing up for **women's rights***, and also as a condition for supporting values, realized by the conditional *if*, e.g. *If we don't stand for **women's rights**, we will never stand for our best values*. It is also represented as a prerequisite to fight AIDS, e.g. *And finally, to end AIDS, we need to stand up for **women's rights***.

Like Obama, Clinton uses UNIFORM as a collocater for WOMAN as far as it collocates with MAN, e.g. *I would strengthen our national defense that support both our men and **women in uniform** and American workers*, contributing towards a representation of women as equally diligent in serving their country as men are. However, like Obama, the male fitness perspective discussed earlier still should be taken into consideration. In more than 25% of cases where WORK collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to both men and women. It should be noted that WORK is used in the nominal, verbal as well as adjectival forms. As a noun, WORK notably collocates with WOMAN through possessivation, as in: *And March is Women's History Month, a great time to remember that **women's work** helped build this country*, and also in: *It's also an important time to make sure that **women's work** is valued*. Here, in both cases, women are activated through possessivation, that is, in a possession relationship to work. In the former case women's work is represented as Actor in the material

process of helping in constructing the U.S.A, which contributes towards a positive representation of women as vital empowered historical agents. In the latter case, women's work is passivated as Phenomenon through the passive voice in a mental process where the Senser is backgrounded. Thus, through the passive voice, women's subjection to the process of evaluation is intensified (Fairclough, 2003).

In the Mary Louise Smith speech at the Catt Center for Women and Politics at Iowa State University in Ames, on the 24th of October 2007, Clinton's individualization, realized by nomination (the proper noun Dr. Dianne Bystrom) in the following concordance, is meant to express personal interest and involvement: *And I want to thank Dr. Dianne Bystrom for her outstanding leadership as well. And to the Catt Center and Iowa State for hosting this event -- and for all their **work** to promote and celebrate **women** in politics.* The noun phrase *women in politics* is passivated through participation, i.e. the work of Dr. Dianne Bystrom and the Catt Center for Women and Politics are activated, contributing towards a representation of women supporting women. Moreover, the differentiation invested in the noun phrase *women in politics*, realized by postmodification, is contextually meant to make two distinctions. *First*, a discernment of the people in politics into two groups, that is, men and women, is indicated, and then the women group as being promoted and celebrated is distinguished, perspicuously because they are regarded as a minority in need of support. *Second*, a distinction between two groups of women is also introduced, that is, women in general and women in politics; the latter group is highlighted as in need of support, probably because of their scarcity as well.

Quoted from a speech about women's rights in the inaugural Doherty Granoff Forum on women leaders at Brown University on the 8th of April 2006, the following excerpt addresses a past appearance bias that the American women suffered from:

*And in those days, about 25 or 30 years ago, young **women** who were entering the **work** world wore these absolutely horrible outfits. We wore these terrible - you remember those, Ruth? those, those skirt, those skirt suits with these blouses, with these ribbons tied around our neck, I guess as some sort of substitute for a tie or something, but it was a very bad fashion problem that we all had, and there was a column that was in the local newspaper that was syndicated, and it, you wrote in, and you asked for advice about how you were supposed to dress or other things associated with your professional life.*

Though women are activated functionally as Actors in the material processes of entering and wearing, Clinton represents them as socially underprivileged through the repetitive use of the

determiner *these* and the appraisal adjectival phrase *absolutely horrible* used as premodifiers for the outfits that working women used to wear at that time. The repetitive use of the inclusive *we*, *our* and *all* again represents Clinton as one of the women who were obliged by social norms and, thus, as affiliating to women as a group. Moreover, as argued by Morrison and Love (1996), the role of the pronoun *we* is typically associated with defining 'who we are' and, hence, it is here used to create *us-versus-them* discourse through the introduction of a binary opposition in which women, including Clinton, are represented as undergoing unfavourable conditions even in relation to their wardrobe choices, while men are represented as free from such limitations. The rhetorical question *you remember those, Ruth?* is meant as a legitimating tool confirming her argument. The following clause is used both as an anaphora and enumeratio to rhetorically express her excessive dislike for the wardrobe enforced on women. The raised contrast between women and men regarding their wardrobe choices, meant to highlight women's oppression and inequality, is symbolized by the *ribbons tied around our neck, I guess as some sort of substitute for a tie or something*.

In 85% of cases where WOMAN collocates with GIRLS, they are pluralized in one syntactic unit, i.e. noun phrase, and hence, they are represented as having the same semantic and lexical role, as in: *AIDS takes a particularly harsh toll on **women and girls** - about 60 percent of people living with AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa are women*, where women and girls are passivated as Goal in a material process. By dint of possessivation, girls and women are again passivated in: *I'll continue the work I started as First Lady and now as a Senator to end the buying and selling of **girls and women** into modern-day slavery*. Thus, they are represented as oppressed. The use of the first person pronoun again on Clinton's part expresses individualistic representation of the self as a protector and defender of women's and girls' rights. Praising the familial role of mothers and women, specially their role in promoting their daughters' self-confidence, Clinton activates women as Senser in the mental process of *daring*, and as Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process in *are standing up* in the following excerpt:

*Women who dare to compete in the board room and the back room, the locker room and the newsroom, the halls of academia and the corridors of political power. Through their perseverance and resilience these women are standing up for the bedrock principle of American democracy, the promise of opportunity for anyone who is willing to work hard and pursue their dreams. That is a principle and a promise that must always include **girls and women**.*

The use of *dare* which has a semantic preference for courageousness and prowess, *stand up for* which has a semantic preference for strength and resilience, and the paratactic enumeration invested in enumerating the various domains, where women are competing, is meant to represent women as powerful actors in different professional fields. Girls and women are passivated by participation as Identified in the relational intensive identifying process *include*. However, this instance is to be considered as contributing towards a women supporting women discourse, i.e. a chain of power is created by Clinton where women are activated in relation to principles which are, in their turn, activated in relation to girls and women. The use of the obligatory *must* and the adverb *always*, in the light of the extended stretch of concordance line, sets Clinton as a fighter for the future of girls and women.

At the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association luncheon on the 13th of June 2006, Clinton again represents herself through the use of the inclusive *we* and the prepositional phrase *on behalf of* as belonging to the group of women on the national and world levels: *Do not grow weary, keep your energies up because I think we are clarifying the debate, and as we clarify the debate I believe we will have more and more support for doing what we know needs to be done in our country and around the world on behalf of **women and girls***. Here, besides using *we* in identificatory terms as defining women and to effect a polarization, it is also used inclusively to denote power and authority by representing all women as having only one perspective. Fairclough (1989: 127-128) explains that when a newspaper says “we cannot let the troops lose [...],” the newspaper is making ‘an implicit authority claim’ by speaking for itself, its readers, and all British citizens as well; it is implicating that it has the power to speak on behalf of others. The social actor *women* could readily replace the *we* (judging from the extended stretch of concordance line and actually the whole speech). However, Clinton chooses to show her identification with women and to treat them as equivalent to her composited *we*, i.e. all women. Moreover, though women and girls are passivated by circumstantialization, they are represented again as part of the women supporting women discourse.

In the following clause, women and girls are once again passivated by circumstantialization; however, *empower* which has a semantic preference for enabling and strengthening substantially mitigates the disempowering realized by passivation: *As a mother, as a wife, as a woman, I think I know the difference that good information, good education and good health care makes in empowering **women and girls** to lead the lives that are responsible and hopeful that we all wish for them*. It should be noted that Obama totally refrains from using

the term *empower* in relation to women. Activation in this clause is allocated to the paratactic noun phrases, *good information, good education and good health care* where Clinton makes use of the ‘rule-of-three’ as a rhetorical device occasionally used in politics.²⁸ Interestingly, Clinton explicitly projects three gender-related multiple identities, i.e. being a mother, a wife and a woman. Hence, she further stresses her belonging to different groups classified as relating to gender. Moreover, she signals the association between efficiently performing these roles and empowering women and girls in society.

Interestingly, the collocate **GROUP** contributes towards a representation of women as courageous and supportive of each other, and of men as not equally supportive as in: *I’m a United States Senator because in 1848 a **group** of courageous **women** and a few brave men gathered in Seneca Falls, New York, many traveling for days and nights, to participate in the first convention on women’s rights in our history.* Although both men and women are aggregated through the use of indefinite quantifiers, the difference between the semantic preference of *group* and *few* yields different gender-based representations; women lead their emancipation movement while only *few* men take part in the endeavour. In another speech, Clinton refers to the same event backgrounding the male role all together: *The first women’s convention was held in Seneca Falls, New York in 1848. It was a hot July and a **group** of **women** decided that they wanted to meet together at the Wesleyan Chapel in Seneca Falls to see if they could draft a statement claiming their rights as women.* The group of women here is activated in deciding, wanting and being able to claiming their rights (see also the analysis of the collocate **RIGHT** in Clinton’s sub-corpus). In the following instance, *I want to commend **groups** like **women** of the storm, and by the way, I fully support their proposal to hold a debate right here in New Orleans in the fall of 2007,* Clinton praises current groups of women, representing them as passivated by participation, i.e. as Phenomenon in the mental process of commending, while activating herself as Senser. Again, she activates herself as Senser in the mental process of supporting, representing herself as powerful in underpinning other women’s claim of holding a debate. Significantly, in *And a prayer group that formed for me shortly after I came to the White House - a **group** of extraordinary **women**, both*

²⁸ Cockcroft and Cockcroft (1992) mark the prevalence of ‘triads, threes and eternal triangles’ in different cultures worldwide, starting from fairy or folks tales, e.g. *Three Little Pigs*, to movie titles, e.g. *The Good, the Bad and the Ugly*. Jones and Peccei (2004: 49) comment that “[f]or some reason, we seem to find things that are grouped in threes particularly aesthetically pleasing,” accordingly, the three-part statement has been heavily used by politicians as a powerful structural pattern.

Democrats and Republicans, whose love and support sustained me, women are highly positively represented through the premodifier *extraordinary* which has a semantic preference for exceptionality and remarkableness. Moreover, Clinton bases her classification of the prayer group that has been formed for her sake on gender rather than political affiliation.

In 40% of concordances of INSURANCE, reference is made to women, men and children. Collectively, INSURANCE contributes towards a representation of women as discriminated against as to health care, e.g. *And let's once and for all end **insurance** discrimination against **women***. Women as a social actor are passivated through circumstantialization. In the following concordance, women enter into a double contrast, i.e. poor women are contrasted to well-to-do women, and then, women to men. The former contrast is marked through the use of premodifiers *poor* and *higher-income* and the adverb *four times*. The latter contrast is enabled through the comparative adverb *more* and the preposition *than*: *Today, a poor woman is four times as likely to experience an unplanned pregnancy as a higher-income **woman**. Lack of **insurance** coverage for contraception and other health care costs result in women of reproductive age paying 68 percent more in out-of-pocket costs for health care services than do men of similar age*. Here, Clinton introduces an intra-distinction within the category of women based on financial conditions and status, rather than any other parameter. In the former case, poor women are activated as Identified in a relational intensive identifying process which indicates close association, albeit in an unfavourably-connoted context. In the latter case, women are passivated as Goal in a material process and men activated through participation as Actor in the material process of paying.

LEADER verifiably contributes towards a positive representation of women as occupying powerful positions, since it has a semantic preference for commanding and superiority. In more than 60% of concordances, *women* is used as a premodifier to represent leaders based on a classification by gender (van Leeuwen, 1996: 54). In 75% of total cases, *women* is assimilated by collectivization which is realized by plurality, suggesting generalization and non-specificity. Quoted from a speech about women's rights in the inaugural Doherty Granoff Forum on women leaders at Brown University on the 8th of April 2006, focusing on women leaders is represented as an act of leadership in itself: *So I thank them deeply for their friendship and support over many years and, particularly, for this great act of philanthropic leadership in focusing on **women leaders**, and it goes to show the loyalty that Brown inspires in alums*. Though women leaders are passivated through circumstantialization, the whole clause can be ascribed to the discourse of women supporting women which mitigates the

passivation involved. The relation between womanhood and leadership is paratactically represented in the following concordance, as an example of referring to women leaders by nomination (individualization): *Back in 1903, another courageous union leader and great woman by the name of Mother Jones led a march of children from here in Philadelphia to New York to demand an end to the scourge of child labor.* Highly positive-connoting premodifiers, namely *courageous* and *great*, juxtaposed with the role of Actor in the material process of leading which inherently suggests avant-garde, forefront and primacy on the part of the woman leader, represents her as an efficient social agent.

The key debate of men and women having different leadership styles is rhetorically invoked through hypophora and epistrophe by Clinton at the beginning of her speech on women's rights at the Doherty-Granoff Forum, in the following concordance: *Is there a difference between women as leaders than men as leaders?* (for an explanation of women and men's leading styles, see the collocate LEADERSHIP in Clinton's sub-corpus). In Mary Louise Smith Lecture at the Catt Center for Women and Politics at Iowa State University in Ames on the 20th of October 2007, Clinton uses the following utterance:

Women who run for office in their own countries against some tough odds like Angela Merkel in Germany and Michelle Bachelet in Chile, and Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf in Liberia. But it is not just the women leaders in the history books who've made history. It is also those unsung heroes who transform lives and communities every single day. The teachers who tell our daughters, "You are just as smart and capable as the boys, don't you fail to live up to your potential."

Extended stretch of concordance line show that Clinton hails women in the political arena worldwide, and refers to women in varied positions as heroes. Delivered in an informal fragmented way, Clinton uses *women* directly followed by a dependent relative clause *who run for office* and, thus, activating women as Actor in the material process of running. In the first clause, she uses exemplum and parataxis to rhetorically represent women as leaders. Moreover, she represents women through nomination (proper nouns) indicating individualization and involvement. In the last clause, she uses exemplum and recontextualization realized through direct quotation; the quotation presumably reflects Clinton's own way of thinking where she activates *daughters* as Carrier in a relative intensive attributive process and, thus, represents them as equal to boys in intelligence and efficiency. By using the imperative *don't you fail to live up to your potential*, girls are again activated as Actor in a material process. Moreover, through the use of the imperative, Clinton grants

herself the role of an advisor for the girls, representing herself as sagacious, experienced and keen. All in all, women are represented as powerful leaders which is linguistically realized by activation in the powerful material processes running for office and making history. They are also substituted for *heroes* and activated in the strong material processes of transforming lives and communities; the sentential adverb *every single day* is rhetorically meant to accentuate the effect and continuity of their endeavours.

In the following excerpt, Clinton represents herself as a fighter for and supporter of women as leaders:

*Instead we determined to remain not only in contact but in solidarity with **women** who were willing to become **leaders**. And so Vital Voices began the process of reaching out, going to Africa, and Asia and Latin America and even Europe. Going to the former Soviet Union, holding conferences, bringing women and men together to see what kinds of opportunities could be made available for not only women but for those who were seeking a better future. I traveled extensively meeting with these **women leaders**, oftentimes in very private places.*

Relating to the social background invoked by this quotation, Vital Voices Global Partnership is an international non-profit, non-governmental organization founded by Hillary Clinton, Madeline Albright and other prominent female political figures in order to promote and empower the development of women leaders economically, politically and humanly. The goal is to “identify, invest in and bring visibility to extraordinary women around the world by unleashing their leadership potential to transform lives and accelerate peace and prosperity in their communities.”²⁹ Accordingly, Clinton uses the inclusive *we*, referring to herself and other women in the partnership and contributing to the discourse of women supporting women. Moreover, the use of verbs which have semantic preference for persistence, *determined*, and maintenance, *remain*; nouns which have a semantic preference for closeness, *contact*, and reinforcement, *solidarity*, and the adverbial phrase *not only, but also*, all represent this group of women as adherently supportive of other women and even men. In *women who were willing to become leaders*, women are activated as Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process which suggests close adherence. The rhetorical parataxis involved in enumerating the countries where Vital Voices took action and the activities accomplished is meant to stress their efforts.

²⁹ <http://www.vitalvoices.org/what-we-do> (last accessed on the 13th of November 2014)

In the following clause, the rhetorical question is intended to pair demodernization with trivializing women's rights: *Is it any surprise in our own country that those who face difficulties coping with modernization of the economy, of society, of the changes that come at us from all directions would want to chip away at the rights of women? So this is not by any means a foreordained conclusion that **women and leaders** belong in the same sentence. It is instead a continuing, never ending commitment that each of us must make.* The metaphor invested in *women and leaders belong in the same sentence*, functioning also as a rhetorical apophasis, likens womanhood and leadership to words aligned in a sentence, suggesting harmony and naturalness of the concept of women as leaders. Though the metaphor is negated, the following clause represents advocating women's rights as a commitment for each American.

The noun collocate MONORITY, which occurs exclusively in its plural form, is particularly interesting. It collocates with WOMAN in a syntagmatic conjunctive relationship in all its occurrences, forming a dominant pattern, e.g. *we have to open the doors of science and engineering to more people, especially **women and minorities**.* In all concordances, reference is made to women and minorities in the context of discussing their opportunities in the scientific field. The two social actors, *women* and *minorities*, form one syntactic unit and are assigned the same semantic role. Adopting van Leeuwen's model of social actors representation (1996: 50), there is an association between the two social actors which is realized by parataxis. Association "refers to groups formed by social actors and/or groups of social actor (either generically or specifically referred to) which are never labelled in the text (although the actors or groups who make up the associations may of course themselves be named and/or categorised)" (ibid.). In this sense, women and minorities are associated to form a group of the oppressed and marginalized people in society. This collocate conspicuously contributes towards a representation of women as an oppressed and marginalized group. van Leeuwen (ibid: 51) argues that "associations are formed and unformed (dissociation) as the text proceeds." This is notably the case in Clinton's text, especially in the light of the collocate MAJORITY.

Contrary to the previously-discussed case, MAJORITY positions women in a positive discourse prosody as dominant and powerful, i.e. in 80% of cases, Clinton refers to women as a majority in colleges, e.g. *Today **women** are the **majority** of students in law school*, and also in: ***Women** are now a **majority** of students in colleges -- and the majority of those who voted in 2004.* In all cases, women are activated as Identified in a relational intensive identifying

processes which suggests close association and identification. Only in one instance, MAJORITY negatively depicts women as a disadvantaged group due to the health care, nutritional and educational conditions worldwide, in: *Because when **women** continue to comprise the **majority** of the world's unhealthy, unfed and unschooled, the global community cannot prosper or make progress.*

The collocate LEADERSHIP contributes towards and enhances the representations provided by LEADER. In the following concordance, activated through possessivation, a woman leader is represented as a powerful social actor, albeit a part of a proper noun: *Sally Pederson the former Lieutenant Governor and a member of our **women's leadership** council.* Similarly, women are activated through postmodification in: *You know, you have a lesson every single day about **women in leadership** watching Ruth Simmons as she leads this great university.* Ruth Simmons is rhetorically represented by nomination (individualization) as an exemplum and activated as Actor in the material process of leading which has a semantic preference of supremacy. Again, women around the world are activated by participation as Actors in the material process of exercising the following clause: *And I deeply respect the fact that not only in our country, but more importantly, in other places around the world, **women** are exercising **leadership** at great personal cost.* The main verb *exercise* is coined in the present progressive to indicate continuity and progression.

Clinton uses the possessive first plural person pronoun inclusively again to represent herself as affiliated to the group of women and also to signal women as powerful and authoritative: *You know the idea of having a separate forum and even having this inaugural lecture on **women and leadership** has caused me to reflect a lot about what we mean in the 21st century when we talk about either women and our roles, our identities, our hopes and dreams, the remaining challenges we face individually or mutually, and what we mean by leadership as well. Now leadership means all kinds of things [...], but every one of us could make our own list.* She uses enumeratio rhetorically to detail the variant problematic aspects of a female leader's identity. Questioning the idea of having a clear-cut definition of leadership, Clinton seems to negotiate male leadership styles, representing it as an individualized effort. More specifically, in the following concordance, Clinton stipulates the emergence of a new leading style connected to obtaining high-ranked positions by women:

*In a project at my alma mater, the Wellesley Centers for Women, interviews with female leaders from across professions, ethnicities, and different financial backgrounds, reveal that as **women** obtain positions of **leadership** in corporations, universities and elsewhere, new*

styles of leadership emerge - more team oriented, less hierarchical, for example. So leadership is changing to keep up with the changing world. It is hard in our world today to just order people to do something and expect them to do it without questioning, and so you have to give reasons; you have to give context, and you have to listen.

Clinton's use of *interviews* acts as a legitimization of her point of view. Moreover, the parataxis involved in *professions, ethnicities, and different financial backgrounds* is used to validate the results of the interviews as multi-sourced. Harmoniously, the use of the adverbial *as* is intended to mark temporal association between women assuming leading positions and the rising of new leading styles. Significantly, in *more team oriented, less hierarchical*, Clinton is referring to the stereotypical female conversational strategies. She is, thus, maintaining the same traditional representation of women as more cooperative, conciliatory, facilitative, collaborative, person/process oriented and solidarity-oriented rather than confrontational, autonomous, task/outcome oriented, competitive and authoritative (Tannen, 1994a, 1994b; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Additionally, in *leadership is changing to keep up with the changing world*, Clinton redefines the stereotypical male leading style as non-efficient and out-of-date, and accordingly, redefines female leading style as more appropriate and fitting. The use of the relational intensive attributive process in the progressive tense *changing* while relating it to the adjectival premodifier *changing* suggests the inevitability of change as to leadership styles—another legitimization. The rest of the quotation is an anaphora meant as a further disqualification of the male leading manner and a validation of the female one—an implicit reference that she would be an efficient leader as a president. Collectively, the collocate LEADERSHIP contributes towards a positive discourse prosody and representation of women as powerful and agentive in the process of leading.

The same applies to PRESIDENT, where women are associated with powerful academic as well as political positions, e.g. *We've even seen, much I'm sure to that old Harvard law professor's chagrin, the first woman President of Harvard University*. Endorsing Obama in her speech on the 7th of June 2008, Clinton invokes the debated association between her gender and presidency: *when I was asked what it means to be a woman running for President, I always gave the same answer: that I was proud to be running as a woman, but I was running because I thought I'd be the best President*. As indicated earlier, the activation of *woman* in relation to *running for President* contributes towards a representation of *woman* as powerful. Moreover, Clinton activates herself as Identified in a relational intensive identifying process, *I was proud to be running as a woman*, indicating close association. However, the

use of the recanting *but* marks Clinton's focus on the position of president rather than her gender as a woman, i.e. she demarcates her gender in association with presidency as a way of naturalizing the case of a woman running for presidency. The same idea is stressed in the following concordance which is taken from the same speech: *You can be so proud that, from now on, it will be unremarkable for a woman to win primary state victories, unremarkable to have a woman in a close race to be our nominee, unremarkable to think that a **woman** can be the **President** of the United States*, where normalization is expressed by the anaphoric *unremarkable*. Clinton represents herself as a pioneer in the political field, enumerating her achievements as a woman. She paratactically uses both enumeratio and anaphora to detail and highlight her accomplishments. Again *woman* is positioned as Identified in a relational intensive identifying process denoting adjacency.

As for the collocate WOMAN, it comes exclusively in the plural form and appears with the repetitive use of women in the following dominant forms: *Think about how it affects **women**, particularly single **women**. **Women** who work full-time are likely to have on the same level as their male counterparts a retirement plan*. Discussing the importance of retirement savings for women, Clinton repeats *women* thrice consecutively in order to particularize cases of women affected by the new retirement plan she proposes. Women are generally passivated as Goal in the material process of affecting while activated as Actor in the material process of working. Using amplification in the following concordance, Clinton repeats *women* to rhetorically stress the strenuous work of women—an idea which is further enhanced through the paratactic use of the gerund: *I remember once driving through Africa on a bus with a group of distinguished experts and in field after field and marketplace after marketplace we saw **women** working, **women** working hard, carrying firewood, carrying water, selling their products in the villages*. Though passivated as Phenomenon in relation to the mental process of seeing, they are significantly activated by multiple postmodifying phrases, *working hard, carrying firewood, carrying water, selling their products*, in order to highlight their efficiency and the amount of their contribution to the nation's economy. Again the anaphoric repetition in the following concordance is meant to emphasize women's critical issues: *you deserve a president who will meet those challenges head on, a president who is committed to your future, a president who will never again play politics with **women's** health and **women's** rights*. Women here are passivated by circumstantialization; the effect of passivation is further amplified by the use of *play* which has a semantic preference for manipulation and tampering contributing towards a representation of women as disempowered. Clinton again uses the

‘rule-of-three’ in the structure *a president who* to achieve a rhetorical effect. The repetition in: *There were 235 students, of whom just 27 were **women**, and today **women** are the majority of students in law schools*, is intended to compare a past fact with a present one; the comparability is enabled through the past and present tenses juxtaposed with the temporal adverb *today*. In both cases women are activated as Identified in a relational intensive identifying process, in the former case by dint of past tense whereas in the latter in terms of present tense suggesting timelessly universality. The overall representation is one of empowerment and progress for women.

In nearly 70% of concordances where CHILD collocates with WOMAN, the *man, woman and child* pattern prevails, constituting a dominant form, e.g. *I see an America where we don’t just provide health care for some people, or most people, but for every single man, **woman** and **child** in this country - no one left out*. The remaining cases are dedicated to the pairing of women’s and children’s issues, e.g. *It’s also important that we combine all of our tools, economic aid, humanitarian aid, focusing on issues like disease, **children**’s schooling and **women**’s place, something that I believe I will be much better able to do*; and sometimes to the intersection of them, e.g. *And certainly a lot of **women** who are employed with **children**, more than 60% would prefer to work part time*. The latter concordance is particularly significant since it contributes towards a representation of women as the sole partner responsible for the children, in the absence of a similar counterpart expression with *men*. The use of the adverbial phrase *with children* suggests concomitancy while the temporal adverbial phrase *part time* implicates women’s responsibility for their children.

The collocate WORLD contributes towards different representations of women, but shares the international dimension of its semantic preference. For example, in *What about the **women** around the **world** like the extraordinary Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, who became the president of Liberia in 2005 and whose leadership has literally helped to mother a wounded and suffering nation?* The whole clause comes as a rhetorical question meant to draw attention to women leader’s potentials, accomplishments and success. Clinton represents women worldwide as capable of leading and effecting change. Rhetorically she uses exemplum to validate her viewpoint. Two metaphors are significant here. First, drawing a picture of Sirleaf as a mother taking care of her child, which is strikingly gender-related, invokes stereotypical concepts about the role of a woman as a mother. Second, representing a nation as a wounded living being who/which is being taken care of by a female is also a traditional and stereotypical reference to a female’s role as a nurse. Both metaphors contribute towards a stereotypical

representation of women, even those in leading political positions, and also sustain Clinton's aforementioned argument that new female styles of leadership are emerging. The use of *literally* is rhetorically antithetical because of the clear contrast between its semantic meaning and the metaphor invested, which suggests Clinton's emphasis on Sirleaf's endeavors.

Another collocational pattern is: *We will lead the **world** in standing up for **women's** rights and I know that this is an issue that goes to the heart of who we are as a nation.* Here, as explicated throughout the analysis, *women* is activated by possessivation and passivated by circumstantialization. The semantic preferences for *lead* and *heart* contribute towards a representation of women's issues as vital to Americans and as a field where America attains its superiority worldwide. The inclusive *we* is meant to refer to the American nation, as can be detected from the contextual background of the whole excerpt. However, in the following concordance, quoted from her speech at the National Family Planning and Reproductive Health Association Luncheon, the inclusive *we* is intended to refer to Clinton as well as the group of women responsible for defending women's reproductive health rights and women around the world, which is signified by the prepositional phrase *on behalf of*: *I believe we will have more and more support for doing what we know needs to be done in our country and around the **world** on behalf of **women** and girls.* Here, typically, Clinton marks her affiliation to women and represents herself as a defender of women's rights. The internationality of the cause as well as the representation of Clinton's role as historic and pioneering are realized through the following collocational pattern: *Twelve years ago, when the U.N. convened a historic conference on women in Beijing, I was proud to represent our country and proclaim to the **world** that **women's** rights are human rights.* Clinton activates both herself and women as Identified in relational identified processes to, first, positively represent herself as a fighter for women's rights and, second, to represent women's rights as timelessly linked to human rights. Moreover, other representations which appear through diminishing returns include: *And I deeply respect the fact that not only in our country, but more importantly, in other places around the **world**, **women** are exercising leadership at great personal cost,* which represents women in leading position as Actor in a material process in the progressive tense indicating continuity. In the following two concordances, a discourse of women supporting women most noticeably appears: *Carrie Chapman Catt [...] she helped to found the International Woman Suffrage Alliance to reach out to **women** across the **world**,* and *during those days in Beijing, there were lots of high points but lots of difficulties where there were conflicts behind the scenes, disagreements about what should go into the agenda, but out of it*

came a platform for action, and **women** all over the **world** began working together. In the former case, though, activation is given to *she*, which anaphorically refers to Carrie Chapman Catt, while *women across the world* are passivated by beneficialization; in the latter, *women all over the world* are activated by participation.

The collocate VOTE is used both in its nominal and verbal forms. As for the former, Clinton uses it to pay tribute to the women who endeavored so that women could actually vote and to hail the progressive America, as in: *Think of the suffragists who gathered at Seneca Falls in 1848 and those who kept fighting until **women** could cast their **votes***. Here, a discourse of women supporting women is also maintained; women are activated in relation to casting votes, albeit the powerfulness of activation is mitigated by the hedging effect of *could*. Referring to the vote of every American, regardless of gender or colour or creed, as crucial, Clinton sets the vote as the medium through which unprivileged groups could declare their rights: *But it is the vote that has given voice to the voiceless and power to the powerless. It is through that **vote** that **women**, African American, Latinos and so many others have claimed their rights as full and equal citizens*. Here, gender and race are equally invoked. Concomitantly, women are represented as equally unprivileged as people of colour. However, as social actors, they are activated through participation as Sayer in the verbal process of claiming. Thus, though disadvantaged, they are represented as powerful through their struggle for their rights. In the following excerpt, women are activated as Actor in relation to the non-finite verb *get*:

*It was the first document that we know of anywhere in the world where a group of people had come and said women deserve their rights. Only one woman who was there are that convention lived long enough to see **women** get the **vote** in America. It took more than 70 years from the start of the movement until nineteenth amendment was passed.*

In nearly 35% of concordances where AMERICA collocates with WOMAN in Clinton's speeches, reference is made either to *men and women* serving their country as soldiers or to every *man, woman and child* in relation to healthcare issues and future opportunities. In the rest of concordances, different representations are contributed, mainly the discrimination against women and the great progressive leap that women have socially achieved. In her speech in Manchester, New Hampshire on helping parents balance work and family on the 16th of October 2007, Clinton draws attention to the discriminatory expectations related to men and women occupying the same positions by recounting a situation that took place when Chelsea Clinton was three years old. A reader who was about to get 'a big promotion' asked a

columnist about what would be suitable as a decoration for the new office; the columnist asked about the gender of the reader since it would affect his answer. Clinton continues:

*If you're a man, he wrote, and you have a family, put up lots of pictures of your family because people will think to themselves this is a stable person with good family values. But if you're a woman, don't put out any pictures of your family in the office, because people will think you can't keep your mind on the job. Well, of course I immediately filled my little office with family pictures. Because I thought that that would [...] Now, that was a long time ago, but it still sums up the attitude of **America's** policies toward **women** and parents in the workplace: Keep your family life to yourself and don't let your family affect your work.*

Significantly, Clinton addresses differentiating social parameters and double standards, resting on gender, on how to act in the workplace, and hence, marks social injustice and bias against women. Through antithetical reference, Clinton rhetorically sets the contrast between men and women, as introduced by the columnist—a voice of society realized linguistically through the parenthetical, *he wrote*, and acting as a source of legitimization for her viewpoint. The use of the conditional structure *if* juxtaposed with the conjunction of contrast *But* marks the differentiation linguistically. The use of the sentential adverbs *of course* and *immediately* represents Clinton as a determined self-assured woman who is not afraid to resist the discriminating imposed social standards—this is further enhanced by Clinton's activation of herself by participation through the first person pronoun *I*. That is, Clinton represents herself as a resistant and rebel on traditional social norms. America is also activated by possessivation, *America's policies*, while women are passivated by circumstantialization, representing them as socially subdued.

In her speech at the Catt Center for Women and Politics, Clinton indicates the great leap that women have taken in America through an allusion which is realized by the adverb *never* and the comparative adjective *better* in: *There has never been a better time to be a **woman** in **America**. It's almost hard to explain to young women today how much things have changed -- even just during the course of my lifetime.* Here, *Woman* is represented within a non-finite Complement which renders it non-negotiable (Martin, 2000: 281). In the same speech, she recounts a personal anecdote rhetorically in order to mark the progress that women accomplished in America:

As a young lawyer, when I told a colleague that I might want to practice courtroom law, he replied that, that was impossible, because I didn't have a wife. He asked me, "When you're in

*trial, and you're busy, who will make sure you have clean socks for court?" Well, I had honestly had never thought about that. I had always washed my own socks. Today, **women** are serving across **America** as judges, partners, as law professors -- and yes, even successful courtroom lawyers with clean socks.*

The lawyer's argument for not having Clinton as a courtroom lawyer is a flout of the maxim of relation implicating that a woman's role is to manage the household and not to work as a lawyer. The recontextualized rhetorical question on his part is another implicature raised by flouting the maxim of quantity and directed towards the same intended meaning. Clinton's use of the same symbolic reference *socks* is equally ironical: *I had always washed my own socks; and yes, even successful courtroom lawyers with clean socks.* The temporal adverb *today* is used to highlight the women's progress and women, as social actors, are activated and empowered as Actor in the material process of serving through participation. The use of the progressive tense *are serving* indicates continuity and progression. This utterance serves three representations on the part of Clinton: (1) representing herself as a progressive non-traditional woman, (2) highlighting a social stereotypical ideology in relation to gender role allocation and expectation, and (3) marking women's progress in society. The latter representation is contributed to through different concordances, e.g. *I'm very proud of the fact that women are now earning more than half of the Bachelors degrees awarded in our country, that women own nearly half of all the privately held businesses, that in every sphere of life here in **America**, **women** are stepping up and being willing to take responsibility for their decisions and their views.* Here, women are activated in a series of material processes, i.e. earning, owning and stepping, and thus, are represented as empowered and progressive.

AMERICA also collocates with WOMAN referring to women pioneers like Arabella Mansfield who was the first female lawyer in the United States to be admitted to the Iowa state bar association in 1869: *Trailblazers right here in Iowa like Arabella Mansfield who, in 1869, became the first **woman** in **America** formally admitted to the Bar.* Moreover, women worldwide collectively are represented as a powerful force to be taken into consideration, *And when it comes to the issues that we can agree on -- whether it's afterschool funding or healthcare and education for **women** here in **America** or for women in Afghanistan-- we are a force to be reckoned with.* Though passivated by beneficialization, women are inclusively represented through the plural pronoun *we* which authoritatively refers to women as a whole and marks Clinton's affiliation to them. Concomitantly, the relational

intensive attributive process predicating *a force to be reckoned with* on women strongly attributes powerfulness to women.

Clinton relates the concept of women's rights as human rights to America, rather than other countries: *I said what most of us believe here in **America**, that **women**'s rights are human rights, but it was considered a radical statement.* She goes on to explain that for other countries around the world, e.g. Iran, the concept was shocking, nearly incomprehensible as a caller from Iran expressed when she was a guest in a radio show. However, in another concordance, Clinton indicates that women's procession in America is not over yet: *Now, some might say that their work is finished in **America** since **women** no longer face legal obstacles to education or employment or the right to vote. But we know that even though legal barriers have fallen away -- economic and attitudinal ones still remain.* The extended metaphorical use of *barrier* is rhetorically significant; women's way to equality is represented as full of barriers, some have fallen and some have not.

In nearly 85% of concordances where GENERATION collocates with WOMAN, Clinton refers to both men and women in relation to the efforts done by suffragists and abolitionists for a better future for all Americans. However, in her speech on Mother's Day in Grafton on the 11th of May 2008, GENERATION collocates with *women* exclusively in the context of Clinton's resort to the *socks* anecdote again: *Thankfully, I, like **generations** of **women** today, are able to make our own choices because other women stood up and demanded that for us.* Women are activated in the relational intensive attributive process holding between *generations of women* as Carrier and *able* as Attribute indicating powerfulness. Salient also is her self-representation as affiliating to the powerful generations of women who are, in their turn, activated as standing up and demanding their rights.

The collocate TIME is used mainly in the course of recounting past incidents, hailing women's current position-assuming in America, or highlighting past and present efforts made on the part of women for their rights, e.g. *Later, in a class of 235 students at law school, I was one of only 27 **women** enrolled, at that **time** the largest group ever, or: There has never been a better **time** to be a **woman** in America.* Here Clinton activates herself by a relational identifying process including herself in the group of women high achievers, or: *And March is Women's History Month, a great **time** to remember that **women**'s work helped build this country. It's also an important **time** to make sure that **women**'s work is valued,* where *women* is activated through possessivation in the noun phrase *women's work* which is once activated

in helping build America and once passivated in relation to getting valued. Alternatively, it is also used to address the pay gap issue in America, as in: *Women who work full **time** year round earn just 77 cents for every dollar that a man makes, and it is **time** we stopped paying **women** 77 cents on the dollar when they work 60 minutes of the hour, just like men,* where women are passivated by circumstantialization (see the analysis of the collocates PAY and WORK in Clinton's sub-corpus). More specifically, poor women are represented as more unprivileged within the category of women as in: *Today, a poor **woman** is four **times** as likely to experience an unplanned pregnancy as a higher-income woman.*

The same applies to the collocate DAY which prevails in relation to past conditions of women as in: *I was inspired when I first read about Ann Maria and how she worked so hard to raise her family like so many **women** in those **days**.* Ann Maria Reeves Jarvis is the mother who organized the mother's day movement. In the same laudatory tone, Clinton praises efforts of current women leaders: *you have a lesson every single **day** about **women** in leadership watching Ruth Simmons as she leads this great university.* DAY is also used in the context of applauding societal progress concerning women and people-of-colour, e.g. *How many of you ever dreamed you'd see the **day** when a **woman** and an African American were running for Presidency of the United States of America?* The rhetorical question, the adverb *ever* and the verb *dream*, which has a semantic preference for unreality, are used to accentuate the significance and far-fetchedness of the accomplishment. Explicitly, Clinton signals an aspect of her identity, that is, being a woman, and an aspect of Obama's identity, that is, being an African American, which are considered problematic as to their candidacy for presidency. Besides, this concordance is one of the infrequent cases where Clinton invokes race in vicinity of gender. In the following concordance, Clinton again uses DAY—this time without resorting to race—to associate her aspired presidency as a woman with achieving high-standard national morals: *and so when that **day** arrives, and a **woman** takes the oath of office as our president, we will all stand taller, proud of the values of our nation, proud that every little girl can dream big and that her dreams can come true in America.* Woman is activated in a metaphorically represented verbal process. Additionally, the temporal conjunction *when* is used to create the association between a woman becoming a president and the attaining of American values—a notion which is further enhanced by the use of the inclusive *we* which refers to the American people as a whole.

LIFE collocates with WOMAN in relation to four main themes: first, the progress accomplished by women in America, as a recurrent and dominant theme in Clinton's

speeches, such as *I often think about how much **lives** have changed for **women** since when my own mother was born in 1919, when I was born in 1947, and when Chelsea was born in 1980. We've made an enormous amount of progress.* Initially, women are passivated by beneficialization, then, activated by participation in a material process when Clinton includes herself through the inclusive pronoun *we* which references inclusion and signals empowerment for women. Second, Clinton represents women's support, nationally and worldwide, meant to help them taking control over their lives and becoming efficient social agents, as a priority: *That means especially beyond our borders, that anything we can do to promote and support **women** assuming responsibility for their own **lives** and playing a role in their larger society has to be one of our highest priorities.* Here, women are passivated through participation, while *we*, presumably referring to the American nation and decision makers, are activated. Third, the role of technology in saving women's time is raised in the following concordance: *As technology changes our **lives**, **women** have had the unique experience of finding much more time in their lives. You know 50 years ago, I remember very well helping my mother hang sheets in the backyard of our house. We didn't have a dryer; we washed dishes; we did a lot of work every single day and week, and most women in the rest of the world still do so much of the work.* Here, women are activated as Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process, suggesting empowerment by possession. Clinton then uses personal anecdotes as exempla to rhetorically show the difference between women in the past and now. However, the traditional and stereotypical household role allocation is maintained by Clinton in this quotation, i.e. specifying women as the beneficial part to the exclusion of men sustains the discourse of women as mainly responsible for domestic activities. This leads naturally to the theme of life/work balance: *And let me finally just say a word about the challenges that still exist for **women** in balancing our **lives**.* Again, the inclusive *our* is used to mark affiliation and signal authority for women since they are represented as having one stance in the face of challenges, though *women* are passivated by beneficialization where the challenges are activated as Existent in an existential process.

The collocate HOUSE co-occurs with WOMAN exclusively as a part of the proper noun White House, which is used by Clinton as a rhetorical metonymy referring to the position of presidency. All concordances fall into two forms. First, in the following concordance, for example, *woman* is passivated in the mental process of seeing: *the women in their 90s who tell me they were born before women could vote. And they're hopeful of seeing a **woman** in the White **House**.* However, this clause contributes towards a discourse of women supporting

women, since women as a social actor is substituted by the pronoun *they* which occupies the position of Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process. Second, in the following concordance, for example, *woman* is also passivated in the material process of launching: *If we can blast 50 women into space, we will someday launch a **woman** into the White **House**.* The use of *woman* in both clauses is an implicature, i.e. by flouting the maxim of manner, Clinton implicates that the woman intended is herself. Moreover, *launch* is used metaphorically to suggest pioneerism and accomplishment, i.e. electing a woman to be a president of the USA is like launching people into space. Activation in this clause is reserved to the inclusive *we* referring to the American people.

The collocate HAND is used in its nominal as well as verbal forms. As a noun, two themes are exclusively dominant: the first relates to Clinton's recount of a woman in an unprivileged health condition: *We're standing for the **woman** who grabbed my **hand** and asked me, what are you going to make sure you do so I have healthcare and began to cry because even though she works three jobs, she can't afford insurance.* *Woman* is passivated by beneficialization whereas *we*, referring to the Democratic Party as manifested in the extended stretch of concordance line, is activated as Actor in a material process; *grabbed my hand* is an allusion rhetorically meant to indicate desperateness. The second theme is manifested in the following concordance: *It's almost inevitable that during the course of the questioning, a young **woman** will raise her **hand** and say, "well Senator, how do you balance family and work?" And my answer is that it is easier for me than it was for my mother.* Again, *raise her hand* is an allusion indicating interactivity and involvement; *woman* here is activated in a material process. HAND appears as a verb in the following dominant form: *Not long ago a **woman handed** me a photograph of her father as a young soldier;* Clinton frequently recounts this anecdote to convey her support for veterans.

The collocate RESPONSIBILITY co-occurs with WOMAN in connection with supporting or praising women's taking responsibilities, as in: *It's important we continue to work to empower **women** to take **responsibility** for themselves and their futures with initiatives on everything from maternal health to micro-credit and entrepreneurship.* Clinton passivates *women* by participation, while activating the American community including herself through the first plural pronoun *we*. Hence, she maintains activating herself as a supporter for women's empowerment. In the following concordance, represented as attaining powerful positions, women are activated in an embedded clause predicated on Clinton's taking pride of women's progress which is taken by Clinton as a fact: *But I'm very proud of the fact*

that **women** are assuming positions of **responsibility** increasingly here at home and around the world. The use of the progressive tense and the adverb *increasingly* indicates continuity and progression. In a number of concordances, women are activated by either postmodification or possessivation. In the former case, their issue is represented by a relational intensive identifying process as highly important, suggesting concomitancy: *the issue about the roles, rights, **responsibilities** of women is one of the most important that we face in our world today*. In the latter, women's reproductive health issues are sententially premodified as immensely socially problematic: *this is about contraception, family planning, and, most profoundly, **women**'s roles and **responsibilities** and rights*.

In 50% of cases where COUNTRY collocates with WOMAN, Clinton refers to *men and women* in uniform or *man, woman and child* in relation to healthcare issues. When it co-occurs specifically with women, two types of women are referred to: American women and women worldwide. In the following clause, *I think it's morally wrong in our **country**, a young **woman** and her baby died because she didn't have health insurance*, Clinton speaks of a woman and her baby who passed away because of a health insurance problem. Though activated, the woman is represented as undergoing social passivation and negligence. Per contra, women are highly favourably represented in the following concordance: *I'm very proud of the fact that women are now earning more than half of the Bachelors' degrees awarded in our **country**, that **women** own nearly half of all the privately held businesses, that in every sphere of life here in America, women are stepping up and being willing to take responsibility for their decisions and their views*, where women are activated in two relational possessive attributive processes as Carrier (see also the analysis of the collocate LIFE in Clinton's sub-corpus). Women in other countries are passivated by beneficialization, as receivers of the message that women's rights and human rights are the same, while Clinton is self-activated: *I took that message to more than 80 **countries**, to **women** who couldn't vote or own property or earn a salary or send their daughters to school*. Here, Clinton sets herself as a defender of women not only on the national level, but on the international one as well. The same pattern is maintained in the following clause where women are passivated by circumstantialization, while Clinton is self-activated: *And everywhere I've been as First Lady and now as Senator, I have tried to find time to meet with **women** in the **countries** where I find myself- to ask them what their lives are like, what kind of opportunities and challenges they face*.

In nearly 25% of cases where HEALTH collocates with WOMAN, the form *no child, no man, no woman* is involved. In 35% of total concordances of collocation, *women* and *health* co-occur possessively. However, *women* are passivated through postmodification, e.g. *It should not take an act of Congress or an act of a Senator to get the President to listen to health experts on a matter of **women's health***, or through circumstantialization, as in: *The challenges you face today are no less profound than ones faced by previous generations of Americans and you deserve a president who will meet those challenges head on, a president who is committed to your future, a president who will never again play politics with **women's health** and women's rights* (see the analysis of collocates RIGHT and PRESIDENT). The collocate HEALTH generally contributes towards a representation of women as controlled by governmental and health insurance companies' decisions. For example, in the clause, *It also was deepened and broadened by my travels as First Lady when I saw in so many different settings around the world what happens when governments try to control a **woman's reproductive health** decisions*, women are represented as possessing their reproductive health decisions. However, contextually, the whole noun phrase *a woman's reproductive health decisions* is saliently passivated by participation as Goal in a material process. Again women are passivated, and hence disempowered, by participation in the following concordance, *As a mother, as a wife, as a woman, I think I know the difference that good information, good education and good **health** care makes in empowering **women** and girls to lead the lives that are responsible and hopeful that we all wish for them* (see also the analysis of collocate GIRL). It is noticeable that in all concordances Clinton represents herself as a protector of women's health care rights.

Similarly, the collocate INCOME also contributes towards a representation of women as negative receptive agents, e.g. *I recently introduced the Unintended Pregnancy Reduction Act of 2006 to strengthen Medicaid coverage of family planning services, so Medicaid coverage for family planning can remain accessible to low **income women** and states extend coverage for family planning services and supplies to women would be making it possible for Medicaid recipients to get the full range of services that they need, not just pre-natal, labor, delivery and post-partum care*. Premodifying women by *low income* and positioning them by beneficialization contribute towards a representation of women in unfavourable conditions. However, in representing women in a disadvantaged manner, Clinton sets herself as a women's defender, since she activates herself through the first person pronoun as Actor in a power chain beginning with her in relation to the Unintended Pregnancy Reduction Act and

then ending with low income women. A distinction between high- and low-income women is represented in: *High **income women** have quick, convenient access to contraceptives, low **income women** do not.* The distinction is marked by the rhetorical antithesis involved. In this sense, a group of women is activated as Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process, representing them as powerful whereas another group of women is passivated through negation in relation to the same process. In the following concordance, the use of the determiner *all* and the adverbial phrase *regardless of* further enhances the existing discrimination: *It simply asks Members to go on record in support of the idea that all **women**, regardless of **income**, should have access to family planning.*

As for the collocate OPPORTUNITY, Clinton again assumes the role of a women's protector, e.g. *In March of 1999, I went to New York City and joined Billie Jean King at an event promoting a documentary about Title IX and women in sports - the example, might I say, of what legislation can actually mean in giving **women** the **opportunity** to have athletic experiences as they now do here at Brown.* Here, Clinton advocates a law amendment preventing any sex-based educational discrimination; women are also passivated by circumstantialization. Though women are activated in: *To build that future I see, we must make sure that women and men alike understand the struggles of their grandmothers and their mothers, and that **women** enjoy equal **opportunities**, equal pay, and equal respect,* predicating *that* dependent clause on the obligatory modal verb *must* and the infinitive process *make sure* renders women's enjoyment conditional and dependent on the American people activated and represented in the inclusive pronoun *we*. Again, Clinton creates a power chain in which she comes first, *I see*, then the American people including her and then women. Clinton uses the 'rule-of-three' anaphorically and paratactically to attain a rhetorical effect in *equal opportunities, equal pay, and equal respect*. In the following clause, Clinton associates women's empowerment with creating a safe world. Thus, embedded in a conditional *if*-clause, women are activated through postmodification and passivated through participation as Goal in the material process of giving which stresses their representation as subjected to the verb: *Today across our world, the freedom and democratic promise that we hold out is especially important to women because if we do not unleash the potential of **women**, give them the **opportunity** to be leaders in their countries, we are less likely to create a world that is safe for us and our children.* Therefore, women are represented as having potentials but need the opportunity to enact them.

The collocate PAY co-occurs with WOMAN as a noun and a verb. The nominal PAY is used to represent the discriminatory pay gap of women, e.g. *And in 2008, he still thinks it's okay when **women** don't earn equal **pay** for equal work*. Clinton refers to senator McCain's approving stance of the Supreme Court decision which did not come in the favour of women's equal pay issue. Though women are activated as Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process, the negation represents them as disempowered. Again, Clinton represents herself as a fighter for women's rights in: *I'm introducing a new bill called the Paycheck Fairness Act to help closed the **pay** gap for **women***, while women are passivated by beneficialization. The same applies to the clause, *First, it offers **women** meaningful remedies for **pay** discrimination by toughening the penalties for violating the Equal Pay Act*, where women are passivated by participation. The verbal PAY asserts the same representation: *When **women** are still **paid** just 77 cents on every dollar a man makes - and women of color even less, your cause is our cause*, where women are passivated through the passive voice. Here, Clinton intersects gender and race in marking women of colour as more prone to payment bias. Representing the issue of equal pay as widespread, Clinton recounts the story of unequal pay even for the female Wimbledon champions: *And this is a problem for women no matter where we work. I read a story recently that Wimbledon finally agreed to **pay** their **women** tennis champions the same amount of prize money as their male champions. It only took 123 years for them to do the right thing*. Here, women are also passivated by participation, contributing towards a representation of women as oppressed and suffering bias.

In 60% of cases where WORKER and WOMAN collocate, both men and women are referred to. *Women* appears exclusively in the following two concordances: *And finally, this bill requires the Department of Labor to continue collecting and disseminating information about **women workers***. In this clause, *women* is used as a premodifier to specify the workers referred to; the nominal phrase *women workers* is passivated by circumstantialization. Clinton explains that Bush administration has stopped collecting and disseminating data regarding women workers—a decision that the bill she proposes would reverse. In the following concordance, *I have always, in thirty-five years of working on behalf of children, **women**, families, **workers**, I've always listened because I think you can actually learn a few things if you do*, Clinton includes women among the social groups in need of support and assistance, representing them by association. Like Obama, Clinton uses MILLIONS as a collocate for WOMAN as a means of grouping and aggregation, e.g. *Millions of **women** are employed through federal contracts*, which contributes towards a representation of women as pluralized

and categorized. However, unlike Obama, in 50% of the concordances, the following pattern prevails: *But I am a woman and, like millions of women, I know there are still barriers and biases out there.* The prepositional phrase *like millions of women*, is meant by Clinton to identify herself with the group of women which represents an explicit projection of an aspect of identity, that it, being a woman.

To précis the findings of this section, nominal collocates of WOMAN in Clinton's sub-corpus is evidently useful in the exploration of gender representations communicated through her corpus. The collocate MAN is mostly used in the dominant patterns *men and women* or *man, woman and child*. The collocate RIGHT is particularly interesting since it contributes towards various representations of women, e.g. women in the past as courageous, women in the past as oppressed and marginalized, women as socially and professionally disempowered, women of colour as more oppressed and marginalized, women's rights as human rights, women's rights as parameters to American relations to the world, women's rights as a standard of American pioneerism and women's rights as a necessity of value achievements. In relation to RIGHTS, women are equally activated and passivated; however, they are mostly genericized. A possessivation relation between WOMAN and RIGHT holds in 60% of clauses. Clinton also uses the collocate UNIFORM, like Obama, to refer to men and women in the military which contributes towards a representation of women as equally serving the country as men; however, the male fitness parameter still overrules. As for the collocate WORK, in 25% of its occurrences, reference is made to men and women; it collocates exclusively with WOMAN through possessivation while being equally activated and passivated. In 85% of cases where GIRL collocates with WOMAN, they are pluralized in one syntactic unit. In most cases, they are genericized and equally activated and passivated. Through the collocate GROUP women are represented as aggregated and mostly activated while in 40% of cases where INSURANCE collocates with WOMAN, Clinton refers to men, women and children while addressing healthcare issues.

The collocate LEADER is particularly interesting. In 60% of cases *women* is used as a premodifier to represent leaders in relation to gender classification. In 75% of cases, women are represented through collectivization while the rest of cases through nomination. Moreover, they are activated in most cases. The collocate MINORITY is used exclusively in the plural form while collocating with WOMAN in the conjunctive pattern *women and minorities*, representing women by association as oppressed and marginalized. Contrarily, WOMAN collocates with MAJORITY to represent women positively as dominant powerful agents

where they are almost entirely activated and genericized. In relation to the collocate LEADERSHIP, women are entirely activated and represented by nomination, while the collocate WOMAN is used almost entirely in cases where women are represented as passivated and genericized. The collocates CHILD, VOTE and WORLD contribute towards an activated and genericized representation of women. In two cases gender is invoked concomitantly with race to highlight the notion that women and people of colour are equally unprivileged. As for AMERICA, it is used in 35% in relation to the dominant patterns, *men and women* and *man, woman and child*; in the rest of cases women are mostly represented through activation and genericization.

The collocates GENERATION, RESPONSIBILITY and TIME are used almost exclusively in cases where women are represented by activation and genericization. In relation to the collocate DAY, women are genericized while being mostly activated. Most importantly, Clinton marks her gender identity and Obama's racial identity in relation to presidential candidacy as the controversial aspects that Clinton and Obama have achieved a breakthrough in terms of. In most cases where LIFE collocates with WOMAN, women are activated and genericized while in cases of HAND women are represented exclusively by passivation and specification. In 50% of instances where COUNTRY collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to men and women; in the rest of cases women are mostly passivated and genericized. In 35% of collocational cases of HEALTH and WOMAN, a possessive relation holds where women are mostly passivated and genericized. They are also saliently passivated and genericized in relation to PAY where Clinton also intersects gender and race to highlight the fact that women of colour are more subject to payment bias.

Nominal collocates contribute towards various gender representations in Clinton's sub-corpus: women as powerful, efficient and potent agents (GROUP, LEADER, MAJORITY, LEADERSHIP, PRESIDENT, WORLD, GENERATION, VOTE, RESPONSIBILITY, AMERICA, TIME, DAY and LIFE), women as supporting other women (WORK, GIRLS, GROUP and LEADER), women as a site of unprivileged conditions worldwide (COUNTRY, HEALTH and GIRLS), women as socially and professionally oppressed (RIGHT, WORK, INSURANCE, MINORITY, AMERICA, HEALTH, INCOME and PAY), women as efficient leaders nationally and worldwide (LEADER, LEADERSHIP, WORLD and PRESIDENT), women as solely responsible for the children (CHILD, WORK and LIFE) and women of colour as more oppressed (RIGHT, VOTE, DAY and PAY). Through the use of the collocates RIGHT, GIRLS, LEADER, WORLD, AMERICA, INCOME HEALTH and PAY, Clinton

represents herself as a defender, protector, advisor and fighter for the rights of women, and also as a determined self-assured woman who resists and rebels against traditional gender ideologies and conceptions. She orients to both professional and gender identities when addressing her candidacy for presidency, relating her aspired position to her gender as a woman. The *socks* anecdote is used twice on the part of Clinton mainly to reveal fossilized social gender ideological conceptions while representing herself as a progressive woman rebelling against these gender role allocations and expectations. Repeatedly, Clinton establishes power chains in which she assigns herself or other powerful women the most powerful positions in relation to oppressed groups of women Clinton also saliently marks her affiliation to the women group, mostly through the use of the inclusive *we* or *our* or explicit self-references. Thus, she repeatedly explicitly projects a gender self-identity. Only in one instance does she refer to a woman by nomination and intersection of gender and race.

Clinton contributes towards one progressive representation of gender role allocation by representing men and women as equally responsible for the family. Moreover, more progressively, she discusses the issue of leadership styles as she negotiates traditional male styles of leadership, marking the emergence of new leading styles as women are increasingly acquiring high-ranked positions. Though in defining female leadership styles as more team oriented and less hierarchical she is maintaining a traditional stereotypical representation of women, she also contributes towards a progressive representation of women by redefining female leading styles as more appropriate and fitting. In different cases Clinton bases her distinction of women sub-groups on financial status. Clinton also contributes towards two stereotypical representations of women. The first, which is communicated through the collocates CHILD and LIFE, is pertinent to representing women as the sole caretaker of children in the family and as stereotypically responsible for the household. The second, contributed through the collocate WORLD, is enabled by the traditional metaphor of a female president taking care of her country as a mother takes care of her children or a nurse caring for her wounded patient. Both metaphors are strikingly gender-related and go in accordance with a conventionalized and expected female role as a mother and nurse while sustaining Clinton's argument about the new leading female styles.

5.8.2.2. Verbal Collocates of WOMAN

The collocate WORK as a verb significantly collocates with WOMAN in two main linguistic structures: embedded in a relative clause and postmodified. The former structure appears in:

Women who work full time year round earn just 77 cents for every dollar that a man makes. And for women of color it's even less. Sixty-seven cents for African American women for every dollar a man makes. And just 56 cents for Latinas. Here, women are activated in a relational possessive attributive process. However, the use of the adverb *just* and the prepositional phrase *for every dollar that a man makes* marks the unprivileged condition of women. Clinton then intersects gender issues with racial ones—an intersection which further shows the situation of women as aggravated. Clinton, in the following concordance, spots another group in misfortunate work conditions: *Think about how it affects women, particularly single women. But a lot of women don't work full-time, they work part-time or, I like to say, they work two part-time jobs to try to make enough money to support themselves and their children.* Women are represented as aggregated through the adverb *a lot of* indicating multitude. Again, the negation mitigates the activation of women as social actors. Thus, representing women as suffering unfavourable conditions persists.

A traditional representation of women as children caretakers is provided by Clinton in the following concordance:

As a woman who has worked -- I started working, I think, when I was 13 in the summer time, and I got my first Social Security then. I worked part time. I worked full time. And, of course, when Bill was president I didn't work outside the home, as we might say. And so I know that women go in and out of the workforce to raise children, to take care of their parents -- so many issues that affect our lives.

Though activating herself as Actor in the material process of working, Clinton represents herself in a stereotypical way—the wife who has to quit working. The use of the sentential adverb *of course* suggests the naturalness and normality of her position. Interestingly, in Mary Louise Smith Lecture at the Catt Center for Women and Politics at Iowa State University in Ames on the 20th of October 2007, Clinton provides an unusual representation of women as self-oppressors: *In 2004, more than 35 million women did not vote. You know, for so long, Carrie Chapman Catt and all the women who worked with her were silenced by others. Today, too many women silence themselves.* Women are activated as Actor in relation to working. However, they are passivated through the use of the passive voice. The powerfulness and authority inherent in the verb *silence* further disempower women. In addition, in *too many women silence themselves*, women are aggregated through the adverb *too* and the premodifying frequency modal *many*, suggesting excessiveness. Representing women as the oppressor and the oppressed seems to be both conditionally empowering and

disempowering women, depending on their decision to participate in voting or not. The political rhetoric intended is to urge women to use their right of voting. Interestingly, this kind of political rhetoric lacks in Obama's speeches where VOTE does not collocate with WOMAN at all. Concordance examination reveals that *vote* occurs in vicinity of *woman* only once, *That is how women won the right to vote*, hastily in the context of acknowledging the role of abolitionists. This attitudinal disparity seems to reflect both Clinton's self-identity construction as an advocate of women's rights and a sense of certainty that the female votes motivated are going to be in her favour. Clinton rhetorically depicts women as hard workers through enumeratio in the following concordance: *I remember once driving through Africa on a bus with a group of distinguished experts and in field after field and marketplace after marketplace we saw **women working, women working** hard, carrying firewood, carrying water, selling their products in the villages*. Besides, the parallel structure involved in *field after field and marketplace after marketplace* suggests prevalence (see the analysis of the collocate WOMAN in Clinton's sub-corpus).

In the following case, women are passivated by beneficialization in the context of an existential process, *Working women stand to lose a quarter of a million dollars over the course of their careers because of unequal pay practices. And this is a problem for **women** no matter where we **work***. This clause is particularly interesting. Here, *women* is used in a genericized sense, that is, women in the USA. However, the verb collocate WORK is associated with the pronoun *we*; Clinton first refers to the problem of unequal pay for working women—thus, representing women as suffering from discriminated and bias, then she identifies herself as part of the group of working women by using the inclusive pronoun *we*.

The verb collocate VOTE is used by Clinton in the context of comparing women's past conditions of being deprived of the right to vote to their present status as active agents in electoral polls or in the context of acknowledging the endeavours of prominent figures in women's emancipation movements, e.g. *Because of them, my generation grew up taking for granted that women could vote*. The pattern *women could vote* prevails in 60% of concordances dedicated for the collocate VOTE, which renders it a dominant pattern.

*And after so many decades - 88 years ago on this very day - the 19th amendment guaranteeing **women** the right to **vote** would be forever enshrined in our Constitution. My mother was born before **women** could **vote**. But in this election my daughter got to vote for her mother for President. This is the story of America.*

Though women are passivated through beneficialization in the former instance, the use of the non-finite form *guaranteeing* marks women's voting as a non-negotiable act (Martin, 2000). Women are activated in the latter case as Actor in relation to voting which contributes towards a presentation of women as agentive in struggling for their rights. The American history is predicated on, and thus strongly linked to, women's struggle through a relational intensive identifying process which represents women's role and struggle as pivotal to the identity of America as a nation. The comparison between three generations of women is also manifested in this clause, signalled by the conjunction *but*.

The same pattern is maintained in the following instance, *the women in their 90s who tell me they were born before **women** could vote. And they're hopeful of seeing a woman in the White House*, where women are activated in relation to voting and seeing. Thus, it contributes towards a discourse of women supporting women. Though functionally activated by participation, women in other countries are linguistically passivated by negation, whereas Clinton maintains her self-representation as a women's defender, *I took that message to more than 80 countries, to **women** who couldn't vote or own property or earn a salary or send their daughters to school*. In this sense, VOTE contributes towards a representation of women as agentive power in society.

Most of the cases, i.e. 80%, where SERVE collocates with WOMAN are dedicated to the collectivizing the syntactic unit of men and women, which contributes towards a positive representation of women as equal agents in the service of their country, e.g. *what kind of military we need, what tools we provide our **men and women** who **serve** us is directly related to what it is we are trying to accomplish and how best to utilize those resources effectively*. However, in the rest of cases, women are activated as Actor in relation to serving. Hence, the collocate SERVE is dedicated to the representation of women as equally professionally efficient as men, e.g. *Today, **women** are **servng** across America as judges, partners, as law professors -- and yes, even successful courtroom lawyers with clean socks*. Significantly, in 95% of the cases of its mention, COULD is used as a modal verb collocating with WOMAN in relation to women's prerogative of voting, e.g. *Because of them, my generation grew up taking for granted that **women** could vote*. The mitigated sense of the modal verb creates a representation of women's right to vote as a hard-to-get one. The same applies to BEAR which occurs only in the present past passive *was born* and functions within the same structure in all its occurrences, e.g. *Florence was **born** before **women** had the right to vote*. And also in: *And to all of those women in their 80s and their 90s **born** before **women** could*

vote, who cast their votes for our campaign. The dominant use of BEAR in this sense contributes towards a representation of women in the past as oppressed and women in the present as achieving a leap in relation to their voting rights. GRANT functions in the same semantic meaning in 55% of the cases, e.g. *Because of them, my generation grew up taking for **granted** that **women** could vote.* Remarkably, in the rest of the cases dedicated to GRANT, Clinton pluralizes both women and African Americans in the same mitigated sense of the modal verb *can*, e.g. *Because of him, after 219 years and 43 presidents who have been white men, this next generation will grow up taking for **granted** that a **woman** or **an African American** can be President of the United States of America.*

In 80% of the cases where TAKE collocates with WOMAN, the reference is to women's right to vote (see the analysis of the collocates BEAR, VOTE, GRANT and COULD). However, it also collocates with WOMAN in relation to positions that women, according to Clinton, can assume or have been denied access to, e.g. *There are many examples, some not so well known, of **women taking** these positions,* referring to the brave women who took many risks for the sake of their countries. In this case, women are activated by postmodification, thus, represented as powerful and courageous. In the following clause, *Some of you know that I even wrote to NASA asking how I could apply to be an astronaut and got back an answer saying that they weren't **taking women**,* women are passivated by participation as Goal, and hence, represented as subjected to discrimination and bias. In the same vein, women in the past are passivated through the passive voice which intensifies their subjection to the negated verb in the following clause, *And like many of my classmates and many of you, I did want to make a difference. Now, that wasn't always easy. Back then, **women** weren't always **taken** seriously back then.* Stipulating that women were not taken seriously in the past essentially implicates that they are now. In that sense, Clinton simultaneously represents women in the present as powerful and effective. On the personal level, Clinton refers to her grandmother as a persevering and tenacious woman in, *She was the kind of woman who never took no for an answer.* The representation contributed by the collocate TAKE relates to women either as powerful social agents or as a discriminated group.

SEE, in nearly 70% of its occurrences, addresses women's right to vote, women's assuming different positions or the possibility of having a woman in the White House, e.g. *And I have been thrilled to **see women** serving across America not only in the legal profession, but the medical profession, in academia and so much else.* Though women are passivated by participation in relation to seeing, they are activated by postmodification in relation to

serving. Moreover, the activation of the first person pronoun as Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process signals Clinton as the powerful agent in the clause. All in all, the collocate SEE participates in the same representation of women as struggling to gain their rights and as powerful and efficient social agents, and of Clinton as in a position of power.

In nearly all its occurrences, RUN contributes towards a positive self-representation of Clinton as a woman capable of efficiently assuming the position of a president, for example, *when I was asked what it means to be a **woman running** for president, I always gave the same answer, that I was proud to be **running** as a **woman**, but I was running because I thought I'd be the best president.* In the former case, woman is activated through postmodification; in the latter it is passivated by circumstantialization. However, Clinton activates herself by assigning the role of Identified in a relational intensive identifying process to the first person pronoun *I* (see also the analysis of the collocate PRESIDENT).

The verb collocate STAND contributes towards a positive representation of women as persistent and persevering agents, e.g. *Women have been **standing** up for what we believe in, defying convention, and going forward for a long time,* and of Clinton as a robust fighter for women's rights, e.g. *And I'm still **standing** for **women's** rights and human rights.* In both cases, the progressive tense is maintained to suggest continuity and progression. In the former case, women are activated by participation in relation to standing up. Interestingly, Clinton uses the inclusive *we* to identify herself as a woman and to denote power and authority by representing all women as one. The use of the 'rule-of-three' is maintained in the progressive paratactic structure. In the latter case, Clinton activates herself as Actor, representing herself as a fighter for women's rights as human rights. In the following clause, *Thankfully, I, like generations of women today, are able to make our own choices because other **women stood up and demanded that for us,*** women are activated as Actor and Sayer in a material and verbal processes respectively (see also the analysis of the collocates RIGHT, MAKE and GIRL).

Most of the occurrences of WEAR as a collocate of WOMAN relate to both men and women as in, *It's about the **men and women** who **wear** the uniform of our country who deserve a Commander in Chief who knows they are magnificent but that force should be used as a last resort and not a first resort.* However, in one instance, i.e. *Back in the mid-1980s, **women** were not allowed to **wear** pantsuits on the Senate floor. Clearly, I would not have survived. And today, we've sworn in the first Madame Speaker of the House of Representatives,* Clinton highlights the restricting costume tradition expected of a female

politician in the 1980s as a means of showing women's leap from being judged and limited even in their wardrobe options to assuming highly-prestigious political positions. The contrast is signalled by the temporal adverbs *back* and *today*. Interestingly, women of the 1980s, as social actors, are passivated functionally in a passive voice syntactic relation, and thus are represented as disempowered. However, women of the present moment are represented as active powerful agents in the processes of swearing in a House of Representatives chaired by a woman. Interestingly, Clinton sets herself as a rebel figure against social norms by the clause, *Clearly, I would not have survived*. It should be noted also that invoking the way a woman is expected to dress is in alignment with the stereotypical belief of the importance attributed to a female's appearance. Hence, this utterance as a whole serves three ends: (1) highlighting a stereotypical ideologically-motivated social practice, (2) introducing the progression achieved by women, and (3) contributing towards a self-representation of Clinton as a non-traditional and progressive woman.

DID can initially be viewed as an indicator, in so far as it collocates with WOMAN, for what women are represented as being able to, or not able to, do. Concordance lines investigation shows that in nearly all the cases, it actually did. In the first concordance line, *What about Sally Ride, who wouldn't give up her dream of soaring into space when **women** were told they **didn't** have the "right stuff" to become astronauts?* Clinton enumerates several examples of women who went against the stereotypical expectations about women's potentials. Embedded into a dependent relative clause, the auxiliary *did* is juxtaposed by the negation adverb *not* to negate women's possession of the required abilities. The metaphorical use of *give up her dream* fits in perfectly with the aspirational mood invested. Moreover, the colloquial expression *right stuff* is implicative of what is deemed as qualifying but lacking in a woman, and is used as a plea for women's exclusion from certain professional areas. Sally Ride as a representative social actor for women is activated as Actor, and thus, represented as an empowered and non-relinquishing figure. However, the other women who did not have the same attitude are passivated functionally twice, once through the passive voice and another by negation. The whole clause is a rhetorical question meant to draw the attention of the audience. In another instance of DID, i.e. *They come to up to me, as a **woman did** today in Little Rock, and said, Senator, what am I to do? I can't get the cancer treatment for my chemotherapy anymore*, though *woman* is activated as Actor in a material process, *did* anaphorically references the phrasal verb *come up to* which has a semantic preference for

desperateness, and thus represents woman as powerless—a notion which is supported by the negated modal verb *can't*.

The following instance is quoted from Clinton's speech in Manchester, New Hampshire, on the 16th of October, 2007: *I remember one time I had to be in court when I was a young lawyer, Chelsea was a baby, we had a **woman** who **did** come in and help me she'd come in early then after that she'd go home*. Examining the whole speech, it manifests that Clinton addresses the issue of life/work balance for young parents. However, she seems to focus on how *mothers* should strike such a balance; this contribute towards a representation of women as the sole partner responsible for childcare. In the above-mentioned quotation, DID is embedded into a relative clause modifying woman, i.e. the babysitter, who is passivated by participation as Attribute in a possessive attributive process, but activated in relation to coming. In both cases the woman is individualized, and hence, given attention as the solution for mothers' inability to balance their life and work. What is particularly notable about that instance is the social roles allocated to different social actors. Extending the thematic investigation of the whole speech, as earlier mentioned, Clinton addresses the challenges that working mothers face in order to strike a balance between their careers and their families. Stereotypically, yet challenging, a woman—in this case Clinton herself—is represented as fighting to balance family and work. Though later on generic reference is made to the *many pressures on young **parents***, there is no mention in her personal note to any paternal role, rendering it ideologically conceivable that a working woman can resort to the help of a babysitter or a friend, *I was lucky enough to have a friend who could come over and watch Chelsea*, but not of the father. DID used as an auxiliary and juxtaposed with a negation adverb collocates with WOMAN in, *At that time of course our laws **didn't** really give **women** rights in any aspect of life, not just at the voting booth but in inheritance and marriage and child custody and so much else*, again Clinton monitors women's endeavours to get the right to vote among a horde of rights they were deprived of. Women of the past are genericized and passivated by participation while societal laws are empowered by being activated as Actor. The rights women were deprived of are represented paratactically to denote their plenty.

In another instance where DID collocates with WOMAN, i.e. *In 2004, more than 35 million women **did not vote***, *did* is an auxiliary followed by the negation adverb *not*. *Women* is represented as aggregated through a numerative. Although *women* functions as an active Actor in a material process, socially it is passivated by negation and are thus rendered

powerless. In Clinton's remarks in Wellesley College, a private all women's liberal-arts college, occurs the last instance where DID collocates with WOMAN, i.e. *It was a place that truly **did** prepare **women** to make the best choices that we thought were right for our own lives*; *did* is used emphatically by Clinton to accentuate the role of Wellesley College in gearing women to take better life-time choices. Represented through passivation realized by participation as Goal, women are represented here as needing special kind of tutoring, i.e. the one provided in an all-women's faculty, to be able to succeed in life. The stretch of concordance realization was extended and it proved interesting. In a precedent clause, namely, *the camaraderie that develops when smart, ambitious young women come together in a community of learning*, female college students are attributively premodified by *smart*, *ambitious*, and *young* which represents women positively and in a highly favourable terms. *Women* is embedded within a dependent clause in which it functions both syntactically, through being Actor in a material process, and socially, through activation by participation, as powerful actors.

Significantly, Clinton then refers to presidential politics as *all boys* arena in the following clause, *In so many ways, this **all women's** college prepared me to compete on the **all boys'** club of presidential politics*. Concomitantly, the verb *compete* which has a semantic preference for rivalry and struggle, the attributive *all boys* which denotes the restrictive stereotypical nature of politics, and the metaphorical use of *club* which conceptually implicates athletic competitiveness, all construct an image of women, exemplified by Clinton herself, as outsiders for the field of politics, vying to gain access. Again, *all women* contributes towards the same presentation of women as needing special tutoring. A distinction between attributive and predicative adjectives is helpful here in order to understand the above-mentioned representation that Clinton contributes in relation to politics. Attributive adjectives "tend to characterise a thing in terms of a stable, inherent property, whereas predicative adjectives tend to denote more temporary, circumstantial properties" (Taylor, 2002: 455). Pearce (2008: 16) suggests that "in a phrase such as 'mad woman' the condition of madness is more closely tied to the noun than it is in a phrase like 'the man is mad', which suggests there are possible temporal constraints to the condition, or that the 'madness' is limited to a particular entity often referred to in a complement (e.g., the man is mad on sport)." Thus, by associating politics with the attributively modified *all boys*, Clinton signals the close adherence between politics and being male-dominated. The next clause, *I have to tell you, though, when I came to Wellesley, I never in a million years could have imagined I would one*

day return as a candidate for the presidency of the United States, is particularly interesting. Clinton uses the modal verb for obligation *have* combined with the adverb for contradiction *though* to indicate the surprising nature of her subsequent speech—that she, as a student, has never thought she would be a presidency candidate. The unexpectedness of that thought is also emphasized by the numerative *million years* and the verb *imagine* which has a semantic preference for farfetchedness. Again, Clinton represents women, symbolized by her own stance, as non-belonging outsiders who do not even have the idea of becoming members in a realm dominated by men.

In Clinton's speeches, WOMAN collocates with CONTINUE. The first instance occurs in her remarks on foreign policy at George Washington University, where she moves smoothly from discussing foreign political issues of Darfur, energy crisis, AIDS to women's issues: *We will lead the world in standing up for women's rights and I know that this is an issue that goes to the heart of who we are as a nation. Because when **women continue** to comprise the majority of the world's unhealthy, unfed and unschooled, the global community cannot prosper or make progress.* The possessive *world's* combined with the attributive *global* mark the international nature of the problem. Though *women* has an activated position in the clause, which initially indicates powerfulness, the relational intensive identifying process invested in *continue* and the infinitive *comprise* stress the close relation between women and the disadvantaged health, nutritional and educational situations globally—a relation which is formed paratactically through the 'rule-of-three'. Moreover, the semantic preference of durability inherent in the verb *continue* contributes towards a representation of women as constant site of unprivileged conditions worldwide. The next instance of collocation with CONTINUE is the following sentence: *When **women continue** to be raped as a tactic of war, trafficked by criminal cartels, and subjected to violence both in and out of their homes, that compromises the dignity and humanity of the entire human family.* *Women* is positioned functionally as Carrier in a relational circumstantial attributive process. However, the negative semantic preferences of the verbs *rape*, *traffick* and *subject* render them passivated. Moreover, the tripartite coordinate paratactic relation, i.e. 'rule-of-three', between the three phrases is meant rhetorically to strengthen the misery of women.

In 50% of the cases where CONTINUE collocates with WOMAN, the same structure persists, forming a dominant pattern, e.g. *because when women when **women continue** to be raped as a casualty of conflict, trafficked for commercial advantage, denied education and health care and family planning, not given access to credit, denied their rights as citizens, that not only*

affects them and their countries, that compromises the dignity and the human rights of the entire human family. In an intensified sense, Clinton passivates women as a social actor through the passive voice in a five-part paratactic structure used as a means of rhetorical parallelism, i.e. *raped, trafficked, denied, given, and denied.* On Clinton's remarks at the global summit on AIDS and the church in California, appears another case of collocation between CONTINUE and WOMAN, that's, *It's important we **continue** to work to empower **women** to take responsibility for themselves and their futures with initiatives on everything from maternal health to micro-credit and entrepreneurship.* Starting with the predicated theme *it's important*, the clause positions *we* as an activated social actor by participation, and *women* as a passivated social actor embedded in an infinitive phrase. The verb *empower* has a semantic preference for support and authority. However, the infinitive circumstantial *to take responsibility* indicates, and actually represents, women as lacking the power to assume responsibility. Again, *girls and women* are passivated through possessivation in, *I'll continue the work I started as First Lady and now as a Senator to end the buying and selling of **girls and women** into modern-day slavery.* Thus, women are represented as disempowered.

In all cases where CAST collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to the historical endeavors that led to women gaining the right to vote and within nearly the same structure, which renders it into a dominant pattern, e.g. *The tenacious women and a few brave men who gathered at the Seneca Falls convention back in 1848 to demand the right to vote. It took more than 70 years of struggle, setbacks, and grinding hard work and only one of those original suffragists lived to see **women cast** their ballots.* Initially, *women* is attributively premodified by *tenacious* while *men* by *few brave*. The disparity reflects a different kind of representation. Women in the past are represented as determined, immovable and powerful social actors while the men who supported the suffrage are represented as courageous but small in number, which puts men in general in the role of the oppressor or, at least, the unsupportive. *Women* is activated in the material process of casting their ballots—an empowering representation, while passivated in the infinitive circumstantial *to see women*, which is rather empowering for the last living suffragist and contributes towards women supporting women discourse. Interestingly, Clinton exclusively refers to the group of women who were born before the constitution granted them the right to vote, then inclusively through the use of *us*, including herself, in order to mark her belonging to women and project her gender identity, i.e. *There are **women** here today--as with my own mother--who were born*

before the Constitution granted us the right to vote. Thus, she excludes herself when reference is made to women who were deprived of the voting right, and includes herself when reference is made to the women granted their right to vote. The same representation persists through all instances of CAST, e.g. *Think of the suffragists who gathered at Seneca Falls in 1848 and those who kept fighting until women could cast their votes*, where the durability and persistence are indicated by the past form *kept* followed by the gerund *fighting*, and where *women* is activated by participation, albeit juxtaposed by the strongly mitigated modal *could*.

WOMAN collocates with GET in several instances, the first of which was delivered in her speech on Mother's Day:

We need to rise to the challenges facing us, no matter how daunting, and take care of the unfinished business before America. Unfinished business that resonates not only for women but for all of us - for children whose lives and well-being is affected because their mother is paid lower wages than male counterparts doing the same job. For husbands who share the burdens placed on a family when a woman can't get maternity leave or get a bank loan or qualify for a decent pension.

The previous excerpt encompasses different social actors: women, children, mothers and husbands, i.e. Clinton creates a conjoined picture in which people with different social roles take part. The whole image relates to the *unfinished business before America* that needs to be taken care of. Clinton highlights the suffering of women as instigating the suffering of people with different social roles. The role of a woman—as the lemma which originally collocates with GET—is paired with the role of a husband in the family, *For husbands who share the burdens placed on a family when a woman can't get maternity leave or get a bank loan or qualify for a decent pension.* *Husbands* is passivated as a part of an elliptical clause, *for husbands* in a prepositional phrase. The passivation is realized by subjection (circumstantialization). *Woman* is genericized as a singular with an indefinite article, indicating generality, and embedded in a dependent clause beginning with the temporal conjunction *when*. Though activated, *woman* is represented as passivated and, hence, disempowered through negation. By dint of invoking the social roles of *husband* and *children*, Clinton represents these social actors through relational identification, i.e. through their kinship to each other. Interestingly, Clinton does not use *wife* as an opposite term to *husband*, i.e. a woman is identified as an independent person, and not in her relational identification to her husband. On the other hand, a husband is identified in connection with his relationship to his wife. The issue of unequal pay is once again raised in this quotation, *because their mother*

is paid lower wages than male counterparts doing the same job. More interestingly, in *husbands who share the burdens placed on a family when a **woman** can't **get** maternity leave,* the husbands are activated as Actor in the material process of sharing. The verb *share*, which has a semantic preference for 'having a portion' in the burdens rather than assuming them, maintains the previously represented image of women as the main caretaker responsible for the children and the household.

Relating to women's rights in general and women's right to vote in particular, the following two concordances represent women as persistent powerful strugglers: *And when I think about the challenges we face today in politics, I always am in awe of how hard these other **women** had to struggle to **get** what we take for granted. Ultimately, they did succeed, because even in the face of the most heartbreaking set-backs, they never lost sight of what mattered and they refused to give up.* Clinton uses the inclusive *we* to represent affiliation and involvement. The metaphorical use of *face* and *struggle* which have a semantic preference for fighting contributes towards a representation of women, who are activated as Actor by participation, as powerful fighters. The same applies to women in the following clause, *When I think about the struggle that **women** had to even **get** the vote I don't get discouraged, I get inspired.* In the following clause, *woman* is represented by genericization which is meant as a reference to American working women in general. The genericization is realized by using a singular without a definite or an indefinite article: *Some working **woman** who **gets** up at the crack of dawn and works as hard as she can, ever get equal pay for equal work?* Here, Clinton addresses the issue of equal pay again. *Woman* is activated in the material process of getting up; *the crack of dawn* indicates the suffering, yet the struggle, that working women go through every day. Interestingly, in *We've done a great job bringing the best and brightest from around the world but we have to do more to **get women** and minorities to be involved,* women are represented by association, that is, by associating women with minorities, women are represented on equal footing with minorities, as undergoing the same oppression and marginalization. It should be noted that in 40% of occurrences, GET is used to refer to both men and women, as in: *The **men and women** who **get** up every single day, work hard to make a difference for their families.*

The collocate FIGHT contributes towards a representation of women as struggling for their rights, referring in all its concordances either to Clinton, women in the past or current women, e.g. *I haven't spent the past 35 years in the trenches advocating for children, campaigning for universal health care, helping parents balance work and family, and **fighting** for **women's***

rights at home and around the world. The paratactic anaphoric use of the gerund in this concordance is intended to enumerate the fields in which Clinton exerted civil efforts. In more than 60% of concordance, the progressive form *fighting* is used to mark the continuity and long duration of women's fight, e.g. *Think of the suffragists who gathered at Seneca Falls in 1848 and those who kept **fighting** until **women** could cast their votes.* Or in: *Some **women** have **fought** lonely battles, forging ahead on their own when no one else would stand by their side,* where women are represented by aggregation realized through the use of plural preceded by the determiner some. In all these cases, either Clinton is activated, as a fighter and defender of women's rights, in relation to women, or women are activated as fighters for their rights. Most salient is the conceptual metaphor inherent in using *fighting*, which belongs originally to the war field, in order to liken women claiming their rights to soldiers fighting in a war which suggests severity and hardships. It is noticeable here that FIGHT, with the highly positive representations that it denotes, is not a collocate for WOMAN on Obama's part.

As for the verb collocate MEET, in all its concordances, women are passivated either by participation, e.g. *I'm thinking about all of the **women** I've **met** who were born before women could vote,* or by circumstantialization, e.g. *And everywhere I've been as First Lady and now as Senator, I have tried to find time to **meet** with **women** in the countries where I find myself-to ask them what their lives are like, what kind of opportunities and challenges they face.* In all these cases, Clinton herself is activated as Actor in the material process of meeting. The use of the sentential spatial adverb *everywhere* in the latter clause is rhetorically intended to contribute towards a self-representation as energetic, efficient and committed in her work, care and protection of women. This vigorous tendency, however, is mitigated by the verb *try* which has a semantic preference for attempting but not necessarily succeeding. In this sense, Clinton is once again empowered in relation to these women, especially in cases where women are depicted as suffering unfavourable conditions, as in: *Like the **woman** I **met** from LeClair who had to sell half her family farm to pay for her family's medical bills.* The collocate MEET in general contributes towards a representation of Clinton as empowered over the women she is meeting, and, in a sense, as their defender.

The collocate NAME is used in all cases within a laudatory celebration of women's struggle, courage and progression. For example, in *Back in 1903, another courageous union leader and great **woman** by the **name** of Mother Jones led a march of children from here in Philadelphia to New York to demand an end to the scourge of child labor,* Clinton refers to *Mother Jones* by means of specification and individualization realized by nomination as a rhetorical

exemplum to efforts exerted by courageous women, a sense which is emphasized by the use of *courageous*, *leader*, and *great*. *Woman* here is activated as Actor in the material process of leading, which further contributes towards a positive representation of *Mother Jones* as a powerful model woman. The same representation is maintained in the following clause: *it is so fitting that this legislation reauthorizing this landmark civil rights act would be **named** for three **women** who are so well known as heroines of the struggle for civil rights in our own country*. The name of the act comprising the names of the three women addressed is *the Fannie Lou Hamer, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King Voting Rights Act Reauthorization and Amendments Act of 2006*. Women are activated as Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process which suggests close association. They are also postmodified as *heroines*, which suggests high esteem and achievement. Again, in the following clause, a woman is represented by specification and individualization realized by nomination: *A **woman named Linda** said, Linda wrote and said: "Don't give up. I'm supporting you looking at my girls and knowing that when the going gets tough, you keep forging ahead."* Here, with the woman activated in the verbal processes of writing and saying, Clinton is more likely to represent herself as having the support of women and mothers mainly because she is a woman fighting for her ambition and for better opportunities for other women. All in all, the collocate NAME contributes towards a representation of women as efficient and powerful.

In 82% of instances devoted to the collocate HAVE, it is used as an auxiliary. However, since the verb *have* used as a main verb has a semantic preference for possession, the exploration of the other 18% of cases is worthy. That is, *have* would ideally be used to depict what women have and what they have not. Avoiding diminishing returns, the following three clauses are the cases where women are represented as having *the right to vote quick*—as one favoured topic addressed by Clinton, *convenient access to contraceptives* and *athletic experiences*.

*Florence was born before **women had** the right to vote*

*High income **women have** quick, convenient access to contraceptives, low income women do not.*

*In March of 1999, I went to New York City and joined Billie Jean King at an event promoting a documentary about Title IX and women in sports - the example, might I say, of what legislation can actually mean in giving **women** the opportunity to **have** athletic experiences as they now do here at Brown.*

In the former two clauses women are activated as Carrier in relational possessive attributive processes, albeit only high income women are specified in the second clause—a specification realized by the premodifier *High income*, and, hence, a distinction based on financial status is introduced amongst the general group of women. Here, an intersection between gender and financial status is presented by Clinton. In the last clause, the opportunities made available to women through the enactment of legislations such as Title IX—a portion of Education Amendments of 1972 Public Law prohibiting any discrimination based on gender as regards participating or benefitting from any educational program or activity receiving federal financial assistance³⁰, is addressed by Clinton. Though women are activated in relation to the infinitive *have*, they are passivated by beneficialization in *in giving women*. *Have* is used as a verb of obligation in the past in: *And when I think about the challenges we face today in politics, I always am in awe of how hard these other **women had** to struggle to get what we take for granted*. Here, women in the past are represented as compelled and forced into the struggle they went through, presumably by the unprivileged conditions they experienced. Clinton once again invokes the comparison of women in the past and women in the present as a means of marking the progress and status achieved by women.

The collocate SIGN is almost entirely used to refer to men and women in service, as in: *I believe that when a young man or **woman signs** up to serve our country in the United States military, we sign up to serve that young man or woman*. In nearly 25% of instances where THINK collocates with WOMAN reference is also made to men and women in uniform, e.g. *I **think** about the men and **women** in uniform whom I've had the profound honor of meeting and serving*. The rest of cases can be classified into three categories: (1) cases where women are passivated by circumstantialization in clauses where Clinton is Senser in the mental process of thinking, e.g. *I'm **thinking** about all of the **women** I've met who were born before women could vote*, (2) cases where women are passivated also by circumstantialization in imperative; the audience is presumably a Senser in the mental process of thinking, e.g. ***Think** about those audacious **women** and a few brave men who gathered in Seneca Falls, New York for the declaration to issue the very first statement ever in the history of the world calling for women's full equality*, and (3) cases where women are passivated by participation, e.g. ***Think** about how it affects **women**, particularly single women. Women who work full-time are likely to have on the same level as their male counterparts a retirement plan*. Except for the latter

³⁰ <http://www.aauw.org/> (The American Association of University Women) (last accessed on the 15th of March 2014)

type, though women are represented by passivation, other linguistic evidence—*vote*, *audacious*, *gathered*, suggests that women are represented in a favourable sense.

As for the collocate MEAN, in 25 % of its concordances, Clinton is raising the issue of her gender as a woman candidate for presidency (to avoid diminishing returns, see the discussion of the collocates RUN and PRESIDENT): *when I was asked what it **means** to be a **woman** running for president, I always gave the same answer, that I was proud to be running as a woman*. In 50% of cases reference is made to situations where women's participation or involvement is seen as the actualization of national principles or demands of equality, e.g. *But whatever challenge is most pressing to you, and the list is long, each one requires that we have the opportunity to take advantage of the best brains, of people willing to work hard, and that **means women** have to be at the table*. Interestingly, in nearly all occurrences where AFFECT collocates with WOMAN, reference is made to unfavourable conditions affecting women. To avoid diminishing returns, one example is provided: *When women make just 77 cents for every dollar a man earns -- it's not just women who are affected, but families with less income to pay the bills*. Similarly, GRAB also co-occurs with WOMAN in nearly the same structure in all its concordances and in relation to the same incident, *We're standing for the **woman** who **grabbed** my hand and asked me, what are you going to make sure you do so I have healthcare and began to cry* (to avoid diminishing returns, see the discussion of the collocate STAND).

The collocate TELL co-occurs with WOMAN in different structures contributing towards different representations. In the following clause, Clinton speaks of her visit to Arkansas where the deputy sheriff spoke of health care problems that women are facing: *He said I sure hope we can get health care for everyone and he **told** me about a young **woman** from that town*. Here, *woman* is represented by specification and individualization which is realized by singularity and indefinite article as a means of rhetorically invoking an exemplum. The woman is passivated by circumstantialization as the item talked about, or in Halliday's terms, as target, that is, "the entity that is targeted by the process of saying" (Halliday, 1994: 141). An extended examination of the collocate line shows the unfavourable health condition of the young woman that was difficult to remedy because of inconsistencies in the American health care system. In the following clause, *What about Sally Ride, who wouldn't give up her dream of soaring into space when **women** were **told** they didn't have the "right stuff" to become astronauts?* women are also passivated by participation as Receiver in a verbal process. However, extending the stretch of the concordance line, the woman invoked in this clause is

Sally Ride—the first American woman in space, who is represented by specification and individualization realized by nomination as a rhetorical exemplum of women capable of attaining accomplishments and also as an allusion and implicature that Clinton can be the first woman in the White House. The whole clause is a rhetorical question meant to assert the achievements of these women. The persistence and courageous of Ride are further represented by the negated *give up* and the temporal dependent clause *when women were told they didn't have the "right stuff" to become astronauts?* Interestingly, the sententia involved in ‘right stuff’ is an implicature of being male which is presumably the only qualification that these women were lacking in order to go into space. The following two instances are used by Clinton in the same concordance line:

*I had **told** countless **women** that they should compete. I had encouraged them in athletics and academics and even seeking electoral office. I had raised money for women running for office; I had spoken for them; I had done everything to support them*

*Now here was this young **woman telling** me what I had told so many others before.*

In the former, women are represented by aggregation which is realized by the use of the premodifier *countless*. Furthermore, they are passivated by participation as Receiver where Clinton is activated as Sayer. Interestingly, in the latter clause, the young woman is activated as a Sayer in the verbal process whereas Clinton is passivated as Receiver. Taking the two clauses together, a circle of power is created by Clinton where Clinton herself is represented as powerful, that is, she is the one advising and telling countless women that they should compete, then the young woman is circularly given power, that is, she is now the one who is telling Clinton that she should compete. All in all, the collocate TELL contributes towards a representation of women as socially oppressed, but also as professionally distinguished, and of Clinton as a women’s advisor.

In nearly 70% of occurrence dedicated to the collocate SUPPORT, women are passivated either by participation, e.g. *That means especially beyond our borders, that anything we can do to promote and **support women** assuming responsibility for their own lives and playing a role in their larger society has to be one of our highest priorities*, or by circumstantialization, e.g. *now I assume I will have one hundred percent support from the Republicans who care deeply about **supporting pregnant women** and their families*. In the former case, delivered at the Inaugural Doherty-Granoff Forum on Women Leaders at Brown University on the 8th of April 2006, Clinton refers to the endeavors of women leaders to help and sustain women

around the world in order to be active agents in their own lives as well as their societies. Thus, by the inclusive *we*, Clinton marks her affiliation to women in general and women leaders in particular. This clause, then, contributes towards the representation of women as supporting other women, on the one hand, and also towards the representation of women as in need of sustaining and support. The remaining cases are devoted to both men and women as in: *Finally, let's get real about **supporting** the working **men and women** of this country again.*

The collocate FACE in all its occurrences is used to refer to the difficult conditions that women experience. In all instances, women as social actors are activated as Actor in the material process of facing, as in: *But it's also true that the higher you go up in the ranks, the thinner it becomes, whether it's business, or law, or politics, or other fields. **Women** still **face** a lot of barriers, some visible, some invisible. In 2008 it's really important we recommit ourselves to making sure that our daughters and our sons have an equal chance to lead and serve in the future.* In this clause, delivered in her speech on Mother's Day on the 11th of May 2008, Clinton uses allusion in order to rhetorically depict the hardships that women face the professional level, that is, the higher women get on the professional ladder, the more hardships and barriers they face, and consequently, the lower number of women in these positions. In another clause, Clinton speaks of Bachelet, the president of Chile as a rhetorical exemplum of women who face the challenges imposed on them: *Think of Michelle Bachelet, recently inaugurated as the president of Chile. A **woman** who **faced** not only personal risk but saw her father killed by the military government and to go into exile, returned and became a political activist and worked not only on behalf of her values.* Bachelet is both specified by the use of a singular form and an indefinite article and individualized by nomination. Though represented as encountering barriers and challenges, the semantic preference and the metaphorical use inherent in *face* itself positively represent women's assertiveness and resoluteness. In a rather negative representation, FACE is used nominally in: *And even in our own country today, **women** are now the **face** of AIDS,* where *women* is activated as Identified in an intensive identifying relational process suggesting close association between women and AIDS. The metaphorical use of face, as the most noticeable and salient part of the body further aggravates the association. FACE is thus used collocationally with WOMAN to positively represent women as powerful and determined agents and negatively as closely related to a disease.

The collocate TRY co-occurs with WOMAN in different contexts and structures. In the following clause, *I saw in so many different settings around the world what happens when*

governments try to control a woman's reproductive health decisions, *woman* is represented by genericization realized through singularity and the use of an indefinite article, referring to women in these countries in general. *Woman* is here passivated by participation, but activated by possessivation. The semantic preference of *try*, which suggests attempting but not necessarily succeeding, mitigates the power invested in the social actor *governments* by activation. Raising the issue of equal pay, Clinton argues: *Right now when women try to find out if they are being treated fairly by asking around about what others get paid, they can get in trouble or even be fired*. Again, though women are activated by participation, the semantic preference of *try* mitigates the power that should be allocated to women functionally—this is further stressed by the use of the passive voice in *if they are being treated fairly* which positions women as intensely subjected to and influenced by the process. In an interesting clause, Clinton addresses the problem of the use of florescent bulbs: *And you know the big problem with florescent bulbs is that too many women tried on bathing suites in front of too many mirrors. And we don't like that color light*. Extending the stretch of that concordance line and also examining the whole speech, delivered on 24th of July 2007, in Portsmouth, New Hampshire on the Green Building Fund, no reference to men in the same context could be found. Clinton here maintains a stereotypical ideological representation of women as keen on their looks and wardrobe options.

In all its instances of the collocate BECOME, Clinton is referring to the accomplishments made by women in many respects, or to their struggle against unequal payment, as in the following clause where she speaks of Lilly Ledbetter: *She became a supervisor- the only woman to become a supervisor and year after year she did the same work that all of the male supervisors did*. In nearly 40% of cases reference is made to both herself as a woman and to Obama as an African-American, e.g. *Because of them and because of you, children today will grow up taking for granted that an African-American or a woman can, yes, become the president of the United States*, or intersectionally in order to refer to black women, e.g. *think about Wangari Maathai who became the first African woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize for her work fighting deforestation and promoting sustainable development*. BECOME is also used in reference to the changing position of women worldwide as their rights becoming human rights. All in all, BECOME contributes towards a representation of women as professionally efficient agents.

To summarize the findings of the present section, it should be noted that verbal collocates are most fruitful when examining gender representations. The collocate WORK in most of its

occurrences contributes towards a representation of women as activated and aggregated. Moreover, gender is represented as intersecting with race to highlight women of colour as being doubly oppressed. In 60% of cases where VOTE collocates with WOMAN, the pattern *women could vote* is maintained; women are entirely genericized while equally activated and passivated. 80% of cases dedicated to the collocate SERVE relate to men and women in uniform; in the rest of cases women are activated and genericized. In 95% of instances COULD is used as a modal in relation to women's voting rights where women are entirely activated and genericized. In 55% of GRANT instances, the pattern *my generation grew up taken for granted that women could vote* prevails, i.e. women here are activated and genericized. In the rest of cases, Clinton invokes gender and race when referring to herself and Obama as presidential candidates. In the context of addressing voting rights also, the collocate TAKE is used in 80% of its occurrences where women are mostly passivated and entirely genericized. In the same vein, SEE is also used in relation to women's voting prerogative where women are activated and genericized in nearly 70% of its occurrences. RUN is totally dedicated to a self-representation of Clinton as a woman efficiently capable of becoming a president. STAND is mostly used referring to women in an activated and genericized sense, while WEAR is mostly used in reference to men and women in uniform.

The collocate DID is used equally to represent women as activated and passivated, on the one hand, and as genericized and aggregated, on the other. In 50% of cases where CONTINUE collocates with WOMAN, the pattern *when women continue to be raped [...], trafficked [...], denied [...]*, is preserved. In all cases women are passivated and genericized. In all cases of the collocational CAST, Clinton refers to women's struggle for their voting rights where women are mostly activated and genericized. In 40% of cases devoted to GET, reference is made to men and women, while in all instances, woman are activated and genericized. In 60% of FIGHT instances, Clinton preserves the progressive form fighting, indicating continuity and duration where activation is assigned either to Clinton as fighting for women's rights or to women as fighting for their rights. In all instances of MEET, Clinton is activated while women are passivated; NAME in all its instances is used in celebration of women's courage and struggle; in most cases women are represented through activation and nomination. HAVE is used in 82% of its instances as an auxiliary; in the rest of cases women are mostly activated and specified. The collocate SIGN is almost entirely used in relation to men and women in uniform, while THINK is used in 25% in the same way. In the rest of cases women are passivated alternatively by specification and genericization. In 25% of cases where MEAN

collocates with WOMAN Clinton addresses her gender as a woman running for presidency, while in 50% of cases the necessity of women's participation in decision-making is discussed (the rest are diminishing returns). In all cases of AFFECT and GRAB women's unfavourable conditions are highlighted. As for TELL, women are mostly nominated and specified while being passivated, while in 70% of cases dedicated to SUPPORT women are also passivated while being mostly genericized. The rest of cases are devoted to the reference of men and women in uniform. In all instances of FACE women are activated and mostly genericized. In 40% of cases where BECOME collocates with WOMAN, Clinton addresses gender and race by referring to herself as a woman and to Obama as an African-American running for presidency. Moreover, she intersects gender and race by addressing the topic of the first African-American woman to win the Nobel Prize.

Verbal collocates contribute towards different gender representations in relation to WOMAN in Clinton's sub-corpus: women as powerful and efficient agents (WEAR, DID, GET, NAME, TELL and BECOME), women as fighting against differentiating social parameters for profession (DID, CAST, FIGHT and GET), women as supporting other women (CAST, NAME, TELL and SUPPORT), women as self-oppressors (DID, VOTE and WORK), women as in need of support and tutoring (DID and SUPPORT), women as oppressed and disempowered nationally and worldwide (GET and CONTINUE) and women as primarily responsible for children (DID and GET). In the verbal collocates, Clinton also creates an intra-group distinction of women based on financial status. Clinton reserves a self-presentation as a women's defender and protector through the collocates MEET and TELL. Her affiliation to the gender of women is also preserved through the use of the inclusive *we* and the explicit self-reference. Thus, Clinton is continually projecting a gender identity based on her being a woman. Clinton also represents herself stereotypically as a wife who had to quit her career when her husband assumed a high position.

Four stereotypical representations of women are maintained by the verbal collocates as well: first, women as the main caretaker for children; second, in the same vein, mothers as fundamentally responsible for their children; third, women as outsiders of the male-dominant arena of politics; and fourth, women as keen on their looks and wardrobe choices. However, a progressive representation is also introduced by Clinton in relation to the restricting wardrobe options that women politician were expected to adhere to in the 1980s. The aim is to mark the progression achieved by female politicians from being forced even in the personal aspect of costume choice to assuming high ranked political positions. Clinton, thus, contributes towards

a self-representation as a non-traditional progressive woman, revealing the stereotypical social practices and highlighting the leap achieved by women politicians.

5.8.2.3. Adjectival Collocates of WOMAN

The list of adjectival collocates on Clinton's part shares three collocates with Obama's adjectival collocates list: YOUNG, BRAVE and WORKING. In nearly 65% of concordances, Clinton uses YOUNG, like Obama, in reference to both men and women in different contexts: military, economic, social, etc. Rather than this collective use, YOUNG is used to premodify women in different instances: women in unprivileged conditions, e.g. *I think it's morally wrong in our country, a **young woman** and her baby died because she didn't have health insurance*, women supporting Clinton as a presidential candidate, e.g. *So I leave you today with a Mother's Day message I received a few days ago from a 23 year old **young woman** in Kentucky: "Happy Mother's Day," She wrote, "Hopefully I will be wishing you one next year as president*, or women who have ambition and potential, e.g. *She's a motivated, obviously ambitious **young woman** who's done well*, speaking of Ashley the young girl who aspires to go to college but have hardships financing her study. In the following instance, Clinton passes her experience as a working mother to women who cannot achieve a family/work balance: *To the **young women** who often come up to me after I finish speaking and ask how I balance a family and work. Now I've been fortunate to have so much support as a working mother, but I understand what it means to be pulled in a million directions at once.*

The collocate BRAVE is almost entirely used to premodify men and women in the uniform, or men and women practicing social work and civil rights movements. HUMAN in all its occurrences is devoted to the notion of women's rights as human rights (to avoid diminishing returns, see the discussion of the collocate RIGHT). As explained before concerning WORKING as an adjectival collocate of WOMAN in Obama's corpus, premodifying women by *working* generally indicates that women's work is an additive, non-naturalized, non-essential attribute, which sustains stereotypical representations of women. Moreover, it suggests that what women do in the domestic sphere is not a kind of 'work' as well. Clinton uses the same collocate, albeit in half the frequency that Obama uses it. Additionally, her use of *working woman* is accompanied by *working man*, except for one case. Thus, in 70% of cases, *working* premodifies both men and women as in: *Finally, let's get real about supporting the **working men and women** of this country again*. Men and women are also premodified by *working* separately but in the same context, as in: *Does some hard working*

*man, who has given his all to his job and has seen it moved offshore, feel like he has any hope left? Some **working woman** who gets up at the crack of dawn and works as hard as she can, ever get equal pay for equal work? These are the kinds of concerns and issues that I care about.*

In nearly 30% of the collocation cases, which is the part dedicated only to women to the exclusion of men, women are represented as hard, efficient and diligent workers in the USA and around the world, e.g. *I remember once driving through Africa on a bus with a group of distinguished experts and in field after field and marketplace after marketplace we saw **women working**, women working hard, carrying firewood, carrying water, selling their products in the villages* (to avoid diminishing returns, see the discussion of the collocates WOMAN, WORK and SEE). Working women are mentioned in most cases in relation to unequal payment issue as in: ***Working women** stand to lose a quarter of a million dollars over the course of their careers because of unequal pay practices. And this is a problem for women no matter where we work.* In such cases, though women are activated, the negative semantic preference of the verb *lose* represents them as oppressed and powerless.

The collocate AFRICAN is particularly interesting since it would supposedly indicate how gender and race intersect in Clinton's representations of women. However, in 60% of cases where AFRICAN and WOMAN co-occur, Clinton refers to her identity as a woman and to Obama's identity as an African-American in the presidential race: *How many of you ever dreamed you'd see the day when a **woman** and an **African** American were running for Presidency of the United States of America?* In other instances, she speaks of the importance of voting in endowing different social groups with equality: *It is through that vote that **women**, **African** American, Latinos and so many others have claimed their rights as full and equal citizens.* Representing these groups by association puts them on equal footing as underprivileged groups. In this respect, women are made equal to people of colour. The only instance where AFRICAN is used as a premodifier of WOMAN comes in the context of addressing the problems of women and minorities in science: *one of my favorite people is the president of RPI in New York who previously was the head of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission. She's the first or the second **African** American **woman** to receive a PhD in nuclear physics.* Here, *woman* is represented by specification and nomination; moreover, she is activated as Identified in a relational intensive identifying process. In the following clause, Clinton intersects gender and race once again; women of colour generally are represented as doubly oppressed in relation to equal pay issue, once for being women and once for being

coloured: *Women who work full time year round earn just 77 cents for every dollar that a man makes. And for women of color it's even less. Sixty-seven cents for **African American women** for every dollar a man makes. And just 56 cents for Latinas.*

In 50% of cases where SINGLE collocates with WOMAN, Clinton refers to the patterns of *man, woman and child* as a reference to all American people, e.g. *I see an America where we don't just provide health care for some people, or most people, but for every **single man, woman and child** in this country - no one left out.* In the other 50% Clinton refers to unequal pay issue and how it affects women, especially single women: *Think about how it affects women, particularly **single women**. Women who work full-time are likely to have on the same level as their male counterparts a retirement plan.* Avoiding diminishing returns, the collocate AMERICAN is used in an aggregated sense as in the following clause where women are aggregated by the use of the numerative: *seven percent of **American women** who do not use contraception account for roughly one-half of all unintended pregnancies.* The collocate UNREMARKABLE in all its instances refers to Clinton's achievement as a presidential candidate which made it quite normal for other woman to repeat the same accomplishment: *You can be so proud that, from now on, it will be **unremarkable** for a **woman** to win primary state victories **unremarkable** to have a **woman** in a close race to be our nominee, **unremarkable** to think that a **woman** can be the president of the United States.*

The collocate GAY in all its instances is used in association with WOMAN as a group. In all cases the same structure, where women and gays are activated in possession to their rights, is maintained: *We all want an America defined by deep and meaningful equality, from civil rights to labor rights, from **women's** rights to **gay** rights, from ending discrimination to promoting unionization, to providing help for the most important job there is: caring for our families.* Here, both groups are represented as discriminated by association. Avoiding diminishing returns, the following instance of the collocate SAME is particularly interesting: *When we first started, people everywhere asked the **same** questions. Could a **woman** really serve as commander-in-chief? Well, I think we answered that one. Could an African-American really be our president? And Senator Obama has answered that one. Together, Senator Obama and I achieved milestones essential to our progress as a nation, part of our perpetual duty to form a more perfect union.*

Taken from Clinton's speech on Obama's endorsement, the use of *same* here indicates the repetitiveness of questions which suggests the non-normality of Obama's and Clinton's

positions as presidential candidates, Obama for being an African-American and Clinton for being a woman. The use of the highly mitigating modal *could* indicates deep doubt. Avoiding many diminishing returns, the collocate SURE comes in the context of addressing discrimination against women and people of colour: *I believe we have to shine a bright light on any discrimination, whether it be against people of color or against **women** and make **sure** that we truly fulfill our laws, not just by the letter but by the spirit.* Both groups are passivated by circumstantialization and thus, rendered powerless. Though the adjectival collocate WHITE would intuitively be taken as referring to race, concordance line search shows that WOMAN collocates equally with both WHITE and HOUSE as a proper name, as in: *And they're hopeful of seeing a **woman** in the **White House**,* and also in: *I've meet a lot of women in their nineties who've told me they were born before women could vote, and they want to live long enough to see a **woman** in the **White House**.* In all instances, *woman* is passivated by participation as a Phenomenon in a mental process. Moreover, it is represented by specification realized through singularity and the indefinite article—the specification is rhetorically meant by Clinton as an allusion to herself as a potential president of the USA.

The collocate OLD is also interesting to examine. In 80% of cases, Clinton is referring to women in relation to their age. Here, she seems to raise an identification of women based of a classification of age, as in: *I met a 70 year **old women** who was caring, a 75 year **old woman** who was caring for her 55-year old daughter who had a serious car accident and her 95 year old mother.* The chain of power is once again created; Clinton is activated as Actor in relation to the old woman who is in her turn activated as Actor in relation to her daughter. In the following case, Clinton uses a stereotypical belief about women in order to criticize Bush's administration and also to refute that stereotypical cliché:

*We borrow \$60 billion a month from China, Japan, Saudi Arabia and other countries to cover the costs of our debt and our deficit. You know the **old** stereotype said that **women** couldn't do math. Now we know that Congress can't add or subtract. It's also true that this administration is resistant to basic research and scientific evidence.*

The use of numeratives throughout the whole stretch of concordance lines is meant as a legitimizing strategy to prove her own point of view, namely that Bush's administration cannot handle numbers while she can. Though women are activated as Actor, the negation involved positions them passively. Clinton's legitimizing strategy along with the ironical tone invested in her comparison between herself and Bush's administration in the context of the stereotypical belief, however, turns the situation once again in favour of women.

All in all, the adjectival collocates of WOMAN in Clinton's sub-corpus contribute towards different representations: women as powerful and potent agent, women as socially and professionally oppressed and marginalized and women of colour as more oppressed and marginalized. In nearly 65% of cases dedicated to YOUNG, reference is made to men and women in the military or in economic and social context. The cases devoted to women per se are either related to women's unfavourable conditions or their potentials and ambition. While the collocate BRAVE is entirely used to refer to men and women in uniform, HUMAN is used entirely to refer to the notion of women's rights as human rights. Though the collocate WORKING would normally represent women's working as additively non-essential, the juxtaposition of *working women* to *working men* in 70% of cases mitigates this representation; in most cases women are activated. In 60% of cases where AFRICAN collocates with WOMAN, Clinton refers to her gender identity as a woman in vicinity to Obama's racial identity as an African-American running for presidency. The collocation of AFRICAN and WOMAN is also realized by raising the issue of oppressed groups by association. In two cases Clinton intersects gender and race in addressing the problems that women and minorities face in the scientific field. In 50% of cases dedicated to SINGLE, the pattern *man, woman and child* prevails, while in the rest of cases, women are mostly passivated and genericized. UNREMARKABLE is used entirely in reference to the normalization of women as presidential candidates—a process that Clinton represents as achieved due to her endeavors in this respect. GAY in all its instances is represented in association with WOMAN as oppressed groups, whereas SURE marks the discrimination against women and people of colour where both groups are passivated. In 80% of cases dedicated to the collocate OLD, Clinton identifies women based on age classification. Interestingly, a stereotypical belief is introduced by Clinton when she ironically argues that contrary to the widespread belief that women cannot do math, she could do it in order to uncover the financial errors made by Bush's administration.

5.8.3. Collocates of MAN in Obama's Speeches

5.8.3.1. Nominal Collocates of MAN

The node word MAN, which occurs 298 times in Obama's sub-corpus, collocates with WOMAN, as formerly illustrated, as a means of pluralization. Moreover, there are different collocates which co-occur with the syntactic unit *men and women*, e.g. *And there is no responsibility greater than keeping **faith** with the **men and women** who serve, so that our*

country serves them as well as you have served us, though they do not appear as collocates of WOMAN on Obama's side, namely collocates like FAITH, UNIFORM and SERVICE. In the majority of these concordances, reference is made to men and women in the uniform, indicating the soldiers in the American army. In this case, these collocates contribute towards a representation of both men and women as equal people with strength and commitment (see the analysis of the collocates MAN, SERVICE and UNIFORM as collocates of the node word WOMAN in Obama's sub-corpus).

The collocate PLACE also, in 20% of cases where it collocates with MAN, comes in reference with men and women in service, e.g. *We cannot expect Americans to support **placing** our **men** and women in harm's way if we cannot prove that we will use force wisely and judiciously*. The remaining cases are dedicated to the instance where Obama refers to one of Abraham Lincoln's sayings, namely: *Abraham Lincoln once said, "I like to see a **man** proud of the **place** in which he lives. But I also like to see a man live so that his place will be proud of him*. Presumably, MAN is used here in a generic sense, referring to both men and women. The collocate MOON is used entirely within the same context and the same structure: *In the face of Depression, we put people back to work and lifted millions out of poverty. We welcomed immigrants to our shores, we opened railroads to the west, we landed a **man** on the **moon**, and we heard a King's call to let justice roll down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream*. In all these instances, *man* is represented by specification which is realized through the use of singular form and an indefinite article. Moreover, *man* is passivated by participation as Goal in the material process of landing. Thus, the inclusive *we*, presumably referring to the American nation, is activated as Actor. The exclusive use of MAN in relation to landing on the moon is notable, though. Obama's exclusive use of *man* to the exclusion of *woman* could be argued on the ground that actually no woman has landed on the moon till now. However, whereas Clinton invokes the story of Sally Ride as the first American woman to be launched into space in 1983, Obama only refers to Neil Armstrong who was the first man to land on the moon in 1969.

The collocate PENNSYLVANIA is used entirely within the same incident and in nearly the same structure, that is, *That's why I'm running for President. The **man** I met in **Pennsylvania** who lost his job but can't even afford the gas to drive around and look for a new one*. In all these instances, the man is specified as a rhetorical exemplum of men facing difficult financial situations in the USA. Passivated by beneficialization, the man is represented as socially

disempowered. GLASS co-occurs with MAN entirely in these two structures: the first is, *But it also means binding our particular grievances - for better health care, and better schools, and better jobs - to the larger aspirations of all Americans -- the white woman struggling to break the **glass** ceiling, the white **man** whose been laid off, the immigrant trying to feed his family*. Interestingly, Obama intersects gender and race in addressing economic hardships that men and women face. First, he speaks of the *white woman* who struggles to achieve equal payment—breaking the glass ceiling.³¹ Then, he also intersects gender and race when he speaks of the *white man* who lost his job. However, in addressing the financial issues of immigrants, he resorts to ethnicity without invoking gender. In these instances, the social actors *woman*, *man* and *immigrant* are represented by genericization realized by singularity without an article—the reference in this case is to all women, men and immigrants in the same situation. *White woman* and *immigrant* are activated as Actor in the processes of struggling and trying respectively. However, *white man* is passivated by the use of passive voice which intensifies the subjection to the verb.

The second dominant structure pertinent to GLASS as a collocate of MAN is: *I saw my grandmother, who helped raise me, work her way up from a secretary at a bank to become one of the first women bank vice presidents in the state. But I also saw how she ultimately hit a **glass** ceiling – how **men** no more qualified than she was kept moving up the corporate ladder ahead of her*. In this instance, Obama mentions the glass ceiling in connection to his grandmother who was over trodden by men. In this sense, men are spoken of only in comparison with the unfavourable conditions that women face. Men are, hence, activated by participation. The use of *kept* which has a semantic preference for continuity also contributes towards a representation of men as powerful and with better promotion opportunities.

In 60% of cases where PRISON collocates with MAN, reference is again made to race as intersecting with gender, e.g. *If we have more black **men** in **prison** than are in our colleges and universities, then it's time to take the bullet out*. The inclusive *we* is meant to refer to the American nation which is activated as Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process; black men are passivated by participation as Attribute. Here, black men are represented as highly negatively disempowered and inferior, and even criminal. The comparison invoked

³¹ <http://www.dol.gov/> The glass ceiling is a political term used to refer to “the unseen, yet unbreachable barrier that keeps minorities and women from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements” (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995: 4).

between the rates of black men in prisons and colleges further enhances the depiction of the unfavourable conditions of black men in the USA. Obama, however, calls for changing this condition by using the metaphorical expression *take the bullet out* referring to the temporal suitability of effecting change. In the following clause, Obama refers to Thurgood Marshall who was the first African-American justice in the USA Court. Before being a justice, Marshall was a lawyer most famous for his victory before the Supreme Court in the cause of *Brown v. Board of Education* leading to the decision of desegregated public schools—segregation was implemented in the USA on the basis of race: *Thurgood Marshall did not argue Brown so that we would accept a country where too many African-American men end up in prison because we'd rather spend more to jail a 25-year-old than to educate a five-year-old*. Here, Obama maintains the intersection of gender and race. *African-American men* are represented as aggregated—by the use of the frequency modal *many* and the adverb *too* indicating vastness, and classified—by the use of the premodifier *African-American*. Though African-American men are activated as Carrier in a relational circumstantial attributive process, the semantic preference that the locus *prison* has contradicts the empowerment involved in activation. The same unfavourable representation of black men is thus maintained.

In another instance, discussing the expansion of federal programs that help ex-offenders by signing the Second Chance Act into law, Obama also passivates men as being kept out of prison: *We know that supporting ex-offenders and their families keeps our men out of prison*. *Men* is represented here by genericization realized through plurality. Even after stretching the concordance line and examining the whole speech, race was not found to be addressed in this instance. The use of the inclusive *our* in this sense is also meant to refer to the American people and not the black community. FAMILY collocates with MAN in 80% of cases in the same context and structure that follows; the remaining cases are diminishing returns: *But the one question I'd get from people more than any other was, "You seem like a nice young man. You've done all this great work. You've been a community organizer, and you teach law school, you're a civil rights attorney, you're a family man - why would you wanna go into something dirty and nasty like politics?" And I understand the question, and the cynicism. We all understand it. We understand it because we've all seen that politics in this town is no longer a mission - it's a business*. Obama rhetorically uses sententia intertextually by reciting other people's point of view in order to introduce his own stance, that is, that his aim is not to 'play politics' but to effect genuine change that the American people would benefit from. The voice of people is represented paratactically by anaphora. Enumeratio is also involved

whereby Obama represents a positive image of himself. Moreover, in *you're a family man*, Obama is activated as Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process indicating close association and contributing towards a representation of Obama as devoted to his family.

In 80% of cases where ABILITY collocates with MAN, the following dominant pattern is maintained: *It makes a difference when a father realizes that responsibility does not end at conception; when he understands that what makes you a **man** is not the **ability** to have a child but the courage to raise one.* Here, Obama introduces two gender-related identification of males: the first is relational identification presented by the use of *father*, while the second is classification presented by the use of *man*. Represented hypotactically and in a genericized sense, *father* is activated as Senser in two mental processes: realizing and understanding, representing fathers as involved in taking care of their children—without identifying to what degree the involvement should be. Moreover, Obama uses *you* in *what makes you a man is not the ability to have a child but the courage to raise one* to mark involvement. The remaining cases are dedicated to instances where men and women are used collectively in relation to military action, e.g. *A 21st century military will also require us to invest in our **men** and women's **ability** to succeed in today's complicated conflicts.* In 80% of its occurrences, CHILD co-occurs with MAN as a part of the syntactic unit *man, woman and child*, e.g. *They distort Islam. They kill **man**, woman and **child**; Christian and Hindu, Jew and Muslim.* The remaining cases are diminishing returns.

FAITH also collocates with MAN. In 60% of the corresponding concordance lines, both men and women are referred to, e.g. *But all of it came about because ordinary **men** and women had **faith** that here in America, our imperfect dream could be perfected.* The remaining cases correspond to the following two structures: *The man I met more than twenty years ago is a **man** who helped introduce me to my Christian **faith**, a man who spoke to me about our obligations to love one another; to care for the sick and lift up the poor.* The man talked about is represented by specification which is realized through singularity and the use of an indefinite article. The man helped Obama—and is thus activated, to become a devoted Christian. In this sense, the representation worked out here relates to Obama as a true Christian. In his speech about cutting costs and health care system in the University of Iowa on the 29th of May 2007, the second structure in the context of which FAITH is used occurs. Obama speaks of the moment that President Lyndon Johnson signed the Medicare bill, *President Johnson looked out at the crowd and said, "History shapes men, but it is a*

necessary *faith* of leadership that **men** can help shape history." Never forget that we have it within our power to shape history in this country. Significantly, men, to the exclusion of women, are mentioned and recited as agentive in the process of history change. *Faith* is circumstantially postmodified by *of leadership*; men are activated as Actor. Possibly, men could be argued to be used generically in order to refer to both men and women; however, the generic use in this sense involves gender bias on the part of Obama.

In all its occurrences, LAW substitutes men as a source of ruling the country. Thus, LAW as a collocate of MAN occurs in the following dominant structure: *They serve and fight and bleed together out of loyalty not just to a place on a map or a certain kind of people, but to a set of ideals, the idea that America could be governed not by **men**, but by **laws***. Though men are activated as Actor in the passive voice form *America could be governed not by men, but by laws*, the use of the negative shifts the activation from men to laws. *Men* can be arguably used here in a generic sense which would collectively refer to men and women. The collocate MCCAIN is used in different arguments related to both women issues and foreign policy, but all identifying McCain as an honorable man, e.g. *Now Senator **McCain** is an honorable **man**, and we respect his service. But when you look at our records and our plans on issues that matter to working women, the choice could not be clearer. It starts with equal pay. 62 percent of working women in America earn half – or more than half – of their family's income. But women still earn only 77 cents for every dollar earned by men*. Extending the stretch of concordance line, Obama is found to use the clause *Senator McCain is an honorable man* as an apophasis, that is, the use of an argument with the aim of denying it. Obama then uses McCain's stance on women's equal pay issue in order to discredit him and represent him as a women's opponent.

80% of cases where MILLION collocates with MAN, both men and women are referred to in different contexts. Of these cases the following instance is particularly significant: *Harry S. Truman, who sat in the White House during his final days in office and said in his Farewell Address: "When Franklin Roosevelt died, I felt there must be a **million men** better qualified than I, to take up the Presidential task. But through all of it, through all the years I have worked here in this room, I have been well aware that I did not really work alone – that you were working with me*. Again, Obama uses Truman's saying intertextually as a rhetorical sententia; President Truman, succeeding presidency in 1945, believed that there are *a million men* better than him who could be president. *Men* is activated, as Existent in an existential

process, and aggregated through the use of the numerative *million*, indicating vastness. Again, the exclusive use of *men* as potential presidents, even millions of them, to the exclusion of women is indicative. The genericness-versus-gender bias argument holds again. The remaining cases of MILLION are diminishing returns. COUNTRY collocates with MEN in two cases: first, in *Too many of those who opposed the war in Vietnam chose to blame not only the leaders who ordered the mission, but the young men who simply answered their country's call*. Premodified by *young*, *men* is passivated by participation as Phenomenon in a mental process. In the second clause, Obama uses *a young man from Illinois who [...]* as an implicature realized by flouting the maxim of quantity—the implicature refers to Abraham Lincoln: *This country where a young man from Illinois who failed at so many of the business and political ventures he attempted still went on to become the president who freed a people and saved a union*. *Man* is here activated in failing, attempting and going on, representing Lincoln as a persistent and resolved man.

To précis the findings of investigating the collocates of MAN in Obama's sub-corpus, different collocates are used mostly in reference to both men and women, e.g. SERVICE, UNIFORM and FAITH. The collocate PLACE is used in the context of a generic sense which is considered a type of gender bias, whereas both MOON and PENNSYLVANIA are used to represent men in a passivated and specific sense. Obama intersects gender and race while addressing economic difficulties that white men and women face. In relation to GLASS, men are activated and genericized. In 60% of cases where PRISON collocates with MAN, Obama intersects gender and race in reference to black men as equally passivated and activated while being alternatively genericized and aggregated. The collocate ABILITY in 80% of its occurrences is dedicated to cases where men are activated and genericized. Moreover, Obama invokes two gender-related identities of *fathers* and *men*. In 80% of CHILD collocational cases, the pattern *man, woman and child* is maintained. FAITH is mostly used in relation to men and women in uniform; the remaining cases are dedicated to instances where men are represented by activation and specification. The religious aspect of Obama's identity is also projected where a self-representation of Obama as a devoted Christian is worked out. Moreover, FAITH involves a gender bias communicated through the generic use of men as leaders—the same bias is maintained through the collocate LAW. In relation to MILLION, men are entirely aggregated and mostly activated while also involving a gender bias enacted through the generic use of *men*. Different representations of men are worked out through the nominal collocates of MAN: men as financially disempowered (PENNSYLVANIA and

GLASS), men as professionally more privileged than women (GLASS), men as prisoners and offenders (PRISON), black men as disempowered, disadvantaged and inferior (PRISON), men as *involved* in childcare (ABILITY) and men as leaders (MILLION and FAITH). Obama also explicitly projects an identity as a family man and a faithful Christian.

5.8.3.2. Verbal Collocates of MAN

As for verbal collocates, HONOUR is entirely dedicated to men and women in uniform, e.g. *we honor the brave men and women who are serving this nation in Iraq, Afghanistan, and around the world*. The verb collocate SERVE, in 80% of its concordances—though appearing in an advanced position of the collocation list for both MAN and WOMAN in Obama's corpus, collocates with each differently. With WOMAN, it occurs solely in reference to the syntactic unit of men and women. However, with MAN, in nearly 20% of the cases, reference is made to MAN activated as Actor in the following two examples: *He is a man who served his country as a U.S. Marine*, and *John McCain, a man who has served this country heroically*. Interestingly, Obama again addresses American soldiers by raising their racial identities, e.g. *And we can finally start serving our brave Latino fighting men and women and all our soldiers as well as they are serving us*. Avoiding diminishing returns, the collocate MEET co-occurs with MAN in 30% of its occurrences in relation to both men and women in different contexts. In more than 40% the following structure dominates: *We're here because of the young man I met in Youngsville, North Carolina who almost lost his home because he has three children with cystic fibrosis and couldn't pay their medical bills*. Recounting the story of the old man who advised Obama to drop the community organizing business he started, arguing that Obama cannot change the world, Obama dedicates the rest of collocate: *I remember having a conversation with an older man I had met before I arrived in Chicago*. In all these cases, Obama is activated as Actor in the process of meeting while the other men are passivated. Obama is, then, allocated a powerful role.

The collocate NAME occurs exclusive in the past participle case as a postmodifier of different proper nouns. Mostly, in using NAME, reference is made to men, including Obama himself, in a laudatory sense. Moreover, in all cases, *man* is represented by nomination through the use of proper nouns. In cases where Obama uses NAME to refer to himself, racial and ethnical dimensions of identity are invoked, e.g. *I would not be on this stage today if the promise of America had not brought my father across an ocean. I would not be on this stage if generations of Americans had not fought before me so that the American dream could be*

*extended to a **man named Barack Obama**. Though explicit reference to ethnicity—through the use of Kenya, for instance—is not made, Obama’s use of his father’s crossing the ocean is an allusion to his origins as a Kenyan man. Furthermore, Obama is ascribing his candidacy for presidency as a result of the American receptiveness, openness and struggle for people of different races and ethnicities. A man named Barack Obama is passivated by beneficialization, whereas activation goes to the omitted generations of Americans. In the following instance, the racial identity of Obama is explicitly resorted to through the use of **black**: Thurgood Marshall huddled with the brilliant minds of his day to craft the arguments in *Brown v. Board* that ignited a movement that changed the world. And it is because of these victories that a black **man named Barack Obama** can stand before you today as a candidate for President of the United States of America.*

Speaking of a black Benedict College student who volunteered for the Obama campaign in South Carolina,³² Obama repeatedly connects the issue of race to the American dream: *Because they believe that the pursuit of happiness is not just a phrase in a declaration, but the founding promise of our country - a promise that sustained our parents and grandparents through war and depression, racial and social strife, heartache and hardship. It's a promise that sustains this generation still. The other day we heard from a young **man named Joshua Stroman** who's from right here in South Carolina. The collocate NAME appears also in Obama’s projection of his religious identity, referring to Jesus Christ, as in: *It was also there - at Trinity United Church of Christ on the South Side of Chicago - that I met Rev. Jeremiah A. Wright Jr., who took me on another journey and introduced me to a **man named Jesus Christ**. It was the best education I ever had.**

The race dimension persists in Obama’s use of the collocate NAME, as apparent in the following clause: *New Orleans is a city that has always shown America what is possible when we have the imagination to see the unseen, and the determination to work for it. It's a city where slaves met in Congo Square to raise their voices in improbable joy; and a young **man named Louis** from "back of town" played his first tunes. Obama refers to the famous African-American jazz singer, Louis Armstrong. The racial aspect also appears in the following clause where Obama recounts the way that workers and their families were beaten forty years ago as they demanded the right to organize with the aim of getting proper wages and protection from deadly pesticides: *And when a **man named Cesar Chavez** saw this**

³² Barack Obama’s official website: <http://my.barackobama.com/page/share/organizing> (last accessed on the 11th of November 2014)

injustice, he knew it wasn't right and so he went about organizing those workers. Cesar Chavez is a Mexican-American farm worker, civil rights activist and labor leader who co-founded National Farm Workers Association.³³ Rather than depicting social actors as in positions of power or lack of it, NAME contributes towards a representation of Obama's identity as based on race, ethnicity and religion. This is in accordance with the findings based on most frequent words and keywords analysis in the self-identity construction of Obama (see sections 5.2. & 5.3.).

Avoiding diminishing returns, the collocate PUT co-occurs with MAN in relation to Obama's discussion of The Harlem Children's Zone project, and thus, is also closely connected to the issue of race as appears in the following clause: *Dr. King once remarked that if we can find the money to **put a man** on the moon, then we can find the money to put a man on his own two feet* (see the analysis of the collocate MOON in Obama's corpus). LEAD, which occurs exclusively in the same structure in all its instances, is used to refer to both men and women in different contexts, e.g. *In the face of oppression, it's what **led** young **men** and women to sit at lunch counters and brave fire hoses and march through the streets of Selma and Montgomery for freedom's cause.* As for the verb collocate HAVE, in nearly 15% of the cases where it collocates with MAN, it is used as a main verb to indicate possession; in the rest of cases it functions as auxiliary in perfect formulas. In the following instance, by means of rhetorical sententia, Obama intertextually refers to Bush's misleading remarks in relation to the war in Iraq: *he said, "In the attacks on America a year ago, we saw the destructive intentions of our enemies." Then he talked about Saddam Hussein - a **man** who **had** nothing to do with 9/11.* Here, *man* is nominated by the use of a proper noun and activated as Carrier in a relational possessive attributive process. However, the semantic meaning of the Attribute *nothing* mitigates the activation of the Carrier. Again, reference is made to Obama's father and grandfather in the following clause: *His son, who grew up herding goats in a small village in Africa could suddenly set his sights a little higher and believe that maybe a **black man** in this world **had** a chance.* Premodified by *black*, *man* is used to refer to Obama's father who is activated also as Carrier.

30% of concordances where LEAVE collocates with MAN, the following structure and context are maintained: *these issues – equal pay, work/family balance, childcare – these are by no means just women's issues. When a job doesn't offer family **leave**, that also*

³³ American Public Broadcasting Service. <http://www.pbs.org/wnet/religionandethics/?p=11407> (last accessed on the 11th of November 2014)

hurts men who want to help care for a new baby or an ailing parent. As explicated earlier (see the analysis of WOMAN collocate HELP in Obama's corpus), men are passivated in relation to *hurting* but activated in relation to *wanting*. The semantic preference for *help* suggests that men's role in childcare is secondary (see also the analysis of MAN collocate ABILITY). In the following instance, Obama speaks of the American Revolution against the British Empire: *On a spring morning in April of 1775, a simple band of colonists – farmers and merchants, blacksmiths and printers, men and boys – left their homes and families in Lexington and Concord to take up arms against the tyranny of an Empire.* Males represented by both *men and boys* are activated as Actor in the material process of leaving their homes and families. The use of *families* in this context suggests that men went to war and left their *women* behind—a suggestion which sustains traditional and stereotypical representation of the roles of men and women.

The collocate WANT co-occurs with MAN mainly in reference to Obama himself as a man of unconventional political thinking as in the following instance: *If you want conventional Washington thinking, I'm not your man. If you think that fundamental change can wait, I'm definitely not your man.* *Man* is passivated both by possessivation and participation as Identifier in a relational intensive identifying process; both strategies put Obama as subjected to the will of the American people. In the following occurrence, Obama represents himself as a man with a different view of the world, even as a young man: *I looked at the world as a young man and I wanted to make a difference.* Represented by the first personal pronoun I, Obama activates himself as Senser in the mental process of wanting. MAKE collocates with both men and women in different concordances, one of which is an invocation of gender as well as race and religion divisions: *It's not just about making sure that men and women of every race, religion, and background are represented at every level of government - though that's a critical part of it.* In the following instance, *man* is represented generically, implicating Obama himself: *And I will stand up for you, and fight for you, and wake up every day thinking about how to make your lives better. But the truth is, one man cannot make a movement.* Obama here is appealing to the public sense of involvement since he cannot effect change alone; reference in this case is made to the voting process. The remaining cases are diminishing returns.

The collocate CAN is used in a variety of structures and contexts. Speaking of the obstacles for change, Obama raises the issue of race and how it is manipulated for the sake of gaining votes: *We can pounce on some gaffe by a Hillary supporter as evidence that she's playing the*

race card, or we **can** speculate on whether white **men** will all flock to John McCain in the general election regardless of his policies. Premodified by *white*, *men* is activated as Actor. However, it is difficult to judge if it is used generically to refer to both men and women or specifically to men. The reason is that mentioning Clinton in the clause activates a gender-based division which renders it hard to work out absolute conclusions. Discussing the hardships that African-American families encounter, Obama represents men as aggregated through the use of the frequency modal *many* indicating vastness in the following clause: *Without a job or an education, many black **men** simply **cannot** afford to raise a family - and too many have made the sad choice not to.* The negated auxiliary represents black men as disadvantageous. Referring to the healthcare system and Ted Kennedy's achievements in that respect, Obama activates *man* as Actor in the following clause—thus, representing one man as a high achiever: *And I have a feeling that Ted Kennedy is not done just yet. But surely, if one **man can** achieve so much and make such a difference in the lives of so many, then each of us can do our part.* Moreover, Obama again activates and represents himself as a man of the people in: *and there were those who said at the time, "Why are you running so soon? Why are you running this time? You're a relatively young **man**; you **can** afford to wait." And I had to explain to them I'm not running because of some long-held ambition.*

The collocate DO is used, in 60% of the cases as a main verb rather than an auxiliary, for example, speaking of Lilly Ledbetter, Obama passivates Ledbetter by participation and men by circumstantialization. However, men are activated in relation to doing the work: *Her problem was that her employer paid her less than **men** who were **doing** the exact same work.* In 20% of cases, the following structure and context is repeated: *people started coming up to me and telling me I should run for state Senate. So I did what every **man does** when he's faced with a big decision - I prayed, and I asked my wife.* Here, Obama is activated as Actor in doing what every man does when he encounters an important decision, that is, praying and consulting his wife. Wife's role in this case is represented favourably as highly estimated. It should be noted that the concordances of the collocates SEE, HELP, SEEM and COULD are all diminishing returns.

All in all, the verbal collocates of MAN in Obama's sub-corpus contribute towards different representations: men as *involved* in childcare, men as war heroes, men as high achievers, and black men as disempowered, disadvantaged, inferior and discriminated against. Through verbal collocates, Obama projects different aspects of his identity as well: Obama as a faithful Christian, an African-American, and a man of unconventional thinking. Both HONOUR and

SERVE are mostly used to refer to men and women in uniform, where, in one case, Obama addresses the American soldiers by invoking racial identities. In 30% of cases where MEET collocates with MAN, Obama refers to men and women, while in 40% men are exclusively represented through specification and passivation. In all instances of NAME, men are represented by nomination while alternatively being passivated and activated. In this respect, Obama explicitly projects a racial and ethnical identity of himself or other black Americans through most concordances of NAME and PUT. LEAD is entirely used in reference to men and women, while HAVE, in 85% of its occurrences, is used as an auxiliary. In the rest of cases, men are mostly activated and nominated. Through the collocate MAKE, Obama invokes gender in relation to race and religion when addressing the representativeness of American people in government. Again, race is invoked in the context of the collocate CAN where the hardships that African-American families face are discussed. In this case, men are mostly activated and aggregated. A stereotypical representation of men is contributed by Obama where men and boys are traditionally represented as soldiers while women are represented as left behind at home.

5.8.3.3. Adjectival Collocates of MAN

YOUNG and BRAVE as Adjectival collocates of MAN collectively premodify *men and women*, as earlier indicated. As for the collocate OLD, all its occurrences are found to be diminishing returns. It should be noted, however, that although OLD is a common adjectival collocate of both MAN and WOMAN, it is used differently by Obama. Whereas OLD is used as a collocate of WOMAN to achieve pluralization, Obama uses it as a collocate of MAN in an individualized particularized sense. In nearly all cases of OLD as collocating with MAN in Obama's corpus, reference is made to particular instances of old men whom Obama met and had conversations with, e.g. *I can still remember a conversation I had with an **older man** all those years ago just before I left for Chicago*. Consequently, Obama is activating age as a defining factor of men's identity as he did with WOMAN.

BLACK collocates with MAN as a premodifier in all concordances where they co-occur, e.g. *That history helps explain the wealth and income gap between black and white, and the concentrated pockets of poverty that persists in so many of today's urban and rural communities. A lack of economic opportunity among **black men**, and the shame and frustration that came from not being able to provide for one's family, contributed to the erosion of black families*. Men are represented by genericization, classification and

intersectionality of gender and race. They are also passivated by circumstantialization and, hence, represented in unprivileged conditions. The same image is maintained in: *In urban areas, more than 50% of **black men** do not complete high school.* Men are represented by aggregation realized by the numerative, and passivation realized by negation. Referring to racial discrimination based on stereotypical convictions, Obama enumerates cases where people of colour are harassed because of their race or ethnicity: *it doesn't matter if the injustice involves a brown man who's badgered into proving his citizenship again and again or a **black man** who's pulled over because the car he's driving is too nice.* Here, *man* is represented generically through singularity and the use of indefinite article; *man* is also passivated through the passive voice which intensifies the subjection of social actors to the verb.

The story of Ashley Baia is recounted by Obama repetitively with the aim of advocating a reconciliatory stance about racial division and a better healthcare system. When Ashley was nine, her mother had cancer and they suffered several financial hardships until the mother got better. Ashley has been campaigning with Obama in order to make a difference concerning healthcare issues. Speaking of a black man who joined the campaign, Obama remarks: *He simply says to everyone in the room, "I am here because of Ashley." By itself, that single moment of recognition between that young white girl and that old **black man** is not enough.* In the following occurrence, Obama refers to the famous murdering of three civil rights activists, one African-American and two Jewish Americans, for their efforts to register black voters of Mississippi:³⁴ *Jewish and African Americans and Jewish Americans like Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner were willing to die alongside a **black man** – James Chaney – on behalf of freedom and equality.* The black man in this case is represented through nomination realized by the use of a proper name. By passivating *man* by circumstantialization, the injustice directed at black men is highlighted.

Affiliating himself to the group of black men, Obama describes the way he expressed his anger as similar to the way young men in general and black men in particular expressed their anger. Here, Obama intersects gender and race in constructing his identity at that time: *Back then I had a tendency, in my mother's words, to act a bit casual about my future. I rebelled, angry in the way that many young men in general, and young **black men** in particular, are*

³⁴ Official website of the White House. <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2014/11/10/president-obama-names-recipients-presidential-medal-freedom> (last accessed on the 8th of December 2014)

angry, thinking that responsibility and hard work were old-fashioned conventions that didn't apply to me. Significantly, and in accordance with the aforementioned interpretation of Obama's invoking of race as a defining dimension of his identity, it seems that race stands as a delineating aspect of men's identity also, e.g. *Without a job or an education, many **black men** simply cannot afford to raise a family - and too many have made the sad choice not to.* However, the fact that WOMAN in Obama's corpus collocates with WHITE while MAN collocates with BLACK is worth investigating. An examination of concordance lines reveals that in 50% of instances where WHITE collocates with WOMAN, the reference made is to Obama's mother and grandmother, who were white.

The collocate NICE contributes towards a positive representation of Obama himself, i.e. all cases are personal references to himself made by a third voice, *I told him about my plans, and he looked at me and said, "Let me tell something. You look like a **nice** clean-cut young **man**, and you've got a nice voice. So let me give you a piece of advice - forget this community organizing business.* PERFECT is also used in all its occurrences as a self-referent premodifier by Obama, as in: *And I am running for the Democratic nomination for President of the United States because that's the kind of leadership America needs right now. I don't pretend to be a **perfect man**, and I will not be a perfect President,* and also in: *I'm reminded every day that I am not a **perfect man**. And I will not be a perfect President. But I can promise you this - I will always say what I mean and mean what I say.*

To summarize the findings of this section, the collocates YOUNG and BRAVE are mostly used to refer to both men and women. OLD is used entirely in reference to an old man whom Obama once met. BLACK in all its occurrences is used intersectionally to refer to black men who are mostly passivated while being genericized and aggregated. Obama repeatedly raises the issues of racial discrimination, racial division and the advocacy of reconciliatory stances. Moreover, he saliently intersects gender and race aspects when projecting an identity of his. BLACK generally contributes towards a representation of men as disempowered, inferior and disadvantaged. Both NICE and PERFECT collocate with MAN exclusively in reference to Obama himself.

5.8.4. Collocates of MAN in Clinton's Speeches

5.8.4.1. Nominal Collocates of MAN

The node word MAN, which occurs in Clinton's corpus 246 times, shares with WOMAN different collocates, namely WOMAN and UNIFORM. As previously explicated, both MAN and WOMAN are joined in a syntactic dominant pluralizing form. Both of them also collocate with UNIFORM in the dominant structure *men and women in uniform*, referring to all American soldiers in service. The collocate CARE is nearly entirely dedicated to the form *man, woman and child* in the context of addressing the healthcare issue in the USA. The only exception is the following clause: *When the world looked to America -- America looked to you. And you never let her down. I know how deeply my own father **cared** about the young **men** he sent off to the South Pacific and how heartbroken he was when so many of them never returned.* Here, speaking of the young American soldiers, like Obama, Clinton uses men to the exclusion of women. It could be the case that men are meant as a generic reference to both men and women. However, the potential genericness in this sense involves gender bias on the part of Clinton.

The collocate HEALTH co-occurs with MAN in Clinton's corpus in different structures and contexts. In more than 70% of cases two dominant patterns prevail: *man, woman and child*, e.g. *I am still standing and fighting for **health care** for every **man, woman and child**, and *men and women*, e.g. *In the Senate I've worked to expand **health care** to our **men and women in uniform**.* The remaining cases comprise two main patterns. The first relates to the discussion of healthcare issues, among other 'kitchen table' issues, as equally critical to men as they are to women, e.g. *While these so-called "kitchen table" issues are certainly women's issues -- they're also men's issues and children's issues. They're issues that we all have a stake in. Today, too many **men** have to choose between **health** insurance for themselves or for their children, because they can't afford both.* Clinton represents men as aggregated, through the use of a frequency modal, *many*, and an adverb, *too*, which indicate vastness, and also as activated in relation to the modal *have to* which indicates obligation. The obligation invested in the choice of *have to* mitigates the power allocated to men by their positioning as Actor. 'Kitchen table' issues is an expression used to refer to everyday concerns that ordinary people face on a daily basis. Traditional economic issues encompass abstract terms, such as: inflation rates, unemployment numbers, GDP growth, and the fluctuations of the stock market. 'Kitchen table' issues, on the other hand, refer to concrete issues, such as: bill paying, food*

purchases, tuition bills, vacation plans, and family health care coverage.³⁵ The use of the 'kitchen' metaphor by Clinton is particularly interesting. According to gender stereotypical convictions about the roles of men and women, the kitchen would be the part of the house that a woman is mostly associated with. In this sense, Clinton uses 'kitchen' as a way of referring to the problems that are typically associated with women in order to ascribe responsibility to men as well as an invocation of traditional gender role allocation meant to equalize the distribution of responsibilities.

In the following instance, Clinton again addresses men and women's inequalities in the American healthcare system: *Lack of insurance coverage for contraception and other health care costs result in women of reproductive age paying 68 percent more in out-of-pocket costs for **health** care services than do **men** of similar age.* The comparison resorted to is enabled by the use of the numerative, the adverb *more* and the preposition *than*. Men are activated as Actor in a material process, and hence, are represented as more privileged than women. The collocate MAN co-occurs with the node word MAN in Clinton's corpus in relation to her rhetorical use of amplification as a means of stressing and clarifying her point of view. In the following clause, Clinton addresses the social role played by church and faith, and their importance in safeguarding young men against AIDS. This pattern is maintained in nearly 30% of cases dedicated to the collocational use of MAN and MAN: *Twenty-five years ago, when **men** - mostly young gay **men** - began dying from a disease that had no name, we could not have, and certainly did not, talk about it in church.* In this respect, men are mentioned also to the exclusion of women. In nearly 30% Clinton raises economic problems in relation to race: *And that is the crisis of 1.4 million young men of color between the ages of 16 and 24 - they are out of school and out of work. That includes nearly one out of every three young African American **men**. Young **men** who are not earning legal wages or learning marketable skills.* Black men are represented as passivated by negation, and thus, as underprivileged. In nearly 30% of collocational cases, the issue of Lilly Ledbetter is addressed: *And about 20 years into her work she learned she had never been paid the same as all of the **men**. **Men** with lesser seniority, younger men, and she wondered why.* Though both men and women are passivated by the passive voice, the amplification involved in the representation of men by the use of the determiner *all*, prepositional phrase *with lesser seniority* and comparative premodifier *younger*, contribute towards a representation of men in different professional and age statuses as more privileged than women.

³⁵ http://www.realclearpolitics.com/articles/2008/07/putting_the_kitchen_table_issu.html

The collocate DOLLAR in all its occurrences occurs in one dominant pattern, that is: *When women make just 77 cents for every **dollar** a **man** earns -- it's not just women who are affected, but families with less income to pay the bills* (see the analysis of WOMAN collocates MAKE, EARN, INCOME and PAY in Clinton's corpus). In all instances where the collocates TWO, OIL and HOUSE co-occur with MAN, the following pattern prevails: *I am well aware that we cannot be serious about our energy policy and our security, our environment, and our economy until the **two oil men** leave the White **House**. But when they do, we will be ready.* The *two oil men* is an implicature denoting President Bush and his Vice President Dick Cheney. Clinton here invokes their mention in relation to the war in Iraq which has been argued as war waged for the sake of oil. As for CHILD, it collocates with MAN in all its occurrences in Clinton's corpus in relation to health care issues, e.g. *but I'm still here and I'm still standing up to the special interests and I am still standing and fighting for health care for every **man**, woman and **child**.* The collocate MOON in all its occurrences as well has the same representation that Obama contributed with the use of the same collocate, that is, stressing the power of the American nation, e.g. *Well, energy security and global warming are the two greatest technical challenges we confront, just like sending a **man** to the **moon** or building an atomic bomb were in the earlier generation.*

Except for one clause, all instances where GENERATION collocates with MAN, reference is made to both men and women, e.g. *A movement of **men** and women in each **generation**, who led us through uncharted territory, to higher ground.* Delivered in her speech on the 4th of April 2008, on the 40th Anniversary of Dr. King's Death in Memphis, Tennessee, Clinton remarks: *Because of him, after 219 years and 43 presidents who have been white **men**, this next **generation** will grow up taking for granted that a woman or an African American can be President of the United States of America.* Intersecting both gender and race, Clinton refers to the past 43 presidents of the USA as white men, establishing a close association between the political and institutional position of American presidency on the one hand, and gender and racial identity of presidents on the other, through the use of the relational intensive identifying process (see the analysis of WOMAN collocates: AFRICAN and PRESIDENT in Clinton's corpus). The collocates MARINE and CORPS in all their instances are dedicated to the following form: *We fought for the young **man** in the **Marine Corps** t-shirt who waited months for medical care and said, "Take care of my buddies over there, and then will you please take care of me?"* In the context of her speech endorsing Obama on the 7th of June 2008, Clinton passivates *man* by beneficialization while activating herself and Obama, collectivized through

the use of the inclusive *we*, by participation. Clinton also excludes women as American soldiers in need of equal healthcare—the exclusion is enabled through representing *man* by specification realized through singularity, definite article and the use of a *who*-relative dependent clause.

To summarize the findings of this section, the nominal collocates of MAN in Clinton's sub-corpus contribute towards different representations of men: men as equally responsible for family duties, men as more privileged than women in healthcare and profession and black men as unprivileged. As previously explicated, UNIFORM collocates with both men and women, while CARE is entirely used in relation to the pattern *man, woman and child*. Like Obama, Clinton uses *men* generically when addressing military issues which is considered a type of gender bias. HEALTH collocates with MAN in 70% of its occurrences also in the dominant pattern *man, woman and child*. In the rest of cases men are mostly represented through activation and aggregation. Interestingly, in 30% of instances related to the collocate MAN, Clinton addresses the role played by the church in protecting young people from AIDS in one rather uncommon instance of resorting to religion in her discussions. In another 30% of cases, Clinton invokes race when addressing financial problems. In these cases, black men are passivated. In all cases of the collocates TWO, OIL and HOUSE, Clinton refers to Bush and Cheney. Like Obama, Clinton uses MOON in the dominant pattern *sending a man to the moon*. However, unlike Obama, she refers in her corpus to women in space. GENERATION is entirely dedicated to the intersection of gender and race where Clinton discusses the relation between gender and racial aspects of identity, on the one hand, and the institutional position of president. Interestingly, Clinton uses the metaphor *kitchen* in a stereotypical way, in alignment with traditional gender role allocation in society (for a detailed discussion of the *kitchen* metaphor, see section 5.8.5.).

5.8.4.2. Verbal Collocates of MAN

The two verbal collocates SIGN and SERVE, as explicated before, are shared by both node words MEN and WOMEN, contributing towards a representation of men and women as equally serving the country, e.g. *what kind of military we need, what tools we provide our **men** and women who **serve** us is directly related to what it is we are trying to accomplish and how best to utilize those resources effectively*. The collocate SEND in 80% of its concordances is devoted to the following pattern: *Well, energy security and global warming are the two greatest technical challenges we confront, just like **sending a man** to the moon or*

building an atomic bomb were in the earlier generation. Here, *man* is used in a generic sense to elaborate the importance of the two tasks specified by Clinton as the greatest national technical challenges by comparing them to another two national projects in an earlier phase of the American history. The comparison is enabled through the use of the adverbial preposition *just like*. The remaining cases are diminishing returns.

In 85% of clauses where LEAVE collocates with MAN, Clinton refers to Bush and Cheney's leaving the White House as a condition of achieving progress in different contexts, e.g. *I know we won't do that until the two oil **men leave** the White House but as soon as they do, let's be ready.* The remaining cases are dedicated to the following pattern: *The question is who would you leave out? Would you **leave out the man** who called me from Northern New York who had an insurance policy that wouldn't pay for the operation his son needs. Or the woman who called me from Long Island who couldn't get bone marrow transplant for her daughter?* Here, *man* is represented by specification, realized by the use of singular form, definite article and *who*-dependent relative clause, and by passivation, realized by participation. Avoiding diminishing returns of the collocate STAND, three instances remain. First, the following occurrence where *man* is also represented by specification and activation as Behaver in the behavioural process of standing up, that is: *You know I was in New Hampshire yesterday morning and a young **man stood** up and asked a question, he said he was a high school senior.* The second instance relates to the case of two elderly couple facing the wife's health problems that the healthcare system would not cover: *I was in Winterset two weeks or so ago and there was a man there and a woman in a wheelchair and the **man was standing** behind her with his hands on the back of the wheelchair.* The man is again specified and activated. The depicted image that Clinton recounts of an old man taking care of his wife, however, contributes towards a positive representation of the husband's role as supportive and caring. The third occurrence relates to the case of a young soldier who asked Clinton to keep fighting for all soldiers concerning the healthcare problems they face: *This very young **man** in his uniform was **standing** at attention as President Truman presented him the Medal of Honor, the highest award that is given for military service.* Again, the military role of men is repeatedly addressed by Clinton through specification to the exclusion of women's role.

The collocate SEE is almost entirely dedicated to both men and women, e.g. ***Men and women** who **saw** America not as it was, but as it could and should be, and committed themselves to extending the frontiers of our democracy.* The same focus on men and women collectively is maintained in the collocate BELIEVE in nearly 70% of its occurrences in relation to

American soldiers or healthcare system. Avoiding diminishing returns, two concordances remain. In the first, Clinton speaks of the crisis of 1.4 million young men of colour who are out of school and out of work: *I reject the conversation about 1.4 million disappointments, failures, and casualties of a broken system. That is not who these young **men** are. I **believe** it is long past time for a new and different conversation. It is time for America to begin a conversation about 1.4 million future workers, entrepreneurs, tax-payers, community leaders, business executives.* Clinton raises the economic and social problems related to race. Men are represented by genericization realized through plurality and activated as Carrier in a relational intensive attributive process to suggest closeness between these men and failure. However, the negation involved helps to mitigate this activation. The second concordance revolves around Clinton's criticism of Bush's tax cut decisions as coming in the favour of the wealthiest of Americans: *Now, it's no surprise that the president continues to stand by his failed economic policies. This is, after all, a **man** who **believes** that stubbornness is a virtue.* Cynically, Clinton refers to Bush's insistence on his *failed economic policies*. As Existent in an existential process, Bush is represented as a man who insists on the wrong beliefs.

40% of cases where GIVE collocates with MAN, reference is made to men and women in service. In another 40% of cases the following two structures are maintained: *Does some hard working **man**, who has **given** his all to his job and has seen it moved offshore, feel like he has any hope left? Man,* and its substitute *he*, are activated in relation to giving, seeing, feeling and having. However, the rhetorical question and the determiners *all* and *any* are used by Clinton to communicate the sense of desperateness of such a man. In the second structure, Clinton raises the issue of race: *Second, once our children start school, we have to provide early mentoring and support to keep them on the path to success. It is not enough to **give** young **men** of color a chance to succeed, if then after they've started down this long and difficult path we step off of it.* By referring to men of colour, Clinton intersects gender and race; men of colour are passivated by participation as in need of chances and opportunities. The passivation is strengthened by the semantic preference of the verb *give* which disempowers young men of colour as subjected to the verb. The remaining cases of the collocate GIVE are diminishing returns.

MAKE is used in four different thematic foci: (1) referring to men and women in uniform, e.g. *These **men** and women have **made** extraordinary sacrifices serving the country they love,* (2) referring to men as important in order to achieve equality for women, e.g. *To build that future I see, we must **make** sure that women and **men** alike understand the struggles of their*

grandmothers and their mothers, and that women enjoy equal opportunities, equal pay, and equal respect. Here, the adverbial *alike* indicates the equal role that Clinton allocates to both men and women in addressing the challenges of equality. Moreover, the adjective *equal* embedded in a paratactic structure—which is enabled through the use of the ‘rule-of-three’, and represented through anaphora and enumeratio, further stresses the areas where women’s equality should be implemented, (3) referring to men in more favourable conditions than women regarding equal pay, e.g. *When women are still paid just 77 cents on every dollar a **man makes** - and women of color even less, your cause is our cause.* (4) referring to men as mainly responsible for supporting the children, e.g. *We’ve got to **make** sure that the young **men** have the money to pay the child support which means raising the minimum wage again.* In the last two thematic foci, men are activated in the former case as Actor and in the latter as Carrier.

In 70% of cases where HAVE collocates with MAN, it is used as an auxiliary in present perfect forms. In the rest of cases where HAVE is used to indicate possession, reference is made to both men and women, e.g. *How do we refuse to march when we **have** our young **men** and women in uniform in harm's way, and whether they come back, their government does not take care of them the way they deserve?* or a comparison with women who do not have the same attribute is introduced, e.g. *You know, the sad fact is that our country is only one of a handful of countries that don't guarantee a legal right to paid maternity leave. And in the US only 7 percent of **men have** access to paid paternity leave, and less than 20 percent of women with a high school degree receive paid maternity leave.* Men are represented by aggregation realized through the numerative; however, the adverbial *only* indicates that a low number of fathers can have the paternal leave. In the following instance, discrimination against women in the past in different respects is discussed: *Growing up, there were sports we couldn't play, schools we couldn't attend, and jobs that essentially **had** a "**men only**" sign on them.*

As for the collocate THINK, in 60% of its occurrences, Clinton refers to both men and women in uniform. The remaining cases revolve around two themes: First, Clinton’s caring for the Vietnam veterans, e.g. *I **think** particularly about the young **men** of my generation-- Vietnam veterans, many of whom felt like they returned to America, but never really came home,* and, second, the work/life balance that exists for men as well as women: *And let me finally just say a word about the challenges that still exist for women in balancing our lives. I **think** they exist for **men** too, but there aren't lots of articles written about that.* In both cases, Clinton is activated as Senser while men are passivated by circumstantialization in the former

case, and by beneficialization in the latter. The collocate WORK as a lemma, including the nominal, verbal and adjectival forms, is used to refer to both men and women in the professional life in 75% of cases (the remaining cases are mostly diminishing returns). None of these cases is dedicated to the military area, e.g. *I've met families in this state and all over our country who've lost their homes to foreclosures, **men** and women who **work** day and night but can't pay the bills [...]*, and also in: *Finally, let's get real about supporting the **working men** and women of this country again*. The collocate GET in all its occurrences is used to refer to both men and women and in relation to the social, professional and financial conditions: *The **men** and women who **get** up every single day, work hard to make a difference for their families*.

All in all, the verbal collocates of MAN in Clinton's sub-corpus contribute towards different representations: men as mainly responsible for child support, men as more privileged than women in healthcare and profession, men veterans as in unfavourable conditions, men as economically suffering, men as important in achieving women's equality, men as having challenges in life/work balance, men as war soldiers and black men as unprivileged. The verbal collocates SERVE and SIGN are shared between the node words MAN and WOMAN, while SEND in 80% of its occurrences is dedicated to the pattern *sending a man to the moon*. In 85% of cases devoted to the collocate LEAVE, Clinton refers to Bush and Cheney's leaving the White House as a condition of achieving progress. STAND collocates with MAN entirely to represent men through activation and specification. Men's military role in this respect is addressed to the exclusion of women's role which can be regarded as a type of gender bias. In all cases of SEE, reference is made to men and women, while in 70% of the cases of BELIEVE, Clinton intersects gender and race in addressing the educational and social dilemmas of black men who are represented through activation and genericization. In 40% of instances dedicated to the collocate GIVE, Clinton refers to both men and women, while in the rest of cases, men are equally activated and passivated in relation to discussing the problems of men of colour. Here, again Clinton intersects gender and race to uncover the hardships that men of colour face. The collocate MAKE is used to refer to men and women in uniform, to men's role in achieving women's equality, to men's more favourable work conditions, and to men's main responsibility for child support. In 70% of cases dedicated to HAVE, it is used as an auxiliary; in most cases reference is made to both men and women. THINK is used, in 60% of its occurrences also, to refer to both men and women; the remaining cases are dedicated to veterans and men trying to achieve life/work balance. In

75% of cases where WORK collocates with MAN, Clinton also refers to both men and women, while GET is totally preserved for a discussion of men and women in various social, professional and financial conditions.

5.8.4.3. Adjectival Collocates of MAN

Excluding diminishing returns, in 50% of cases YOUNG collocates with both MAN and WOMAN mostly in reference to soldiers in the American army. The remaining concordances where YOUNG collocates with MAN only are related to (1) the circumstances of veterans and unemployed men, e.g. *And if you're a **young man** caught in the brutal revolving door of low skills, no jobs, and a justice system stacked against you, you're invisible as well.* Here, *man* is represented by genericization to refer to any young man; again men are referred to rather than women. Men are also passivated as Attribute in a relational intensive attributive process, and (2) addressing foreign policy issues, Clinton refers to the killing of eight student in Jerusalem: *When eight **young men** were killed in a Jerusalem yeshiva in March including a 16-year-old American named Abraham David Moses, we reunited in our grief.* In nearly 30% of cases dedicated to men only, Clinton refers to the unfavourable conditions of black men, e.g. *We need a thousand of Eagle Academies for **young men** of color, where they feel accepted, supported, mentored and helped.* The young men are passivated by beneficialization, contributing towards a representation of young men of colour as unprivileged. They are also passivated by circumstantialization in the following clause: *Right now, across America, jobs are going empty because companies can't find trained, skilled employees to fill them. So ultimately, the crisis of **young men** of color is a national crisis.* As for the collocate BRAVE, it is used collocationally mainly in three different contexts: (1) referring to men and women in uniform, (2) referring to men and women who gathered in Seneca Falls, and (3) referring to men and women who marched and protested for the sake of civil rights.

WHITE in all its occurrences is used in reference to the two oil men in the White House, as explained before, e.g. *I know we won't do that until the two oil **men** leave the **White House** but as soon as they do, let's be ready.* The collocate FEW is entirely used in the following context (see the analysis of WOMAN collocates FEW and RIGHTS on Clinton's part): *The audacious women and a few **brave men** who gathered at Seneca Falls, New York, back in 1848, demanding their rights including the right to vote.* The collocate OLD co-occurs with MAN in two contexts. First, in relation to the old man supporter that Clinton repeatedly

mentions, e.g. *Then I got a report that a 102-year **old man** is also going to caucus for me. We are appealing to every generation.* Here, *man* is represented by specification and activation. The second context is when Clinton refers to her supporters in relation to gender, age, race, financial status and sexual orientation divisions: *18 million of you from all walks of life, women and **men**, young and **old**, Latino and Asian, African-American and Caucasian, rich, poor and middle class, gay and straight, you have stood strong with me.* It should be noted that these are the two context that the collocate OLD comes to co-occur with WOMAN in Clinton's corpus as well. The collocate SINGLE is used in all its instances as a premodifier of the form *man, woman and child*: *I see an America where we don't just provide health care for some people, or most people, but for every **single man**, woman and child in this country - no one left out.*

To précis the findings of this section, the adjectival collocates of MAN in Clinton's sub-corpus contribute towards the following representations: men as economically suffering and black men as unprivileged. In 50% of cases where YOUNG collocates with MAN, reference is made to both men and women. In the rest of cases Clinton addresses the conditions of veterans and unemployed men as well as foreign policy issues where men are mostly represented through passivation and genericization. Here, again Clinton manifests gender bias as she uses *man* in a generic sense. In 30% of cases, Clinton discusses the unprivileged social conditions of black men where men are also entirely passivated. BRAVE is used in reference to the young men and women who gathered in Seneca Falls and those who marched demanding civil rights. WHITE is entirely dedicated to the two oil men in the White House as illustrated earlier. The collocate FEW is totally devoted to the pattern *a few brave men who gathered at Seneca Falls*, whereas OLD collocates with MAN in relation to an old male supporter of Clinton, who is represented through activation and specification, and Clinton's addressing her supporters in terms of their gender, race, age, financial status and sexual orientation. The collocate SINGE is entirely used in the context of the dominant pattern *man, woman and child*, referring to every American citizen.

5.8.5. Discussion of Gender Representations of WOMAN and MAN in Obama's and Clinton's Corpora

In this section, the gender representations communicated and worked out through the collocates of WOMAN and MAN on both Obama's and Clinton's part are qualitatively

discussed. Initially, it is illuminating to highlight Sunderland's remark (2004: 28) that gendered discourses can be traced by analyzing language:

People do not [...] recognise a discourse [...] in any straightforward way [...] Not only is it not identified or named, and is not self-evident or visible as a discrete chunk of a given text, it can never be 'there' in its entirety. What is there are certain linguistic features: 'marks on a page', words spoken or even people's memories of previous conversations [...] which—if sufficient and coherent—may suggest that there are 'traces' of a particular discourse.

In this respect, Baker (2004: 114) draws attention to the subjectivity involved in the identification of representations, i.e. different people may tackle the data from different political stances and, consequently, may have different interpretations. For example, certain collocates might contribute towards two or more representations. Such overlapping cases render the representational picture identified to be 'fluid' "with discourses being linked together or 'leaking' into each other." However, internal consistency is a crucial factor in the validity of analysis, i.e. the same procedure was conducted by the same researcher at the same time span on a two distinct, but related, sub-corpora. Though there seems to be significant difference in each politician's topical interest and representation of gender, the categorization of collocates as contributing towards a certain discourse prosody is useful for the purposes of analysis. However, drawing upon larger portions of context makes it difficult to preserve the boundaries of each discourse prosody. In this sense, they seem to be 'interlinked, contributing towards an overall picture', meaning that "when one discourse [...] is articulated, another one [...] could also be triggered in the minds of readers, due to the fact that in other articles, readers have encountered both discourses occurring in tandem" (Baker, 2014: 124). Moreover, in the same way that discourses may conflict, representations also can come into intertextual conflict, making it harder to conclude to stable overarching representations (Sunderland et al., 2002: 312). Representations also may be formed and deformed.

With these notions in mind, a good starting point in discussing the findings of the previous four sections 5.8.1., 5.8.2., 5.8.3. and 5.8.4. is to mark the disparity in the number of representations between MAN and WOMAN in Clinton's corpus rather than in Obama's corpus. The reason for this disparity is three-fold: (1) the frequency of MAN and WOMAN, and accordingly the number of collocates, is clearly associated with the number of representations worked out in the corpora at hand. In Clinton's corpus, the disparity between MAN and WOMAN is noticeable (see section 5.8.) and hence, appears the difference in the number of representations. In Obama's corpus, the disparity is hardly noticeable. (2) in most

cases where MAN is used in both corpora, it is represented as specified or nominated which makes it rather difficult to extract generalizable representations for men as opposed to women. In these cases, and unless nomination is meant as an example referring to the group of men, only individual representations can be worked out. (3) part of the difficulty in sketching gender representations of MAN stems from the prevalent generic use of *man*, on the one hand, and the general use of *man* or *men* as the preferable and naturalized status to address the audience. This renders the decision of considering the use of *man* in a particular case to be a gender representation or casual reference to the preferred status problematic.

Another caption is also in order here. The qualitative analysis conducted through the previous eight sections is rampant with interesting detailed and elaborated linguistic peculiarities that have readily contributed towards the construction of all the representations presented. These details are best explored in the respective sections where they were discussed, since repeating them would result in repeating the analysis in detail rather than discussing the findings or introducing the summary, e.g. the remark that in Obama's corpus the verbal collocate HELP which co-occurs with both MAN and WOMAN is actually used differently, that is, MAN is always activated in relation to *help*, whereas WOMAN is almost entirely passivated in relation to the same verb. This section is, then, more concerned with discussing the gender representations that have been formed on the basis of the linguistic analysis which encompasses all these details.

The following four tables (36, 37, 38 & 39) demonstrate the gender representations that have been extracted as grouped (left-side of the tables) and all the collocates of the node words WOMAN on Obama's side and Clinton's side as well as MAN on Obama's side and Clinton's side respectively. Right-side of the table are the collocates that have contributed towards these representations. It should be noted that occasionally, and in accordance with the tradition of research on representations, the same collocates appear as contributing towards more than one representation (Baker, 2004: 114). The reason is that the same collocate can readily contribute towards different representations, i.e. a certain collocate can lead to different, and sometimes contradictory, representations in different contexts (De Fina, 2011: 269). Hence, depending on the concordances that SkE has yielded for each collocate that significantly co-occurs with the node words WOMAN and MAN, these representations have been worked out through the operationalization of Halliday's functional processes and van Leeuwen's social actors representation scheme. In this sense, according to how each collocate

is used in relation to the correspondent node word, whether WOMAN or MAN, these gender representations have been extracted in the light of the two previously-mentioned analytical tools.

GENDER REPRESENTATIONS	COLLOCATES
Women serving the country equally as men do	MAN, UNIFORM, SERVICEMEN, NATION, SERVE, HONOR, SIGN
Women as past non-active social agents	MAN
Women as winners of the right to vote	RIGHT, SEE
Women as needing support and protection	RIGHT, PAY, MILLION, PERCENT, DISCRIMINATION, ISSUE, MEAN, GIVE, GET
Women as disadvantaged, oppressed and powerless (economically and professionally)	PAY, DISCRIMINATION, ISSUE, PERCENT, MILLION, WORK, MEET, LOSE, MAKE, EQUAL
Women as socially disempowered and vulnerable	MAKE, AMERICA, WORK, CHOOSE, GIVE, MEAN, HELP
Women's issues as the whole family issues	ISSUES, MEAN, DO
Women as powerful familial actors	LIFE
Women as a minority and a disadvantaged group	HAVE, MEET
Women as incapable of challenging	CHALLENGE
Women as the sole caretaker of children in the family	LOSE, MEAN, ISSUE
Women's work traditionally and stereotypically non-naturalized	WORKING
Women in Obama's family as courageous	HELP, LIFE
Women as facing challenges	CHALLENGE, WORKING
Black and Latin women as a more oppressed, passive and nonresistant subgroup	DO, MAKE
Women as distinctive from men in appearance	DO
Obama as a defender of women's rights	RIGHT, GET
Obama's grandmother as an assertive, loving, caring woman with racial discriminatory attitudes	LIFE, HELP, WHITE
Hillary Clinton as brave, tough, passionate and committed	GIVE

Figure 36. Gender representations of WOMAN in Obama's corpus

It should be noted that concordance analysis yielded by different collocates was one of diminishing returns. This is expected because of the inextricability of issues related to the representations of men and women in society. Figure 36 includes the representations communicated through Obama’s corpus in relation to the node word WOMAN. These representations relate to women in general, women in the past, women soldiers, women in profession, housewife women, women of colour, women in Obama’s family, Hillary Clinton and about Obama himself in relation to women.

According to table 37, the high frequency of WOMAN in Clinton’s corpus compared to Obama’s corpus—the disparity which is reflected in the number of collocates as well, presumably affects the variety of representations and the collocates that have contributed towards them. Clinton’s gender representations in relation to the node word WOMAN revolve around women in general, women in the past, women in profession, women in politics, women worldwide, housewife women, women in the military, women leaders and about Clinton herself in relation to women. According to figure 38, the representations delineated relate to men in general, men in the military, men in profession, men as leaders, men in the family, white men, black men, Senator McCain, wife’s role and Obama himself. According to figure 39, the gender representations contributed by MAN in Clinton’s corpus are related to men in general, men in the military, men in their families, men in profession, black men and husband’s role.

GENDER REPRESENTATIONS	COLLOCATES
women in the past as oppressed, marginalized and discriminated against	WEAR, CONTINUE, RIGHT
women in the past as courageous	RIGHT, GROUP
women as powerful, empowered, efficient and potent	WEAR, DID, WORK, GROUP, LEADER, MAJORITY, LEADERSHIP, PRESIDENT, WORLD, GENERATION, VOTE, RESPONSIBILITY, AMERICA, TIME, DAY, LIFE, GET, NAME, TELL, BECOME, AFRICAN
women as fighting for work/family balance	WORLD
women as fighting differentiating social parameters on profession	DID, CAST, FIGHT, GET, AMERICA
women as self-oppressors	DID, VOTE, WORK
women as supporting other women	WORK, GIRLS, GROUP, LEADER, CAST, NAME, TELL, SUPPORT, OLD
women as needing tutoring and support	DID, SUPPORT

women as outsiders in the field of politics	DID
women as a site for unprivileged conditions worldwide	CONTINUE, COUNTRY, HEALTH, GIRL
women as socially and professionally powerless, oppressed and discriminating against	RIGHT, WORK, INSURANCE, MINORITIES, AMERICA, HEALTH, INCOME, PAY, GET, AFRICAN, CONTINUE
women as positive agents in achieving equality	RIGHT, VOTE
women as the sole partner responsible for the children	DID, CHILD, WORK, LIFE, GET
women serving the country equally as men	UNIFORM
women as efficient leaders nationally and worldwide	LEADERS, LEADERSHIP, PRESIDENT, WORLD, NAME
women of colour as more oppressed and marginalized	RIGHT, VOTE, DAY, PAY, AFRICAN
women's rights as human rights	RIGHT
women's rights as parameters to America's relations to other nations	RIGHT
women's rights as a standard of American pioneerism	RIGHT
women's rights as a necessity of value achievement	RIGHT
Clinton as affiliating to the group of women	RIGHT, WORK, GIRL, LEADERSHIP, LEADER, MILLION, WORLD, AMERICA, GENERATION, TIME, LIFE
Clinton as powerful agent and a defender, protector, fighter and advisor of women's rights nationally and worldwide	RIGHT, GIRLS, LEADER, INCOME, HEALTH, PAY, MEET, TELL, OLD, WPOLD, AMERICA

Figure 37. Gender representations of the node word WOMAN in Clinton's corpus

GENDER REPRESENTATIONS	COLLOCATES
men and women as equally serving the country	SERVICE, UNIFORM
men as financially disempowered	PENNSYLVANIA, GLASS
men as professionally more privileged than women (promotion)	GLASS
men as prisoners and offenders	PRISON
men as <i>involved</i> in childcare	ABILITY, LEAVE
men as leaders	MILLIONS, FAITH
men as war heroes	LEAVE
men as high achievers	CAN
white men as professionally disempowered	GLASS
black men as disempowered, disadvantaged, inferior and discriminated against	PRISON, CAN, BLACK

wife's role as positively delineated and highly estimated	DO
Obama as a family man	FAMILY
Obama as a faithful Christian	FAITH, NAME
Obama as concerned with all races	GLASS
Obama as African-American	NAME
Obama as a man of unconventional thinking	WANT, CAN
Obama as subjected to the will of American people	WANT
McCain as a women's opponent	MCCAIN

Figure 38. Gender Representations of the node word MAN in Obama's corpus

GENDER REPRESENTATIONS	COLLOCATES
men and women as equally serving the country	SERVICE, UNIFORM
men and women as equally responsible for the family responsibilities	HEALTH
men as mainly responsible for child support	MAKE
men as more privileged than women in healthcare and work	HEALTH, MEN, DOLLAR, MAKE, HAVE
men veterans as in unfavourable conditions	MARINE, CORPS, THINK
men as economically suffering	GIVE, YOUNG
men as important in achieving women's equality	MAKE
men as having challenges in life/work balance	THINK
men as war soldiers	CARE
black men as unprivileged	MEN, BELIEVE, GIVE, YOUNG
husband's role as supportive and caring	STAND

Figure 39. Gender representations of MAN in Clinton's corpus

Sketching common areas to the four scrutinized node words in the corpus, it is noticed that the representation of men and women as equally serving the country is shared by the four words, that is, WOMAN and MAN in Obama's sub-corpus and WOMAN and MAN in Clinton's sub-corpus. Moreover, both of them depict women in the past as oppressed and marginalized—a representation which is formed and deformed as Obama also represents them as winners of the right of voting, while Clinton maintains a representation of women in the past as courageous. Both of them also represent women as disempowered, discriminated against and oppressed socially and professionally. Furthermore, women are represented as the sole caretaker of children in the family by both Obama and Clinton, which is considered to be a sustainment of gender traditional stereotypes. Importantly, gender and race as aspects of identity construction and interpretation are intersectionally worked out by both Obama and

Clinton, i.e. both of them represent women of colour, that is, black and Latino women, as more oppressed and marginalized than the general category of women, Obama through 2 collocates and Clinton through 5 collocates. Intersectional identity construction is also worked out through collocates of MAN in Obama's and Clinton's sub-corpora, as black men are represented as a more oppressed and marginalized group within the category of men. The difference in women's representations between Obama and Clinton starts to be telling as Obama stresses women's need of protection and support through 9 different collocates, while Clinton contributes towards the same representation by using only 2 collocates which makes her less concerned about highlighting women as in need of support and protection.

Interestingly, Obama depicts women as powerful familial actors through one collocate, whereas Clinton invests 21 collocates to represent women not only as powerful actor in the family, but as efficient, potent and empowered actors in a general sense. Moreover, through 5 different collocates, Clinton represents women as efficient leaders nationally and worldwide. Enhancing the divergent representation of women by Obama and Clinton, Obama is found to represent women merely as facing challenges, whereas Clinton vigorously represents women as fighting for life/work balance and against discriminating social parameters in profession. This is evident by the fact that FIGHT does not occur as a collocate of WOMAN in the first place in Obama's corpus. This lack on Obama's part chimes with a noticeable total eclipse of the term 'empower' in reference to women as a significant concept of numerous initiatives and principles that have for long been associated with women's social conditions. For example, the United Nations has declared Women's Empowerment Principles which aim to provide guidance in relation to the ways of empowering women in business and workplace.³⁶ The Heifer International has also announced women's empowerment as one of its salient missions.³⁷ In this respect, Clinton's use of the term *empower* in relation to women 4 times in her corpus compared to Obama's non-use of it marks another aspect of the comparative disparate heeding to women's issues for each candidate.

In relation to the issue of women's rights, while Obama represents women as winners of the right to vote, Clinton indulges into a series of representations concerning women's rights: women's rights as human rights, women's rights as a parameter to America's relations to other countries, women's rights as a standard of American pioneerism and women's rights as a necessity of value achievements. Obama discusses women's rights by association, i.e.

³⁶ <http://www.unwomen.org/en/partnerships/businesses-and-foundations/womens-empowerment-principles>

³⁷ <http://www.heifer.org/gift-catalog/empowerment/index.html>

woman's rights is used in a parallel relation to other social groups, e.g. gays, African Americans, workers, etc., rather than discussing it per se which is the case of Clinton. In 4 out of 11 cases where Obama uses RIGHT collocationally with WOMAN (with a 36% of concordances), women's rights are associated with other groups' rights. In Clinton's speeches, out of 58 times where RIGHT collocates with WOMAN, only in 7 cases (with a 12% of concordances) other groups' rights are invoked through parallelism. Clinton uses RIGHT as a collocate with a fivefold frequency of that of Obama. Half of Obama's use of that collocate is devoted to the singular form whereas only 16% of Clinton's use of the same collocate is set in the singular form. The disparity in the frequency of using the collocate RIGHT on Obama's and Clinton's parts indicates Clinton's marked interest in addressing women's rights in general as a cause, while the disparity in frequency of the singular and plural forms of the collocate RIGHT between the two candidates indicates different representations of women's prerogatives: on Clinton's part, women have *rights*; on Obama's, women have a *right*. In nearly 60% of concordances in Clinton's sub-corpus, RIGHT collocates with WOMAN through possessivation suggesting close association and activating women as social actors in possession of these rights.

Moreover, though both of them use the collocate WORKING which denaturalizes the status of women's work, Clinton uses this premodifier for both men and women in the same clause which strongly helps to mitigate this non-naturalizing effect for Clinton. Another telling point is that Obama represents women in his family, including his mother, grandmother, wife and daughters, as courageous and caring. Moreover, he represents Clinton as a brave, passionate, determined and committed woman. However, he represents Clinton also in terms of her wardrobe choices which can be considered as maintenance of traditional gender stereotypes. Clinton, on the other hand, exclusively represents women as outsiders to the arena of politics and also as self-oppressors, by silencing and refraining themselves from voting. But she also represents women as supportive of each other.

Both Obama and Clinton use *man* to the exclusion of *woman* in different contexts, the most salient of which is the dominant pattern *a man on the moon*. The exclusion here could be interpreted by examining the broad historical context which shows that no woman has been landed on the moon till now. However, Clinton speaks of Sally Ride as the first American woman to be launched into space in 1983, while Obama only refers to the first man to land on the moon. It can also be interpreted as a generic use of the word; however, in this case, it

would be categorized as gender bias on the part of both politicians. HELP appears as a collocate of MAN and WOMAN in Obama's sub-corpus. However, in relation to MAN, men are positioned as activated as powerful social agents; in relation to WOMAN, women are mostly positioned as passivated as in need of help. The same applies to LEAD which is a common collocate of WOMAN in Obama's as well as Clinton's sub-corpora. However, in Obama's sub-corpus it is used to passivate women in most cases, while in Clinton's sub-corpus, it is used to activate them. SERVE is a common collocate of MAN in Obama's corpus; however, it collocates with each differently. With WOMAN, it is used only to refer to the syntactic unit of men and women; with MAN, the reference is made to men as activated. Although OLD is an adjectival collocate of both MAN and WOMAN in Obama's corpus, he uses it differently with each word, i.e. as a collocate of WOMAN, OLD is used to achieve pluralization; as a collocate of MAN, Obama uses it in an individualized particularized sense. Regarding the political rhetoric of urging women to vote, though salient in Clinton's speeches, Obama completely refrains from using that type of rhetoric in his speeches where VOTE does not collocate with WOMAN. This attitudinal difference seems to denote both Clinton's self-identity construction as an advocate of women's rights and a sense of certainty that she will be granted the female votes.

In relation to activation and passivation, cases of activating or passivating men and women in both sub-corpora, depending on concordance analysis, were manually counted. It is discerned that in relation to WOMAN, Obama passivated women as social actors doubly more than he activates them. On the other hand, Clinton activates women as social actors more than she passivates them (25% more cases are activated). Although no fitting one-to-one relationship can be established between linguistic and social activation or passivation, the disparity can be taken as telling of how women are represented by each politician, especially in the light of the representations outlined above. As for MAN, no disparity could be noticed between Obama's or Clinton's activation and passivation strategies in relation to the representation of men as social actors. In relation to genericization and specification, it is discerned that Obama uses more collectivizing strategies in relation to men and women, while Clinton uses more specification strategies regarding men and women. The collectivization realized by plurality which marks Obama's use in general versus the individualization realized by singularity which is relatively salient in Clinton's sub-corpus (van Leeuwen, 1996: 48-50) suggests that Obama is more inclined to address men and women in an abstract generalized sense while

Clinton is more focused on addressing the relevant issues of men and women in a more particularized and specific sense.

As for the gender representations worked through the node word MAN, both Obama and Clinton represent men as economically disempowered. Interestingly, as the case in women of colour, both Obama and Clinton intersect gender and race by representing black men as unprivileged, inferior, and discriminated against. However, Obama is more concerned with intersecting gender and race since he uses intersectionality in representing white men as professionally disempowered. Men are represented as more privileged than women in work by both Obama and Clinton. However, Clinton exclusively refers to men as privileged than women in relation to healthcare. Obama represents the role of wife in a highly positive and estimated sense; Clinton also represents the role of a husband as caring and supportive. The disparate representations of men appear in relation to Obama's highly positive representation of men as war heroes, high achievers and leaders, whereas Clinton only represents them as war soldiers. More interestingly, Obama maintains the representation of women as the sole caretaker of children by representing men as merely *involved* in childcare. Clinton, on the other hand, represents men and women as equally responsible for family duties while representing men as mainly responsible for child support—a representation which comes contradictorily to her WOMAN-based representation of women as the sole caretaker of children. Clinton exclusively makes a representation of men veterans as in unfavourable conditions. Moreover, she also represents men as facing challenges in life/work balance and, as important factor in achieving equality for women.

Significantly, Obama refers to Clinton in one instance as capable of accomplishing tasks not only equally, but also better than men, since she does it *in heels*. As explicated earlier, Obama uses *heels* metaphorically to refer to Clinton's identity as a woman, creating a gender distinction based on wardrobe choices. By using *heels*, Obama sets appearance as an identificatory parameter for a woman's character which reflects his invoking of appearance when addressing the character of a female politician. Here, an identification based on appearance for a female politician's character is raised by Obama. Obama's use of *heels* also maintains a stereotypical representation of a woman which goes in accordance with previous studies arguing that appearance is an important criterion by which women are evaluated (Caldas-Coulthard & Moon, 2010: 124). Relevantly, in one instance, Clinton discusses Americans' use of florescent bulbs and refers to women's tendency to try bathing suites in

front of too many mirrors. Here, Clinton also maintains a stereotypical ideological representation of women as preoccupied with their looks and wardrobe options.

As argued by Chilton and Ilyin (1993) and Chilton (1996), metaphors are an important tool of political performance. In this sense, metaphors are not only “one-off ‘rhetorical flourishes’, but cognitive devices for forming and communicating conceptualizations of reality which may be in some way problematic” (Chilton & Schäffner, 2011: 320). Actually, the two most common sources of metaphor in political language are war and sport (Muntigl, 2002: 53). Clinton, for example, uses FIGHT as a collocate of WOMAN which clearly relates to the WAR metaphors. Different metaphors are used by Clinton in a gendered sense, i.e. they correspond to maintaining traditional gender role representation, e.g. the *mother* metaphor used in relation to representing the role of a female president as a mother caring for a child; the *nurse* metaphor introduced also when discussing the role of a female president as a nurse caring for a patient; and the *club* metaphor used in relation to depicting the field of politics as an all-boys club.

One interesting gender-related choice of Clinton is her use of the *kitchen* metaphor. Referring to everyday concerns of ordinary people, Clinton uses the term ‘Kitchen table issues’, invoking gender stereotypical and ideological convictions about the roles of men and women, since, traditionally, the kitchen is one place where women are supposed to practice their stereotypically normalized role as housewives. In this sense, Clinton’s use of ‘kitchen’ as a way of referring to the problems that are typically associated with women with the aim of allocating equal responsibility to men, i.e. the metaphor is utilized as an invocation of traditional gender role distribution meant to equalize the distribution of responsibilities. Actually, the ‘kitchen sink’ metaphor has been used by Clinton throughout her campaign and has been heavily criticized for it. As Lim (2008: 261-262) points out, the ‘kitchen sink’ metaphor was intended by Clinton to “regender politics as a domestic space in which women are in charge,” however, it has come to reinforce the same stereotypes that the metaphor was introduced to demolish, since it reminded the public of the traditional role of a woman that Clinton came to rebel against. One possible interpretation is that Clinton’s use of the *kitchen* metaphor as a stereotypical gendered image is strategically designed in order to counter her image as a ‘bitch’, ‘witch’ and an ‘unruly woman’ (Lim, 2009).

Actually, throughout the corpus, Clinton uses the kitchen metaphor again, that is in: *I know as the campaign goes on, that it's going to get a little hotter out there. But that is fine with me.*

*Because, you know, as Harry Truman said, if you can't stand the heat, get out of the **kitchen**. I'll tell you what, I feel really comfortable in the kitchen.* The same gender stereotypical use is also invoked. To examine Obama's use of the same gendered metaphor, SkE has been used to generate all instances where this expression is used. It was found that *kitchen table* is used literally by Obama in all its occurrences, e.g. *Go to Janesville, Wisconsin or Moraine, Ohio and talk to the workers at General Motors who just found out the plants they labored their entire lives at will be closed forever; or the thousands of truck drivers and airline workers who will lose their jobs because of the debilitating cost of fuel. Or just ask any family in North Carolina who will sit around their **kitchen table** tonight and wonder whether next week's paycheck will be enough to cover next month's bills.*

In the light of a CDA perspective, which is mainly concerned with highlighting inequalities and discrimination, different representations of men and women in the current two sub-corpora are related to gender as well as racial discrimination in the USA. Different representations also are related to discriminatory intersectional practices—discrimination here taken to include any deprivation, exclusion or limitation of rights or opportunities on the basis of race, ethnicity, sex, age, class, sexuality, religion, disability or political, national or social affiliations, or any other type of categorization (Balsera, 2014: 61). Clinton, for example, discusses the gender discrimination exerted against her in her attempts to join NASA or to study at law school. She also refers to gender pay discrimination against female tennis players in Wimbledon, which can all be considered as a type of institutional discrimination. According to Makkonen (2002), institutional discrimination can be considered in terms of availability, that is, the presence of institutions that provide opportunities for individuals; accessibility, that is, the absence of any social, economic, geographical, structural or informational impediment to receive the services offered by the institution; acceptability, that is, the standard and relevance of the service provided by the institution to sustain the opportunities necessary to achieve the individuals' life plans; and adaptability, that is, the flexibility to adapt to the individuals' different needs with the aim of maintaining the process of turning opportunities into doings. Both Obama and Clinton refer to the issue of equal pay that women face; Clinton is more focused though on addressing it.

Both Obama and Clinton also raise racial discrimination; however, Obama is more focused on discussing it. According to Fischer et al. (1996: 174), ethnic minorities' much diminished access to opportunities and resources takes place through a threefold process: first, socio-economic deprivation; second, racial or ethnic segregation which stresses and highlights

disadvantages; third, stigmatization as inferior by society's perception. All levels can be discerned to permeate through Obama's discussion of black men's educational chances, economic status, unemployment problem, etc. Racism plays a role "both in structuring social and economic disadvantage in the population and in institutional and individual discrimination against ethnic minority groups" (Pantzer et al., 2006: 694). Moreover, intersectional identity categories shed light on the distribution of social and economic privilege, or the lack of it. In this sense, intersecting gender and race in the case of black women's representation in discourse allows us to capture the social and economic disadvantageous conditions. African American and Latinas in the USA are more unprivileged than other women regarding work conditions and payment (Browne, 1999). Thus, both Obama and Clinton discuss the double oppression suffered by women of colour by intersecting the correspondent two salient aspects of identity, that is, gender and race.

Noting how men and women are represented in the two sub-corpora at hand is a first stage which leads to a further stage of analysis where these representations are considered to be sources for constructing an identity for each politician. These divergent gender representations explored in the previous eight sections come to validate and enhance the previously discussed results of the self-identity construction for both Obama and Clinton (see sections 5.2. & 5.3.). By advocating the rights of women, both Obama and Clinton contribute towards a self-representation—and hence, a self-identity construction, as a women's defender. However, this representation is saliently more stressed by Clinton than Obama which is reflected in the disparity of the number of collocates involved in constructing this representation on each side (3 collocates on Obama's side and 11 on Clinton's side). Moreover, Clinton constructs a self-identity as women's defender, protector and advisor both nationally and worldwide—a dimension that is absent from Obama's self-representation. Furthermore, Clinton repeatedly and emphatically represents herself as affiliated to women through 11 collocates. Significantly, Clinton simultaneously represents herself as one of the group of women in general, as one of the group of female high achievers in particular and as a women's defender. The juxtaposition of these three representations strategically implicates her powerfulness in helping other women in unfavourable conditions to overcome the limitations imposed on them and join the succeeders group. Obama, on the other hand, represents himself as an African American, concerned about all races, a faithful Christian, a family man and a man of unconventional thinking through 6 collocates.

Based on the analysis of gender representations, Obama resorts to the institutional aspect of his identity, that is, being a presidential candidate. He also projects multiple gender-related identities in different instances as a father, a son, a grandson and a husband, which are all types of identity specifically cultivated in his gender identity and crucially associated with the relational identificatory social roles that he orients to. Based on the analysis of gender representations as well, Clinton explicitly constructs three gender-related multiple identities for herself, as a mother, a wife and a woman. Thus, she accentuates her affiliation to different categories classified as relating to gender. The results worked out in this section, i.e. the gender representations contributed by the node words MAN and WOMAN in Obama's and Clinton's corpora, are also associated with the political identity of each candidate, gender being an important and salient dimension of it. The gender representations contributed by Clinton come in accordance with her invested focus on women's issues and her self-identity construction as a woman. Obama's gender representations, on the other hand, are also compatible with the intersectional status of his identity as a black man, which is reflected by his salient focus on intersectional aspects of women as well as men in his speeches. The interpretation of Obama's and Clinton's identity in intersectional light cannot go unproblematically though. As explicated earlier (see section 2.1.8.), intersectionality theory is not a normative framework per se; rather it is a perspective through which different aspects of identity can be seen as constructing an individual's identity. Moreover, intersectionality scholars do not make it clear if all identities are to be considered intersectional or only unprivileged one. This point is particularly problematizing to research in identity studies since, in the current study for example, it is only one aspect of each candidate's identity that can be regarded as unprivileged—gender in Clinton's case and race in Obama's case.

Obama invokes the issue of race, rather than that of gender, in one important utterance that has been cited by newspaper and in identity studies as well. Josselson (2012: 17) notes that Obama's speech about race in Philadelphia in March 2008 marks his internal transcendence from the "us-versus-them" dynamics and his stark refusal to weave his presidential campaign around racial notions. Referring to Reverend Wright who made several provocative racial comments that have been used by the media in order to discredit Obama, Obama remarks: "I can no more disown him than I can disown the black community. I can no more disown him than I can my white grandmother—a woman who helped raise me, a woman [...]" Here, Obama identifies himself inseparably with the white as well as the black races, refusing effecting a split in his identity.

Gender representation may seem either to maintain or exaggerate traditional gender roles, or may seem progressive in the sense that they represent gender roles as saliently broadened, extending the scope of actions normally available to men or women (Sunderland et al., 2002: 231). Sketching the different representations communicated by Obama and Clinton, it is discerned that some of them go beyond a traditional representation of gender roles while others maintain a traditional representation of gender roles. Depending on the analysis of MAN and WOMAN in the present corpus, different stereotypical as well as progressive gender representations are communicated by each politician. Obama stereotypically represents men's role in taking care of their children as subsidiary, rather than primary, while women are represented as the sole caretaker of children. He also represents women as *made* equal partners rather than *being* equal partners. Moreover, through his speeches, the role of women as workers is denaturalized. Clinton, on the other hand, contributes towards stereotypical as well as progressive gender representations. Progressively, she represents men and women as equally responsible for taking care of their children—a representation which is deformed twice as she represents women as children's sole caretaker in different instances and men as mainly responsible for supporting their children in one instance. Moreover, she progressively represents herself as a rebel against restricting ideologically-motivated stereotypes regarding what women should wear or work as, and marks women's progression in this respect. Stereotypically, she represents mothers as solely required to achieve life/work balance—a representation which is deformed as she, later on, represents men as also suffering from the same problem. Clinton also contributes towards a traditional self-representation of a wife who quits her job when her husband gets a high-ranked position. She also represents women traditionally as not capable of doing mathematics. The fact that the present corpus comprises stereotypical representations of men and women comes as no surprise. Gender is a social construct, produced and reproduced in discourse (Bradley, 2007). Texts are eventually a product of discourse; hence, the exploration of gender in a corpus is “bound to reveal culturally-prominent patterns of representation” (Pearce, 2008: 19-21).

In a significant discussion of female leading styles, Clinton refers to the stereotypical female conversational strategies as *more team oriented* and *less hierarchical*. She is maintaining a traditional representation of women as more cooperative, conciliatory, facilitative, collaborative, person/process oriented and solidarity-oriented rather than confrontational, autonomous, task/outcome oriented, competitive and authoritative (Tannen, 1994, 2001; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Moreover, by referring to the stereotypical male leading style as

non-efficient and out-of-date, Clinton redefines female leading style as more appropriate and fitting. This representation is in accordance with arguments about newly emergent styles of leadership. Recently, there have been increasing reevaluations of the so-called 'feminine behaviour'. Cooperative patterns and consumer-friendly behaviour are now being instructed by organizational sociological trainers as contributing towards more pleasure and competence at work (Wodak, 2003: 672). Moreover, a mixture of feminine and maternal conventions is in vogue, i.e. women in leading positions are pressured into assuming maternal roles and faced with the positive and negative aspects of these transformations. The 'mama' pattern is evidently stark; however, it is also considerate and protective (Wodak, 1996). Wodak (1995: 54) argues that women's leadership styles may draw on authoritative strategies of motherhood and patterns of maternity. Typically, most studies about women in leading positions note the overlapping of gender, organizational habitus and rules, i.e. the norms, values and standards of an organization exert more influence than the social gender behaviour (Diem-Wille 1996; Martin-Rojo 2000).

Chapter Six: Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter is concerned with presenting the overall findings and implications that have been contributed throughout the present study. Results stemming from the straightforward application of the theoretical underpinnings to the corpus specified are presented and discussed. The findings and contributions worked out in the present study and discussed in this chapter encompass theoretical as well as methodological aspects. This study represents a theoretical and methodological contribution to the understanding of how different aspects of identity can be discursively revealed. Within the field of identity studies, it introduces a specification of identity dimensions that Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton resorted to in the process of constructing their political identities in the context of USA 2008 Democratic Party primaries. Hence, the present study verifiably contributes towards a multiple identity construction for each politician. Within the boundaries of language and gender studies, the study also sheds light on aspects of gendered use of language on the part of Obama and Clinton and elaborates how gender representations are communicated in Obama's and Clinton's political speeches in the Democratic Party primaries as well as the role these representations play in constructing their respective identities.

6.1. Theoretical Contributions

The study is mainly composed of a corpus-driven part and a corpus-based one. The former covers the way in which Obama and Clinton use language topically and how their topic selections contribute towards a construction of their respective identities, i.e. the particular aspects of identity that they resort to in order to convey their political identities are fathomed. The latter part of the study takes a corpus-based approach to investigate the gendered use of language in Obama's and Clinton's speeches and how they use language to communicate various representations of men and women. In this sense, the study covers both gendered usage of language, that is, how Obama and Clinton, as two politicians belonging to different social gender divisions, use language, differently or not, and gendered representations, that is, how men and women are talked about by Obama and Clinton. One contribution of the present study is the investigation of linguistic behaviour of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, i.e. a number of studies has approached the speeches of Obama or that of Clinton separately. However, to the best of my knowledge, there has been no attempt towards the comparative exploration of the speeches of both politicians.

Initially, it is worth mentioning that the language of political speeches is actually one of the most powerful ways that a particular discourse can be disseminated, enabled and challenged. That is mainly because of the persuasive nature that political speeches are marked by as well as the large audience that they are addressed to. They are, therefore, favourable sites for the incremental effect of discourse. In this respect, “[a] negative or ambiguous word, phrase or association may not amount to much on its own, but if similar sentiments appear on a regular basis, then the discourse will become more powerful, penetrating into society’s subconscious as the given way of thinking” (Baker, 2004: 61-62). This is precisely the case of the current corpus. The incremental effect of different linguistic features and ideological contributions which characterizes political speeches is but one rationale behind the operationalization of different corpus techniques in the process of analysis, i.e. the incrementality involved in the corpus is revealed by the use of corpus tools, e.g. concordance lines examination and collocational analysis based on node words.

Crucial to the present research is Baker et al.’s remark that power is not only detected through the grammatical structures within a text, but also through “a person’s control of a social occasion, by means of the genre of a text, or by access to certain public spheres” (2008: 280). That is, it is usually precisely “within the genres associated with given social occasions that power is exercised or also challenged” (ibid.). Political discourse is all about power; and political speeches as a genre is typically a site for investing and demonstrating power. The position of Clinton as a woman politician, though in an area dominated by men, is rendered powerful by the power invested in the genre of political speeches by definition. This notion is asserted by the non-self-victimizing stance adopted by Clinton throughout her speeches, i.e. drawing on concordance lines analysis enacted throughout the different stages of analysis in the study, Clinton appears as keen on representing herself in a positive light as an affirmative high achiever and a powerful women defender rather than a disempowered oppressed or marginalized woman in an all-men arena. The negative self-representations are reserved to previous experiences of hers as seeking an education opportunity in law school or a career prospect as an astronaut.

The power latent in political speeches is equal to that of media discourse. Fairclough remarks (1989: 54):

The hidden power of media discourse and the capacity of [...] power-holders to exercise this power depend on systematic tendencies in news reporting and other media activities. A single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of

media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth.

In the present research, identity is examined in relation to socio-cultural discursive studies, i.e. the notion of 'constructing identities' adopted here is viewed as a sort of social and 'discursive work'. Following Sunderland (2002: 293), this study draws on a notion of identity as something that individuals choose for themselves from the available beliefs and responsibilities to them (Ivanic, 1998). Adopting Giddens' conception of identity, Sunderland and Litosseliti view identity as "a series of choices one continually makes about oneself and one's lifestyle, thus as a process, rather than a state or set of personal attributes" (2002: 7). Though they approve the notions of an individual's multiple identities, affiliation and choice, they reserve on the idea of 'free' choice. In the same vein, the study takes on the notion that an identity can be ascribed to an individual on the basis of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, profession, familial role, etc. However, these identities are not activated all the time. An individual's invocation of a particular aspect of identity from the available identities is dependent on the situation and the context of interaction. In this sense, the focus of the study is put on "whether, when and how identities are used," i.e. the analysis is primarily concerned with "the occasioned relevance of identities here and now, and how they are consequential for this particular interaction and the local projects of speakers" (Widdicombe, 1998: 195). The immediacy, particularity and specificity involved in the current study can, thus, be seen as an inherent nature of the study of individual identity as a whole. In respect to gender as the primary research focus of the present study, viewing gender as a social construction indicates that it is social, cultural and temporal specific; hence the findings of research cannot be generalized to all men and all women, rather the findings are to be viewed as particular to Obama and Clinton within the specified context of speeches. This draws attention to the notion that gender inevitably involves social identity and practice.

The politics of identity construction is deeply immersed into the notion of differentiation, i.e. while delineating a sense of belonging, we usually come into terms with what we are by defining what we are not (De Fina, 2011: 271; Wodak, 2003: 677; Benhabib, 1996: 3; Winker & Degele, 2011: 54; Comaroff & Comaroff, 1996). In so far the construction and interpretation of identity is concerned, different categories function simultaneously, that is, gender, race, ethnicity, religion, age, sexual orientation, etc. The study started with the hypothesis that gender is the most salient aspect of identity that Obama and Clinton orient to

in the process of constructing their political identities, i.e. they largely draw on their identities as a male politician versus a female one when projecting their respective political identities. However, close analysis revealed that race, ethnicity, religion, profession and familial affiliation saliently interfere, overlapping with the gender aspect, in the process of projecting and ascribing identities to each politician. In particular, the categorical duo of gender and race appeared to be of specific importance for the analysis and construction of candidates' identities in the present research.

As previously explicated (see section 2.1.1.), an identity may be conveyed either explicitly or implicitly. A person may project an identity explicitly by invoking the identity denoting term in relation to him/herself, e.g. "as a faithful Christian," "as a woman and a mother," or "I am a black man." Alternatively, a person may choose to convey an identity implicitly by adopting discursive choices that would create representations and associations pertinent to the identity in question. Different resources can be employed to this end: words and expressions can be used to invoke particular traits; ideas and topics may be utilized as signals triggering certain representations about certain social groups. These associations and representations, however, are continually liable to contestations, recreations and negotiations. In political discourse, politicians usually doctor their language in order to 'project' particular identities (De Fina, 2011: 269).

According to the findings of the analysis, the two sub-corpora of Obama and Clinton have disparate textual foci, i.e. whereas Clinton is more interested in addressing domestic issues and gender-specific issues, Obama is more focused on addressing issues related to foreign affairs, and less interested than Clinton in addressing gender-related issues. This disparity in the thematic focus on the part of Obama and Clinton contributes towards a construction of different political identities for each. Obama's political identity is constituted as heeding to the domain of foreign policy, whereas Clinton's political identity is constructed as more concerned with the domain of domestic policy. Moreover, this divergent topical focus of the speeches implicitly contributes towards a construction of the gender identities of each candidate. Obama's focus on hard politics, that is, foreign politics versus Clinton's focus on soft politics, that is, domestic politics, considered in the light of their different social genders as a male versus a female politician perspicuously corresponds to the stereotypical gender role allocation of men as 'breadwinners' and women as 'housewives'. Maintaining an ideology which is keeping in accordance with traditional gender roles and stereotypical convictions

helps both to appear more appealing and congruent with the ideological conception of the audience in order to achieve the ultimate aim of vote gaining, and at the same time also helps to sustain and enhance these ideologically standardized representations. This goes in accordance with the notion that the discursive construction of different identities depends on context, i.e. the audience the discourse is addressed to, the setting of the discursive practice and the topic under discussion (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998: 3; De Fina, 2011: 271). This implicitly permeating ideological gendered image contributes to maintaining a traditional division of gender role distribution. Furthermore, this gender-based polarization of Obama and Clinton is further stressed and enhanced by Obama's negligence of gender issues compared to Clinton's close focus on them which takes the ideological working involved in the topics selected by each of them a step forward. Obama's inattention to gender issues versus Clinton's concern about them goes in conformity with their disparate social gender identities. In this sense, the construction of political identity of Obama and Clinton can be viewed as partly based on their gender identity.

Here, the issue of intentionality arises. The issue of intentionality is closely pertinent to this study in relation to two aspects: the pre-written nature of political speeches and the performativity of identity. Intentionality has generally been addressed by sociologists. While some sociological researchers, e.g. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, straightforwardly state that the "intentions of individual actors are largely irrelevant to the explanation of social outcomes" (2006: 54), others tackle strategic purpose in their studies. Within the boundaries of political discourse, Van Dijk (1997) argues that since politicians' public speeches and statements are carefully prepared and planned in advance, racist political discourse, for example, can be regarded as a strategic, conscious attempt to address the electorate's prejudice. In the same vein, the issue of intentionality appears in relation to the concept of performing an identity. A great deal of our daily communication can be regarded as "a ritualised process which allows the participants to construct and project desirable versions of their identities, in a succession of performances targeted at specific audiences" (Jaworski & Coupland, 1999: 407). The use of linguistic 'performance' in constructing one's or others identities leads to the crucial question about choice and intentionality, i.e. when a person talks in a certain way, is s/he performing/constructing his or her identity in a particular form, or is s/he merely using language to index that?

Drawing a clear-cut distinction between ‘intentional’ theatrical performance, and ‘linguistic construction/indexing in talk’ is a difficult task (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 27). Butler herself points out:

my theory sometimes waffles between understanding performativity as linguistic and casting it as theatrical. I have come to think that the two are invariably related, chiasmically so, and that a reconsideration of the speech act as an instance of power invariably draws attention to both its theatrical and linguistic dimensions (1999: xxv).

At the heart of the present discussion is Litosseliti’s remark that “in line with more complex theorisations of gender, it is more likely that participants, being aware of gender assumptions [...], produce – and sometimes resist – what is expected of them as female or male. This process may be accentuated by the particular genre, and the fact that, in these constructed arguments, positions are often exaggerated or caricatured” (2002: 145). Individuals can have, or can be drawn as having, a role in this process. Thus, the discourse of an individual can be viewed “as mediating their own and others’ identities” (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 23). In the same vein, Bucholtz and Hall, through the principle of partialness, address the issue of intentionality in relation to identity analysis:

Any given construction of identity may be in part deliberate and intentional, in part habitual and hence often less than fully conscious, in part an outcome of interactional negotiation and contestation, in part an outcome of others’ perceptions and representations, and in part an effect of larger ideological processes and material structures that may become relevant to interaction. It is therefore constantly shifting both as interaction unfolds and across discourse contexts. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005: 606)

According to the findings of the current research, Obama and Clinton index their respective identities implicitly through the thematic topics selected. This implicit projection of different aspects of identity, whether related to gender, race, ethnicity, religion, family, profession, etc, is interpreted by the audience in certain manners contributing to the process of ascribing different identities to each politician. Moreover, they explicitly construct themselves as black, Kenyan and Joshua, on Obama’s part; and as daughter, woman and senator, on Clinton’s part. In addition, the gender representations explored implicitly add up to the gender and racial identities ascribed to each candidate. Whether the selection of topics, which initiated the process of identity construction with its various levels, or the gender representations communicated by them, are strategically determined in the light of the nature of political

speeches or identity performativity, or not, is an enduring problematizing dilemma of every social, political and linguistic research in this field.

The present study also contributes towards an understanding of how Obama and Clinton choose to represent themselves throughout their speeches. Ang (2001: 24) points out that the process of self-representation, enacted through autobiographies for instance, involves a display of a 'useful identity' which is meant to communicate a certain message or objective. The act of identity construction (or fabrication, creation, projection, manipulation, etc.) accentuates a particular aspect of an identity in order to deliver a certain message about the way we perceive ourselves (self-perception), the way we conceptualize that others perceive us (imagined self) and the rationale behind our promoting of a specified aspect of our identity (contextual belonging). According to the findings of the study, Obama resorts to race, ethnicity and religion as resources for an explicit projection of his identity, i.e. he refers to himself as black, as son of a Kenyan man and as a devoted Christian. On the other hand, Clinton turns to gender, familial affiliation and professional role as the basis for her self-identity construction, i.e. she refers to herself as a woman, as a daughter and as a senator.

The instability and negotiability of gender identity is observed in the current research. Cameron (1997: 49) notes: "Gender has constantly to be reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing acts in accordance with the social norm." In this sense, gender cannot be reduced to a set of fossilized accumulative values, but, rather, can be seen as the result of a constantly on-going process. The negotiability of gender is expressed by Butler (1990: 140), who points out that gender "ought not to be construed as a stable identity or locus of agency from which various acts follow. Rather, gender is an identity tenuously constituted in time, instituted in an exterior space through a stylised repetition of acts." Drawing on Foucault, discursal communicative practices are widely shaped by the institutional ideologies they occur against. Gender standards are 'discursively constituted' (Butler, 1990). Hence, discourse analysis is an efficacious tool for demystifying "the process of purportedly 'natural' gender divisions and oppositions" (Benwell, 2002: 155).

According to the findings of the present study, gender as a potential parameter affecting linguistic behaviour and identity construction is not unconditionally omnipresent, i.e. its activation is dependent on the social practice against which it is to be enacted as well as on the existence of other equally important determining parameters such as race, ethnicity, religion, profession, etc. Cameron (2008: 165) argues that "[w]e have a tendency to treat any

generalization about men and women as a source of information about ‘normal’ male or female behavior, which therefore has implications for how we ourselves should behave.” One explanation for lexical gender differences offered by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 13-4) is that some people tend to behave in ways which they see as characteristic of their gender—ways acquired by observing other people involved in gender performances. The repetition of these performances through time renders gender differences to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Deaux and Major (1987) and Deaux and LaFrance (1998), cited in Baker (2014: 42), argue that “gender only impacts on situations where factors such as task type or conversational topic are associated with stereotypes about women and men.” Harmoniously, in the present study where identity is discursively constructed through linguistic means, other social divisions are found to be coterminous with gender.

Actually, it is difficult to adopt a non-problematizing stance when approaching gender-related investigations in the context of political discourse generally, and when tackling multiple identity construction in political discourse in particular. Not so much chiming with a broad traditional cultural tendency towards gender dichotomizing, I have proposed to explore the ways in which different gender identities are constructed in an intersectional manner, i.e. against a matrix of miscellaneous parameters essentially encompassing race, ethnicity and religion. Such an understanding of gender as tying in well with race, ethnicity and religion is operative with the proposition that gender is performative (Butler, 1990). Evidently, the combination of gender, race and ethnicity as defining factors of identity in the context of political discourse problematizes the processes of identity construction for both Obama and Clinton.

The construction of identity is basically multifaceted, intersectional, and usually transcends one’s power of choice (Krumer-Nevo & Malka, 2012: 15). Rather, it is produced against a set of specific, often complex, contexts and social powers, structures and processes that go beyond one’s control. This notion is in conformity with Deaux’s (1993: 5) view that identities are delimited both internally by self and externally by others. She suggested that “[r]ather than being cleanly separable, social and personal identity are fundamentally interrelated. Personal identity is defined, at least in part, by group memberships, and social categories are infused with personal meaning”. In this light, Obama’s as well as Clinton’s identities are intersectional identities—multifaceted and dynamic (Nagel, 1994). Moreover, the multiple identities of an individual are not equally projected all the time, i.e. people may choose to mark one or more of the aspects of their identity in different social situations, institutions or

relationships in which they are involved (Josselson & Harway, 2012: 2; Ivanic, 1998: 11). Intersectionality is a means through which the different categories defining one's identity can be seen as interlocked in constant formations and reformations. In this light, the intersection of gender, race, ethnicity, religion, familial roles and profession is necessary to understand Obama's and Clinton's identity construction.

As previously demonstrated (see section 2.1.8.), the operationalization of the intersectionality theory is afflicted by the complications raised by resorting to 'multidimensional conceptualizations' in order to explain the ways in which the social categories interact in order to represent a social hierarchy (Browne & Misra, 2003). Moreover, the theory of intersectionality does not precisely identify the scope of subjects who are to be regarded as having intersectional identities. Hence, it is unclear if the concept is to be applied to all identities or only to the subjects having multiple marginalized identities (Nash, 2008: 9). The absence of a definitive methodology of intersectionality has caused it to be viewed merely as an analytical tool or perspective of considering the complexities involved in studying identity, rather than a normative framework per se. For a full-feathered operationalization of the concept of intersectionality in fathoming the workings of identity, a theorization of different subject experiences as well as a feasible detailed methodology for its application need to be provided by intersectionality researchers.

Based on the results of analysis, the intersectional and multiple identities of Obama and Clinton are revealed. Obama is more inclined to addressing issues related to race, ethnicity and religion whereas Clinton neglects these issues. These equally different textual foci also contribute towards the construction of their distinct political identities in relation to race, ethnicity and religion. Moreover, interpreted in the light of their different racial and ethnical affiliations, Obama's focus on racial and ethnic issues compared to Clinton's disinterest in them significantly corresponds to and is in accordance with their racial identities. Hence, the political identity of Obama and Clinton is partly constructed around their racial and ethnical identities. The notion of intersectionality as key to the construction of identity on the part of Obama and Clinton appears also in their self-identity representation explored in the process of analysis. In projecting an identity for himself, Obama intersects race, ethnicity and religion, i.e. he is black, his origins are Kenyan and he is Christian. On the other hand, Clinton constructs an identity for herself by intersecting familial, gender and profession affiliations. However, for Clinton, the dimension of gender pervasively interferes with the other different

aspects that she resorts to when projecting her identity, i.e. Clinton is preoccupied with orienting to her gender identity even when relating to familial or professional affiliations. Contrary to what has been argued by scholars, e.g. Sunderland (1995, 1998) and Chodorow (1978), that “the boundaries and ‘morphology’ of masculinity are more rigid than those of femininity” and that an identity or multiple identities can be created for females rather than males (Sunderland & Litosseliti, 2002: 7-8), the results of the present study suggest that within the context of the USA Democratic Party Convention primaries, a multiple identity is readily equally constructible for Obama as well as for Clinton.

On a critical level of analysis, the intersection of gender and race is indispensable in order to critically interpret the findings of the analysis. The normalization and ideological naturalization of the presence of men in the political sphere is the *raison d’être* for Obama’s refraining from basically constructing his political identity around the concept of gender. It is a standardized fact for a man to be in the field of politics. However, his identity as an African-American is the non-traditional site that has to be addressed. Concomitantly, his religion which has raised doubts is also a problematic aspect that has to be emphasized. *Per contra*, Clinton is interested in constructing an identity mainly based on gender since it is her gender as a female politician in a field dominated by men that is considered controversial and needs to be invoked rather than her race as a white woman.

Taking a corpus-based approach, the study specifically focuses on the notions of gender bias, gendered language and gender representations. The adoption of a gender perspective to investigate political speeches in relation to the specified gendered language features, that is, the notion of backgrounding, gender-marked functionalizing words and binomial pairs is also another contribution. The examination of the notion of backgrounding, which is a form of exclusion, helps to reveal if certain social actors are represented as empowered or disempowered (van Leeuwen, 1996: 38-39). In this respect, the results of the present study significantly refer to Obama’s backgrounding of female social actors indicated by the lower frequency of female items in his sub-corpus. Comparatively, Clinton is more focused on referring to female social actors which is indicated by the relatively high frequency in her sub-corpus. As for the use of gender-marked functionalizing and identifying words which is considered to be a form of gendered use of language, Clinton is found to be significantly more inclined to use gender-marked functionalizing words—the fact which reflects her

preoccupation with genderization, and which also goes in accordance with the above-mentioned gender identity construction.

As for the notion of male fitness, both Clinton and Obama were found to use male fitness terms, where the male term comes in the first position, with no significant difference. However, Clinton was found to be significantly more inclined to use opposite-sex pairs with the female term in the first position. Interestingly, Clinton uses the binomial pair *women and men* strategically when discussing women's issues and women's struggle for their rights. Similarly, Obama also uses the same pair to the same strategic end. The binomial pair *mothers and fathers* is also utilized in the same strategic way, i.e. *mothers* is placed in the first place in a binomial pair by Clinton in relation to cases which correspond to her invoking of gender as a determining factor in her presidential candidacy. Obama's use of the pattern *mothers and fathers* is also used strategically in conformity with the stereotypical representations of mothers as the principal care takers of children's responsibilities in the family. All in all, both Obama and Clinton exhibit gendered use of language in relation to binomial pairs, i.e. both of them utilize opposite-sex pairs with the male referent in the first position with the same frequency and significance. But, it is notable that the use of opposite-sex pairs with the female referent in the first position stands out as referring to Clinton's relative gender impartiality compared to Obama.

The delineation of gender representations in comparative terms is another contribution of the current research. Previous studies have focused on representations of male versus female in only one corpus. The importance of exploring discursive representations is associated with the reciprocal influence of discourse and reality, as well as the contribution towards the process of identity construction. As for the former end, discourse shapes and is simultaneously shaped by reality (Johnstone, 2002: 9). Thus, in the same way that discourse reflects reality, it also helps to construct this reality (Baker, 2014: 154; Fairclough, 1992a: 3). The study of gender representations, then, provides an insight into the actual conditions of men and women in society on different levels and roles, e.g. in the workplace, in the family, in various service institutions, etc., as well as a prospect for potential maintaining or changing of these conditions. The latter end relates to the potential that gender representations offer in interpreting and ascribing gender identities in general, and intersectional multiple identities in particular, to speakers. Moreover, the importance of delineating gender representations resides in the ideological work inherent in conveying gender images of how men and women in

society are perceived as being or doing in a descriptive or prescriptive manner in the context of influential discourse type, that is, political discourse, and power-invested genre, that is, political speeches. The ideological work, in its turn, does not stop at representing social reality, but also transcends it to shaping that reality. Furthermore, the exploration of gender representations can be viewed as a process whereby particular constructions of identity are mediated and articulated.

Reporting on the results of analysis where Obama and Clinton display similar linguistic behaviour is as essential as reporting on the differences. Baker (2014: 24) criticizes the ‘difference mindset’—a tendency of “privileging findings that reveal differences while backgrounding similarities”—that most researchers in the field of language and gender put themselves into to the extent that finding similarities would be regarded as a ‘non-finding’ “that is not worth reporting.” He expands that “[e]vidence from psychological studies of cognition and stereotyping suggests that our brains work in a way which makes it easy for many people to accept the difference paradigm.” This phenomenon can be regarded as a confirmation bias (Nickerson, 1998), “a tendency in human thinking to favour information that confirms existing beliefs or hypotheses. If we believe that men swear more than women, then we tend to notice male swearing more and then report on cases of male swearing, thus influencing the opinions of others that males swear more than females.”

According to the findings of the gender representations analysis, a number of representations appear as common to both men and women in Obama’s as well as in Clinton’s sub-corpora, e.g. men and women as equally serving the country, men and women of colour are represented as oppressed and marginalized, etc. (for a detailed discussion of findings of gender representations including similarities and differences between the two sub-corpora as well as traditional and progressive gender representations, see section 5.8.3.5.). In this respect, it should be noted that representations as well as discourses are formed and deformed. The contradictory nature of discourses in the workplace is discussed by Baxter (2003: 9) who observes that “individuals are rarely consistently positioned as powerful across all discourses at work within a given context—they are often located simultaneously as both powerful and powerless.”

At the heart of the present research is Hall’s remark: “Identities are [...] constituted within, not outside representation” (1996: 4). Accordingly, Winker and Degele (2011: 59) comment, “the analysis of social practice does not only make identity-constructions reconstructible, but

also the norms and values that operate within a society. These can be hegemonic representations, but also norms and values that create opposing public sociopolitical movements.” The gender representations conveyed by Obama and Clinton can be seen as contributing to their overall political identity, on the one hand, and to their gender identity on the other. Gender identity is inclusive of gender representations, i.e. it is part of the gender identity constructed by Obama and Clinton to talk about gender representations in this way. By resorting to stereotypical representations of men and women, the discursive gender identity of Clinton and Obama can be interpreted.

In Clinton’s case, gender identity rules, overriding that of race and organizational or professional identities, though the latter do not come into eclipse. Clinton represents herself as a protector and defender of women. Moreover, through self-inclusion in the group of women and self-marking as one of the group of high achievers, she indicates women’s capabilities of challenging the restrictions imposed on them. In Obama’s case, racial identity is more salient, though other identities are also activated, e.g. institutional as well as gender identities. Based on the analysis findings, Obama seems more interested in addressing racial issues while explicitly projecting a racial identity. Actually, with the rise of black electorate in the US in the 1960s, the issue of race came to effectively influence the American political discourse, since politicians had to effect changes in order to gain the votes of blacks and pro-civil rights whites. In some presidential campaigns, the race issue alone has played prominent role in deciding the election’s results (Edsall & Edsall, 1991), i.e. candidates have utilized a plethora of techniques to gain political power: using overt or covert racism, distancing oneself from other candidates with racially conservative beliefs, introducing symbolic metaphors that send a subconscious race-related messages, etc. Within the US politics, the issue of race is used for its powerful potential to gain votes or cause damage to political rivals. It is evident that race-related policy and speech correspond to the pathos of the US electorate. Thus, these speeches have repeatedly been used by politicians in order to manipulate the audience and achieve political gain (Edsall & Edsall, 1991; Santa Ana, 2002).

On the level of analyzing the gender representations communicated by Obama and Clinton, the intersection dimension of identity projection is enacted, i.e. intersectional identity categories highlight the distribution of social and economic privilege, or the lack of it. Thus, intersecting gender and race, especially in the case of black women’s representation in discourse, allows for the capturing of social and economic disadvantageous conditions. Intersectional subordination “is frequently the consequence of the imposition of one burden

that interacts with pre-existing vulnerabilities to create yet another dimension of disempowerment” (Creshaw, 1991: 1249). In this sense, men’s and, most particularly, women’s potentials are controlled and restrained by gender as well as racial socially attributed roles and discriminations.

The key debate of men and women having different leadership styles is rhetorically invoked by Clinton as she employs the stereotypical female conversational strategies. In this sense, Clinton maintains a traditional representation of women as more cooperative, conciliatory, facilitative, collaborative, person/process oriented and solidarity-oriented rather than confrontational, autonomous, task/outcome oriented, competitive and authoritative (Tannen, 1994, 2001; Holmes & Stubbe, 2003). Stereotypical characteristics of women’s language comprise being emotional, friendly, gossipy and indirect, while men’s language are typically characterized as unemotional, forceful, direct and having a sense of humor (Kramer, 1978; Holmes, 2006: 6). The notion of gender as performance offers feasible interpretation for these speech patterns which depend on the conflicting gender roles of assertion and facilitation, since it is concerned with the fluid enactment of gender roles in specific social situations rather than the expectedly polarized and dichotomous differences of gender roles. Moreover, Clinton redefines the stereotypical male leading style as non-efficient and out-of-date, and accordingly, redefines female leading style as more appropriate and fitting. This represents a further disqualification of the male leading manner and a validation of the female one—an implicit reference that she would be an efficient leader as a president.

Again, the issue of intentionality floats to the surface. In respect to the gendered use of language and gender representations of Obama and Clinton, the aim may not be much ascribed to their masculinity or femininity—although that can also be the case – as to exploit the cultural associations that accrue to gender (Koller & Semino, 2009: 14). Holmes (2006), for example, has demonstrated the ways in which male and female managers use conversational features, e.g. humour, politeness and turn-taking, in order to perform culturally associated male and female interactional styles and also to be perceived as competent and determined, or as caring and compassionate. A similar phenomenon has been discussed by Mills (2005) regarding everyday talk. In this sense, the identity constructed by individuals may be regarded “not so much an effect of their gender identity but a strategic choice in order to achieve their goals in a particular context” (Koller & Semino, 2009: 14).

The findings of the present research are to be viewed in the light of a number of interrelated notions. *First*, gender is to be viewed as a linguistic resource rather than a necessity. In accordance with most recent research in the field of language and gender which rejects the essentialist view that gender identity unproblematically results in gendered linguistic behaviour, the present study adopts a social constructivist approach which views gender identities as discursively constructed, and “regards femininity and masculinity as linguistic resources that speakers of any gender can draw on” (Koller & Semino, 2009: 13). *Second*, gender is but one aspect of an individual’s identity and can be overridden by other facets of identity or by contextual factors which are at times prioritized over gender. *Third*, political speeches are often prewritten by professional speech writers. Political campaigns are normally run by spindoctors. Both speech writers and spin doctors are part of the politician’s public relations (PR) team (see section 2.3.1.). In many respects, “the politician giving a speech often functions mainly as animator, and as a representative of a particular world view carefully designed by PR experts to target a maximum number of potential voters” (ibid.: 15). Hence, a politician’s use of language may be tailored in terms of pragmatic considerations concerning audience, party membership, political and historical context, and different aspects of identity affiliation, e.g. gender, race, ethnicity, religion, age, profession, etc.

Accordingly, Obama’s and Clinton’s use of language which, to an extent, reflects stereotypical gender representations, such as the role of a woman as the sole caretaker of children, cannot simplistically be explained as stemming from the fact of Obama as a male and Clinton as a female politician. The rationale is partly that gender is not to be regarded in an essentialist sense as explicated earlier. Rather, gender is to be discursively constructed. Moreover, the fact that their speeches are potentially scripted either by themselves or by PR experts suggests that Obama’s and Clinton language use, and hence the message behind their language use, is intended and designed in a strategic way in order to suit the different aspects of their identities as well as the pragmatic considerations of the political context.

6.2. Methodological Contributions

On the methodological level, the present study can claim a contribution on four strata. First, typically, in pure CDA research, the linguistic description of texts is generally the starting point of analysis. Thus, no objective criteria for the specification of linguistic phenomenon are provided. Contrarily, in the present research, objective criteria for the identification of most frequent words, keywords and collocations are provided through the use of Wordsmith 5

computational software (Scott, 2007) and the online interface SkE (Kilgarriff et al., 2004) from the outset. The study sets out with the computational identification of most frequent words and keywords which are, then, subject to concordance lines examination. This step has endowed the study with a sense of objectivity and proved helpful in the following qualitative phase of analysis.

The second methodological contribution resides in the application of the synergetic methodology of CDA and CL to the particular type of data investigated, that is, the genre of political speeches as a type of political discourse within the fields of language and gender and identity construction. The methodological synergy of CDA and CL is uncommon to be applied to the study of language and gender per se. In the current study, the political speeches of Obama and Clinton are investigated with the aim of identifying the identities that they orient to in the process of constructing their political identity. Gendered use of language and gender representations are also explored. In this sense, the methodological synergy of CDA and CL is operationalized in relation to political discourse, identity studies and language and gender studies, and here lies the contribution.

The third contribution of the present study relates to the procession of the study working and the structure of its build-up. According to the prevailing trend in corpus linguistics, priority and precedence in research are given to the phase of corpus analysis and findings' working out rather than taking the theoretical underpinnings as a starting point of corpus investigation. Marchi and Taylor (2009: 3) illustrate that CL findings are bottom-up, resulting from the "the observation of the data, more precisely from the observation and interpretation of patterns in the data that are made visible and significant by their recurrence." Human beings are inclined to see objects, shapes and lists as patterns. It is the case that, characteristically, the homo sapiens mind cannot see things 'as they are'. Rather, they tend to impose a trend or a pattern on them (Scott & Tribble 2006: 6). Alternatively, typically a researcher may decide to set out from the theoretical framework only in case of small corpora (Koller & Semino, 2009; Semino & Koller, 2009). Therefore, an important contribution of the present research, which goes contrary to the previously-mentioned trends, is the way in which the analyst has commenced from a particular theoretical apparatus and then applied it to a large corpus. The corpus has been examined through the perspective of gender theorizations and identity scholarship. Findings are presented, described and interpreted. Then, they are ascribed back to the theoretical underpinnings.

The fourth methodological contribution of the present study relates to the use of CL tools with the aim of revealing how an identity can be indexed through linguistic means, i.e. the procedure implemented in unearthing the workings of identity in the corpus investigated is genuine. According to the analysis process, the construction of identity has proved to be constructible through a corpus analytical techniques, that is, frequency lists, keyword lists and collocational profiles. Frequency lists have efficiently been used to detect Obama's and Clinton's projection of a political identity as well as their implicit signalling of gender identities. Keyword lists have provided an insight into the different sources that Obama and Clinton orient to in the process of their self-identity construction. Collocations have proved to be an effective resource in examining textual features with the aim of revealing ideological processes, that is, gender representations particular to the present corpus as a step towards a delineation of their intersectional identities. All in all, the present study can claim a genuine contribution towards the use of empirical methods in pinpointing and revealing actual aspects of identity construction. Rather than intuitively and subjectively specifying sources of constituting identity in an essentialist way, empirical corpus tools enable objective and impartial delineation of identity working out and interpretation. In this respect, I suggest that corpus tools be essentially incorporated in a linguistic model of revealing the workings of identity in general and of intersectional building up in particular.

The use of Critical Discourse Analysis as an approach mainly concerned with social groups under social discrimination in an advocating manner also proved fruitful in contextualizing the linguistic patterns of Obama and Clinton—by considering extralinguistic factors such as culture, society and ideology as a way into a comprehensive understanding of meaning potentials in relation to social, political and ideological components—and in teasing out the ideological potential of different linguistic contributions. Following Fairclough's model of Critical Discourse Analysis, which involves providing a description of the discursive as well as the sociocultural practices pertinent to text production, consumption and interpretation, I have attempted to expand on the conditions surrounding the process of the speeches of Democratic Party primaries production and reception with the aim of offering more enriched interpretation of the discursive identities constructed. Furthermore, the operationalization of Halliday's functional processes and van Leeuwen's scheme of social actors representations respectively corresponded with the aim of analysis in that part. The different representations of men and women, e.g. as empowered or disempowered, as oppressed or as dominating, in a positive light or in a negative light, etc., have emerged from Obama's and Clinton's

positioning of men and women as participants in functional processes as well as their allocation of active and passive roles to men and women as social actors. Though van Leeuwen's categorization scheme and Halliday's functional processes proved to be efficient tools for the exploration of how men and women are linguistically, and hence sociologically, empowered or disempowered, the importance and inevitability of operationalizing different features of linguistic context, e.g. semantic preference, metaphor, rhetorical devices, etc. through concordance lines examination, as well as various aspects of social context as an inherent CDA tradition has been also proved, since these features have actively contributed towards the formulation of gender representations in concordance lines analysis.

Chapter Seven: Summary and Outlook

The aim of this chapter is to provide a summary of the current research as a whole, in addition to a presentation of the study limitations and the prospects for further research. In the present study, I have attempted to work out a discursive construction of the political identities conveyed by Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton by examining the political speeches delivered by them during the USA 2008 Democratic Party primaries. I have also attempted, through analysis of text, to move towards an identification and description of gender representations in the context of their political speeches. By employing a definition of discourse analysis which involves consideration of texts as inseparable from their contexts, I have been able to describe Obama's Clinton's political identities which have been found to be largely constituted by gender identity as well as racial identity. In order to contextualize the findings of the text-based analyses, relevant political-, social- and gender-related statistical information has been provided to support the results, e.g. candidates' backgrounds, women's participation in the USA politics, women's social conditions in the USA, social conditions of people of different races in the USA, etc.

The study adopts a methodological synergy of Critical Discourse Analysis and corpus linguistics (Baker et al., 2008) through which most frequent words and keywords of both sub-corpora are extracted through the use of software package Wordsmith tools 5 (Scott, 2007). These words are, then, subjected to a concordance analysis enabled through the use of the online interface Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff et al., 2004) and resulting in a categorization of thematic interests on the part of each politician. Depending on the results of analysis, Obama was found to be more focused on foreign policy rather than domestic policy, whereas Clinton was found to be more concerned with domestic affairs rather than foreign affairs. These findings contribute towards a construction of their political identities, as well as the construction of their gender identities, i.e. by Obama's focusing on foreign policy and Clinton's focusing on domestic policy, both politicians maintain a stereotypical representation of gender social roles which implicitly contributes towards a traditional and standardized gender identity construction for each of them. These results are further enhanced by the findings which indicate Clinton's focus on women's issues in comparison to Obama's negligence of them, and Obama's focus on racial, ethnical and religious issues in comparison to Clinton's negligence of these issues. The process of identity construction examination stretches to encompass their self-identity representation whereby Obama draws on race,

ethnicity and religion in order to project his political identity, whereas Clinton draws on gender, familial roles and professional roles.

The study also examines the notions of gender-marked words for profession where findings show that Clinton is significantly more inclined to use gender-marked functionalizing words which indicate her preoccupation with genderization, and which also go in conformity with her political and gender identities drawn earlier. As for Obama's and Clinton's use of opposite-sex pairs, results indicate that both of them use male fitness terms where the male term comes in the first position in the same way. However, Clinton was found to be significantly more inclined to use binomial pairs with the female term in the first position. Interestingly, both were found to use male fitness notion strategically according to the purpose of the speech delivered. Gender representations communicated by Obama and Clinton are explored as well. In this respect, different stereotypical and progressive gender representations appear in Clinton's sub-corpus whereas Obama only contributes towards traditional gender role representations. Moreover, compared to Clinton, Obama tends to represent the identities of men and women intersectionally by focusing on the aspects of race and ethnicity as intersecting with gender.

It should be noted here that no generalizations of the current research findings can be claimed, i.e. we cannot possibly conclude from the analysis of the speeches of one male and one female politician any definitive results about what topical interests male and female politicians generally have or what gender representation they express. What we can better argue for is a claim about what Hillary Clinton as a female politician in the context of the Democratic Party Primaries, versus Barack Obama as a male politician in the same context, is topically interested in, what gender representations these two political figures conveyed within the limits of this electoral tradition, and what gendered use of language they show. As an outlook for future research, I suggest that larger corpora comprising the speeches delivered by multiple male and female politicians be used in the examination of multiple identity construction. I also suggest the same methodology of synergizing CDA and CL as a means of detecting how identities are constructed to be used in other genres of political discourse, e.g. political interviews and debated, as well as other discourse types, e.g. media discourse.

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Appendix

Words in wordlist	Rank	Frequency
People	39	1055
America	44	981
Country	53	876
President	57	780
War	63	710
Americans	65	685
Change	68	644
World	76	591
Care	78	564
Iraq	90	487
Washington	92	473
Health	93	472
Tax	101	423
Jobs	108	403
Children	112	394
Energy	113	385
Families	118	373
States	150	337
Economy	133	335
Oil	138	309
Government	139	308

Most frequent words in Obama's sub-corpus

Words in wordlist	Rank	Frequency
People	29	1398
President	43	1014
Care	52	845
America	54	823
Health	69	691
Country	74	643
World	90	524
Government	96	474
Families	99	465
Energy	101	459
Children	107	424
Jobs	108	424
Americans	110	415
Home	115	400
Women	117	392
Economy	122	377
Family	139	310
Iraq	142	304
Tax	145	302
War	152	283
Senator	154	278

Most frequent words in Clinton's sub-corpus

Keyword	Frequency	Keyness
Washington	473	357.44
War	710	192.30
Politics	270	179.58
Change	644	169.58
Lobbyists	121	144.29
Page	96	110.86
Chicago	138	108.33
Time	973	108.28
McCain	231	108.21
Folks	192	25.09
Moment	214	91.02
Black	120	74.94
Illinois	85	74.80
Politicians	64	73.91
Fuel	135	70.84
Americans	685	68.51
Planet	78	66.37
Streets	95	62.75
Cities	104	60.56
Teachers	154	59.09
Qaeda	93	58.19
Bullet	43	51.68
Neighborhoods	77	48.36
Truth	82	46.79
Grandfather	49	45.35
Schools	172	44.92
Keeper	32	44.53
Iraq	487	43.75
Organizer	53	43.25
Hope	276	42.93
Weapons	119	42.88
Joshua	30	41.75
Patriotism	45	40.44
Kids	147	40.44
Cynicism	29	40.36
Judgment	38	39.76
Story	158	39.43
Latino	47	39.39
Block	52	39.06
Decades	102	38.82
Community	186	38.19
Threats	108	38.06
Kenya	27	37.57
Country	876	37.21
Purpose	80	37.07

Diplomacy	101	36.53
Steel	59	36.41
McCain's	35	35.91

Keyword list in Obama's sub-corpus

Keyword	Frequency	Keyness
Daughter	58	71.36
Autism	51	70.44
Research	132	61.30
Solutions	91	60.12
Care	845	55.07
Work	794	53.50
Healthcare	58	52.13
Patients	80	48.49
Quality	151	47.29
Mortgages	93	46.79
People	1398	46.50
House	214	45.47
Nurses	65	44.79
Administration	215	44.22
Women	392	43.69
Figure	64	43.69
Medicare	48	43.65
Warming	87	42.98
Obama	119	42.03
Arkansas	43	40.38
Health	691	40.41
Doctors	66	38.59
Planning	33	37.94
Legislation	94	37.35
Connecticut	27	37.29
Florida	53	36.93
Aids	62	36.73
Disabilities	32	36.62
Mortgage	145	35.89

Keyword list in Clinton's sub-corpus

Words in wordlist	Foreign	Domestic	Other	Gender
People	14	85	1	--
America	25	61	14	0.05
Country	14	74	12	--
President	23	71	6	--
War	90	5	5	--
Americans	10	81	9	--
World	62	21	17	--
Iraq	99	1	--	--
Washington	16	77	7	--
Health	2	98	--	--
Tax	--	100	--	--
Jobs	--	96	4	3
Children	8	87	5	--
Energy	5	92	3	--
Families	15	85	--	--
States	25	73	2	1
Economy	30	69	1	--
Government	17	82	1	--
Care	2	97	--	--
Oil	49	92	1	--

Obama's most frequent words classified in relation to foreign policy, domestic policy and gender (in percentage)

Words in wordlist	Foreign	Domestic	Other	Gender
People	5	82	13	0.05
President	16	79	5	0.25
America	10	83	7	0.35
Health	--	100	--	0.15
Country	16	78	6	0.05
Government	14	83	3	--
Families	1	87	12	2
Energy	1	96	3	--
Children	2	84	14	8
Jobs	2	96	2	2
Women	17	63	20	75
Economy	4	96	--	2
Family	1	88	11	19
Iraq	96	4	--	--
Tax	--	100	--	--
War	78	9	13	--
Senator	15	70	15	--
Americans	2	94	5	--
Care	--	95	5	11
Home	25	84	15	4

Clinton's most frequent words classified in relation to foreign policy, domestic policy and gender (in percentage)

Keywords	Foreign	Domestic	Other	Gender
Washington	16	77	7	--
War	90	5	5	--
Politics	9	63	29	--
Change	--	--	--	--
Lobbyists	--	100	--	--
Page	40	12	48	--
McCain	32	71	1	6
Black	1	80	1	3
Illinois	6	68	26	1
Folks	2	66	32	1
Fuel	24	98	--	--
Americans	10	81	9	--
Cities	10	56	36	--
Teachers	--	84	16	--
Qaeda	100	10	--	--
Schools	2	72	26	--
Iraq	9	1	--	--
Weapons	90	6	4	--
Kids	--	90	10	--
Judgment	71	5	24	3
Latino	--	68	32	--
Decades	4	46	50	2
Threats	82	10	8	--
Country	14	74	12	--
Diplomacy	98	2	--	--
McCain's	12	88	--	--

Obama's keywords classified in relation to foreign policy, domestic policy and gender (in percentage)

Keywords	Foreign	Domestic	Other	Gender
Daughter	--	26	74	52
Autism	--	100	--	--
Research	--	94	6	--
Solutions	6	56	38	--
Care	--	9	5	--
Healthcare	--	98	2	--
Patients	--	100	--	--
Quality	2	88	10	6
Mortgages	--	100	--	--
People	5	82	13	--
Nurses	--	86	14	--
Administration	33	50	16	1
Women	17	63	20	75
Figure	--	87	13	--
Medicare	--	100	--	--
Warming	3	66	2	--
Health	--	100	--	--
Doctors	--	96	4	--
Planning	24	72	4	28
Legislation	18	80	2	4
Disabilities	--	97	3	--
Mortgages	--	100	--	--

Clinton's keywords classified in relation to foreign policy, domestic policy and gender (in percentage)

Words in wordlist	race	ethnicity	religion
People	1.5	0.5	2
America	2	1.5	0.5
Country	2.5	1	0.5
President	1.5	--	0.5
War	1.5	--	--
Americans	5.5	--	2
World	1	--	1.5
Iraq	--	--	--
Washington	1	--	--
Health	2	--	--
Tax	--	--	--
Jobs	1	--	--
Children	11	2	1
Energy	--	--	--
Families	--	1	--
States	4	--	--
Economy	1	--	--
Government	--	--	--
Nation	9	1	3
Change	--	--	--
Care	--	--	--
Oil	--	--	--

Obama's most frequent words classified in relation to racial, ethnical and religious topics (in percentage)

Words in wordlist	race	ethnicity	religion
People	1	--	--
President	2	1	--
America	2	1	--
Health	--	2	--
Country	2	3	--
World	0.5	--	--
Government	--	--	--
Families	1	--	--
Energy	--	--	--
Children	1	--	--
Jobs	--	--	--
Women	3	1	1
Economy	--	1	--
Family	1	--	1
Iraq	--	--	--
Tax	--	--	--
War	--	--	--
Senator	1	--	--
Americans	3	1	--
Care	--	--	--
Work	--	--	--
Home	--	--	--

Clinton's most frequent words classified in relation to racial, ethnical and religious topics (in percentage)

Keywords	race	ethnicity	religion
Politics	1	2	4
Lobbyists	--	--	--
Chicago	1	3	12
McCain	1	1	1
Black	96	2	4
Illinois	--	--	--
Folks	2	--	6
Politicians	--	5	--
Fuel	--	--	--
Planet	--	--	--
Streets	2	4	--
Cities	4	--	2
Teachers	--	--	--
Qaeda	--	--	4
Bullet	--	--	--
Neighborhoods	4	--	--
Grandfather	2	--	--
Schools	2	--	2
Weapons	--	--	--
Kids	--	--	--
Latino	98	--	--
Community	8	--	8
Threats	--	--	--
Kenya	37	100	--
Diplomacy	--	--	--
Steel	--	--	--
Page	--	--	--
Truth	--	--	4
Keeper	--	--	100
Organizer	2	--	10
Hope	--	--	1
Joshua	--	--	100
Patriotism	--	--	--
Cynicism	--	--	--
Judgment	--	--	--
Story	4	2	4
Block	--	--	--
Decades	--	--	--
Purpose	--	--	--

Obama's keywords classified in relation to racial, ethnical and religious topics (in percentage)

Keywords	race	ethnicity	religion
Daughter	--	--	--
Autism	--	--	--
Research	--	--	--
Solutions	--	--	--
Healthcare	1	1	--
Patients	2	2	--
Mortgages	--	--	--
House	--	--	--
Nurses	--	--	--
Medicare	--	--	--
Warming	--	--	--
Arkansas	--	--	--
Doctors	--	--	--
Planning	--	--	--
Legislations	--	--	--
Connecticut	--	--	--
Florida	--	--	--
Aids	--	1	3
Disabilities	--	--	--
Mortgage	--	--	--
Quality	1	--	--
Administration	--	--	--
Figure	--	--	--
Obama	4	--	--

Clinton's keywords classified in relation to racial, ethnical and religious topics (in percentage)