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"Corpus-based analysis of political speeches of warfare by Bush and Obama"

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Abstract

The present paper examines pronouns, modal auxiliaries, metaphors, and euphemisms in certain 9/11 and warfare speeches delivered by the last two American Presidents, George Bush and Barack Obama, from 2001 to 2013. The aim of the paper is to raise awareness about the manipulative use of language in political speeches, and by applying Corpus Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis, the paper quantitatively and qualitatively approaches the analysis of salient pronouns, modal auxiliaries, metaphors and euphemisms, examining their frequencies, patterns and implications of manipulative use. More precisely, the paper tries to discover correlations between the above items, suggest the purpose of their manipulative usages, and implies which President prefers which manipulative usage more. Finally, the paper suggests how the Presidents may be perceived by the public. As for the findings of the present study, they reveal a correlation between pronouns and modals on one hand, and metaphors and euphemisms on the other. The above-mentioned items are used for a couple of manipulative purposes: positive self and negative other-presentation, "face" protection, intimidation, and justification of war. Bush seems to favour the last three usages, while Obama is predominantly focused on "face" protection and positive self-presentation. As far as the perception of the public is concerned, the findings suggest that Bush may be perceived as more direct, daring, formal and personal, while Obama may be perceived as more social, polite, and professional. Basically, the findings suggest that Bush deals more with foreign policy, while Obama is focused on domestic policy. This indicates that the findings may have been influenced by Obama's senatorship speeches on warfare, which make up half of the Obama-corpus, and were introduced to match the size of the Bush-corpus. Thus, future research including the latest, and only presidential speeches of President Obama may yield different results.

Сажетак

Приложени рад испитује политички језик коришћен од стране Џорџа Буша и Барака Обаме у одређеним говорима одржаних између 2001. и 2013. године, а везаних за напад 9. септембра и ратове који су уследили након истог напада. Циљ приложеног рада је подизање свести о манипулативном коршћењу језика у политичким говорима, и користећи методе корпусне лингвистике и критичке анализе дискурса, приложени рад приступа квантитативно и квалитативно анализи упадљивих заменица, модала, метафора и еуфемизама у двома корпусима, испитујући њихове фреквенције, шаблонско понашање и манипулативне импликације. Тачније речено, приложени рад покушава да открије корелације између горенаведених језичких јединица, указује на манипулативне сврхе њиховог коришћења, као и на то да Буш и Обама користе исте јединице у различте манипулативне сврхе. Напослетку, приложени рад такође указује на могућност да јавност може перципирати председнике на различите начине. Резултати откривају корелације између заменица и модала, као и између метафора и еуфемизама. Што се тиче манипулативног коришћења језика, горенаведене језичке јединице су коришћене у следеће сврхе: позитивно самопредстављање и негативно предстаљање другог, за заштиту имиџа, застрашивање, и за оправдавање рата. Изгледа да се Буш у својим говорима концентрише на негативно представљање другог, застрашивање и оправдавање рата, док се Обама концентрише на заштиту имиџа и позитивно самопредстављање. Даље, на основу језичког репертоара председника, Буш понекад може јавности деловати директније, смелије, формалније и личније, док Обама може јавности деловати друштвеније, учтивије и професионалније. У суштини, резултати указују на то да се Буш више бави спољном политиком, док је Обама заузет бавећи се унутрашњом политиком. То даље имплицира да су на резултате утицали Обамини сенаторски говори везани за рат, који сачињавају половину Обаминог корпуса, а уметнути су да би изједначили величину наведеног корпуса са корпусом Џорџа Буша. Стога, предстојећа истраживања, која би укључила најновије председничке говоре Обаме, могу дати нове резултате.

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List of Abbreviations

B – Bush

O – Obama

CL – Corpus Linguistics

CDA – Critical Discourse Analysis

CMT – Conceptual Metaphor Theory

OED – The Oxford English Dictionary

Frown – Freiburg-Brown corpus of American English

"War is what happens when language fails"

Margaret Atwood

1. Introduction

War is one of the most disturbing social issues that humanity has constantly faced. In the last fourteen years we have witnessed several major wars. The 21st century started off with the 9/11 attack on the New York World Trade Centre, where around 3,000 people were killed. Shortly after, the alleged leader of Al Qaeda – Osama Bin Laden – was accused of having started the attack, and the war against Afghanistan began. In 2003 Saddam Hussein – the leader of Iraq – was accused of cooperating with Al Qaeda and the war against Iraq commenced. The war in Iraq was followed by the Libyan Civil War in 2011 and the Syrian Civil War in 2013. Interestingly, the U.S.A. government has been involved in each of these wars, and its leaders – former President George Bush and current President Barack Obama[1] – have always claimed that the only purpose of war was regional or global peace. However, time has shown that there is an inconsistency between what Presidents say and the action that their government has taken. This would suggest that the language the Presidents use does not reflect the intentions of their administrations, and is thus low on quality. The social environment has certainly contributed to the features of such a language, since all presidents deal with politics where matters mostly revolve around gaining influence over and support from the public for the purpose of establishing and defending policies. Language is the crucial tool on these occasions, which is why imposing certain policies is a matter of using appropriate linguistic resources.

Unlike other politicians, presidents in most countries are figures with highest authority. Unsurprisingly, the public media always circulates around them, informing people of the presidents' activities, but also serving as a mediator between the presidents and the public. Through broadcasting presidents can deliver their speeches to a large number of people, which means that the words uttered by presidents circulate in greater quantity and more frequently in the media. This may increase the probability of the public being influenced by the same words. Moreover, presidential speeches are often not instantly criticised in public, such as the addresses to the nation, inaugural speeches, and commemorative speeches. This might provide the words presented by presidents, the opportunity to circulate longer in the media and exert a certain amount of influence on the often remote public. Actually, the goal of presidential speeches is to persuade the public, i.e. to adjust the public's point of view according to the needs of the presidents' administrations. This often happens during warfare, when a government, such as the U.S. government, participates in wars without the consensus

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[1] Bush is a member of the Conservative Party, while Obama used to be a member of the Republican Party. These parties are the most dominant in the U.S. politics.

of its nation, and tries to convince the public, both on a national and global level, that the waged war is a necessary endeavour.

1.1 Aim, Scope and Research Questions

These assumptions and arguments about the presidential speeches have motivated the emergence of the present study, which aim is to raise awareness about the manipulative use of language in the U.S. presidential political speeches of warfare. Particularly the speeches of the former President Bush and the current President Obama are of interest, since those speeches have received great publicity, but are also the most recent. The speeches encompass the twelve-year period from the 9/11 strike until the Syrian Civil War, including the War in Afghanistan, the Iraq War, and the Libyan Civil War. For the analysis of the speeches a methodology combining CL and CDA is utilised. CL enables a quantitative and more objective approach, as well as building of specialised corpora for both the speeches of Bush and Obama. CDA, on the other hand, may explain the relation between a used linguistic item and the social context, and may help form the arguments for the manipulative use of language in specific contexts.

The speeches are examined for prominent pronouns, modal auxiliaries, metaphors and euphemisms, since, as the arguments will show, those items are indeed prominent in political speeches. The present study examines the **quantity, patterns and manipulative implications** of those items and tries to answer the following questions:

1. **Are there any correlations between the items listed above, and if so, which items exhibit strongest correlation?**
2. **For which manipulative usages are the items utilised?**
3. **Which President prefers which manipulative usage more?**
4. **How may the Presidents be perceived by the public? (Who seems more determinate or tentative? Who seems to be more formal or polite? Who appears more professional or personal?)**

These questions will gradually be answered as the paper progresses, and all the answers will be summarised in the conclusion. Now, the paper will continue with the closer consideration of the features of political language and political speech.

1.2 Features of political language

Political language exhibits some distinct features. Wodak (2009b: 582) claims the

political language "operates indexically", which means that politician's choice of language will always, either explicitly or implicitly, imply certain political distinction. This is evident in "positive self- and negative other-presentation", often achieved by the pronouns *we* and *they*. These pronouns are usually used by a politician in establishing a contrast between him/her and his/her opponent. Additionally, the use of pronouns can introduce ambiguity due to vague reference, as is the case with the pronoun *we*, which referents are usually difficult to determine even within a familiar context. Pronouns may also help political speakers to avoid or reduce responsibility, sometimes with a vague reference, as with the pronouns *we* and *you*, and sometimes using the pronoun *they* with reference to someone who is depicted negatively.

Another feature of political language is the specific use of modality, which enables the expression of attitudes and the level of commitment and conviction towards certain issues. To sound convincing about the future, and to present the future as possible and within reach is an important effect every political speaker should achieve. In fact, political language aims at removing doubt because "people expect their leaders to present a plan of well-defined future actions, rather than a set of hypothetical abstractions" (Charteris-Black 2014: 109). Nevertheless, if the above-mentioned effects are not achieved, the use of modality in political context may often lead to vague and ungrounded arguments. Thus, claims "for truth, confidence, trust, credibility or even legitimization (of actions or positions)" may not appeal to the audience (Wodak 2009b: 582). Linguistic items usually used for expressing modality are modal auxiliaries such as *can*, *must*, *may*, *should* and *will*.

In addition to the previous features, metaphorical reasoning is frequently encountered in political language. According to Wilson (1990: 104) "metaphors can assist in the explanation of complex political arguments by reducing such arguments to a metaphorical form". Except for their explanatory value, metaphors may additionally be employed "for connotative or emotional purposes in arousing emotions and reinforcing particular perspectives" (Wilson 1990: 104). Lakoff (2004) argues that the American political arena is based on metaphor. The speakers in American politics usually employ metaphors to present their enemies as villains, while they simultaneously present themselves as heroes. Thus, it can be noted that metaphors, similar to pronouns, contribute to positive self- and negative other-presentation.

Euphemisms are, according to George Orwell (1946) and Aldous Huxley (1947), also frequently used linguistic items in political language. Mostly, euphemisms are employed by politicians for the purpose of protecting their "face" or "public image" (Grillo 2005: 91). Thus, as with pronouns and metaphors, euphemisms can be used to present oneself positively

and the opponents negatively. This is very important, since the introduction of policies often depends on a favourable perception of the public image. An example would be the use of "loved one" to refer to people who have died in war, which can help a politician present him-/herself as sympathetic. In addition, euphemisms may cause "vagueness" due to indirect linguistic reference (Orwell 1946), which may help politicians avoid discussing some issues directly, and thus avoid responsibility.

As the arguments above suggest, politicians make frequent use of pronouns, modal auxiliaries, metaphors and euphemisms. The items might be used for presenting oneself positively and protecting one's public image, as well as for simultaneously presenting the opponents in a negative way. The items may also be used for evoking emotions and avoiding responsibility. Moreover, linguistic items used in politics rarely have explicit referents and they are thus vague and indirect. That is why, according to Wilson (1990: 20-21), political language is highly "implicational" since it rather "invites inferences" and it covertly "directs hearer's interpretation". In fact, George Orwell (1946) suggests that political language is "designed to make lies sound truthful and murder respectable and to give an appearance of solidity to pure wind". Although Orwell's attitude is rather deterministic, there are many critical analysts who support it (Van Dijk 1991; Fairclough 2001; Charteris-Black 2004; Chilton 2006; Wodak 2007). Nevertheless, the impact of political language may depend on its type or genre, and one of the most salient genres are political speeches (Weiss & Wodak 2003; Chilton 2004; Fairclough 2006).

1.2.1 Political speech

Everything ascribed to political language can be applied to political speech. However, speeches are usually prepared in advance by people whose job is to "control how certain events are described to the public"– spin doctors (*Merriam-Webster online*). A political speech can be defined as a "coherent stream of spoken language that is usually prepared for delivery by a speaker to an audience for a purpose on a political occasion" (Charteris-Black 2014: xiii). The sole concern of political speakers then is simply to deliver the speech appropriately and "achieve the maximum required effect on the audience" (Wilson 1990: 60). What the speaker actually does is perform the speech in accord with the requirements of a specific situation. Although a spin doctor prepares a speech, the public always identifies the speech with the one who delivers it, which is actually the goal of such a prepared piece of language. The purpose of a political speech is to "satisfy emotional, moral and social needs" (Charteris-Black 2014: xii), and one of the greatest social necessities is hope.

Some of the most inspiring political speeches were delivered in the second half of the

20th century by former American presidents. For example, in 1961, at the beginning of his presidential career, John F. Kennedy delivered his inaugural speech which presented his presidency as the beginning of a new era for America. In the speech, he emotionally called for unity against a common enemy, which is why this speech helped him present himself to the public in a positive light and win their trust. In the January of 1986, Ronald Reagan addressed the nation on the Shuttle Challenger disaster. In his speech, he tried to comfort the families of those killed in the disaster by presenting them as heroes. At the same time, he tried to comfort the whole nation and encouraged the people to further support space research. Besides such inspirational speeches, American presidents delivered numerous speeches related to warfare. Some of the relatively recent political speeches related to warfare were delivered by former American Presidents George H. W. Bush in 1991 and Bill Clinton in 1999. In his speech, Bush Senior claimed that the aerial invasion of Iraq was a logical result of the unsuccessful negotiation between the United States government and Saddam Hussein. Thus, with the support of 28 nations and the United Nations, Bush involved the United States into the Gulf War. Similarly, Bill Clinton contributed to the involvement of U.S.A. into the Kosovo War with the claim that people in Kosovo were being brutalised by the Serbian military and their commander-in-chief Slobodan Milosevic. The air strike, which followed the speech, commenced the same day and continued for more than three months.

The above arguments and historical facts strongly indicate that speeches of American Presidents have a great impact on the public, which is the reason why some of those speeches are under scrutiny in the present paper.

1.3 Overview of the paper

In the present chapter, introductory remarks were made about war, political language and political speech. In addition, the motives that drive the study were presented, along with the aim, the scope and the research questions. The following chapter will deal more closely with the methodology employed in the paper. The second chapter will first present CL and CDA separately, which will be followed by the argumentation of the points of convergence between CL and CDA, as well as by the arguments which support their applicability in the present paper. The third chapter will present the procedure of the study, and show how the methodology was applied in the analysis of each of the items (pronouns, modals, metaphor and euphemisms). Also, this chapter will explain how the data and examples are presented throughout the paper. The fourth chapter will provide the theoretical background for pronouns, as well as the previous corpus-based studies and the results of the analysis of

pronouns. The fifth, sixth and seventh chapter will present the theoretical background for modality and modal auxiliaries, metaphors, and euphemisms, as well as their respective previous corpus-based studies and results. The findings for all the items are discussed in the eighth chapter, where a correlation is established between some of them. Additionally, in Chapter 8, comments will be made on the possible manipulative usages of language and the possible impact of certain linguistic choices on the manner in which the public perceives the Presidents. In the ninth chapter all the findings will be summarised, and answers to the research questions will be provided, along with implications for further research and concluding remarks on war.

2. Methodology

The methodology employed in this study is a combination of corpus linguistics (CL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA).

2.1 Corpus Linguistics (CL)

CL is indeed a methodology, not "an independent branch of linguistics in the same sense as phonetics, syntax, semantics or pragmatics" (McEnery *et al*. 2006: 7). The separate branches describe different aspects of language, whereas CL is not limited to a certain aspect. Instead, "corpus linguistics should be considered as a methodology with a wide range of applications across many areas and theories of linguistics" (McEnery *et al*. 2006: 7). The most relevant notion of this methodology is a "corpus" which is a collection of pieces of language. However, these pieces of language are not collected randomly, but are rather selected and ordered according to explicit linguistic criteria in order to be used as a sample of the language (Sinclair 1996). Corpora are: machine-readable, comprised of authentic samples, sampled purposefully and representative of a particular language variety (McEnery *et al*. 2006: 5). Thus, corpora can be processed and analysed using a computer, which enables a fast analysis and search of a large database; the samples within a corpus are authentic because they are produced by real people in real contexts; the language samples are organised in a certain way depending on the purpose of the corpus; corpora always represent a sample of a certain language variety or genre (e.g. political speeches of American presidents).

An approach utilizing corpora offers certain useful features. Applying CL one can detect subliminal differences in language that intuition cannot, since it works with and implies processing a large amount of linguistic data. The results can then be easily quantified, which in turn increases credibility, validity and reliability of the findings. Likewise, the procedures of the corpus-based approach are replicable, which consequently increases the scientific value of the approach. These advantages were recognised by some linguists, and motivated the development of certain user-friendly software packages which facilitate the manipulation and analysis of corpus data. The usual functions enable "the generation of frequency counts according to specific criteria, comparison of frequency information in different texts, different forms of concordance outputs, including the Key Word in Context (KWIC) concordance, and the extraction of multiword units or clusters of items in a text" (Adolphs & Lin 2009: 599). Such software are *WordSmith Tools* and *AntConc*, and both have a built-in concordancer, a word list and keyword list generator, as well as options for analysing clusters. A condordancer is a program which extracts linguistic data from a corpus and displays it alphabetically in a

large list – KWIC format – which is then used for further analysis. The list shows all the contexts in which a certain item or a group of items is used. Wordlists on the other hand are used to display all the items in a corpus ordered according to their frequency of occurrence. Keywords lists are different, since they are used to display keywords – "words which occur either with a significantly higher frequency (positive keywords) or with a significantly lower frequency (negative keywords) in a text or collection of texts, when they are compared to a reference corpus" (Scott 1997: 236 quoted in Adolphs & Lin 2009: 601). Providing collocation information is also crucial in corpus-based research and achieved by analysing a frequency list of most frequently co-occurring words (collocates) with the word in question. Collocates are actually words that occur with a certain word more often than it is expected by chance, and they can both precede or follow the target word. Clusters are similar, but are unlike collocates rather a group of words which tend to co-occur often. They are likewise presented in lists which display their frequency and rank.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

CDA revolves around the term and notion of *discourse,* which has recently found its way into many disciplines, such as "sociology, philosophy, history, literary studies, cultural studies, anthropology, psychology and linguistics" (Wodak 2009b: 581). In all the disciplines, the term carries a different meaning. According to Wodak, Reisigl (2004) presents "23 different meanings of discourse used by Michael Foucault in his famous lecture in the College de France on 'orders of discourse' " (2009b: 587). However, for the purpose of the present paper *discourse* will refer to "authentic texts used in multi-layered environments to perform social functions" (Wodak 2009a: 124). The social functions performed by texts in this paper fall into the domain of politics, which in turn is a part of political discourse. This discourse entails "a speech event [such as a debate, a speech or an interview] taking place in a political context, involving political agents (Ädel 2010: 591)[2]. Further, the *analysis* of discourse is understood as a systematic attempt to identify patterns in a text and then link them to a particular social context. If the actual analysis is done *critically*, it means that no assumptions about language and common knowledge are taken for granted, but rather challenged, which opens more options for interpretations of texts.

Within the framework of CDA language is seen as a social practice, since "using language is the commonest form of social behaviour" (Fairclough 1989: 2). If this is the case, then the "theories of society" should be linked to the "theories of language" (Flowerdew

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[2] In fact, there is an independent branch of CDA called Political Discourse Analysis, proposed by Van Dijk (1997). However, considering Political Discourse Analysis in detail would extend the scope of the present paper.

2008: 195). CDA achieves this by focusing on social inequalities, particularly misuse of power and ideology, manifested in linguistic structures, and searches for "possible ways of righting or mitigating them (Fairclough 2010: 11). Mitigation might be achieved by explaining the relation between a linguistic structure, an individual, and the social context within which the individual uses linguistic structures to establish dominance and power. However, when dealing with relations of power "there is no such thing as an objective analysis of a text, if by that we mean an analysis which simply describes what is 'there' in the text without being 'biased' by the 'subjectivity' of the analyst" (Fairclough 2003: 14). Thus, CDA scholars "may become more actively involved in the topics and phenomena they study", which makes them more "activists" than "analysts" (Widdowson 1998: 108). In fact, critical discourse analysts "take an explicit socio-political stance [and] spell out their point of view […] both in their discipline and society at large" (Van Dijk 1993: 252). Instead of focusing on the theories and paradigms of their discipline they may tend to focus more on social problems, which is why their work might be more issue-oriented than theory-oriented. Nevertheless, Van Dijk (1993: 253) argues that, dissimilar to activists, critical discourse scholars use their structural knowledge to "get more insight into the crucial role of discourse in the reproduction of dominance and inequality". This would suggest that, by analysing language, CDA analysts are in reality transcending the everyday-issues and are searching for "fundamental causes, conditions and consequences of [social] issues" (Van Dijk 1993: 253). Apart from the sometimes problematic status of CDA scholars, there is an area of dispute within CDA, since it is not clear whether CDA is a theory or a method. Fairclough (2001: 121) argues that "CDA is both a theory and a method". Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 16 quoted in Flowerdew 2008: 197) note that they "[s]ee CDA as both theory and method" and that what constitutes the theory in CDA is "the mediation between the social and the linguistic". In addition, Meyer (2001: 23) argues that "CDA in all of its various forms understands itself to be strongly based on theory". Flowerdew complements this argument by suggesting that "CDA is not a theory *per se*, but it draws on a range of theories and uses a variety of methods" (2008: 197). In fact, it could be actually considered an approach which employs various theories and methods.

2.3 CL and CDA are complementary

One of the methods often combined with CDA is CL, which is also the case with the present study. The CDA approach and the CL method differ with respect to several properties: "while [CDA] emphasises the integrity of text, corpus linguistics tends to use representative samples; while [CDA] is primarily qualitative, corpus linguistics is essentially

quantitative; while [CDA] focuses on contents expressed by language, corpus linguistics is interested in language *per se* […]". (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 113). Nevertheless, despite the differences, CL can significantly contribute to CDA with respect to its three advantages:

- Corpus linguistics allows critical discourse analysts to work with much larger data volumes that they can when using purely manual techniques.
- In enabling critical discourse analysts to significantly broaden their empirical base, corpus linguistics can help reduce researcher bias, thus coping with a problem to which CDA is hardly more prone than other social sciences […].
- Corpus linguistics software offers both quantitative and qualitative perspectives on textual data, computing frequencies and measures of statistical significance, as well as presenting data extracts in such a way that the researcher can assess individual occurrences of search words, qualitatively examine their collocational environments, describe salient semantic pattern and identify discourse functions.

(Mautner 2009: 123)

It seems thus that CL has a lot to offer to CDA, since it "helps researchers cope with large amounts of data", which in turn "bolsters CDA's empirical foundations", reduces "researchers' bias" (i.e. subjectivity) and increases "the credibility of analyses" (Mautner 2009: 138). In contrast, CL also benefits from this cooperation because it is enriched due to its application to "research questions inspired by social concerns, such as power, inequality and change" (Mautner 2009: 138). Ultimately, it is possible to summarise that the combination of CL and CDA is felicitous, and that the corpus-based CDA is an appropriate approach to employ in the present research.

3. Procedure and materials

3.1 Compiling the corpora

The first step into applying the previously discussed methodology is to build one's own corpus – a "DIY corpus" (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 71). A DIY corpus is built to fit the needs of the research question. As mentioned, the present study analyses the use of specific linguistic items (pronouns, modal auxiliaries, metaphors, and euphemisms) by Bush and Obama, and makes suggestions about the purpose of their use within the context of warfare.

To this end, two separate (Bush-corpus and Obama-corpus) sub-corpora were built, each a collection of the speeches of one President. Particularly, the speeches were related to the context of war were chosen, since it was expected that in speeches related to warfare the Presidents may use the linguistic items under investigation more frequently and in a specific way. The equal number of retrieved speeches in each of the corpora was not the aim, rather the corpus size, because the study attempted to achieve comprehensiveness. The Bush-corpus was comprised of warfare speeches delivered from 2001 to 2007, while the speeches comprising the Obama-corpus span from 2002 to 2013. It should be noted that starting from 2009 Obama delivered presidential speeches, meaning that all his previous speeches are from the period of his senatorship, but still closely related to warfare. Thus, it was speculated that the senatorship speeches could influence the findings to a degree. At the end of the collection process the Bush-corpus contained 24, while the Obama-corpus numbered 21 speeches. The size was approximately the same, with the former numbering 79,600 and the latter 79,200 words.

The speeches were retrieved from several prominent web pages, such as *www.presidentialrhetoric.com* and *www.whitehouse.gov.* The remaining web pages, as well as the lists of the web links for all the speeches can be found in Appendix C and Appendix D. After the retrieval, the speeches were marked up with textual and contextual information: date, speaker, title and number of words. Knowing the different textual and contextual dimensions of the speeches enables a better understanding of the circumstances under which a linguistic item was used. Additionally, "[m]ark-up also helps to organise corpus data in a structured way […]" (McEnery *et al.* 2006: 74), which is why the speeches were ordered chronologically, improving the overview of the corpus structure. The lists of the speeches comprising each of the corpora can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B.

3.2 Selection of items and analysis

After compiling the corpora, samples of the speeches were read in order to decide what linguistic items to focus on. During the reading small, portions of texts not being related to the topic of warfare were removed, which improved the quality of the corpora. Ultimately, because of their previously suggested prominence in the speeches, it was decided that pronouns, modal auxiliaries, metaphors, and euphemisms would be chosen for analysis.

However, it was still not decided upon how many and which items from each group would be included in the study. In the case of pronouns and modals, this choice was facilitated by the reference to keyword lists, generated with the help of *WordSmith Tools*. Prior to the formation of the keyword lists from the corpora of Obama and Bush, word lists for each of the corpora were formed, which were then compared to a large reference corpus, in this case the Freiburg-Brown corpus of American English (Frown). This corpus, compiled by Christian Mair (1999), was not only chosen because of its size – 1,000,000 words – but also because it contains language samples of American English. The comparison of the two word lists to Frown would thus yield more authentic and valid results.

3.2.1 Pronouns

The two keyword lists, which can be found in Appendix E and Appendix F, showed that both Presidents very often use the pronoun *we*, its possessive form *our*, as well as the object form *us*. The personal pronoun *I* was ranked much higher in the Obama-corpus, while *you* was only present in the Bush keyword list. In contrast, the personal pronoun *they,* its object form *them,* and the possessive form *their,* were more prominent in the Bush keyword list, and absent from the Obama keyword list. Thus, it was decided that the personal pronouns *I, you, we, they,* and their respective possessive and object forms would be chosen for analysis.

3.2.2 Modal auxiliaries

When it comes to modal verbs, *will* was ranked high in both lists. The modal *can* was only encountered in the Obama keyword list, which was the same for *should*. Similarly, *must* was ranked very high in the Obama keyword list, while it was ranked very low in the Bush keyword list. The semi modal *have to* was indicated by the lexeme *have,* which was ranked higher in the Obama key word list. This was also the case with the semi modal *need to* and the modal construction *want to*, which were indicated by the lexemes *need* and *want*. While *need* was prominent in Obama's keyword list, *want* was prominent in the keyword list of the Bush-corpus. Thus, the modals *will, can*, *should* and *must*, the semi modals *have to* and *need to*, and

the modal construction *want to*, were first chosen for analysis. Additionally, in order to obtain a better overview of the use of modal auxiliaries in the speeches, other modals and semi modals were included: *could*, *would*, *may*, *might*, *shall,* and *ought to.* However, *might*, *shall* and *ought to* did not exhibit any significant results and were excluded from the rest of the analysis.

The selection of modals was followed by a semantic contextual analysis with the focus on epistemic, deontic and dynamic meaning. The analysis of meaning was facilitated by extraction of concordance lists of modals generated by *AntConc* into Excel sheets, which improved the readability of the corpus samples. During this process 3,403 modals were analysed for meaning. For epistemic meanings a reference scale was used, which facilitated the classification of modal auxiliaries:

| 100%		Modals
	90% certainty	have (got) to
	logical probability	must
	80% predictive probability	will
	70% potential probability	should, ought to
	deductive probability	would
	60% factual possibility	may
	50% theoretical possibility	can
	30% tentative possibility	might
	20% improbability	shouldn't
	10% impossibility	cannot (can't)
0%		
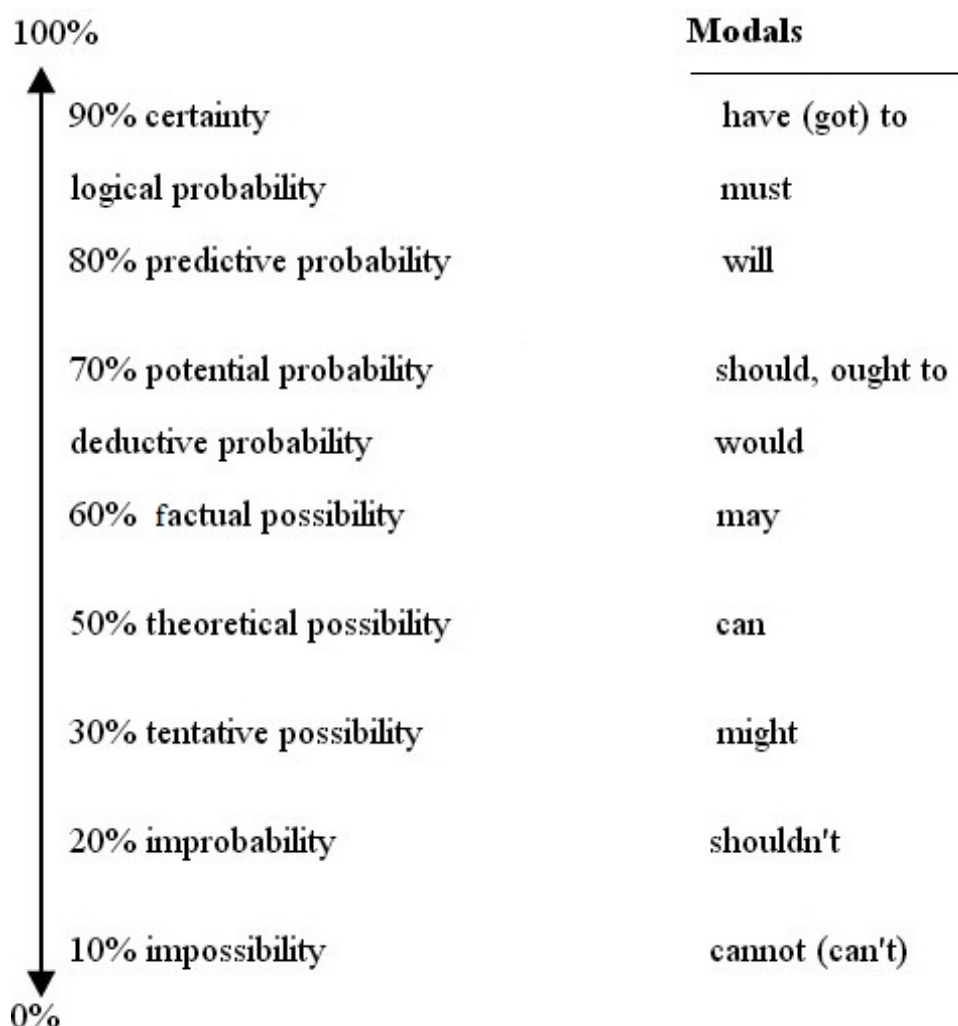
Figure 1 Scale of likelihood adapted from Gustová (2011)

The scale provides an overview of the meanings and categorization of epistemic modal verbs according to their epistemic modal strength. Additionally, the figure precisely shows different

degrees of possibility and probability with extremes at both ends. The extremes are practically unreachable, but are useful for distinguishing other degrees. Also, every degree of possibility and probability has a precise description and percentage evaluation, which should be useful in determining the modal strength of the political speakers' claim. Unlike the scale above, for the categorization of deontic and dynamic meanings the following table was used:

Table 1 Meanings of deontic and dynamic modals adapted from Stenbakken (2007)

deontic	will	would	can	could	should	may	might	must	have to	need to	want to
obligation											
strong								x	x	x	
weak					x						
permission											
strong						x					
weak			x	x							
prohibition								x			
dynamic											
volition		x				x					x
ability			x	x							

The table served as a guideline for a better classification of deontic and dynamic meanings, and in the case of deontic modality, it additionally showed the difference between the weak and strong modal meanings.

3.2.3 Metaphors

Analysing metaphors was approached differently, initially consulting the literature. Based on the consulted literature, it was decided that Lakoff's (1991) FAIRY TALE and the WAR IS BUSINESS conceptual metaphors would be analysed, since they are predominantly used in political speeches of warfare. Because the former metaphor presupposes heroes, villains and victims, vocabulary from those source domain was initially searched for[3]. At this point, the keyword lists were also helpful, since they indicated that numerous lexemes such as *Iraq*, *Afghanistan*, *America*, *terror*, *terrorist*, *people*, *nation*, and other similar ones were prominent in both corpora. After additional reading of concordance lists, it was noticed that many of these lexemes were utilised metaphorically, which indicated that they are linguistic metaphors that are strongly linked to the FAIRY TALE conceptual metaphor (further discussed in the seventh chapter). Lastly, it was decided that 11 lexical unites would be analysed for metaphorical reference to the hero, 34 for the villain, and 8 for the victim.

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[3] The search for vocabulary from source domains was suggested by Stefanowitsch (2006: 2).

Additionally, 5 items were classified as potentially having metaphorical reference to the purpose of hero's acting, and were thus labelled as "purpose".

As for the WAR IS BUSINESS conceptual metaphor, it was expected to be reflected in the lexemes *cost(-s)* and *invest.* Another conceptual metaphor – WAR IS HARD WORK – was encountered during the initial concordance reading, and was expected to be reflected in the lexemes *effort(-s).* Ultimately, all the items chosen for metaphor analysis were packed in a comprehensive table, where "war is business and hard work" column incorporated the items for the last two metaphors. This table can be found in Appendix G. The last step of metaphor analysis was to manually check every item for metaphorical reference, which was done with the help of data extraction from concordance lists into Excel sheets. During this process, 4,671 lexemes were analysed and classified as having metaphorical reference.

3.2.4 Euphemisms

For analysing euphemisms, four dictionaries of euphemisms were initially consulted for warfare euphemisms – Beard (1992), Rawson (1995), Ayto (2000) and Holder (2003). *Rawson's Dictionary of Euphemisms and Other Doubletalk* proved the most comprehensive, but the other three likewise yielded significant euphemistic expressions. The table, which is a result of this procedure, can be found in Appendix F. The next step was to examine these euphemistic expressions, thus every euphemism was looked up by *AntConc* in the two corpora. This procedure eliminated most of the expressions and only yielded 14 most frequent euphemisms, which were placed in 4 categories – war, victims, military and reversals. Additionally, for the understanding of reversals it was necessary to compare them against the socio-historical context. As with metaphors, every euphemism was checked manually for its euphemistic reference with the help of the data extracted from concordance lists into Excel sheets. Finally, 1,193 lexemes were classified as euphemisms.

3.3 Presenting the data and samples

The results in the present paper were presented in comprehensive tables which provided frequencies of items and their clusters. The significance of these clusters was determined by their overall frequency and the difference they showed between the frequencies in the two corpora. The purpose of presented clusters was to reveal certain behavioural patterns that the linguistic items may have displayed. For modal auxiliaries, in Chapter 5, an additional table and several figures were provided for the purpose displaying the different (epistemic, deontic and dynamic) meanings that the modals exhibited in both corpora. In order to further clarify the meanings, a figure was then introduced summing up the differences of

meanings in both corpora. In case of metaphors and euphemisms, some nominal items in tables were presented with optional plural endings (*efforts(-s), tyrant(-s)*); this is because they were considered a sum of singular and plural occurrences, and thus a single unit. Additionally, conceptual metaphors, discussed in one of the following sections, were presented with capital letters, as is the usual practice in linguistic literature. Examples of this would be WAR IS BUSINESS or KILLING IS CLEANING.

The corpora samples in this paper were provided to illustrate certain usages of items and clusters. In order to be more evident and retrievable, the samples were marked in the following way:

(1)   B16 We will confront them overseas so we **do not have to** confront them here at home.

O16 Because we reject the same thing that people of all faiths reject: the killing of **innocent men**, women, and children.

The letters "B" and "O" stand for Bush-corpus and Obama-corpus, while the number "16" reveals the number of the speech from the chronological list of speeches. In addition, the feature under investigation is emphasised with bold letters. Moreover, it should be noted that an example usually includes more than one corpus sample, as is evident above.

4. Pronouns

4.1 Grammar

One of the most frequent and prominent linguistic items encountered in political speeches are pronouns. Nevertheless, if one wants to understand the use of pronouns in politics, one should first consider their grammar.

When referring to a person or an object, one cannot constantly use the name of that person or the object, since constant repetition may create a perception of redundancy. Thus, another means of reference are necessary and are available in language. These means of reference are pronouns. The name "pronouns" suggests that those items "replace" nouns (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 335). They are "a closed set of nouns" and are "typically deictic", which means that they are "pointing to entities in the situation or pointing to linguistic units in the previous or following context" (Greenbaum 1996: 163). There are several types of pronouns and the most relevant are: "personal, reflexive, possessive, indefinite, demonstrative, reciprocal, relative and interrogative" (Greenbaum 1996: 163)

Personal pronouns can be used to refer either to things, or the speaker may use them to refer to him-/herself and other people. There are subject and object personal pronouns. The choice between subject and object form is made on the basis of a pronoun's function in the clause. Subject personal pronouns "function as a subject or a subject complement", while object pronouns "function as object, prepositional complement, and sometimes as subject complement" (Quirk *et al*. 1985: 336). The subject pronouns are *I, you, he, she, it, we, they,* and are used to refer to the subject of the clause. The object forms of personal pronouns are *me, you, her, him, it, us* and *them*.

Reflexive pronouns differ from personal pronouns since their use indicates that both the subject and the object of the verb are the same. The reflexive pronouns are "*myself*, *ourselves*, *yourself*, *yourselves*, *himself*, *herself*, *itself*, and *themselves*" (Greenbaum 1996: 166). Interestingly, the second person can be presented by two forms, *yourself* when the speaker is talking about one person, and *yourselves* when he/she is talking to more than one person: […] *[T]he questions you had to ask yourselves*; *Here's the money, you can go and buy yourself a watch* (Sinclair 1990: 49).

Possessive pronouns are used to indicate that something is related to or belongs to something or someone. The possessive form is actually another name for the genitive case these pronouns take. They are: *mine, my, our(-s), your(-s), his, her(-s)* and *their(-s)*. In certain cases, possessive pronouns are used to highlight contrast, as in *My shirt is better than yours.*

When the speaker wants to refer to people or things, but does not know exactly who they are, or the identity is not relevant, he/she uses indefinite pronouns. The form of an indefinite pronoun only shows whether the entity referred to is animate or inanimate. The indefinite pronouns are: *anyone*, *anybody*, *anything*, *everyone*, *everybody*, *everything*, *no one*, *nobody*, *nothing*, *someone*, *somebody* and *something.*

Demonstrative pronouns are used as subjects of the objects in a clause, or the object of a preposition. They can refer to both people and things, but reference to things is more frequent. The demonstrative pronouns are: *that*, *this*, *those* and *these.* Examples of how to use demonstrative pronouns are: *This is a really good book*, *but I don't like that one* and *I got these magazines at the store* (Sinclair 1990: 35).

Another type of pronouns are the reciprocal pronouns – "*each other"* and "*one another"* (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 345*).* These pronouns are similar to reflexive pronouns because they "express a two way reflexive relationship" (Quirk *et al.* 1985: 364). They are used as indirect objects or objects of verbs. Examples of how reciprocal pronouns are used are: *They cannot stand each other* and *Two people moving away from one another* (Sinclair 1990: 38).

The relative pronouns are: *who*, *whom*, *which* and *that.* They have two functions, the first being the reference to someone or something already mentioned. The second function is the forming of conjunction between the clauses. *Who* and *whom* always refer to people, as in the sentences *The man who was on the moon*, and *I saw the girl whom I kissed yesterday. That*, on the other hand, can refer both to people and things – *The man that exercises*, and *The ball that I kicked exploded. Which* always refers to things, and it can be used as a subject or an object of a relative clause. As a relative pronoun, *which* is used in the following way: *The building in which I went to school* (Sinclair 1990:39).

The last relevant type of pronouns are the interrogative pronouns – *who*, *whose*, *whom*, and *which.* They can be used both as the subject or object of a clause. Such pronouns refer to the information the speaker is asking for (Quirk et al. 1985: 368). Some examples are: *Whose picture is on the wall* and *Which day is i*t?

4.1.1 Pronouns are not mere substitutes of nouns

Although pronouns are traditionally described as substitutes of nouns which prevent repetition, their status is more complex. It seems that their semantic and discourse properties have been ignored. It is certainly familiar that pronouns are "useful devices in information processing, on part of both the speaker and the addressee(-s), for economy of expression and ease of comprehension", but they can also "be distinguished according to their reference", and thus exhibit "low semantic content" (Wales 1996: 4-5). This signals that they are not mere

substitutes as usually considered, but are closer to nouns. Actually, pronouns are multifunctional and polysemic, since their function and meaning can mostly be inferred from the situational context by applying encyclopaedic knowledge with respect to a specific discourse topic. This may introduce ambiguity and obscurity of reference for the one who attempts to infer pronominal meanings, and it is in fact the addressee the one who ultimately decides what or whom the pronoun refers to.

The deictic properties of pronouns can likewise cause ambiguities, and before resolving the obscurities of determining referents, it should be decided on how large and how complex the "distance" between the pronoun and its referent is (Wales 1996: 32). Norrick argues that "deixis is the only area of meaning universally acknowledged to belong in the area of discourse […], since it pertains to the contextual determination of reference" (2001: 80). However, the reference mostly shifts from situation to situation, which indicates that pronouns are more dynamic and for a reason referred to as "shifters" (Wales 1996: 51) The determination of referents and deictic distance is relevant for political discourse, because it may imply the level of tolerance between the speaker and the addressee, i.e. their ideological distance. The following scale adapted from Rees (1983: 16) presents the possible deictic distances implied by the pronouns analysed in the present paper:

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
I	WE	MY	OUR	ME	US	YOU	YOUR	YOU	THEY	THEIR	THEM

Figure 2 Scale of deictic distance adapted from Rees (1983)

The scale shows that the pronoun *I* and *we*, and their possessive and object forms, connote the greatest proximity or tolerance, while the pronoun *they* with its possessive and object forms connote the greatest distance or intolerance; the pronoun *you* is in the middle of the scale, acting perhaps as a mediator between *I* and *we* on one side, and *they* on the other.

4.2 Pronouns in political language

As for the use of pronouns in politics, Allen (2006: 1) states that they have a special "effect" in political speeches. By using them, politicians can present themselves as sharing the interests of the audience, but can also promote themselves as good diplomats and most suitable leaders for their nations. By referring to themselves and the audience, politicians may persuade the public more effectively, especially by evoking a feeling of community. Additionally, the use of certain pronouns can help them to "present positive aspects of themselves and negative aspects of their opponents" (Allen 2006: 2).This can be achieved by

providing implications – often in the form of deictic distance – which emphasise the polarity between the "other" and the "self" (Penycook 1994: 178). These numerous and possible implications of pronouns indicate that in politics there is "never an unproblematic" *we*, *you*, *they* or *I* (Penycook 1994: 174). Rather than being neutral referents of an unproblematic world, the use of pronouns "opens up a whole series of questions about language, power, and representation". (1994: 178). In fact, the way politicians refer to themselves, to their opposition and to their audience "can effectively be used as a persuasive means" (Allen 2006: 2). For this reason, the analysis of pronouns in the present paper is justified. None the less, in order to better understand their implications, they will be discussed separately. Thus, first the "interpersonal pronouns" *I*, *we* and *you* will be considered (Wales 1996: 50), followed by the pronoun of greatest deictic distance – *they*.

4.2.1 The pronoun *I*

According to Bramley, one key way in which politicians "[…] represent themselves is accomplished by the use of the first person singular pronoun *I"* (2012: 27). The pronoun *I* *"*can be the 'spokesperson' or sender of a message, but not necessarily its source or composer" (Wales 1996: 54). In political speeches, *I* can be used by the speaker to convey his opinion, "it makes the speech more subjective, it shows the authority of the speaker and it can be a way to show compassion with the audience and to narrate a story" (Håkansson 2012: 13). However, Penycook suggests that political speakers rather prefer less subjectivity in their addresses (1994: 3). Also, a politician might use the first person singular pronoun to emphasise the relevance of the moment, providing the audience with the sense of here and now. Honesty can likewise be expressed with the pronoun *I*, and it is further possible to express commitment and personal involvement in certain matters, since *I* gives personal voice to the speaker and distances the speaker from the audience. It is however not always preferable to express personal involvement, because the blame could be put on the speaker. This is why the speaker might avoid sharing responsibility with his colleagues. On the other hand, when good news is delivered, expressing personal involvement is the right choice. Nevertheless, the most motivating reasons for a politician to use the pronoun *I* in his speeches is to come across as honest and responsible, to describe himself "in a positive way", and highlight personal qualities (Håkansson 2012: 13). The speaker might want to highlight that he is a powerful, moral, an intelligent person, and a capable, decisive leader who can reach quick and proper decisions.

4.2.2 The pronoun *you*

Lerner (1996: 281) notes that "'you' […] provides a way to refer to the addressee of the speaker" and is used in more direct addresses. Additionally, *you* can be the "accidental receiver, or else an intermediary, not necessarily the intended addressee" (Wales 1996: 54). Moreover, the pronoun *you* can also have an indefinite or generic function. In that case the referent is less clear. Sacks (1992: 1: 165 in Bramley 2012: 129) claims that an inherent property of *you* is its "this and that ambiguity" where *you* can mean both *you*-singular and *you*-plural or *you*-generic. He further argues (1992: 1: 163-8 and 568-77 quoted in Bramley 2012: 129) that *you* is useful as an inclusive term because it does not exclude the hearer, unlike *we* which has the potential to exclude the hearer depending on the intended membership of *we*. Additionally, Pennycook (1994: 176) notes, the pronoun *you* implies an assumed "other" who is only addressed, but not described. This provides the speakers – politicians – with a wide variety of address-strategies and options. As for the generic *you*, Allen (2006: 4) argues that it can refer to the speaker and also be used by the speaker to include him-/herself in a certain category:

(2)   It always rather shook *me*, when *I* first got married in London, *you'd* be carrying away practically buckets of that every day…

Nevertheless, despite the options a politician has when using generic *you*, the audience is the one deciding whether it "does or does not considers itself as being the referent" (Håkansson 2012: 16). However, the greatest factor in all these matters is the implication a politician offers, which might prompt the public to "identify itself with a certain group" (Allen 2006: 5) This is evident in the example where a politician uses the generic *you* to criticise the opposition by including or excluding them from generalizations:

(3)   I say: if **you** truly love this country, if **you** truly respect its people, no-one could run to be Prime Minister with anything less than a full commitment to the job.

(Latham 2004)

In addition to the generic properties, *you* is infrequently used for discussing experience, while it is frequently used for conveying conventional wisdom, i.e. "common sense and generally admitted truth" (Allen 2006: 13 quoted in Håkansson 2012: 16) The advantage of presenting their propositions and beliefs as common sense is the prevention of the audience from directly questioning and challenging the same propositions, which, to a degree, might contribute to a delayed critique from the public.

4.2.3 The pronoun *we*

The first person plural *we* is the most ambiguous pronoun because it may have overlapping referents, and "is used with many different potential scopes of reference even within a single discourse". Its interpretation "is dependent on the particular context of use and the inferences to be drawn on the basis of mutual knowledge of the speaker and interpreter" (Wales 1996: 62-63). Depending on the context, the speaker, and the addressee, *we* can imply closeness, community and sharing, but it can likewise indicate division and separation. In other words, it can connote either inclusion or exclusion, which is why there is an inclusive *we* and exclusive *we*. If the pronoun is used by politicians during broadcasting and is interpreted by viewers who do not support their policies, it may be understood as an exclusive, as it can connote "institutional identity" (Håkansson 2012: 14). In this case, the politician may speak on behalf of his party and administration, as for example George H.W. Bush (1990 quoted in Wales 1996: 62):

(4)   On economic and monetary union, *we* said: 'You go on a path leading to a single currency…*We* will decide…whether *we* want to join you.' And at Maastricht I won for Britain a special provision. *We* are not committed to a goal of a single currency.'

We in the above example refers to the US military, the government, the United Nations and the "developed countries". These references implicate "a consensus of civilised beliefs and values" of the American people, and the consensus is in opposition with the primitive "other" represented by the evil Saddam Hussein (Wales 1996: 63). This means that *we* (along with *they*) can likewise be used to introduce polarity by dividing *us* from *them*. What is more, by using *we*, Bush Senior may also present himself, but in a rather egocentric manner, and when the pronoun is used by such powerful figures, it is mostly exclusive or "synecdochal" (Wales 1996: 63).

In contrast, by using inclusive *we*, a speaker focuses more on evoking a feeling of community, intimacy and immediacy. One of the sub-types of inclusive *we*, the workshop *we*, usually achieves this when combined with the deontic modals of obligation (e.g. *must* and *should*), and in those cases *we* can actually be replaced by *you*. This often occurs when a politician wants to avoid responsibility, and he/she distributes it on others by including them in his newly formed address-groups. The phrase *let us* has a similar effect, since it creates an atmosphere of joint activity and it politely includes the addressee into the activity without apparent assertiveness. However, by using politeness, a speaker may actually try to persuade the audience, since it is noticeable that the authoritative tone is never completely absent. As a

matter of fact, it seems that in practice "the authority of the speaker, subjectivity and egocentricity of viewpoint tend to surface or be re-asserted" (Wales 1996: 68).

4.2.4 The pronoun *they*

As was previously noted, *they* is often used in combination with *we* to create an effect of division or polarity. Nevertheless, on its own, the pronoun connotes antagonism as it stands for the "third party", the "other", the "out-siders", and even the "evil" (Wales 1996: 60). This might imply that the entities referred to with *they* thus not belong to the normal society and may be regarded as abnormal, deformed and even non-human or alien:

(5)   As for mankind – here *we* watch *our* coloured dreams come true, and over there *they* count *their* ribs in cold perplexity.

(Wales 1960: 60)

It is noticeable from the example that the deictic distance created with *they* contributes to the perception of the people, referred to with *they* and *their*, as primitive.

Moreover, the reference to others may produce additional effects, since *they* "can usefully be held responsible for things we do not want to be blamed for" (Wales 1996:60). And because those referred to are physically absent, direct face-to-face confrontation is avoided, and criticism is facilitated. None the less, imposing responsibility here is more explicit than in the case of *we*.   .

4.3 Previous corpus-based research on pronouns in political language

One of the earliest studies examining the use of pronouns in politics was done by Wilson (1990). He compared the speeches of Neil Kinnock, Michael Foot (both members of the Labour Party during the 1980s) and Margaret Thatcher (member of the Conservative Party). For each politician Wilson chose 3 speeches which were examined for quantity, use of deictic distance, and implications of manipulative use. The quantitative analysis showed that Kinnock is the one who uses pronominal reference most often, and he is closely followed by Thatcher. In contrast, Foot uses pronouns twice as less as the other two. Additionally, Thatcher is the one who prefers the pronoun *we* often. As for the deictic distance, Kinnock uses *it* and *she* to imply the greatest level of intolerance between him and his opponent Margaret Thatcher, who, on the other hand, uses *those* to refer to potentially subversive groups. Additional differences between Thatcher and Kinnock are reflected in the use of contrasting, where Kinnock uses the *I*/*she* contrast to present the conflict between the Labour Party and Conservative Party as being between himself and Thatcher. On the other hand, Margaret Thatcher keeps the conflict between Labour and Conservative to the Party level.

Ultimately, based on his findings, Wilson concludes that politicians use pronouns to "distance themselves from the responsibility for political action; to reveal ideological bias; to encourage solidarity; to designate and identify those who are supporters (with us) as well as those who are enemies (against us); and to present specific idiosyncratic aspects of the individual politician's own personality" (1990: 76).

Another study conducted by De Fina (1995), demonstrated how uncertainty and consistency could influence the perception of self-presentation of the speaker. The findings showed that the use of pronouns reflects the choices of identity and solidarity in political speeches. With the use of the pronoun *I* for example, politicians express more commitment, emphasizing the importance of their authority simultaneously. By using the pronoun *we* when referring to himself, a politician implies that he/she is speaking as a representative of a group or organization, rather than as an individual. The pronoun *you* is used infrequently, which according to De Fina implies that the political speakers do not tend to address a large audience directly. Finally, De Fina states that the pronouns "should be considered and analysed within the contexts they appear", since this clarifies their meanings and their usage patterns (1995: 24)

Bramley's (2001) study of pronouns used by politicians in interviews yielded results and conclusions useful for the present research. She argues that "politicians use the pronoun *I* to present themselves as individuals and speak from their own perspective, preferably highlighting one's good qualities and accomplishments" (Bramley 2001: 259). Whether the speaker addresses a part of the audience or the whole of it, he/she uses the pronoun *you* in both cases. However, its use is not unproblematic, since it is a generic pronoun and could be used in a quite general way, referring to anyone. The pronoun *we* can be used "to invoke a group membership" or a collective identity, and create a separation between *us* and *them* (Bramley 2001: 260). Next, *they* is used in political speeches to create an image of the "other" and to divide people in groups (Bramley 2001: 262). Bramley ultimately states that the primary concern of a politician is to "create an image of the reality according to them", and pronouns are of major importance in doing so (Bramley 2001: 266).

A more recent corpus-based study on pronouns was done by Hoai Nhat (2008), who examined the parallel use of pronouns in two political speeches of president Obama. The findings suggest that the use of the pronouns *I* and *you* connotes a high degree of intimacy and solidarity. Furthermore, the use of *we* increases the intimacy between *I* and *you* and contributes to creating a feeling that the listener and the speaker are in the same team. The repetition of equal set of pronouns is used to draw attention to a particular part of their

message and "make it stand out from the rest of the speech" (2008: 12)

Brozin (2010) has investigated the use of personal pronouns *I, you* and *we* by president Obama. The results from three contextually different speeches showed that the president changes the strategy of pronoun use depending on the type of speech he is giving. By doing so, he is showing more or less personal involvement. It is further suggested that the president shares more of his personal opinions in smaller contexts and gets more formal and less personal in bigger events where he speaks to a more global audience. He also uses pronouns such as *you* and *we* to decrease his own responsibility in situations where he wants to express the importance of the American people's participation to reach a particular goal, such as a change in American laws and politics. Finally he prefers the personal pronoun *we* the most because it "supports his aim about a more united nation and his will to appear as the spokesman for the American people" (2010: 26).

A study very similar to the section of this paper was conducted by Håkansson in 2012. She compared the use of pronouns by the most recent presidents, Obama and Bush, in the State of The Union speeches. The results showed that Obama uses significantly more pronouns that Bush. He uses the pronouns *I*, *we* and *they* more frequently, while the only personal pronoun that Bush uses more frequently than Obama according to this study is *you*, and it is "difficult to determine the cause of this" (2012: 22). It is possible that Bush avoids presenting himself as an individual and uses *you* to speak to and on behalf of other people. Obama may thus express himself more frequently as an individual, emphasizing his personal qualities. He may additionally try to create a feeling of togetherness in Congress and the nation by a more frequent use of *we.* Although the pronoun *they* is more frequent in his speeches, it seems that its usage refers more to inanimate entities rather than people. However, for this claim she does not provide any examples. Håkansson ultimately notes that the number of pronouns a politician uses does not provide relevant insights without the consideration of the context of their use. An in-depth study is additionally required to explain why certain pronouns are used in a certain way. Thus, a qualitative approach should complement a quantitative approach, which should increase the validity, reliability and scientific value of results.

4.4 Results

Unlike the previous studies, the present study focuses on the speeches delivered by George Bush and Barack Obama within the context of warfare. The analysis of those speeches has yielded the following results:

Table 2 Frequencies of pronouns and their significant clusters

Pronouns	Clusters	Bush		Obama	
I		1,169		1,156	
I (subject)		912		902	
	I will		44		151
	I want to		69		19
my		148		170	
	my administration		11		17
	my country		0		12
	my fellow		11		0
me		108		84	
	let me		11		36
you		808		365	
you (subject)		610		304	
	thank you		96		53
your		198		61	
	your country		12		1
we		2,473		3,061	
we (subject)		1,314		1,623	
	we will		210		104
	we can		33		134
	we must		34		111
our		966		1,185	
	our country		81		30
	our troops		32		72
	our military		31		40
	our nation		63		13
us		193		253	
	let us		1		11
they		1,198		698	
they (subject)		550		337	
	they can		35		15
	they will		31		11
their		472		250	
	their lives		19		14
	their country		16		10
	their family		13		10
them		176		111	
	help them		12		1
total		5,279		4,916	

According to Table 2, both Bush and Obama use the pronoun *I* in fairly equal amounts. However, Bush combines it often with the modal construction *want to*, while Obama tends to use it with the modal *will* frequently. The possessive form *my* is used much less than the subject form. Nevertheless, it is encountered in both corpora, although a bit more in the Obama-corpus where it occasionally appears within the clusters *my administration* and *my*

country, whereas in the Bush-corpus it is occasionally a member of the cluster *my fellow*. The object form *me* is the least used form, displaying a slightly higher frequency in the Bush-corpus. However, it displays stronger idiomatic behaviour in the Obama-corpus, where it is occasionally encountered in the cluster *let me*.

The pronoun *you* is used twice as much by Bush – 808 – than by Obama, who uses it in 365 instances. Consequently, both the subject form *you* and the possessive form *your* are used by Bush more frequently, in 510 and 198 instances, respectively. The frequent clusters containing each of the forms are *thank you* and *your country,* and both are used by Bush more frequently. The pronoun *we* is the most frequently used pronoun compared to the other pronouns in both corpora. Nevertheless, around 500 additional instances are encountered in the Obama-corpus. The subject form displays idiomatic behaviour in the clusters *we will*, *we can* and *we must*, where *we will* is used twice as much by Bush, while the other two clusters are used nearly three times as much by Obama. The possessive form *our* is used slightly more frequently by Obama, who likewise prefers the clusters *our troops* and *our military* to clusters *our nation* and *our country*, which are encountered more frequently in the Bush-corpus. The object form *us* is used by Obama more frequently, and it displays idiomatic behaviour in the cluster *let us.*

They is used more frequently by Bush – in 1198 instances – than by Obama, who uses it in 698 instances. Additionally, the subject, object, and the possessive forms, respectively *they*, *their* and *them*, are all used by Bush more often. The subject form is frequently encountered in the clusters *they can* and *they will*. Although the possessive form *their* is used by Bush twice as much, it does not exhibit idiomatic behaviour just in one corpus, since the clusters *their lives*, *their country* and *their families* are encountered in similar amounts in both corpora. The object form *them* is used by Bush in 179 instances, while in the Obama-corpus it is encountered 111 times. Its most relevant cluster is *help them*, which is used by Bush in 12 instances.

Generally, the results suggest that Bush seems to use pronouns slightly more than Obama, and the difference can be noticed in the use of the pronoun *you* and *they*, and their respective subject, object and possessive forms.

5. Modality

When politicians give speeches, they present their own attitudes and the attitudes of their administrations in a certain manner, trying to project them on the public in order to exert a certain amount of influence. These attitudes can in language be manifested through the category of modality. Modality includes a range of different concepts from philosophy and linguistics (morphology, syntax, semantics and discourse analysis). Nevertheless, "[l]inguistic analysis of modalities presents much more diversity in its problematics and approaches" (Sulkunen & Törrönen 1997: 45). The diversity of linguistics is marked by its numerous sub-disciplines. For example, morphology focuses on lexical forms as manifestations of modality in different languages; syntax provides explanations for complex syntactic configurations used to manifest modality, while semantics examines modal meanings and how these meanings are expressed "morphologically, syntactically, phonologically, and pragmatically" (Lilian 2008: 2).

5.1 Defining modality

In order to understand linguistic modality, one should consider its basic linguistic definitions, retrievable in comprehensive dictionaries. According to *Merriam Webster's Dictionary*, modality is defined as "the classification of logical propositions according to their asserting or denying the possibility, impossibility, contingency, or necessity of their content". The *OED* defines the same notion as "the property by which a proposition is qualified as possible, impossible, necessary, or contingent". It seems that both definitions consider modality a system for classifying propositions with respect to possibility, necessity and similar criteria, which is rather insufficient to understand this notion. It is thus useful to consider definitions of certain linguists who dealt with modality in more detail.

Although modality is a complex linguistic phenomenon, Halliday (1994: 88) defines it as simply a region of uncertainty that "lies between yes and no". This explanation is perhaps too simplistic because of the exclusion of social aspects, which is why it would be better if modality was considered "the speaker's assessment of the probability of what he is saying" (Halliday 1970: 328). In addition, modality can be regarded as the speaker's understanding of a state, emotion, and attitude towards his own will, revealing the speaker's estimation and uncertainty to the recognition of things. The significance of the speaker is also emphasised by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 172), who argue that "modality is centrally concerned with the speaker's attitude towards the factuality or actualization of the situation expressed by the rest of the clause." Radden and Dirven (2007: 233) likewise place the speaker in the foreground

by asserting that "modality is concerned with the speaker's assessment of, or attitude towards, the potentiality of a state of affairs". Actually, by emphasizing its practical side, modality can be considered a means by which the speaker takes up a position and signals the status and validity of his own judgments (Halliday 1994). Finally, the most suitable definition for the present paper is the one presented by Cameron (2007: 75), who suggests that modality is:

> […] a resource speakers and writers use when they are staking claims to knowledge: It allows them to formulate different kinds of claims (e.g., assertions, opinions, hypotheses, speculations) and indicate how committed they are to those claims.

5.2 Modal auxiliaries

Linguistic items expressing modality may take the form of subjunctive, modal verbs, parenthetical verbs, sentence adverbials, matrix verbs, intonation, adjectives, and other grammatical items and structures (cf. Schneider 1999). However, usually when one refers to linguistic modality, one often associates it with modal auxiliary verbs, since they are one of the most frequently used modality markers. In fact, many linguistic scholars used modals in their attempts to explain modality, which is how the modern formal category of modals emerged (Twaddell 1960; Palmer 1965; Marino 1973; Hermeren 1978; Coates 1983). The scholars revealed certain formal features which established a division between *"central modals"* (*can, may, will, shall, must, could, might, would, should*) and *"marginal"* or *"semi modals"* (*dare, need* [*(to)*]*, ought to, used to, had better, would rather, be to, have* (*got*) *to*) (Palmer 1974: 4). *Would, could, might* and *should* started out as past forms of *will, can, may* and *shall,* respectively, but are today independent modals. Nevertheless, their meanings are all connected to their basic forms and are only reduced in intensity.

Semi modals are semantically close to modals and usually serve as displacements for the same in certain contexts, since "modals do not have non-finite forms" – infinitives of participles – "cannot co-occur, and also lack other features" (Palmer 2003: 12). Unlike modals, semi modals such as *have to* and *need to* do not have displacements, which makes them very flexible in language use. In fact, recent literature on modality has shown an increase in the frequency of their use (Leech 2003; Smith 2003). Leech (2003) states that particularly in spoken American and British English the use of *have to* and *need to* has increased, whereas the use of central modals has declined. The phenomena responsible for this trend are "Americanization", "colloquialization" and "democratization". Leech concludes by stating that the decline of *must* and its shift to *need to* is associated with a tendency of contemporary speaker and writers to "suppress or avoid overt claims to power and authority" (2003: 236-237). Similarly, Smith (2003) reports a decline of *must* in favour of

have to and *need to*. He ultimately states that the use of *have to* increases because of the increasing need to express obligations of a habitual nature, whereas the use of *must* declines because it denotes obligation related to social decorum, norms, principles, morals, etc." (Myhill 1995: 173 quoted in Smith 2003: 246). This avoidance of overt reference to power, authority and obligation might provide implications for political language.

Besides the semi modals, other verbal constructions have gained the status of modal markers. This is the case with the "verbal complex" *want to* (Krug 2000: 27). The construction is "becoming more internalised in the grammar and taking and increasingly important place in contemporary English" (Verplaetse 2003: 179). Especially the combination of *want to* with the first person singular subjects is very prominent, which indicates the private character of this modal construction.

5.3 Meanings of modal auxiliaries

Modal auxiliaries and other modal markers can convey various meanings, which is why they are semantically categorised in numerous ways. For example, Jaspersen (1924) presents 20 different meaning categories, von Wright (1951: 1) 4; the philosopher Rescher (1968) provides 8 basic categories, Leech (1971: 73-104) 11, Coates (1983) 12, Quirk (1985) only 3 categories, and Biber (1999: 485) also 3 meaning categories. Obviously, there are indeed numerous types of meanings that the modals can express, but it seems that only some of them are basic. Rescher (1968), although presenting 8 meaning categories, claims there are only two basic – epistemic and deontic. Hoye (1997: 42) agrees with the previous claim and confirms that among linguists there is a general consensus that two modal categories are primitive: "epistemic" and "deontic".

5.3.1 Epistemic and deontic modality

As a subtype of linguistic modality, epistemic modality is by Coates seen as being concerned "with the speaker's assumptions or assessment of possibilities and, in most cases, it indicates the speaker's confidence (or lack of confidence) in the truth of the proposition expressed" (Coates 1983: 18). Hoye claims that epistemic modality is "concerned with matters of knowledge or belief on which basis speakers express their judgments about states of affairs, events or actions" (Hoye 1997: 42). Frawley emphasises the applicability of the epistemic subtype by stating that it is a useful term for "the way that language denotes and encodes the following concepts, among others: possibility, necessity, inference, belief, report, hearsay, conclusion, deduction, opinion, commitment, speculation, quotation, doubt, evidence, and certainty" (1992: 407). Essentially, epistemic modality "determines the status

of the proposition in terms of the speaker's commitment to it" (Palmer 1986: 54-55). Deontic modality, on the other hand, is usually related to "imposing obligation, enforcing prohibition, and granting permission. The person, authority, convention, or whatever, from whom the obligation is understood to emanate is referred to as the deontic source" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 178). Deontic modality is thus used for "the imposition of a state of affairs on individuals, or, with the modality as deixis, the imposition of an expressed world on a reference world" (Frawley 1992: 420). Basically, "deontic modality" is concerned with "language as action, mostly with the expression by the speaker of his attitude towards possible actions by himself and others" (Palmer 1986: 121).

5.3.2 Possibility and probability

Both epistemic and deontic modality revolve around two basic notions of modal logic – possibility and necessity. With epistemic modality, according to Huddlestone and Pullum (2005: 54), "necessity and possibility relate to whether or not something is the case, is true, whereas with deontic modality they relate to whether or not something happens, or is done". Huddleston and Pullum divide epistemic modality into epistemic possibility and epistemic necessity, where the former is labelled as weak and the latter as strong epistemic modality. Weak epistemic modality corresponds to Palmer's "speculative modality" which is rather used to express uncertainty or very weak commitment to the truth of the proposition (2001: 24). Ordered according to their modal strength, modal verbs expressing uncertainty are *may, can, could, might,* and the negative forms of *should* and *can – shouldn't* and *cannot* respectively. Strong epistemic modality corresponds to Palmer's "deductive modality", used to indicate an inference, or a firm judgment based on strong observable evidence (2001: 25). In this case, the speaker is more committed to the content of the preposition. The modal auxiliary verbs expressing strong epistemic modality are *have to*, *must*, *will* with *shall*, *should* with *ought to*, and *would*. Weak epistemic modality and strong epistemic modality will be further referred to in the present paper as possibility and probability.

5.3.3 Obligation, permission and prohibition

Similar to epistemic modality, deontic modality is divided into deontic possibility and deontic necessity; again, the former is weak and the latter strong modality. Weak deontic modality corresponds to Palmer's "permissive modality" or permission, while strong deontic modality is actually "obligative modality" or obligation (Palmer 2001: 70). Modal verbs used for granting permission are *may*, *might*, *can* and *could*, where *may* and *might* are used in formal situations, while *can* and *could* are preferred in informal situations. Certainly, it can be

speculated that *may* grants stronger permission than *can* and *could*, since it denotes formality, which is in turn usually related to institutions. Moreover, prohibition is also a category of permissive modality and it is the opposite of permission. It is usually expressed by *mustn't* and *can't,* with the former being stronger and the second weaker prohibition. As far as obligation in the present paper is concerned, *must* and the semi modals *have to* and *need to* express the strongest obligation. Using *have to*, the speaker takes no responsibility for the imposed obligation (Palmer, 2001: 75):

(6)   a. You must come and see me tomorrow.

        b. You have to come and see me tomorrow.

In the first sentence, the speaker invites or suggests the hearer to visit him. In the second sentence, the speaker indicates that there is a strong, compelling external influence which binds the hearer to go and visit him. Basically, as Coates suggests, "with MUST, the speaker has authority, while with HAVE TO the authority comes from no particular source" (1983: 55) – it is external. The semi modal *need to* differs from the previous two semi modals, since it expresses "obligation which is internally motivated, for the agent's own sake" (Smith 2003: 244), as in the example *I need to stay home tonight to study for the test*. Moreover, it seems that sentences containing *need to* do not overtly refer to externally sourced obligation – *You need to get a hair-cut*. This is why there may be a potential for speakers to exploit this internal quality of *need to*. Thus, *You need to get a hair-cut* may be understood as a benign recommendation to the addressee, but could also be "an indirect instruction to the addressee to get his or her hair cut" (2003: 245). Ultimately, Smith concludes that *need to* has the potential to be used as an indirect means of laying down obligation, since, unlike *must*, it is not an overt marker of power. Due to these claims, *need to* could be useful in the domain of politics. The modals *should* and *ought to* are also used to impose obligation, but are in this sense weaker than *must*, *have to* and *need to.* As for the semi modal *ought to*, Huddleston and Pullum (2002) claim that "*ought to* is interchangeable with *should*" (2002: 186). However, in spoken discourse *should* is used more frequently than *ought to*.

5.3.4. Dynamic modality – volition and ability

Returning to modality types, it should be noted that epistemic and deontic modality do not cover all the notions which are useful for the present paper. Thus, it is necessary to introduce another type of modality which usually complements them. This is dynamic modality, introduced by von Wright (1951) and later adopted by Palmer (1990). Dynamic

modality includes the notions of "ability and willingness, which come from the individual concerned" (Palmer 2001: 10). Generally, it is concerned with "the properties and dispositions of persons, etc., referred to in a clause, especially by the subject" (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 52).

5.3.4.1 Ability

With respect to dynamic modality, the notion of ability should be understood "more widely than in terms of the subjects' physical and mental powers, to include circumstances that immediately affect them (but, not, of course, deontic permission)" (Palmer 2010: 10). The distinction can be noticed in the difference between deontic *can* and dynamic *can,* where the first one indicates permission, whereas the second indicates not just ability, but possibility in a more general sense:

(7)   a. He can go now.   (Deontic: I give permission)

        b. He can run a mile in five minutes.   (Dynamic: he has the ability)

        c. He can escape.   (Dynamic: the door's not locked)

                                              (Palmer 2001: 10)

Additionally, *could,* the weaker form of *can,* can likewise express dynamic ability, but solely in the past. When it comes to willingness, it can be expressed by volitive *will* and its weaker form *would*, where *would* is mostly used in the past, similar to *could*. Additionally, volition also includes wishes, which can be expressed by *may* and *want to*.

5.3.4.2 Volition

Volitive *will* and *would* are different from assumptive *will* and *would* (epistemic prediction). The following attested examples provided by Huddleston and Pullum (2002: 52) actually show that *will* can rather express willingness than futurity:

(8)   a. Why don't you go and see if Martin will let you stay?

        b. She loves him and she won't leave him.

        c. Will you stand by the anchor?

5.3.4.3 Wishing

Palmer refers to this type of modality as "wishes" (2001: 13). Wishes are considered to "express attitude towards propositions whose factual status is not known or propositions

that relate to unrealised events" (Palmer 2001: 13). Wishes are often expressed by the modal verb *may* and the modal construction *want to*. *May* is often used in the following ways:

(9)   a. May you live long!

       b. May God bless you!

The examples a. and b. are wishes for the future. These wishes imply politeness and affection, but also formality. The modal complex *want to* exhibits a different behaviour:

(10)   a. I want to play a bit with dad.

       b. If I'm going to the South of France I want to stay there for a while.

<div align="right">(Verplaetse 2003: 176)</div>

Both examples show that *want to* is used with the pronoun *I*, where *I want to* "represents a straightforward expression of personal volition" (Verplaetse 2003: 161). Additionally, the examples do not exhibit formality, but rather informality, which means that *I want to* may play "an important role in informal spoken discourse" (Verplaetse 2003: 179)

5.4 Applicability of modality in the present paper

The categorization of modal meanings into epistemic, deontic and dynamic modality has a practical purpose for present research. The analysis of epistemic meaning could reveal certain Presidents' attitudes and level of commitment towards their own claims, as well as the credibility of the same claims. On the other hand, the analysis of deontic meaning of modal auxiliaries could show how and how often the presidents impose obligation, enforce prohibition, or grant permission. The analysis of dynamic modality could show which President emphasises his own ability and the ability of the people more frequently, as well as his own willingness and determination. Additionally, examining the frequency and quality of certain wishes could indicate how and how often the Presidents express politeness, but also formality. Ultimately, the analysis of modals could be useful in establishing a better understanding of the language the Presidents use.

5.5 Previous corpus-based research on modality in political language

According to the research in the present paper, there is a lack of corpus-based studies on modal auxiliaries in political speeches. Nevertheless, a few of them can be compared to the modality section of the present paper. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2010) in her corpus-based research focuses on three language metafunctions[4] (ideational, interpersonal, and textual).

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[4] Introduced by Michael Halliday during 1960s in his Systemic Functional Grammar approach.

With respect to the interpersonal function (modality), she examines 30 speeches of UNESCO Director-Generals (ten speeches of each) for the use of deontic and epistemic modality. According to the results, *must*, *should* and *have to* exhibit the highest frequencies and are used mostly deontically, indicating a high commitment to institutional ideology, and the implication of sufficient power and consensus to support it. With respect to epistemic modality, it was found that low modality markers are the most frequent, which indicates a lowest level of certainty and commitment to the claims (2010: 154). Basically, the findings suggest that the Director-Generals are convinced in their beliefs, and are tentatively trying to impose them onto the audience.

Another corpus-based research was conducted by Saraceni (2003), who compared the speeches of British Prime Minister Tony Blair and President George Bush. Among the compared features was the use of modal auxiliary verbs. The findings show that Bush uses the modal *will* more than Blair, and the modal is usually encountered with the pronoun *we*. In contrast, considering the obligation, Blair seems to use *must, have to,* and *need to* more often. Additionally, *should* is likewise used by Blair five times as much. The results suggest that George Bush seems to be readier than his British counterpart to pledge and to offer predictions about the future, whereas Tony Blair seems more preoccupied with what must, should, and needs to be done. Finally, the results indicate "a more concrete attitude on the Prime Minister's part, and a recognition that action needs to be undertaken if certain aims are to be achieved as promised. This may grant Blair a higher degree of honesty: his emphasis is not only on what will be achieved, but also on what needs to be done in order to achieve it" (Saraceni 2003: 5).

Echoing Saraceni (2003), Stenbakken (2007) in her corpus-based research examines ideological and rhetorical linguistic manifestations including modality as a crucial part. After examining 19 speeches for each Blair and Bush, she finds that Blair uses *should,* while Bush uses *must* more frequently to express obligation. The modal *may* is equally used by both, as well as *can* and *could*. However, Bush uses hypothetical *could* more often. Further, in order to express volition, Bush uses *will* frequently, while Blair uses *would,* indicating that he is more tentative towards taking action. Generally, the results are similar to Saraceni's (2003) findings, and they imply that Bush expresses more confidence in taking action, while Blair is considering the circumstances more closely before claiming to undertake anything.

Obviously, the results in the above-mentioned studies indicate that conservative politicians such as Bush use the modal verb *will* often in order to express volition and to show the determination to act, while liberals as Blair tend to be more tentative

and careful with respect to promises and expressing volition. Similar to the previous studies, the section of this paper uses corpus methods to examine the use of modal auxiliaries in the speeches of former President Bush, and current President Obama.

5.6 Results

The findings obtained after the analysis of modal auxiliaries are presented in the following table:

Table 3 Frequencies of modals and their significant clusters

Modals	Clusters	Bush	Obama
will		796	624
	I will	29	151
	we will	229	137
	we will not	24	7
would		125	145
	I would	11	26
	we would	9	15
	they would	10	2
must		96	232
	we must	34	111
have to		24	88
	we have to	4	30
need to		42	116
	we need to	16	82
should		28	140
	we should	6	44
may		52	38
	may God	24	5
can		215	318
	we can	33	134
	they can	35	15
	cannot/can't	69	154
could		56	99
	we could	8	39
want to		115	54
	I want to	84	20
total		**1,549**	**1,854**

The most frequently used modal by both Presidents is *will.* Nevertheless, around 170 additional instances were encountered in the Bush corpus. The most prominent clusters of this modal are *I will* and *we will*, with the first being preferred by Obama, and the second used by Bush more frequently. Additionally, Bush uses negation within the cluster *we will not* which is hardly encountered in the Obama-corpus. The modal *would* is encountered in almost equal amounts in both corpora, with the most prominent clusters being *I would*, *we would* and *they*

would. While Bush seems to use the three clusters in the same number of instances, Obama prefers *I would* more frequently, but uses *they would* scarcely. Unlike *would*, *must* is used more than twice as much by Obama, who also uses the cluster *we must* three times as much. The semi modals *have to* and *need to*, but also the modal *should*, are likewise used by Obama more frequently, with the first being used more than twice as much, the second three times as much, and the third five times as much as Bush. In addition, Obama prefers the clusters *we have to*, *we need to* and *we should* much more than Bush. *May* is the least used modal in both corpora, and its most significant cluster is *may God*, mostly used by Bush. *Can*, on the other hand, is the second most frequently used modal in both corpora, with 100 additional instances encountered in the Obama-corpus. Its most significant clusters are *we can*, *they can* and the negative form *cannot/can't*. While Bush uses *they can* twice as much, Obama uses *we can* three times as much and *cannot/can't* more than twice as much as Bush. The last modal in the table – *could* – is used by Obama almost twice as much, along with its cluster *we could* which is used five times as much.

5.6.1 Modal meanings

As far as the meanings of modals are concerned, according to Table 4, *will* is used by Bush more epistemically, while Obama prefers its dynamic meaning:

Table 4 Distribution of modal meanings

Modals	Bush						Obama					
	epistemic		deontic		dynamic		epistemic		deontic		dynamic	
will	478	66%	x		246	34%	220	41%	x		330	59%
would	103	82%	x		21	18%	113	79%	x		23	21%
must	0	0%	96	100%	x		0	0%	232	100%	x	
have to	0	0%	19	100%	x		0	0%	72	100%	x	
need to	x		39	100%	x		x		113	100%	x	
should	4	13%	26	87%	x		21	14%	127	86%	x	
may	22	47%	x		24	53%	29	83%	x		6	17%
can	49	20%	46	19%	154	61%	53	13%	94	24%	248	63%
could	44	80%	4	7%	7	13%	82	83%	13	12%	1	1%
want to	x		x		84	100%	x		x		20	100%

Would is on the other hand predominantly used epistemically by both Presidents, while *must*, *have to* and *need to* exhibit exclusively their deontic meanings in both corpora. Further, both Bush and Obama prefer the deontic meaning of *should*, whereas *may* is by Obama predominantly used epistemically. Bush, however, uses both epistemic and dynamic *may* in similar amounts. As for the modal *can*, both Presidents prefer its dynamic manifestation, whereas *could* is predominantly used epistemically in both corpora. Finally, the modal

construction *want to*, which can only express volition, i.e. wishing, is used by Bush four times as much as Obama.

In order to better understand the distribution of the modal meanings, the internal structure of the meanings should be considered in more detail

5.6.2 Epistemic meaning

A more detailed analysis of epistemic meaning based on the scale of Gustová (2011) provided additional findings. What is first noticeable in Figure 3 below is the absence of certainty expressed by *have to*. Predictive probability expressed by the modal *will* is the most frequently used epistemic meaning, and it is present in the Bush corpus twice as much. Following it is deductive probability expressed by *would*, which is equally present in both corpora. Theoretical possibility expressed by *can* is also present in both corpora, as well as factual possibility expressed by *may*. However, theoretical possibility is used twice as much as factual possibility by both Obama and Bush. On the other hand, Obama tends to express hypothetical possibility with *could* more often, as well as potential probability by using *should*.
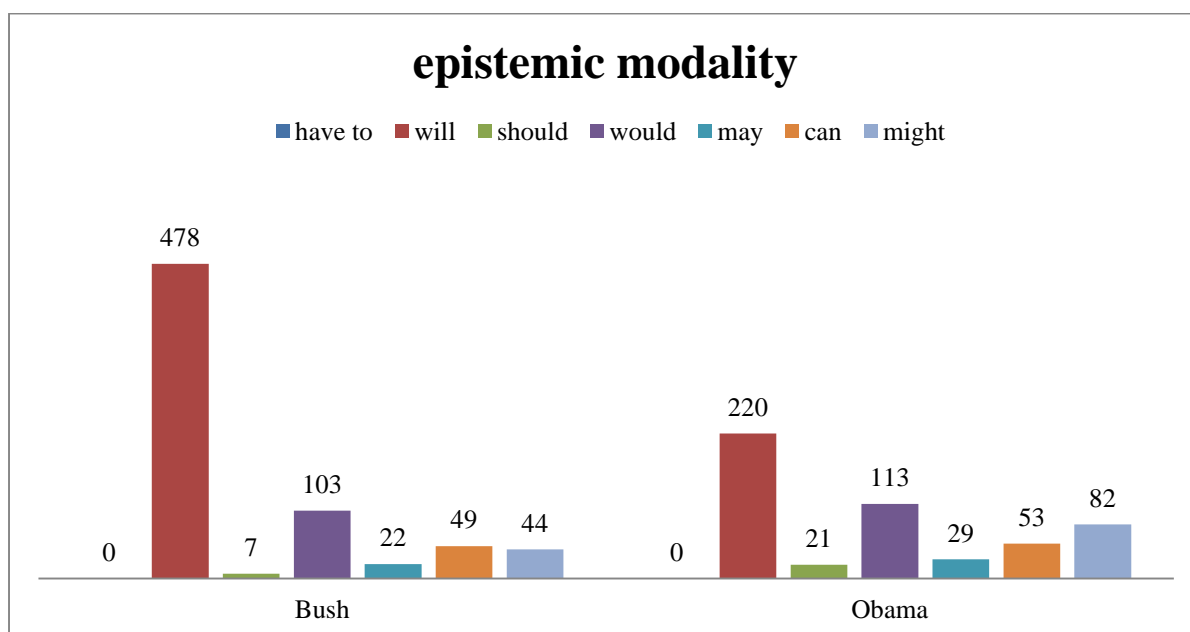
Figure 3 Internal structure of epistemic meaning

5.6.3 Deontic meaning

As for the deontic meaning of modals, Figure 4 below shows that strong obligation expressed by *must, have to* and *need to* is the most frequently used deontic meaning. Obama seemingly imposes strong obligation three times as much as Bush, which is also the case with weak obligation expressed by *should.* Weak permission expressed by *could* is also preferred

by Obama, while strong permission expressed by *can* is absent from both corpora. The last one – weak prohibition expressed by *cannot/can't* – is used by Bush more frequently:
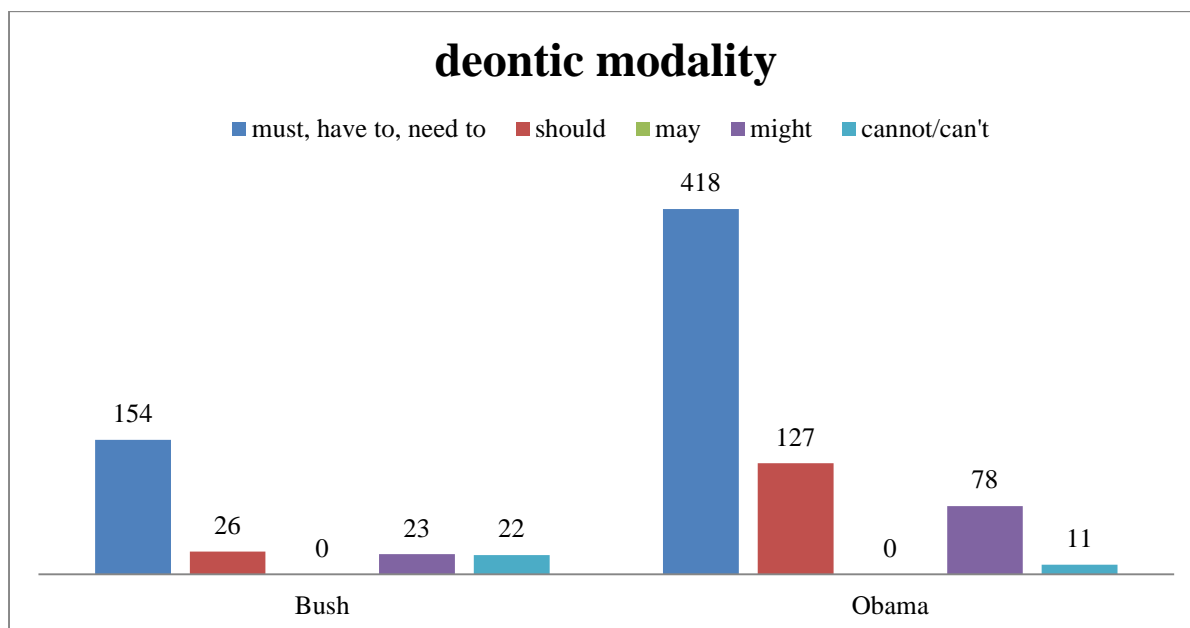
Figure 4 Internal structure of deontic meaning

5.6.4 Dynamic meaning

The findings obtained from the analysis of dynamic meaning show the following:
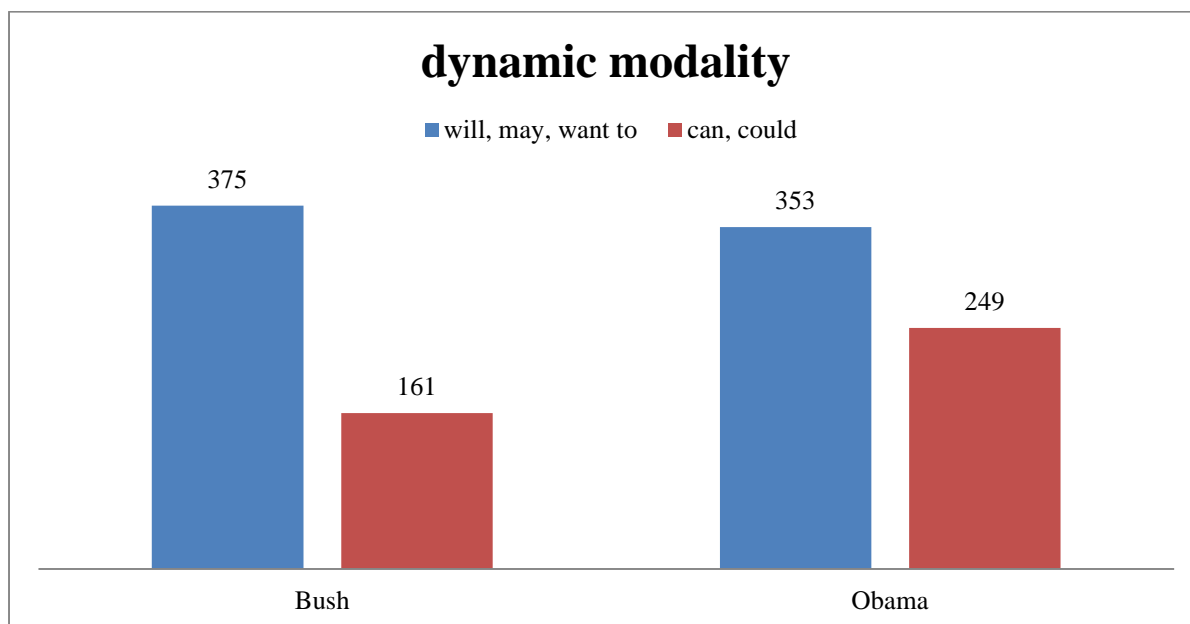
Figure 5 Internal structure of dynamic meaning

According to Figure 5, both Obama and Bush express volition often. However, Bush uses *may* and *want to* for this purpose, while Obama prefers *will*. Moreover, by using *can* and *could*, Obama refers to abilities more often than Bush.

5.6.5 Summary of the modal meanings

Finally, when the all above results for the different modal meanings are summed up, the following chart is obtained:
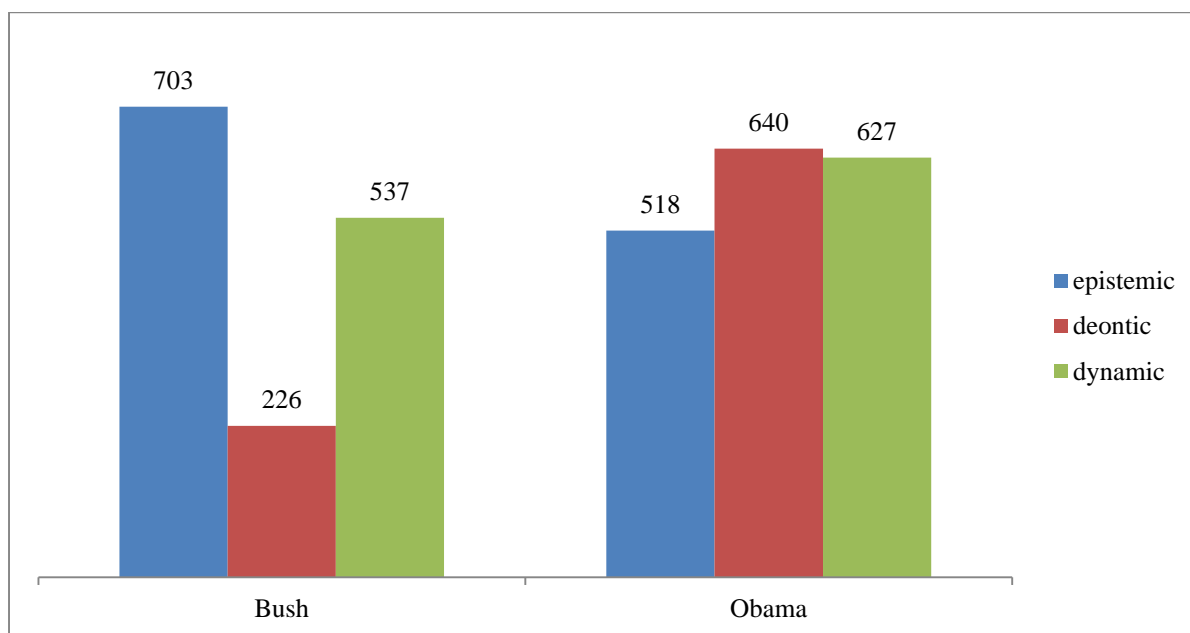
Figure 6 Comparing epistemic, deontic, and dynamic modality

From Figure 6 it is evident that Bush uses epistemic modality much more than Obama. However, Obama employs deontic modality almost three times as much as Bush, as well as dynamic modality, which, according to the finding of the present paper, exhibits around 200 additional instances in the Obama-corpus.

6. Metaphors

According to comprehensive dictionaries, a metaphor is a "figure of speech", a word or an expression applied to an object, idea or action that are not literally applicable to the same word or expression (*OED online*; *Merriam-Webster online*; *Collins English dictionary online*). This is evident in the examples *He is a lion in battle* and *He was drowning in paperwork,* where in the former example a person is not literally a lion, and in the latter one cannot literally drown in the amount of work necessary to be done. However, the above-summarised definition suggests and emphasises that metaphor is only a linguistic phenomenon not stretching further from linguistic forms. In fact, most people consider metaphor a literary, poetic and rhetoric device, something that is "a matter of words rather than thought and action" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 3).

6.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

This was the case within the linguistic scientific community until 1980, when Lakoff and Johnson presented their pioneering work *Metaphors We Live By,* suggesting an alternative view on metaphor. Using their approach termed Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), they found that "metaphor is pervasive […] not just in language, but in thought and action", which according to them consequently means that our ordinary conceptual system is "metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 4). Concepts underlie our thoughts and determine the way we think, how we perceive the environment and how we interact with it, and are thus crucial to our everyday functioning. Analogous to that, if our conceptual system is predominantly metaphorical and is applied daily, metaphor seems to play a very significant role in our everyday life by structuring the way we act and think, and it "is not just a matter of language, that is, of mere words" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 6).

At the heart of CMT is the notion of mapping from a source domain to a target domain, where mapping is "a projection between the source domain and the target domain. The target domain X is understood in terms of the source domain Y" (Kertész 2004: 49). Domain refers to "a contextual environment which provides characterization for a semantic unit" (Langacker 1987: 147), or it may simply be regarded as a "semantic area" (Deignan 2005: 14). Additionally, when it comes to domain mapping, the source domain usually relates to more concrete topics " based on our sensory experience", while the target domain is related to more abstract topics, such as birth, love, and death (Kertész 2004: 49). Thus if we consider the above-mentioned dictionary examples, in the first case we obtain the conceptual metaphor

A FIGHTING MAN IS A LION, where the source domain is a lion and the target domain is a male human being. The second example provides the metaphor A GREAT AMOUNT OF PAPERWORK IS AN OCEAN, within which the source domain is the ocean and the target domain is the amount of paperwork.

These and similar metaphors are according to Lakoff conceptual. However, Charteris-Black argues that Lakoff's terminology is confusing since he "uses 'metaphor' to refer to the mappings themselves (i.e. the processes), rather than their linguistic expressions (i.e. the products)" (Charteris-Black 2004: 13). Mappings actually involve "a set of relations rather than single attributes so that what is transferred is a knowledge of a set of properties, their behaviour and interrelationship as they are known in the source domain" (Charteris-Black 2004: 14). As for conceptual metaphors, according to Lakoff, they are not to be found in language, but in the "way we conceptualise one mental domain in terms of another; they are "a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system" (Lakoff 1993: 203).

6.2 Linguistic metaphor

The term conceptual metaphor should be distinguished from the term "metaphorical expression" or "linguistic metaphor", which stands for "a linguistic expression (word, phrase or a sentence) that is the surface realization of such a cross domain mapping" (Lakoff 1993: 203; Kövecses 2005: 8)**.** Metaphoric expressions or linguistic metaphors are thus relevant because they are the access to the conceptual metaphors, and through them the entire conceptual systems. Analogously, if metaphoric expressions are linked to conceptual metaphors, which in turn are within and influence the conceptual system, "we can use metaphorical linguistic expressions to study the nature of metaphorical concepts and to gain an understanding of the metaphorical structure of our activities" (Lakoff & Johnson 1980: 7). This means that we can also "learn about the community's interpretation of the world by studying conceptual metaphors, which we can access through linguistic metaphors" (Deignan 2005: 24). Since "linguistic metaphors" means the same as "metaphorical expressions", the former expression will be used throughout the paper to refer to the above-mentioned phenomena. It should also be noted that the terms "conceptual metaphor" and "metaphor" will be used interchangeably.

Considering previous arguments, and assuming the link between conceptual metaphors and linguistic metaphors, it can be argued that the former obviously have the potential "to reveal patterns within the lexicon" (Deignan 2005: 25) because they motivate linguistic metaphors. Thus, semantic links should and traceable between linguistic metaphors, which is

an indication that they may form semantic networks. The same links and networks should reflect the links between conceptual metaphors and their respective networks.

6.3 Metaphors are persuasive

As was previously emphasised, metaphor enables "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 5), which is achieved by mapping a source domain onto a target domain. This however is only achieved partially, with only some aspects being transferred into the target domain. Consequently, conceptual metaphor allows us to focus on one aspect of a concept while it "keep[s] us from focusing on other aspects of the concept which are inconsistent with the metaphor", which means that it "provide[s] us with a partial understanding of what communication, argument, and time are and that, in doing this, [it] hide[s] other aspects of these concepts" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 10-15). Cameron and Low (1999: 88) summarise the property of metaphors to hide by stating that

> […] not only does metaphor shield a proposition from direct discourse, as nothing literal has been said, but it has the inestimable advantage of combining the fact that the speaker cannot be held responsible for the message with the flagging of the fact that there is a message being conveyed which cannot be discussed openly.

Besides covertness and indicated indirectness, metaphors are likewise evaluative, meaning that they articulate "speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or proposition that he or she is talking about." Consequently, metaphors are crucial in expressing "points of value" and how we "feel about them" (Charteris-Black 2004: 11-12) Additionally, this may influence the forming of judgements, since expressing values and presenting them as either positive or negative is frequently applied by political authorities in situations where they have to defend, promote, and justify their policies and decisions. For example, during the Kosovo War in Serbia, President Bill Clinton referred to the situation in the following way:

(11)   We act to prevent a wider war; to defuse a powderkeg at the heart of Europe that
         has exploded twice before in this century.

The conceptual metaphor used is KOSOVO IS A POWDERKEG, which depicts the Kosovo area as highly flammable and explosive, thus in requirement of immediate "intervention". During the same period the United State House Representative, Major Owens, said the following:

(12)   The refusal to watch the repeat of Hitler's death pageant is our duty.

(Paris 2002: 425)

Major Owen's claim reveals the conceptual metaphor SERBS ARE NAZIS, which evaluates the Serbian people very negatively, and it additionally may help in the justification of the military intervention against Serbia.

Clearly, this negative representation may also evoke certain feelings, since metaphors also play a major part in "developing emotions" (Fauconnier and Turner 1996: 115). By expressing values in the above-mentioned case, a politician evokes strong emotional response which "encourages the listener to empathise" (Charteris-Black 2004: 99). Due to this emphatic state, the listener may be more prone to accepting the suggestions and the values that the politician projects onto him or her, and the imposing of policies is facilitated.

For achieving their goals, politicians will usually use conventional metaphors instead of novel ones. A conventional metaphor is one "for which a particular reading has become socially established – thereby constraining other readings and requiring less cognitive processing" (Charteris-Black 2004: 17). Thus, people are usually unaware of them, and tend to process them "automatically" (Lakoff & Chilton 1989: 5; Lakoff 1995: 3; Glucksberg 2003: 96). Consequently, conventional metaphor can easily go unnoticed and "tap into an accepted communal system of values […] [which] has the effect of making a particular value system more acceptable because it exists within a socially accepted framework" (Charteris-Black 2004: 12).

Due to the presented arguments, it can be claimed that metaphor – both conventional and novel – is highly persuasive since it "influences our beliefs, attitudes and values because it uses language to activate unconscious emotional associations […]" (Charteris-Black 2005: 13). The politicians prefer using them frequently because the metaphors "guard against the operation of their audience's cheater detector's and provide guarantees for the truth of their sayings" (Chilton 2004: 23), especially when reporting on wars.

6.4 War metaphors

One of the most frequent effects one can achieve using a metaphor is personification, which is "inputting human qualities to things which are not human" in order to comprehend "experiences with nonhuman entities in terms of human motivations, characteristics, and activities" (Lakoff & Johnson 2003: 33-34). One of the products of this act is the pervasive and conventional STATE AS PERSON conceptual metaphor. (Lakoff 1991; Lakoff & Chilton 1989; Lakoff & Johnson 2003; Charteris-Black 2004; Charteris-Black 2005; Lakoff 2013).

This conceptual metaphor hides the fact that a state or country is a landmass inhabited by millions of people, as well as its internal structure which incorporates "ethnic composition, religious rivalry, political parties, the ecology, and the influence of the military and of corporations (especially multi-national corporations)" (Lakoff 1991). In fact, Huxley (1947: 95-96) argues that "there can be nothing in a nation […] or in a society however perfectly organised, which is not in the persons composing the nation or the society". He further emphasises that

> personification leads easily to deification; and were the nation is deified, its government ceases to be a mere convenience"; moreover, "the personification of nation as a [deity] superior to its constituent members, is merely […] a way of imposing authority by making people believe it is an authority de jure and hot merely de facto.

Ultimately, the government of such a personified nation "claims to give orders by divine right and demands the unquestioning obedience due to a god" (Huxley 1947: 96). Even though a nation may be given human properties it still remains an abstraction, but with a strong tendency of being perceived as a living being or deity. However, humans and deities are not always depicted positively, which is also the case with enemies in wars. Enemies are also personified, but additionally depersonalised and often demonised. This for example happened in 1991, during the Gulf War, when America under the leadership of George H. W. Bush attacked Iraq claiming that it committed crimes against humanity. Allegedly, Iraq under the leadership of Saddam Hussein, invaded Kuwait committing murder, plunder and rape around the country:

(13)   […] Hussein systematically raped, pillaged, and plundered a tiny nation, no threat to his own. He subjected the people of Kuwait to unspeakable atrocities—and among those maimed and murdered, innocent children.

(Watts & Israel 2000: 398)

In the example, Iraq is presented as Saddam Hussein, who in turn is demonized. The war here is presented as a conflict between individuals, although the participants are personified abstractions. Nevertheless, "it is easier to feel violently toward a person than toward an abstraction", and since these personified abstractions are previously depicted as evil, the "reluctance to hurt or murder disappears" (Huxley 1947 98). By presenting the enemy in such a way "the propagandist makes one set of people forget that certain other sets of people are human", and thus puts the other people "outside of pale of moral obligation" (Huxley 1947 99). In other words, he/she may justify war.

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From example 13, it is also evident how the STATE AS PERSON metaphor operates, with Iraq presented as a villain and Kuwait as a victim. Since every victim needs to be rescued from the villain by a hero, America is given that noble role. Thus, we have a hero, a villain and a victim, and these abstractions form a large metaphoric structure termed by Lakoff (1991) the "FAIRY TALE" metaphor. This conceptual metaphor is based on polarised and interconnected personalised abstractions. As in every fairy tale, heroes are portrayed as strong, intelligent, rational, persevering, and righteous, while the villains are evil, cunning, irrational, and wild, living in dark and dirty areas. Thus, considering the persuasive properties of metaphor, applying the FAIRY TALE metaphor is seemingly "[t]he most natural way to justify a war on moral grounds" (Lakoff 1991). For that reason, Lakoff addressed and criticised its use in political discourse on several occasions (Lakoff & Johnson 2003; Lakoff & Frish 2006; Lakoff 2013). Interestingly, the same conceptual metaphor was used by Bill Clinton during the attack on Serbia in 1999, where the Serbian people under the leadership of Slobodan Milosevic were presented as villains and the Albanians from Kosovo as victims. That is why it is expected that George Bush and Barack Obama have also framed wars similarly in their speeches.

In order for the FAIRY TALE metaphor to be more effective, additional conceptual metaphors are "nested" into it (Charteris-Black 2004: 153). One of them is WAR IS BUSINESS, which according to Lakoff (1991) emerged from the conceptual metaphor POLITICS IS WAR PURSUED BY OTHER MEANS. This has the advantage of presenting war as a matter of business, which hides the disturbing aspects of war and reduces it to investments, gains and costs. The other, rather novel conceptual metaphor, is based on the linguistic metaphor *war on terror* coined by the Bush Administration after the attack on the September 11th 2001. This metaphor includes criminals from the Islamic world, their evil deeds, but mostly the pain they have allegedly caused to the American nation. Thus, the WAR ON TERROR metaphor could be actually paraphrased as ENEMIES, THEIR DEEDS AND THEIR EFFECTS ARE TERROR. Ironically however, terror is an "emotional state. It is in us. It is not an army. And you can't defeat it militarily and you can't sign a peace treaty with it" Lakoff (2008: 126). This conceptual metaphor was successful because it was introduced during the traumatic state of the American people as a means of intimidation, and it is additionally reflected in the linguistic metaphors *terrorism* and *terrorist(-s).* That is why the metaphor was used by the Bush administration to justify the war in Afghanistan and surprisingly in Iraq, which did not have any direct connections to the acts of 11th September. Not only was Bush able to start the war, but he could also sustain it for as long as his

administration considered it necessary, since he was granted full authority over the apparently desperate situation. His follower, Obama, used the same conceptual metaphor, but probably much less than Bush. Nevertheless, the present study will show whether there is a significant difference with respect to the use of WAR ON TERROR conceptual metaphor

Considering the previous arguments, it is justifiable that the metaphor due to its persuasiveness and its potential to influence the perception of warfare is one of the objects of investigation in the present paper.

6.5 Previous corpus-based research on metaphors in political language

When it comes to research related to this section, few scholars have approached the analysis of metaphor in a similar way. Charteris-Black (2004) compared the political speeches in the *US Inaugural Speech Corpus*, which counted 98,237 words, to the speeches in the *British Manifesto Corpus,* which counted 132,775 words. The results showed that the conflict metaphors are much more frequently used by the British politicians, while the fire and light metaphors are more frequent in the American corpus. Additional inspections also revealed that the British politicians employ plant metaphors more often, while the American politicians refer to the physical environment more often. Generally, the British corpus yielded more instances of metaphor use, while the American corpus yielded fewer instances, but revealed many more types of various metaphors.

Charteris-Black (2005) compared the speeches of George W. Bush and his father George. W. H. Bush. For the former, he employed a corpus of 40,222 words comprised of 15 speeches, while for the latter he used a smaller corpus of 15,000 words comprised of 6 speeches. In the corpus of George Bush Junior, 231 metaphors were retrieved, with one metaphor occurring every 174 words. The corpus of George Bush Senior yielded 223 metaphors, which is a metaphor every 67 words. This indicates that George Bush Senior used metaphor approximately three times more often than his son. The findings showed that Bush Junior uses the metaphor of moral accounting (WAR IS BUSINESS) seven times as much as his father. The metaphor of crime and punishment (which is in the present research the villain aspect of the FAIRY TALE METAPHOR) is likewise employed by Bush Junior much more frequently. The last difference is the reference to enemies as animals, where George Bush Junior is again the predominant user. Finally, the results also indicate that George W. Bush focuses more on the evaluative aspect of metaphor.

Another study conducted by Fabiszak (2010) examined vilification in war reports published in the *Times* and the Polish newspaper *Trybuna Ludu*. To this end, she compiled

two corpora, where the Polish corpus numbered 375 reports with 177,793 words, whereas the British corpus numbered 428 reports with 316,292 words. The reports encompassed the period from 1982 and the Falkland war to 2001 and the War in Afghanistan. The results showed that enemy vilification is enhanced and achieved through a complex interaction of four discursive strategies: "self v. other dichotomy, conceptual metaphors, the pragmatic theory of face and the Glory of War Myth". She concludes by noting that vilification is a necessary feature in war propaganda, since "[o]nly when we degrade the enemy to the level of animals, or construe them as alien or as a threat to 'our way of life', can we draft soldiers for a kill" (Fabiszak 2010: 95).

Wolters (2012) tested Lakoff's theory about the Strict Father and Nurturing Parent morality. Lakoff basically states that conservatives as Bush represent the father-like "Strict" model, while Obama as a representative of democrats stands for the mother-like "Nurturant" model of morality. To test the theory, he comprised two corpora of ten speeches each. The corpora contained five speeches related to Health Care, and five speeches related to the war in Iraq. Each corpus counted 15,000 words. The results showed that neither Bush nor Obama correspond to the "roles" given to them by Lakoff. In fact, they both seem to be more "strict".

Unlike the mentioned research, this section attempts to reveal the difference in the use of the complex FAIRY TALE metaphor and other conceptual metaphors in the corpora of Bush and Obama, especially the WAR ON TERROR, WAR IS BUSINESS and WAR IS HARD WORD conceptual metaphors.

6.6 Results

The analysis of the FAIRY TALE conceptual metaphor and its components showed that it is pervasive throughout both corpora, especially the Bush-corpus:

Table 5 The hero of the Fairy Tale

Hero	Clusters	Bush	Obama
(United States of) America		286	186
United States		61	52
world		141	79
	civilized world	20	0
free nations		22	0
ally/allies		66	51
coalition		117	11
	coalition forces	24	2
security forces		34	21
	Iraqi security forces	33	14
	Afghan security forces	0	7
total		804	402

With the help of personification, America is represented as a hero using three linguistic metaphors. Bush however employs *America* metaphorically more frequently, while *United States* is employed by both. The *world*, especially the *civilized world*, is referred to metaphorically twice as much by Bush, while the metaphorical reference to the *allies* is employed by both in similar amounts. Nevertheless, there is a great difference in the reference to the *coalition*, and in the employment of the cluster *coalition forces,* which are again used by Bush significantly more. The same is with the cluster *free nations,* but not apparently with *security forces.* However, a cluster analysis reveals that Bush predominantly and more frequently referrers to the *Iraqi security forces*, while Obama occasionally refers to the *Afghan security forces.*

In contrast to the previous account, more lexical resources have been invested in the reference to the villains of the fairy tale:

Table 6 The villain of the Fairy Tale

Villain	Clusters	Bush		Obama	
enemy/enemies		181		31	
regime(-s)		113		7	
	Iraqi regime		53		0
	Taliban regime		9		0
	Iranian regime		7		4
Saddam Hussein		76		13	
Bin Laden		8		31	
Al Qaeda		88		115	
dictator(-s)		35		7	
tyrant(-s)		21		4	
tyranny		26		11	
terror		183		32	
	war on terror		71		3
terrorist(-s)		394		113	
terrorism		35		69	
evil		24		5	
brutal		22		6	
hunt (down)		22		4	
weapons		155		83	
weapons of mass destruction			44		7
killer(-s)		17		2	
kill		24		18	
killing(-s)		10		14	
murder		38		8	
murderer(-s)		10		1	
murderous		7		0	
total		**1,533**		**574**	

While Obama seems to label Bin Laden and Al Qaeda as villains, Bush refers to the villains much more frequently and in varieties of ways, using linguistic metaphors such as *enemies, regime(-s), dictator(-s) tyrant(-s), terrorist(-s), killer(-s)* and *murderers(-s)*; most frequently, the villains are labelled as *terrorists*. Additionally, Bush directly refers to Saddam Hussein six times as much as Obama, as well as to the Iraqi regime, the Taliban regime, and the Iranian regime. The villains, according to Bush, are the ones who have established *tyranny*, the ones who spread *terror,* and the ones who *murder*, and *kill.* They are *evil*, *brutal*, have dangerous *weapons*, usually *weapons of mass destruction.* Additionally, the linguistic metaphor *hunt* reveals another conceptual metaphor – ENEMY IS AN ANIMAL – which is predominantly used by Bush. This conceptual metaphor is relatively infrequent in comparison to the WAR ON TERROR metaphor.

The victims of the in the fairy tale are referred to mostly by the following linguistic metaphors:

Table 7 The victim of the Fairy Tale

Victim	Clusters	Bush		Obama	
people		156		63	
	American people		50		30
	Iraqi people		60		6
	Afghan people		6		7
citizens		70		23	
innocent (adj. n.)		38		8	
free Iraq		19		0	
total		**283**		**137**	

Victims are foremost people of different nationalities – people of America, Iraq and Afghanistan. Both Bush and Obama metaphorically refer to Americans as victims, but Bush does it more frequently. However, people of Iraq seem to be greater victims, since Bush refers to them ten times as much as Obama. The linguistic metaphor *innocent*, which can be either a noun or an adjective, is also employed by Bush much more frequently, which is also the case with the cluster *free Iraq*.

There is another group of linguistic metaphors which could be categorised as the purpose for the heroes' acting, and thus it should be incorporated into the framework of the FAIRY TALE metaphor. This group of linguistic metaphors also exhibits different usage patterns. According to Table 7, *freedom* and *liberty* exhibit the greatest contrast between the corpora, and are significantly more frequent in the Bush-corpus. *Peace* is also a greater purpose for which a hero fights, and it is twice as much employed by Bush, along with the

verbs *protect* and *defend*, which depict what the hero does in order to achieve "peace" and "liberty":

Table 8 The purpose of acting

Purpose	Bush	Obama
protect	71	39
defend	57	10
freedom	249	52
liberty	61	4
peace	116	58
total	**554**	**163**

According to the results, Bush uses 804 linguistic metaphors for presenting the hero, 1533 for presenting the villain 283 to present the victims, and 554 for justifying the acts of the hero. That means that he uses 3174 linguistic metaphors to frame the warfare situation as a fairy tale, while Obama uses 1276 linguistic metaphors for fairy tale framing, which is more than twice as less.

Besides the FAIRY TALE METAPHOR, the conceptual metaphor WAR IS BUSINESS and WAR IS HARD WORK were also encountered, although in much smaller amounts. They are presented in the following table:

Table 9 War is business and hard work

War is Business/ Hard Work	Bush	Obama
effort(-s)	55	87
cost(-s)	6	49
price	3	20
total	**64**	**156**

Obama seems to frame war with respect to business much more often, and sees it mostly in terms of costs and prices to be paid. Likewise, war is seen by both Presidents as hard work, but Obama seems to favour this framing more.

7. Euphemism

A euphemism according to *Merriam Webster's Dictionary*, is "the substitution of an agreeable or inoffensive expression for one that may offend or suggest something unpleasant", or a word or expression which is a product of the same substitution. Indeed, lexicographers such as Carnoy (1927), Partridge (1997), Crystal (1997) and Rawson (1995) have traditionally considered euphemism a substitution strategy prompted by the reluctance of the speaker to offend an addressee. However, Allan and Burridge argue that more attention should be paid to these expressions because they are "not a matter of purely lexical choice" (1991: 4).

The word "euphemism" originates from the Greek word *euphēmē* meaning "flattering speech" or "praise". During antiquity the Greek employed euphemisms, often to refer to the bat-shaped evil deities Erinyes (The Avengers) as the Eumenides (The Kindly Ones), and they did not do this out of sympathy or respect, but to avoid any negative consequence of using their actual name. According to the legend, any mortal who would refer to them as Erinyes would be visited by them and driven mad by their horrible appearance. (*Wikipedia*). In this case, fear seems to have strongly motivated the use of alternative expressions to avoid offence or any other feeling of unpleasantness, especially offence to supernatural beings.

Nowadays people are also afraid or feel unpleasant when expressions denoting death, killing, dangerous superstitions beings, sex, bodily effluvia or inequality are used. Those expressions and their concepts are therefore taboo (socially forbidden) because they remind humans of their mortality, weakness, vulnerability, and other aspects of the imperfect, harsh and unjust reality. That is why taboos are replaced with expressions which have "fewer negative [associations, i.e.,] connotations" – euphemisms (Allan & Burridge 1991: 12). Thus, to *die* becomes to *pass away, Satan* becomes the *Fallen Angel, shit* becomes *poop*, and *Nigger* becomes *Afro-American*.

7.1 Euphemisms protect "face"

By applying euphemisms, the speaker allegedly attempts to avoid arousing unpleasant responses in the other party of the communicative situation. Nevertheless, McGlone and Batchelor claim that this is only partially true, since the findings of their empirical research strongly indicate that people predominantly use euphemisms to protect their own public self-image – "face" – by not appearing insensitive and inconsiderate (2003: 252). Thus, based on the previous arguments, a euphemism may additionally be defined as an expression used as

"an alternative to a dispreferred expression, in order to avoid possible loss of face: either one's own face or, through giving offence, that of the audience, or of some third party" (Allan & Burridge 1991: 11). "Face" is actually "the way that one perceives one's self to be viewed in the eyes of others" (Allan & Burridge 2006: 33), and, obviously, no one wants to jeopardise the "face" by being the bearer of bad news and by arousing negative emotional response in the interlocutor.

7.2 Euphemisms reduce emotional response

Several empirical studies employing electrodermal monitoring[5] have indeed shown that taboo terms cause strong emotional response (McGinnies 1949; Zajonc 1962; Gray *et al.* 1982; Dinn & Harris 2000). This implies that the use of euphemisms is a necessary and relevant social practice, and they should be employed as a shield against intense negative emotions. This however is not in accord with George Orwell's (1946) deterministic approach based on reducing most of the figures of speech in English. Nevertheless, Rawson (1995: 1) argues that euphemisms are "embedded so deeply in our language that few of us, even those who pride themselves on being plainspoken, ever get through a day without using them" (Rawson 1995: 1). Cullen Murphy supports this with the claim that "euphemisms are analogous to white blood cells, in that their appearance in discourse "might well be a sign of mild or serious pathology – but it's also a sign that a natural defence mechanism has kicked in" (1996: 16 quoted in McGlone & Batchelor 2003: 262)

7.3 Euphemisms are evasive

Additionally, certain studies suggest that euphemisms, similar to metaphors, are evasive. The most evasive ones according to the findings of McGlone *et al.* are the ones used most often – "conventional euphemisms" (2006: 273). Their empirical studies examined the perception of euphemisms in relation to their familiarity; the results of the first study showed that familiar euphemisms are perceived as more polite, and thus more appropriate in the majority of contexts, while in the second study the participants favoured a fictitious speaker who described a "taboo" target event using familiar euphemisms, over another speaker who used less conventional expressions. Thus, they concluded that familiarity may enhance the euphemism's "face-saving capacity", as well as its "camouflage-like properties", enabling readers to comprehend conventional euphemisms "in a mindless fashion requiring low cognitive effort", i.e. automatically (McGlone *et al.* 2006: 276). Consequently, a conventional

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[5] This records skin conductance response.

euphemism can pass relatively unnoticed through the processing mechanism of a human cognitive system, which makes it a highly manipulative linguistic device.

7.4 Figurative usages of euphemisms

There are several figurative usages of euphemisms which also emphasise covertness and evasiveness, with the most prominent being: "abstractions", "understatements" "circumlocutions", "metaphorical euphemisms" and "reversals" (Samoškaitė 2011: 22). An abstraction, or "general-for-specific" according to Allan and Burridge (2006: 207), is a case where a more general term is used instead of a precise one. The scholar de Tocqueville believed that "democratic nations as a class were 'addicted to generic terms and abstract expressions' because these modes of speech enlarge thought and assist the operation of the mind by enabling it to include many objects in a small compass" (Rawson 1995: 12). Unfortunately, the use of such terms may result in fuzziness and vagueness. An example of an abstraction would be the use of *gadget* or *device* for *bomb*.

Similarly, understatements are expressions "that acknowledge part of the truth while concealing the extent of its grimness", and the danger with them is that "[they] may hide the true meaning completely" (Rawson 1995: 13). For example, *sleep* is frequently used for *die*. However, many abstractions are also understatements, as is the case with *thing* which is used virtually for anything, and *deed*, which could stand for an act of murder.

Circumlocution is "the use of several words instead of one, or many instead of few" (*OED online*). This could clearly increase the amount of resources required for processing such an expression. Examples of circumlocution would be *terminological inexactitude* for *lie* and *assertive disarmament* for *war*.

Metaphorical euphemisms are expressions which "adopt metaphorical mapping of both source and target domains to express the notion of a forbidden domain as a result of conscious choices from pragmatic competence" (Lee 2011: 356). So, often when conceptual mapping from the source domain to the target domain is achieved, the result is a metaphor used euphemistically due to the imposition of the context. And, since metaphor is in itself indirect, these kinds of euphemisms seem operate more covertly than others. A metaphorical euphemism for example could be *ethnic cleansing*, which is based on the conceptual metaphor KILLING IS CLEANING.

Unlike the previous types of euphemisms, a reversal or verbal irony is "a figure of speech in which the intended meaning of a statement differs from the meaning that the words appear to express; […] it is actually the opposite between what is said and what is intended"

(Nordquist 2014). The examples would be *blessed* for *damned* and *invasion* used as *rescue mission*" during President Richard Nixon's term.

7.5 Euphemisms are manipulative

Due to the presented properties and arguments, it is justifiable to suggest that euphemisms can, similar to metaphors, be highly manipulative linguistic devices. And, since they can protect the public image, operate covertly, evading thus the emotional response and even hiding the truth about the current state of affairs, they are very much "favoured by the [governments]", i.e. politicians (Rawson 1995: 1). Nevertheless, euphemisms employed in such a manner are "dishonest", and are used mostly by institutions "who have something to hide, who don't want to say what they are thinking, and who wish to lie about what they are doing" (Rawson 1995: 4). Moreover, "dishonest" euphemisms are by William Lutz (1989: 1) categorised as "doublespeak" [6]– a language used "to make the unreasonable seem reasonable, the blamed seem blameless, the powerless seem powerful". Ironically, besides deceiving the public, doublespeak may likewise help the users "fool themselves into justifying their actions, not matter what" (Rawson 1995: 5). For these reasons, and due to previous arguments, analysing euphemisms in the context of political speeches of warfare may prove productive, and it may provide useful insights into the aspects of different usages of those rather vague means of verbal expression.

7.6 Previous corpus-based research on euphemisms in political language

Not many studies focusing on euphemisms in speeches of American Presidents have been conducted. Nevertheless, a research similar to the section of the present paper was conducted by Samoškaitė, who analysed the structural, semantic and pragmatic properties of 70 modern political euphemisms extracted from the newspaper *The Guardian.* It was found that in terms of their structure, euphemisms are mostly compounds, while the most prominent semantic realisations are metaphorical euphemisms. Also, with respect to pragmatic properties, it was found that euphemisms mostly perform the function of cover-up, which indicates that the "main aim of [political] euphemisms is to hide the unpleasant reality by using more positive and acceptable words" (Samoškaitė 2011: 53). Basically, the study showed that euphemisms are a vital component of political speeches.

Another study, resembling the present section much more, was conducted by Yaseen (2012), who focused on the pragmatics of euphemisms. Analysing six speeches of President

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[6] "The term doublespeak is an amalgam of two Orwellian expressions, doublethink and newspeak, both of which appeared in Orwell's dystopian novel *Nineteen Eighty Four*" (Samoškaitė 2011: 21).

Obama, the study revealed that Obama predominantly uses politeness strategies aiming at sympathy, which protect the interlocutor's face. This is mostly evident in the situation where Obama refers to the victims of war as "*loved ones*" or "*fallen heroes*" (Yaseen 2012: 9). Based on the arguments, Yaseen concludes that Obama is very much concerned about his own public image, which is why his speeches reflect the picky nature of the language he uses.

7.7 Results

The corpus-based analysis of euphemisms has yielded the following results:

Table 10 warfare euphemisms

Euphemisms	Clusters	Bush	Obama
War		50	112
action		19	36
conflict		17	29
struggle		15	13
counter-		0	25
	counter terrorism	0	18
	counter insurgency	0	7
operation		9	9
	Operation Iraqi Freedom	5	0
Victims		32	42
casualties		4	14
	civilian casualties	1	10
loved one/-s		15	9
loss		13	9
Military		33	67
men and women		28	41
	men and women in uniform	5	6
	servicemen and women	3	5
redeployment		0	16
timetable		5	10
Spies		87	53
agents		9	0
intelligence		78	53
Reversals		554	163
protect		71	39
defend		57	10
freedom		249	52
liberty		61	4
peace		116	58
total		**756**	**437**

The table shows that the greatest number of euphemisms are those replacing *war* and those expressing irony (reversals). In most of the cases, both Bush and Obama seem to euphemise

war often by referring to it as *struggle*, yet Obama refers to it more often as an *action* or *conflict*. *Counter-terrorism* and *counter-insurgency* are likewise euphemisms for *war* and are exclusively used by Obama. However, *operation*, which is the least used euphemism in this category, is used by both, but Bush seems to occasionally refer to it as *Operation Iraqi Freedom*. When talking about victims of war, Obama refers to them more as *casualties* (especially *civilian casualties*), while Bush presents them slightly more as *loved ones* and *loss*. The members of the military are usually euphemised by Obama as *men and women*, but are also often euphemised by both Presidents as *men and women in uniform* or *servicemen and women*. Obama, however, is the only one who talks about the withdrawal of troops as *redeployment*. When talking about the government spies, Bush occasionally refers to them as *agents*, while the reference to the spying agencies as *intelligence* is evident in both corpora. Ultimately, the category which yielded the greatest number of euphemisms is "reversals", which includes the euphemisms *protect*, *defend*, *freedom*, *liberty* and *peace*.

In conclusion, Obama seems to euphemise war three times as much as Bush, and he also euphemises the members of the military twice as much. Bush, however, offers an opposite view of the reality of war about four times as much as Obama.

8. Discussion

8.1 Pronouns and modal auxiliaries

When it comes to pronouns and modals, they exhibit various and stable patterns in both corpora. There are certain cases where pronouns are often combined in clusters with nouns and certain verbs, but are nevertheless mostly encountered in the presence of modal auxiliaries.

8.1.1 The pronoun *I*

The pronoun *I* is used by both Presidents often, though Bush uses it the cluster *I want to*, while Obama prefers *I will* much more often:

(14) O13 And **I'll** lead a global effort to secure all loose nuclear materials around the world during my first term as President.

B19 **I want to** thank you for being on the front lines of fighting these terrorists.

B11 **I want to** thank you for keeping your pledge of duty to America.

In the above example, Obama uses the subject form of the personal pronoun *I* with the volitional *will* to present himself as a worthy leader who is determined to take action for the purpose of improving the current state of affairs. However, *I will* could also be interpreted as a personal promise where *will* expresses predictive probability, which might help Obama reassure the public of the seriousness of his intentions. Thus, *I will* may have two parallel readings, which might imply that, at the same time, Obama is a determined, but also an honest and a responsible person. A similar effect is achieved with the more tentative cluster *I would*, where *would* expresses deductive probability. This cluster is nevertheless much less prominent in both corpora, but still preferred by Obama more often.

On the other hand, in the other two examples *I want to* expresses strong and straightforward personal volition. By using it, Bush is expressing gratitude to the military. In the first example, he addresses the military Secretaries, whereas in the second, he might be addressing the whole military. However, the exact referents in this case are not relevant; what is however relevant, is that he expresses gratitude as an individual, not as a group representative. Moreover, with *want to*, he introduces informality, which makes his speeches more personal. Consequently, he may come across as a leader who is very grateful for the military achievements, honouring it in a personal and sincere way. The military may feel motivated by this and try to justify the gratitude of their leader by performing their duties even better.

8.1.1.2 The possessive form *my*

Considering the possessive pronoun *my,* Table 2 has shown that it is favoured by both Presidents. Its most significant clusters are *my administration* and *my country*, which are used more often by Obama, and *my fellow*, which is only used by Bush:

(15)   O17 To address this threat, two years ago **my administration** did a comprehensive review and engaged with law enforcement.

O16 Unlike Afghanistan, Iraq was a war of choice that provoked strong differences in **my country** and around the world.

In all the above examples, *my* implies a closer, more personal and emotional relation. By using the possessive pronoun *my* with the noun *administration*, Obama may emphasise that he is not only the leader of his administration, but also its member who has the same rights as the other members of the administration. With *my country*, the emotional relation between Obama and America is evident, which might contribute to the perception of him as a loyal and committed American. Bush possibly shows a bit of affection not towards the personified country, but towards the citizens, since the cluster *my fellow* is occasionally encountered in the Bush-corpus. *Fellow*, according to *Merriam-Webster's Dictionary*, can be synonymous to *comrade*, which is further defined as "an intimate friend or associate". This might suggest that Bush, while addressing the people as Americans – *my fellow Americans* – or as citizens – *my fellow citizens* – portrays them actually more as close friends or associates:

(16)   B2 **My fellow citizens**, for the last nine days, the entire world has seen for itself the state of our Union -- and it is strong.

B13 But, **my fellow Americans**, we will not fail.

From the examples, it is noticeable that by using the pronoun *my* Bush attempts to establish an emotional bond with the people by creating an atmosphere of community, and thus, he may be trying to impose himself as a true and trusted friend. Ultimately, based on the use of the pronoun *my,* it can be suggested that Obama implies a more personal relation to the personified country and administration, while Bush focuses on the people.

8.1.1.3 The object form *me*

The last form of the pronoun *I* considered here is the object form *me.* As seen in Table 2**,** it likewise exhibits similar usage frequencies in both speeches of Bush and Obama. The most significant cluster encountered is the combination with the verb *let* (*let me*), used in 11 instances by Bush, and in 36 instances by Obama. *Let me* denotes the same as *allow me,* and it is used for making polite requests:

(17)   O16 **Let me** also address the issue of Iraq.

        O7 **Let me** be clear: there is no military solution in Iraq, and there never was.

The examples show how Obama indirectly makes a polite request, which means that by using *let me*, he may additionally come across as polite.

7.1.2 The pronoun *you*

The pronoun *you* in all its forms is generally used by Bush more than twice as much as Obama, which signals that Bush addresses the public more directly. Predominantly, he is focused on the members of the military, trying to maintain a more personal relation to them:

(18)   B18 **You**'re fighting the terrorists who wish to harm us; **you**'re breaking up their cells; **you're** disrupting their financing. **You** are stopping them before they can strike our country and kill our citizens. Your work is difficult; it is dangerous. I want **you** to know how much your country appreciates **you**, and so do I.

The example shows that Bush praises the military members in a personal way by referring to them multiple times. By praising them, he may win their support and further motivate them to perform better on the battlefield. In addition, Bush occasionally uses a generic *you* to intimidate, or rather threaten the public:

(19)   B21 I told the world that if **you** harbor a terrorist, **you**'re equally as guilty as the terrorists.

In this case, Bush addresses the global public, and he might be trying to appear determinate and daring when he addresses the world in such a manner.

As for the idiomatic behaviour of the pronoun *you*, the most significant cluster is *thank you*, predominantly used by Bush:

(20)   B21 General, **thank you** for greeting me. I'm proud to be here with Major General Roger Lempke.

        B1 **Thank you**. Good night and God bless America.

In the first example, Bush addresses a Major General at the beginning of his speech, while in the second example, he addresses the public at the end of the speech. The use of the cluster at the beginning and at the end of a speech is a sign of formality which Bush tends to conform to. Additionally, *thank you*, similar to *let me,* implies politeness and respect, but also gratitude towards the addressee. Interestingly, a psychological study done by Panagopoulos in order to examine the reaction of the public on the politicians' expression of gratitude, showed that the

expression *thank you* does make a change and has a " desirable effect" on the public (2011: 715). Thus, by using *thank you*, Bush might also achieve this desirable effect.

8.1.2.2 The possessive form *your*

The possessive form *your* is also used by Bush more frequently. In fact, Bush uses it 198 times, which is three times as much as Obama who uses it 61 times. Its most frequent and meaningful clusters are *your country* and *your service*. Each of the clusters is used 12 times by Bush, while Obama only uses them once. This frequency is not high, but it does reveal certain behavioural patterns of *your*:

(21)   B11 You're defending **your country**, and protecting the innocent from harm.

        B21 America will always be grateful for **your service** in the cause of freedom.

In the first example, *your* is used with *service* to reinforce the feeling of responsibility, implicitly emphasising that one should defend one's own country. In the second example, Bush binds *your* with *country*, emphasising an emotional relation between the military servicemen and the country they serve. This is relatable to the cluster *my country*, which is used by Obama to emphasise his own personal relation to America.

8.1.3 The pronoun *we*

The pronoun *we* exhibits the highest frequencies in both corpora, and is in all its forms predominantly used by Obama. It is also the pronoun which shows the strongest tendency to co-occur with modal auxiliaries:

Table 11 The clusters of the subject form of *we*

Clusters	Bush	Obama
we will	229	137
we will not	24	7
we would	9	15
we must	34	111
we have to	9	35
we need to	42	116
we should	6	44
we can	33	134
we could	8	39
total	**394**	**638**

Except for the clusters *we will* and *we will not*, all the other clusters are used by Obama much more often. In the former cluster, *will* expresses predictive probability:

(22)   B2 **We will** starve terrorists of funding, turn them one against another, drive them from place to place, until there is no refuge or no rest.

B1 We will rally the world to this cause by our efforts, by our courage. **We will not** tire, **we will not** falter, and **we will not** fail.

Additionally, within the same cluster, Bush uses *we* to imply a membership of his listeners and himself into one group, and he is firmly convinced that the group will achieve its goals. Moreover, the first example can be understood as a promise, but, as with *I will*, it also shows traces of volition. Thus, a dual reading is also possible, and the interpretation may be further complicated due to the use of *we*, which might cause even more vagueness. Nevertheless, the implication of belonging to a group might motivate the listeners to support Bush's policies. In the second example, *will* expresses a more volitional meaning, since *will not* implies a willingness to oppose someone (an enemy). Bush may assure the public that they have the capacity to fight back, and with *we* he implies solidarity.

8.1.3.2 *We* with *could*, *would* and *can*

The more tentative modal *would* is preferred by both Presidents, while *could* is used by Obama twice as much. Also, the epistemic meanings of *would* and *could*, deductive probability and hypothetical possibility, respectively, are much more prominent than their dynamic meanings. Their most significant clusters are *we would* and *we could*, where the first cluster exhibits almost the same frequencies in both corpora, while the second cluster is often Obama's choice:

(23)   B16 Yet the United States was not on good terms with Pakistan's military and civilian leaders – the very people **we would** need to help shut down al Qaeda operations in that part of the world.

O12 Senator McCain claimed that **we would** be greeted as liberators, and that democracy would spread across the Middle East.

O12 This war distracts us from every threat that we face and so many opportunities **we could** seize.

In the first two examples, Bush and Obama are being more careful about what they claim, which is not a usual tendency of Bush, who, as seen, usually uses *we will* to make confident predictions about the future. In the third example, Obama criticises the policy of George Bush and speculates about the opportunities he (Obama) and the American citizens could seize if the situation was different. By using *we could,* Obama implies that everyone has the potential to act, and, in this case, change the current policies with the help of his guidance. The use of *we could* in this way suggests that in the time this speech took place, Obama was focusing on

promoting himself to the public as a more suitable leader than Bush.

The case is very similar with the cluster *we can*, which is predominantly used by Obama:

(24)   O7 Just think about what **we can** accomplish together when we end this war.

          O18 **We can** fix this, and we will. The American people demand it, and so does our democracy.

Unlike *we could*, the cluster in the two above examples emphasises mutual ability, not simply potential. *We can* is also used five times more than *we could*, and Obama uses it to imply that the public really has the ability to change policies imposed by the previous administration. Thus, by using the cluster *we can*, Obama might prompt the public to act and support his policies.

8.1.3.3 *We* **with** *must, have to, need to* **and** *should*

The modal *must* and the semi modals *have to* and *need to* are definitely the preference of Obama, who often combines their deontic meanings with the pronoun *we* when imposing strong obligation:

(25)   O5 Only Iraq's leaders can settle the grievances at the heart of Iraq's civil war. **We must** apply pressure on them to act, and our best leverage is reducing our troop presence.

          O17 But as we shape our response, **we have to** recognise that the scale of this threat closely resembles the types of attacks we faced before 9/11.

          O13 **We need to** prevent terrorists or spies from hacking into our national security networks.

All three examples exhibit the presence of strong obligation, though slightly different aspects of it. With *we must*, Obama implies authority more explicitly. With *have to*, which is the least used cluster of the three, he implies strong external influences. Ultimately, with *need to*, Obama implies strong internal necessity and the futility of ignoring it. However, in all three cases, the pronoun *we* takes the responsibility off the President and distributes it on Obama's listeners, which means that the use of these clusters might help Obama avoid certain responsibilities in a rather indirect way. The avoidance of direct reference seems to be relevant in moments of great decisions, since, as with warfare matters, everyone wants to take as little responsibility as possible. Similar to the three previously mentioned modals of obligation, *should* is likewise used by Obama much more often. *Should* also implies obligation, but this obligation is weaker and lies between advice and obligation. Thus, *should* in itself may have a dual reading, which becomes even vaguer within the cluster *we should*:

(26)   O17 With a decade of experience now to draw from, this is the moment to ask ourselves hard questions about the nature of today's threats and how **we should** confront them.

In the above example, Obama refers to the nuclear weapons owned by the countries of Middle East, calling them "threats". In the same example, *should* could imply more obligation than advice, since a threat is something that has to be confronted. Thus, because of the possible interpretations, it can be speculated that *we should* exhibits vagueness and indirectness which are greater than within the clusters of the three previous modals. However, the frequency of *we should* is lower, but it is not insignificant at all.

Finally, it can be noted that Obama often employs indirectness in his speeches, both in the case of strong and weak obligation. This is one of the main features which distinguishes his speeches from the speeches of George Bush.

8.1.3.4 The possessive form *our*

The possessive *our* is one the most frequently used pronouns, along with its subject forms *we* and the pronoun *I*. It is often preferred by both Presidents, though 200 additional instances have been encountered in the Obama-corpus. Its most significant clusters are *our country*, *our nation*, *our troops* and *our military*, where the first two are predominantly used by Bush, while the other two clusters are preferred by Obama:

(27)   B21 All of you are bringing honor to the uniform, and pride to **our country**, and security to the American people.

B22 Our freedom agenda is based on a clear premise: the security of **our nation** depends on the advance of liberty in other nations.

O10 **Our troops** – including so many from Fort Bragg and Pope Air Force Base - have done a brilliant job under difficult circumstances.

O20 "Over the last 10 years, thanks to the tireless and heroic work of **our military** and our counterterrorism professionals, we've made great strides in that effort.

First of all, as with previous possessive forms, a more personal relation towards the referred entities is implied. Additionally, the use of the first person plural implies sharing, i.e. a feeling that the country and the military belong to everyone and thus everybody should support it. Bush implies support for the personified country and nation, while Obama implies the support for the military. Ultimately, the frequency of the pronoun *our* suggests that the above implications are offered quite often, especially by Obama, who indeed seems concerned about the American military being involved in war.

8.1.3.5 The object form *us*

In terms of inclusion and belonging to a community, the pronoun *us* exhibits the same implications as the previous two forms of *we*. It's most significant cluster is *let us*, occasionally used by Obama:

(28)   O14 With an eye toward the future, with resolve in our hearts, **let us** remember this history, and answer our destiny, and remake the world once again.

In the above example, Obama addresses the public politely by making a polite request which implies joint activity. Due to the use of politeness, but also because of the implications of community, the activity may be perceived as harmless, and Obama may not come across as too assertive.

8.1.4 The pronoun *they*

The third person plural pronoun is generally the third most frequently used pronoun, but it is the second most frequently used by Bush. In fact, around 450 additional instances have been encountered in the Bush-corpus. This could indicate that Bush is much more prone to polarizing entities for the purpose of presenting them in a negative way:

(29)   B2 **They** hate our freedoms -- our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other.

        B5 **They** forged documents, destroyed evidence and developed mobile weapons facilities to keep a step ahead of inspectors.

In both examples above, *they* carries a negative connotation, and is contrasted to *our* and *inspectors* which carry positive connotations. In contrast, Obama often uses *they* to refer to the members of the military:

(30)   O3 **They** have battled insurgents, secured cities, and maintained some semblance of order in Iraq. But even as **they** have carried out their responsibilities with excellence and valor, **they** have also told me that there is no military solution to this war.

        O20 We give thanks for the men who carried out this operation, for **they** exemplify the professionalism, patriotism, and unparalleled courage of those who serve our country.

The reference to the members of the military again suggests that Obama may indeed be concerned about the members of the military, and thus wants to raise awareness among the public about their current status. Nevertheless, by appearing considerate, Obama may also try to evoke sympathy and protect his own public image.

The most frequent clusters of *they* are *they will* and *they can*, and both are more preferred by Bush:

(31)   B22 They know that as more people in the region embrace freedom, **they will** lose their safe havens, lose their recruits, and lose the sources of funding they need to advance their hateful ideology.

B22 The terrorists know that the only way **they can** defeat us is to break our will and force our retreat.

In both examples, Bush refers to terrorists and depicts them negatively. In the first example, he confidently predicts their demise with *will*, while in the second, he emphasises their ability as futile with the dynamic *can*.

Obviously, when it comes to pronouns, Bush often employs polarity in his speeches to present the enemy negatively. It can be suggested that the use is for the purpose of justifying and continuing the war.

8.1.4.2 The possessive form *their*

The possessive form *their* is much more prominent in the Bush-corpus, and its most significant clusters are *their lives*, *their country* and *their families*, which are preferred by both Presidents:

(32)   B19 Even though the terrorists are targeting Iraqi police and army recruits, there is no shortage of Iraqis who are willing to risk **their lives** to secure the future of a free Iraq.

B22 Today, Iraq, though, does have a thriving free press, with hundreds of independent newspapers and magazines and talk radio shows where Iraqis openly debate the future course of **their country**.

O12 In the 18 months since the surge began, the strain on our military has increased, our troops and **their families** have borne an enormous burden, and American taxpayers have spent another $200 billion in Iraq.

In the first two examples, Bush implies the responsibility that the Iraqi people should take for their lives and country. Additionally, Bush might also encourage the people to overthrow their leader. As for Obama, he again focuses on the members of the military, emphasizing concern for their families.

8.1.4.3 The object form *them*

Like the previous two forms, the object form *them* is likewise preferred by Bush:

(33)   B17 The terrorists know that the outcome will leave **them** emboldened or defeated.

The example exhibits another negative reference to an enemy, implying their cunningness and experience. As for the idiomatic behaviour of *them*, its most significant cluster is *help them*:

(34)   B12 We will provide funds to **help them** improve security. And we will **help them** to restore basic services, such as electricity and water, and to build new schools, roads, and medical clinics.

In this case, Bush emphasises that the nations of Iraq or Afghanistan need support. This support, he implies, will come from the United States, which, as usual, takes the moral responsibility for the ones who are troubled by their own governments.

8.1.4.4 Wishing with *may*

The modal *may* in its dynamic form is used by Bush more frequently, and he uses it mostly in the cluster *may God*:

(35)   B8 **May God** bless our country and all who defend her.

B22 **May God** bless our veterans. May God bless our troops in uniform. And may God continue to bless our country.

The wishes expressed by Bush at the end of each speech connote politeness, formality, but also a certain amount of authority. One could understand the above wishes as expressions of greatest sincerity and affection. However, the wishes imply authority, as they are uttered by the President himself. The authority implied here is of a religious nature, since usually priests are the ones who often refer to God. Thus, it can be speculated that by uttering a wish in such a way, Bush may be looked upon with more respect.

8.1.5 Summary

The usage of pronouns, modals and their clusters have revealed certain patterns in both corpora. Both Presidents seem to use self-reference often, though Bush uses it with dynamic *want to* to express gratitude to the military. Obama, on the other hand, expresses strong volition with the dynamic *will*, which could also be understood as a firm promise. The difference in the use of the pronoun *I* indicate that Obama is focusing more on self-promotion, while Bush is protecting his policies.

Dissimilar to the subject form of the pronoun *I*, the preference of the pronoun *you* by Bush in all its forms indicates that he is more direct and daring in his speeches. The pronoun *we* exhibits the highest frequencies in both corpora, but is more often Obama's choice. This indicates that Obama is less direct than Bush. By combining the subject form *we* with the deontic *must*, *have to*, *need to* and *should*, Obama tacitly imposes different kinds of obligation on his listeners. Lillian (2008: 15) suggests that the heavy use of deontic modals might be a manifestation of "a discourse that has crossed a line from persuasion to manipulation". Additionally, Obama often uses the clusters *we can* and *we could* to suggest that the public

has the ability and thus should act against the policies of George Bush. Bush, on the other hand, uses *we* with *will* to make strong promises on behalf of his administration, and reassures the public of its future achievements. However, with the volitional cluster *will not*, Bush implies an enemy which should be confronted. This might suggest that he tries to justify war. Justification may also be achieved with the subject form *they*, which Bush often uses to refer to enemies. Usually, *they* is used with words exhibiting negative denotations to increase the negative perception of the opponent. In contrast, Obama usually uses *they* to refer to the members of the military in a sympathetic way, which might simply indicate that he wants to come across as considerate.

The usage of the possessive forms *my*, *your*, *our* and *their* usually indicates an emotional relation. With *my*, Obama emphasises this relation to the country and his administration, while Bush relates to the citizens. The pronouns *your* and *their*, both preferred by Bush, additionally imply responsibility, where the former is used with military members, while the second is often used with reference to the victims of war – e.g. Iraqis. Obama, nevertheless, uses the cluster *their lives* to express concern about the lives of the American soldiers.

The object forms *me* and *us*, occasionally encountered in clusters *let me* and *let us*, are often used by Obama when making polite requests. Nevertheless, by using *thank you* Bush is also expressing politeness, although in a more formal way. Formality is also emphasised with the cluster *may God*, which is actually often used by presidents at the end of their speeches. Ultimately, the object form *them* is preferred by Bush within the cluster *help them*, where Bush implies that the victims of war require support from the Unites States.

Generally, with respect to pronouns and modals, it can be said that Bush exhibits more directness and formality in his speeches, while Obama exhibits a more tacit approach, especially when imposing obligation. In addition, both Presidents are polite and both show concern for the members of the military, especially Obama. However, Bush often refers to enemies with *they*, presenting them as the "other" and implying intolerance. Moreover, he refers to the victims of the enemies in order to emphasise the relevance of helping those victims. Thus, it could be suggested that the reference to enemies and victims may help Bush justify the wars his administration wants him to fight.

8.2 Metaphors

According to the results in Chapter 6, personification with the STATE AS PERSON conceptual metaphor is one of the most pervasive metaphoric devices used in both corpora.

By presenting war as a conflict between personified abstractions, Presidents are covering up the reality of war. Additionally, abstractions may trigger emotions, where the positively presented abstractions – heroes – may trigger emotions of pride, while abstractions presented negatively may, in case of villains and victims, evoke fear and compassion. Consequently, the FAIRY TALE metaphor, which is predominantly employed by Bush, may indeed contribute to the justification of war.

8.2.1 Hero

When it comes to personifying the hero, America is usually given heroic properties:

(36) B2 With every atrocity, they hope that **America** grows fearful, retreating from the world and forsaking our friends.

O3 As we change strategy in Iraq, we should also think about what Iraq has taught us about **America's** strategy in the wider struggle against rogue threats and international terrorism.

The provided examples illustrate that America is presented in a positive way. Bush presents it as fearless and fight-ready, while, according Obama, America plans its actions strategically. The *world*, although not clear what world, is also presented as heroic. Bush makes this reference twice as much, and he further emphasises that it is actually the *civilized world* that exhibits heroic properties:

(37) B2 An attack on one is an attack on all. The **civilized world** is rallying to America's side. They understand that if this terror goes unpunished, their own cities, their own citizens may be next.

In this case, Bush closely relates America to the *civilized world*, which teams up with America to protect the citizens of the United States. By stating indirectly that only the civilized nations are assisting in the war, Bush implies that other countries and nations are inactive or passive, and even not part of the world. This may trigger a negative evaluation of countries which may not even be interested in the actions taken by America. The same is with the linguistic metaphor *free nations*, where *free* implies that other nations are not free, but somehow limited or imprisoned. Nevertheless, the *allies* or the *coalition*, which make up the *world*, certainly are continuing their support for other countries. However, when referring to the *coalition*, Bush often uses the cluster *coalition forces*:

(38) B9 At this hour, **coalition forces** are clearing southern cities and towns of the dictator's death squads and enforcers.

It seems from this example that the allies are heroically preventing the enemy from progressing. The cluster *coalition forces* emphasises the strength of the allies as they are presented as a force, and it is thus probably beneficial for America to have them on its side. However, even Iraq and Afghanistan have their forces, but those are *security forces*. Nevertheless, *force* doesn't have to be interpreted positively, since it may connote "violence and fraud used to the limit of combatant's capacity" (Huxley 1947: 87). Thus, *force* may hide the fact that it is comprised of soldiers, and it is therefore a positively presented personified abstraction. Bush often refers to *Iraqi security forces*, while Obama only mentions the *forces* in Afghanistan. The *security forces* could be related to the *coalition forces*, with the only difference being their focus on security. Since the *security forces* are also *forces*, they have to be within the coalition team, and by naming them as such, Bush establishes a strong contrast between the enemy government and the heroic Iraqis who are protected by the *security forces*. This may help Bush justify his war policy, since the effectiveness of the *Iraqi security forces* could be interpreted as a result of the successful training of the US military, of which Bush is the commander-in-chief.

8.2.2 Villain

According to the data in the Bush-corpus, America seems to have many enemies, while Obama is much less concerned with the dangers to the country. The main enemies according to Bush are the Iraqi regime under the command of Saddam Hussein, who is accused of being a dictator, tyrant, terrorist, killer and a murderer:

(39) B5 **Saddam Hussein** is a **homicidal dictator** who is addicted to weapons of mass destruction.

B5 Among those requirements the **Iraqi regime** must reveal and destroy, under UN supervision, all existing weapons of mass destruction. […] the regime must allow witnesses to its illegal activities to be interviewed outside the country. And these witnesses must be free to bring their families with them, so they are all beyond the reach of **Saddam Hussein's terror** and **murder**.

Besides being labelled with extremely negative properties, Saddam Hussein is accused of possessing nuclear weapons of mass destruction, and of being an addict. Having been given numerous negative attributes, he should certainly be perceived as very dangerous, irrational and unpredictable. Such a depiction helps Bush to justify his policies and the war he leads against Iraq. However, even though Bush claimed that Saddam and Al Qaeda were responsible for the attack on September 11th, this was later proven to be wrong.

Unlike Bush, Obama makes occasional negative reference to Bin Laden:

(40)   O12 We could have deployed the full force of American power to hunt down and destroy **Osama bin Laden**, al Qaeda, the Taliban, and all of the terrorists responsible for 9/11, while supporting real security in Afghanistan.

In the example above, Obama, unlike Bush, relates Bin Laden to Al Qaeda. However, Obama metaphorically refers to Bin Laden as an animal, using the ENEMY IS AN ANIMAL conceptual metaphor embodied in the linguistic metaphor *hunt* or *hunt down*. This is nevertheless a tendency more observable in the Bush-corpus:

(41)   B21 More than 90 nations --nearly half the world -- are now cooperating in a global campaign to dry up terrorist financing, **hunt down** terrorist operatives, and bring terrorist leaders to justice.

By depersonalizing the enemy and attaching animalistic traits to him, Bush increases the urgency to strike and once more justifies his policies on the waged war, as the enemy cannot be reasoned with anyway. Besides using many descriptive nouns in presenting enemies negatively, Bush additionally uses WAR ON TERROR conceptual metaphor and places the enemies and all their actions and effects under the label of *terror*:

(42)   B12 The Middle East will either become a place of progress and peace, or it will be an exporter of violence and **terror** that takes more lives in America and in other free nations.

It can be inferred from the sample that Bush is intimidating the American public, and implicates that there is no other choice but to act as soon as possible. This repeated reference to the enemy as *terror* may reinforce the connection between the emotional state of terror and the actual acts. Perhaps, the intimidated public under the emotional stress cannot reason clearly, and thus does not have much choice but to accept the policies offered by the administration of George Bush.

8.2.3 Victim

According to the data in Table 6, the victim is the least referred to character within the fairy tale. The main victims according to both Presidents are the people, especially the people of America and Iraq:

(43)   O13 It's time to update our national security strategy to stay one step ahead of the terrorists - to see clearly the emerging threats of our young century, and to take action to make the **American people** more safe and secure.

B10 Decades of lies and intimidation could not make the **Iraqi people** love their oppressors or desire their own enslavement.

In the first example, Obama emphasises the necessity of actions needed to be taken in order to protect the American people, while in the second example Bush emphasises that the Iraqi people are putting up with oppression and enslavement for a long period of time. This implies that a prompt action is required in order to rescue the Iraqi people. Additionally, although in the above example Obama depicts Americans as victims, Bush is actually the one who often refers to the American people as victims. He also metaphorically refers to the people of Iraq as victims 60 times, while Obama makes only 6 references, which shows that Bush is strongly urging the attack on Iraq, and trying to justify war. Likewise, by using the linguistic metaphor *citizens* which is synonymous to *people*, he is achieving a similar effect, but with the focus on the legal aspects of the matter, implicating the legal right of the people to live in a free country. Another effect, though infrequently applied by Bush, is the use of the noun and adjective *innocent*:

(44)　　B17 They wear no uniform; they respect no laws of warfare or morality. They take **innocent** lives to create chaos for the cameras. […] and as Iraqis see that their military can protect them, more will step forward with vital intelligence to help defeat the enemies of a free Iraq.

Not only are the victims in Iraq depicted as innocent, but they are also portrayed as *free Iraq*. Using this linguistic metaphor, Bush implies that the people who have chosen to fight against their regime are already free to a degree, although this is not the case. The adjective *innocent* might also serve as a weak justification for war, and it could likewise indicate the purpose of the battles fought by *free Iraq*, *free nations* and the *civilized world*, which are metaphorically referred to as heroic.

8.2.4 Purpose of acting

In order to justify the purpose of war even more, Bush is emphasizing and repeating that the purpose of the war is to achieve *freedom* (or *liberty*):

(45)　　B10 We are committed to **freedom** in Afghanistan, in Iraq, and in a peaceful Palestine. The advance of **freedom** is the surest strategy to undermine the appeal of terror in the world.

The example shows that the relevance of *freedom* as the ultimate goal is greatly emphasised, and Bush applies this linguistic metaphor five times as much as Obama, who also employs *liberty* about ten times less. Achieving *peace* is equally relevant, and Bush is referring to this intended goal twice as much as Obama:

(46)   B22 I appreciate your interest in the direction this country must continue to lead in order to protect ourselves and promote the **peace**.

The employment of the linguistic metaphor *peace* may have the effect of evoking an ideal image of peace and may trigger positive emotions among the public, thus helping the Bush Administration to justify war. Likewise, when it comes to protecting and defending, Bush shows a greater determination and preparedness to protect victims:

(47)   B1 Our first priority is to get help to those who have been injured and to take every precaution to **protect** our citizens at home and around the world from further attacks.

B7 **Free nations** have a duty to defend our people by uniting against the violent.

The victims are again American people and citizens, and the heroes are America and the *free nations*, whose heroic duty, as the example implies, is to act immediately.

8.2.5 War is business and hard work

These conceptual metaphors can be regarded independently of the FAIRY TALE metaphor. Both Presidents present war as hard work, although this is slightly more frequent in Obama's case:

(48)   O7 We need to launch the most aggressive diplomatic **effort** in recent history to reach a new compact in the region. This **effort** should include all of Iraq's neighbours, and we should also bring in the United Nations Security Council.

Although it is not clear what is exactly meant by *effort*, it certainly does seems like the action requires a lot of personal involvement and energy. This may help in forming the perception of waging a war as a very difficult task, which may further help in presenting certain administrations as diligent, and thus reliable. Thus, Obama may come across as more diligent than Bush. Additionally, when it comes to presenting war as business, Obama seems to apply this conceptual metaphor much more often:

(49)   O17 This is the **price** of being the world's most powerful nation, particularly as a wave of change washes over the Arab World.

O20 After nearly 10 years of service, struggle, and sacrifice, we know well the **costs** of war.

In these examples, the costs and prices of war are indeed referred to metaphorically. By presenting the war as business, Obama may be attempting to hide the horrible aspects of it,

and may simultaneously emphasise his own professionalism. This in turn might help Obama gather support from people for further actions.

8.2.6 Summary

In this sub-section comments were made on the usages and patterns of certain conceptual metaphors and their respective linguistic manifestations. Mostly, the conventional metaphors were of interest, since they are easily detected by corpus-based methods, but are also taken for granted by the public. The focus was on political war metaphors, which were expected to occur frequently within both corpora. Conceptual metaphors chosen for analysis were the FAIRY TALE metaphor and the WAR IS BUSINESS, while WAR IS HARD WORK metaphor was encountered during the analysis. The results have shown that the first metaphorical structure is the most pervasive, and it is significantly used by George Bush more frequently. Bush seems to frame wars in this manner in order to justify his policies and actions. He attempts to trigger a lot of emotional response, especially when referring to the villains, where he uses most of the metaphoric lexical resources. He refers to the villains three times as much as Obama, while the reference to the hero, heroes' purpose, and victims is about two times more frequent than in the case of Obama. This could mean that Bush is highly focused on prolonging the war as much as possible by justifying it. Obama, on the other hand, is less focused on war, but is more focused on America, the American people, and occasionally on terrorism. This may be due to the influence of the data from his senatorship speeches, which show that back then he was still a presidential candidate, and thus was focusing more on the American public and their preferences. Presenting war as business may thus have been another attempt to influence the public and present himself as more professional and rational than his conservative opponent.

8.3 Euphemisms

8.3.1 Euphemising war

As previously noted in Chapter 7, both Presidents refer to war as *struggle*, but Obama frequently euphemises it using *action* and *conflict*:

(50)   O9 It's Will we carefully evaluate the evidence and the consequences of **action**.

         O10 And now is the time to build the capacity of regional partners in **conflict** prevention, peacekeeping, and the reconstruction of ravaged societies.

From these examples it is possible to notice the euphemistic use of *action* and *conflict*. In both examples the euphemisms *action* and *conflict* can be replaced with *war*. This is also the case with the euphemism *struggle* which allows the same substitution:

(51)   B2 I will not relent in waging this **struggle** for freedom and security for the American people

         O5 We are in the early stages of a long **struggle**. Yet since 9/11, we've heard a lot about what America can't do or shouldn't do or won't even try.

The example of using *action*, *conflict* and *struggle* instead of *war* is actually the case of using a more generic term instead of a precise one, which contributes to a less transparent presentation of matters. Moreover, these euphemisms are conventional, which increases their covertness. The prefix *counter-* in the blends *counter-insurgency* and *counter-terrorism* likewise contributes to euphemistic effects:

(52)   O2 My plan allows for a limited number of U.S. troops to remain as basic force protection, to engage in **counter-terrorism**, and to continue the training of Iraqi security forces.

         O6 Fourth, we need to restore our values, because as the **counter-insurgency** manual reminds us, torture sets back our mission to keep the people on our side.

In the first example, the expression *engage in counter-terrorism* actually means *start a war*, and the prefix *counter-* emphasises and reminds that the war is fought against terrorists. Moreover, the prefix could also imply neutrality of the speaker. The euphemism *counter-insurgency* in the second example can actually be replaced with *counter-terrorism*, but it seems that *insurgency* would increase the euphemistic strength of the expression due to its general reference. Nevertheless, it can be argued that with the euphemisms *counter-terrorism* and *counter-insurgency* the grim reality of war can be covered up by the emphasis on the action, which is referred to in a rather neutral way. A similar case is evident in the circumlocution used by Bush – *Operation Iraqi Freedom*. This euphemism makes use of *operation*, which implies covert activities, and *freedom* which is a reversal or irony:

(53)   B11 We met the major combat objectives in **Operation Iraqi Freedom**. We ended a regime that possessed weapons of mass destruction, harbored and supported terrorists, suppressed human rights, and defied the just demands of the United Nations and the world.

The euphemism in this example could be replaced with *war in Iraq*, which is why it fulfils its cover-up purpose. Moreover, it could provide us with an opposite reality of what is actually going on in Iraq, which suggests that this euphemism possesses manipulative and persuasive properties. Interestingly, similar expressions were used in previous wars: "*Operation Just Cause, Operation Restore Hope, Operation Provide Comfort, Operation Infinite Justice and Operation Enduring Freedom*" (Allan & Burridge 2006: 230). The last expression preceded *Operation Iraqi Freedom*, while *Operation New Dawn* replaced it in 2010 (*Wikipedia*). Thus, presenting war as a certain operation seems to be conventional.

8.3.2 Euphemising victims of war

When it comes to euphemising the victims of war, Obama seems to achieve this twice as much as Bush by referring to them conventionally as *(civilian) casualties*. Through such usage, he could be perceived as more polite. Nevertheless, both Presidents present the victims as *loved ones* and their death as a *loss*:

(54)   B17 I've met with families grieving the **loss** of **loved ones** who were taken from us too soon. I've been inspired by their strength in the face of such great **loss.**

O20 Finally, let me say to the families who lost **loved ones** on 9/11 that we have never forgotten your **loss**, nor wavered in our commitment to see that we do whatever it takes to prevent another attack on our shores.

From the examples, it is possible to suggest that *loved ones* activates the feeling of compassion, since it could actually remind those who experienced the loss how much they loved the deceased. In addition, due to the use of the participle, it may seem that the victims were generally liked by a great number of people. Thus, by using the euphemisms *loved ones* and *loss*, both Presidents might be perceived as polite, although they are to a degree covering up the facts.

8.3.3 Euphemising members of the military

Unlike the victims, members of the military are euphemised more frequently by Obama, especially by using *men and women*:

(55)   O17 Alongside the decision to put our **men and women in uniform** in harm's way, the decision to use force against individuals or groups -- even against a sworn enemy of the United States -- is the hardest thing I do as President.

By referring to military members in this manner, Obama moves the attention from the brutality they are capable of, thus imposing a familial and humane perception of the military

which may trigger empathy in the public. What is more, their failure resulting in *redeployment*, which is to be carried out according to a specific *timetable* (deadline), is likewise euphemised, since the members of the military are supposed to be perceived as heroic and thus should not put up with any pressure:

(56)   O2 The first part of this strategy begins by exerting the greatest leverage we have on the Iraqi government and a phased **redeployment** of U.S. troops from Iraq on a timetable.

8.3.4 Euphemising spies and agents

Spying activities are also euphemised, and Bush is the one who is euphemising the spies as *agents* and *intelligence*:

(56)   B10 Al Qaeda is wounded, not destroyed. The scattered cells of the terrorist network still operate in many nations, and we know from daily **intelligence** that they continue to plot against free people.

The *intelligence* here could be translated as *information obtained from spies*, which, according to euphemism dictionaries[7], probably goes unnoticed due to its conventional use. In addition, *intelligence* implies that the spies *(agents)* are an intelligent group of people who know what they are doing, and should therefore not be bothered nor doubted.

8.3.5 Reversals (irony)

Dissimilar to previous categories, reversals are the most numerous euphemisms in the present paper, and are used by Bush nearly four times as much as Obama. These expressions overlap with linguistic metaphors encountered in the "purpose" category of the FAIRY TALE conceptual metaphor, which additionally makes them metaphorical. This means that reversals exhibit two levels of covertness, with the second (euphemistic) level being a complete avoidance and neglect of reality. However, in order to validate the claim about the contradictory nature of the present reversals, the socio-historical context of the war events needs to be taken into account. Thus, although the Presidents have claimed that they want to "protect" the American citizens, "liberate" the people of Iraq, Afghanistan and Libya, and bring "peace", "freedom" and "security" to those nations, contradictory actions were taken. Consequently, around 150,000 civilians were killed in Iraq, 20,000 in Afghanistan, and around 25,000 in Libya (*Wikipedia*). In addition, the leaders of those countries – Saddam Hussein, Osama Bin Laden and Muammar Gaddafi – were also brutally murdered, while the

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[7] cf. Rawson (1995).

war in Afghanistan has not ended yet. It seems, due to the presented arguments, that reversals have served their purpose, and have contributed to the starting, justification and perpetuation of war.

8.3.2 Summary

This sub-section has shown that euphemisms are likewise prominent in political speeches. Many of the euphemisms used are conventional, which might suggest that they are often not properly processed by our cognitive system. Obama seems to apply euphemisms in different situations, euphemising wars, their victims and the military, while Bush tends to conceal the spying operations. Though most of the euphemisms are used as a cover-up, those mitigating the death of loved ones could be interpreted as polite, and thus, Obama might be perceived as politer because he employs them more frequently. However, Bush seems to prefer the metaphoric reversals which contribute to presenting an opposite image of reality. This probably helped his administration, but also Obama's to a degree, to justify the war, and achieve its political goals. Sadly, the use of euphemisms in the context of warfare shows how language is being misused for corruption purposes, instead of serving as a means of productive communication.

8. Conclusion

The present paper has examined the language used in the American political discourse. The focus was on pronouns, modals, metaphors and euphemisms in warfare speeches delivered by George Bush and Barack Obama after the 9/11 strike and during the War in Afghanistan, Iraq War, Libyan Civil War and the Syrian Civil War. Nevertheless, it seems that most of the speeches were related to the Iraq War. The speeches delivered by Bush were from his two mandates, while one-half of Obama's speeches were delivered during his senatorship. The methodology applied in the paper was a combination of CL and CDA. CL proved useful for the research because it enabled the extraction and manipulation of a large amount of textual data, as well as the analysis of it. It also enabled quantification of the data, providing frequencies, word lists and keyword lists. Additionally, CL revealed usage patterns of numerous linguistic items in form of clusters and established an objective basis for CDA, which, on the other hand, helped in forming a connection between the frequency of an item, its patterns, as well as its producer and the social context of production.

Considering the findings of the present study, they strongly support the initial claim that the language of the American Presidents is highly implicational and manipulative. Moreover, the findings have revealed a strong correlation between certain pronouns and modals on one hand, and some metaphors and euphemisms on the other. The pronouns which have shown strong correlational tendencies are *I* and *we*, where the former has usually formed clusters with *will* and *want to*, while the latter has formed clusters with *will*, *must*, *have to*, *need to*, *should*, *can* and *could*. In the case of metaphors and euphemisms, it seems that there is a strong correlation between the "purpose" component of the FAIRY TALE metaphor and the metaphoric-ironic euphemisms (reversals). Moreover, it has been shown that metaphors and euphemisms exhibit a high degree of conventionality, which implies that these items may often not be recognised by the public, and may thus have a covert influence on the human cognitive system.

There are few manipulative purposes that the above-mentioned items are used for: positive self- and negative other-presentation, intimidation, avoiding responsibility, protecting the "face" and justification of war. Bush is the one who often refers to enemies in a negative way, and he achieves this by implying antagonism with *they*, as well as by using descriptive nouns (e.g. *dictator*, *tyrant* and *murderer*) with negative denotations within a metaphoric framework. The same framework is by Bush used to present himself and America as heroes, which simultaneously protects his public image. He also employs intimidation by using the

WAR ON TERROR metaphor, which is used to evoke strong negative emotions in the public for the purpose of justifying war. Finally, Bush employs metaphoric euphemisms of opposite meaning to simultaneously protect his "face" and justify war at the same time.

Unlike Bush, Obama is much less concerned about enemies and is more focused on America and the American people. Actually, he is predominantly protecting his "face" by frequently employing positive self-reference with the pronoun *I* to promise, as well as by highlighting his own qualities. To protect his public image, Obama also uses a variety of euphemisms, especially to refer to victims of war. Likewise, he often avoids responsibility by using the pronoun *we* with the deontic modal *must* and the semi modals *have to* and *need to*, which can protect his public image at the same time.

Due to their linguistic choices and different manipulative purposes, each President may be perceived differently by the public. Thus, Bush might be perceived as more direct due to the frequent use of the pronoun *you*. Additionally, he might be perceived as formally polite when using the cluster *thank you*, but, on the other hand, the public may perceive him as more personal due to the use of the cluster *I want to*. In contrast, Obama might be perceived as more social due to the frequent use of the pronoun *we* and its possessive form *our*. Also, he often expresses concern for the members of the military, which is why the public might perceive him as more considerate than Bush. Finally, Obama may be perceived as more professional, since he uses the WAR IS BUSINESS metaphor to frame war as business, and the WAR IS HARD WORK metaphor to frame war as an exhausting endeavour.

Based on the above arguments, it can be concluded that Bush uses language which reflects foreign policy, while Obama is more focused on domestic policy and self-presentation. Thus, the findings for Obama have probably been influenced by the speeches delivered during his senatorship. Nevertheless, some properties of Obama's language, such as professionalism and kindness, should not be ascribed to his early speeches, but rather to his linguistic style. Perhaps a study based on a corpus comprised only of presidential speeches of Obama would yield different results, since, during the production of this paper, Obama has delivered additional warfare speeches. Further research could reveal how much Obama's linguistic repertoire has changed, and it may be that today it is very similar to the language of his predecessor. The research on the linguistic level may likewise reveal further correlations between pronouns, modals, metaphors and euphemisms, but also correlations and possible overlap of different manipulative usages.

Besides the implications for the linguistic research, the present study may provide implications for social and political sciences, since, after all, war is a socio-political

phenomenon. It seems that with respect to war things have not changed much, and today, we are witnessing other major wars. Certain prominent scholars, such as Aldous Huxley, have criticised this social phenomenon and human behaviour. During his lifetime, he witnessed World War I and World War II, and being disappointed with the status of society back then, he argued that:

> we still choose to use war as an instrument of policy" […] [although] "we should make some effort to get rid of the abominable thing". [We should be aware that] "[t]he moment we think in concrete and particular terms of the concrete and particular process called 'modern war', we see that a policy which worked (or at least didn't result in complete disaster) in the past has no prospect whatever of working in the immediate future". [We should thus thrive to] "invent and conscientiously employ a new technique for making revolutions and settling international disputes; or else we cling to the old technique and, using 'force' […] destroy ourselves.
>
> <div align="right">(Huxley 1947: 87- 92).</div>

Sadly, these words can still be applied to society, which, nowadays seems to be taking the issue of war more seriously.

The language used in current warfare seems very similar to the language used during previous wars. The heroes who employ the language are the same, but the victims and villains have changed. The same heroes are still fighting for peace and freedom by waging wars and producing casualties. In fact, when one hears the word *war* in the media, it is frequently used alongside *peace*. This analogy between war and peace is not new and is best known from George Orwell's novel *1984* where it was employed in the expression "war is peace" (2004 [1949]: 7). In the novel, the expression was used by a fictional government to impose an opposite view of reality on the public. However, although such governments were thought to exist in fiction, today that fiction may be much closer to reality.

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10. Appendices

APPENDIX A

Speeches of George Bush ordered chronologically

N of speech	Speech	Title	Word count
1	B 11.9.01	President Bush's address Tuesday night, after terrorist attacks on New York and Washington	624
2	B 20.9.01	President Bush's address to a joint session of Congress and the nation.	3,152
3	B 29.2.02	The State of the Union Address by the president of the United States	3,946
4	B 11.9.02	September 11 Anniversary Address	932
5	B 7.10.02	President Bush Outlines Iraqi Threat Remarks by the President on Iraq	3,313
6	B 26.2.03	President Discusses the Future of Iraq in Speech at American Enterprise Institute	2,427
7	B 17.3.03	Message to Saddam	1,768
8	B 19.3.03	President Bush announces invasion of Iraq	578
9	B 3.4.03	President Bush remarks at Camp Lejeune	1,854
10	B 1.5.03	President Bush announces Major Combat Operations in Iraq	1,853
11	B 1.7.03	President Bush about the progress in Iraq	1,742
12	B 7.9.03	President Bush gives an update in the war on terror	2,227
13	B 14.12.03	President Bush addresses the nation on the capture of Saddam Hussein	573
14	B 19.3.04	President Bush on the anniversary of war in Iraq	2,334
15	B 24.5.04	President Bush outlines the future of Iraq	3,660
16	B 9.7.04	President Bush on defending the war	4,526
17	B 12.7.04	President Bush on defending the war	2,961
18	B 26.6.05	President Bush gives an update on war	2,860
19	B 11.7.05	President Bush reporting on the war on terror: address at the FBI academy	3,350
20	B 30.11.05	President Bush on the Iraqi war strategy	5,573
21	B 23.1.06	President Bush speaks at Kansas State University	14,803
22	B 9.2.06	President Bush on the status of the war on terror: address at the National Guard	5,000
23	B 24.2.06	President Bush on the violence in Iraq & the war on terror: address to the American Legion	5,594
24	B 10.1.07	President Bush address to the nation on the US policy in Iraq	2,897
total			79,600

APPENDIX B

Speeches of Barack Obama ordered chronologically

N of speech	Speech	Title	Word count
1	O 10.10.02	Senator Obama's speech against the war in Iraq	803
2	O 22.11.05	Senator Obama on moving forward in Iraq	4,285
3	O 20.11.06	Senator Obama on the way forward in Iraq	4,314
4	O 30.1.07	Senator Obama's Floor Statement on Iraq war de-escalation	598
5	O 1.8.07	Senator Obama's speech at Woodrow Wilson centre - The War that We Need to Win	5,464
6	O21.8.07	Senator Obama's Remark in Kansas City – Sacred Trust	3,279
7	O12.9.07	Senator Obama's Remark – Turning the Page in Iraq	4,025
8	O 2.10.07	Senator Obama against war – A New Beginning	4,310
9	O 12.10.07	Senator Obama's speech on Iraq and Iran – Lessons from Iraq	2,607
10	O 19.3.07	Senator Obama on The World Beyond Iraq	4,511
11	O 20.3.08	Senator Obama on The Costs of War	2,223
12	O 15.7.08	Senator Obama's remarks on Iraq and Afghanistan – A New Strategy for a New World	5,120
13	O 16.7.08	Senator Obama speaks on the summit of confronting new threats	2,183
14	O 24.7.08	Senator Obama in Berlin – A World that Stands as One	2,980
15	O 29.4.09	President Obama about the first 100 days of presidency	7,984
16	O 4.6.09	President Obama speaks in Cairo	5,884
17	O 1.5.11	President Obama on the death of Bin Laden	1,502
18	O 20.10.11	President Obama remarks on the death of Muammar Gaddafi	888
19	O 1.5.12	President Obama speaks in Afghanistan	1,665
20	O 12.2.13	President Obama State of the Union Address	6,918
21	O 23.5.13	President Obama on Drones, War, and Defense: Speech at the National Defense University	7,155
total			79,200

APPENDIX C

List of the links for the speeches of George Bush

Links	
1.	http://edition.cnn.com/2001/US/09/11/bush.speech.text/
2.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/09.20.01.html
3.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/01.29.02.html
4.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/09.11.02.html
5.	http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2002/oct/07/usa.iraq
6.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/02.26.03.html
7.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/03.17.03.html
8.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/03.19.03.html
9	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/04.03.03.html
10.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/05.01.03.html
11.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/07.01.03.html
12.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/09.07.03.html
13.	http://www.foxnews.com/story/2003/12/14/raw-data-text-bush-speech-on-saddam/
14.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/03.19.04.html
15.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/05.24.04.html
16.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/07.09.04.html
17.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/07.12.04.html
18.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/06.28.05.html
19.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/07.11.05.html
20.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/11.30.05.html
21.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/01.23.06.html
22.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/02.09.06.html
23.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/02.24.06.html
24.	http://www.cbsnews.com/2100-500257_162-2349882.html

APPENDIX D

List of the links for the speeches of Barack Obama

Links	
1.	http://obamaspeeches.com/001-2002-Speech-Against-the-Iraq-War-Obama-Speech.htm
2.	http://obamaspeeches.com/040-Moving-Forward-in-Iraq-Chicago-Council-on-Foreign-Relations-Obama-Speech.htm
3.	http://obamaspeeches.com/094-A-Way-Forward-in-Iraq-Obama-Speech.htm
4.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/obama-speeches/
5.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=The%20War%20We%20Need%20to%20Win
6.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=Sacred%20Trust
7.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=Turning%20the%20Page%20in%20Iraq
8.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=A%20New%20Beginning
9	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=Lessons%20from%20Iraq
10.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=The%20World%20Beyond%20Iraq
11.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=The%20Cost%20of%20War
12.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=A%20New%20Strategy%20for%20a%20New%20World
13.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=Summit%20on%20Confronting%20New%20Threats
14.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=A%20World%20that%20Stands%20as%20One
15.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=First%20100%20Days
16.	http://www.asksam.com/ebooks/releases.asp?file=Obama-Speeches.ask&dn=Cairo%20Speech
17.	http://www.whitehouse.gov/blog/2011/05/02/osama-bin-laden-dead
18.	http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/10/20/remarks-president-death-muammar-qaddafi
19.	http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/02/world/asia/text-obamas-speech-in-afghanistan.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0
20.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/02.12.13.html
21.	http://www.presidentialrhetoric.com/speeches/05.23.13.html

APPENDIX E

Bush-corpus keyword list generated by *WordSmith Tools*

N	Key word	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
1	OUR	966	1,223993	1156	0,078477	2960,943
2	IRAQ	410	0,5195	48		2142,315
3	WE	1023	1,296216	2885	0,195852	1911,508
4	IRAQI	343	0,434606	25		1864,764
5	AND	3418	4,330858	28003	1,901024	1716,68
6	WILL	750	0,950305	1845	0,125251	1545,348
7	TERRORISTS	275	0,348445	17		1511,359
8	AMERICA	292	0,369986	197	0,013374	1101,824
9	FREEDOM	234	0,296495	72		1068,337
10	TERROR	183	0,231875	19		966,6506
11	SECURITY	221	0,280023	121		885,3816
12	PEOPLE	416	0,527103	1052	0,071417	839,5511
13	TO	2631	3,333671	26215	1,779643	814,6608
14	IRAQIS	137	0,173589	1		804,6796
15	THANK	170	0,215403	69		733,0628
16	FORCES	174	0,220471	110		669,2913
17	WE'RE	174	0,220471	127		640,317
18	COUNTRY	220	0,278756	328	0,022267	607,1472
19	COALITION	116	0,146981	17		591,3495
20	ENEMY	127	0,160918	42		571,6737
21	WEAPONS	134	0,169788	61		562,5747
22	TERRORIST	122	0,154583	41		547,416
23	WORLD	279	0,353514	750	0,050915	538,4884
24	NATIONS	154	0,195129	137		529,618
25	UNITED	210	0,266086	406	0,027562	503,4143
26	NATION	146	0,184993	130		501,9287
27	ARE	664	0,841337	4371	0,296732	487,6769
28	AFGHANISTAN	93	0,117838	11		485,0954
29	THE	4684	5,934974	62351	4,232788	475,1208
30	QAEDA	77	0,097565	0		458,8097
31	FREE	165	0,209067	265	0,01799	438,3094
32	PEACE	116	0,146981	87		423,0561
33	THEIR	472	0,598059	2735	0,185669	419,1129
34	WAR	208	0,263551	538	0,036523	412,7148
35	HAVE	564	0,71463	3740	0,253895	409,0893
36	REGIME	92	0,116571	39		392,7363
37	LAUGHTER	84	0,106434	23		391,5496
38	SADDAM	82	0,1039	23		380,6088
39	FIGHT	112	0,141912	106		376,4093
40	ATTACKS	79	0,100099	37		329,3349
41	YOU	525	0,665214	3809	0,258579	326,5402
42	IS	967	1,22526	9333	0,633584	322,39

43	TROOPS	81	0,102633	46		321,157
44	MILITARY	125	0,158384	223	0,015139	313,6804
45	STATES	175	0,221738	525	0,03564	310,3785
46	INTELLIGENCE	78	0,098832	44		309,8318
47	IRAQ'S	60	0,076024	9		305,0052
48	AL	107	0,135577	152	0,010319	302,2594
49	DEMOCRACY	77	0,097565	46		300,9905
50	LIBERTY	61	0,077292	12		299,4698
51	WE'VE	85	0,107701	76		291,7213
52	OF	2493	3,158815	32273	2,190899	286,6703
53	SEPTEMBER	78	0,098832	62		278,9862
54	WANT	163	0,206533	512	0,034758	278,5055
55	THREAT	79	0,100099	68		274,8586
56	AMERICAN	179	0,226806	660	0,044805	265,7498
57	EAST	89	0,11277	113		264,9348
58	US	193	0,244545	788	0,053495	259,5002
59	THEY	450	0,570183	3416	0,2319	257,254
60	DEFEND	57	0,072223	20		253,5019
61	DESTRUCTION	59	0,074757	26		249,5744
62	ENEMIES	52	0,065888	12		249,3117
63	I	716	0,907225	6795	0,461288	249,1474
64	CITIZENS	75	0,095031	78		242,981
65	TODAY	108	0,136844	240	0,016293	237,5001
66	PROTECT	71	0,089962	72		232,3292
67	ALLIES	59	0,074757	36		229,2239
68	HELP	122	0,154583	340	0,023081	229,0541
69	LEADERS	77	0,097565	103		223,787
70	APPRECIATE	51	0,064621	22		216,811
71	KNOW	183	0,231875	848	0,057568	214,8475
72	GOVERNMENT	131	0,165987	434	0,029463	213,984
73	HUSSEIN	46	0,058285	16		204,9393
74	THEY'RE	78	0,098832	131		202,2833
75	IN	1603	2,031119	20367	1,382643	200,5058
76	YOUR	198	0,250881	1040	0,070602	200,0574
77	AMERICANS	91	0,115304	206	0,013985	197,7096
78	BAGHDAD	34	0,043081	1		193,5962
79	I'M	133	0,168521	508	0,034486	190,9256
80	MIDDLE	87	0,110235	199	0,013509	187,733
81	EVERY	131	0,165987	513	0,034826	183,557
82	HOMELAND	35	0,044348	4		183,1564
83	PROGRESS	64	0,081093	89		182,6216
84	STRATEGY	59	0,074757	71		179,8396
85	TALIBAN	30	0,038012	0		178,7401
86	DEFEAT	45	0,057018	26		177,5508
87	HELPING	49	0,062087	42		170,721
88	MASS	62	0,078559	94		169,5737
89	PRESIDENT	120	0,152049	468	0,031771	168,8099

90	THIS	445	0,563848	4081	0,277045	168,6438
91	CAUSE	64	0,081093	109		164,7194
92	VIOLENCE	59	0,074757	91		159,9701
93	ELECTIONS	41	0,05195	25		159,314
94	CONTINUE	67	0,084894	132		158,7368
95	WHO	297	0,376321	2346	0,159262	156,908
96	SACRIFICE	33	0,041813	10		151,0166
97	THANKS	45	0,057018	45		148,0464
98	GREAT	110	0,139378	450	0,030549	147,5408
99	HERE	137	0,173589	710	0,048199	140,7365
100	COURAGE	38	0,048149	28		139,3547
101	THAT	948	1,201186	11641	0,790266	138,0092
102	THREATS	32	0,040546	13		137,9094
103	THESE	200	0,253415	1384	0,093955	134,8161
104	LIVES	63	0,079826	147		134,1492
105	PROUD	42	0,053217	46		133,2293
106	NUCLEAR	61	0,077292	137		133,1988
107	VICTORY	44	0,055751	54		132,9585
108	INNOCENT	38	0,048149	33		131,7763
109	TERRORISM	35	0,044348	24		131,3078
110	MISSION	47	0,059552	69		130,6217
111	COMMANDERS	27	0,034211	6		130,198
112	IRAN	33	0,041813	20		128,4499
113	STAND	56	0,070956	117		128,0196
114	RESOLVE	33	0,041813	21		126,6356
115	TYRANNY	26	0,032944	6		124,6479
116	BLESS	28	0,035478	10		124,0654
117	HOPE	64	0,081093	171	0,011609	123,9554
118	CONGRESS	63	0,079826	165	0,011201	123,8052
119	TONIGHT	38	0,048149	39		123,7451
120	SECURE	38	0,048149	40		122,5014
121	PEACEFUL	31	0,039279	18		122,1388
122	IDEOLOGY	36	0,045615	35		119,7297
123	WORKING	75	0,095031	256	0,017379	119,3419
124	COM	20	0,025341	0		119,1576
125	DICTATOR	26	0,032944	9		115,9426
126	BUILD	43	0,054484	69		114,2257
127	VETERANS	28	0,035478	15		112,7703
128	SUPPORT	74	0,093763	272	0,018465	110,1223
129	FOR	752	0,952839	9229	0,626524	109,5386
130	AGAINST	111	0,140645	596	0,04046	108,9707
131	FUTURE	63	0,079826	202	0,013713	105,7677
132	MARINES	22	0,027876	6		102,6036
133	DANGER	36	0,045615	51		101,8035
134	REGIMES	24	0,03041	11		100,5641
135	MEMBERS	64	0,081093	222	0,015071	100,3931
136	ARMED	30	0,038012	29		99,99164

137	AMERICA'S	39	0,049416	67		99,89424
138	ATTACK	42	0,053217	83		99,31499
139	DEMOCRATIC	47	0,059552	111		99,26542
140	LAURA	23	0,029143	10		97,59057
141	HAS	252	0,319303	2298	0,156003	96,6967
142	FAMILIES	45	0,057018	107		94,60665
143	FIGHTING	37	0,046882	64		94,41737
144	GUARD	34	0,043081	50		94,40832
145	OPERATIONS	41	0,05195	86		93,49324
146	CIVILIZED	23	0,029143	12		93,28047
147	DEFENDING	19	0,024074	4		92,36325
148	OWN	118	0,149515	752	0,051051	90,86892
149	MURDER	38	0,048149	75		89,92306
150	FREEDOM'S	15	0,019006	0		89,36732
151	DISARM	15	0,019006	0		89,36732
152	PAKISTAN	20	0,025341	7		88,98497
153	TRAINED	29	0,036745	35		88,27431
154	CAN	200	0,253415	1736	0,117851	86,26153
155	ARMY	39	0,049416	88		84,89338
156	DANGERS	24	0,03041	20		84,44454
157	SUNNI	14	0,017739	0		83,40932
158	BORDER	27	0,034211	33		81,73193
159	MAKE	113	0,143179	751	0,050983	81,41175
160	LOT	59	0,074757	235	0,015953	81,26637
161	AFGHAN	17	0,02154	4		81,25048
162	BROADER	22	0,027876	16		81,01575
163	SAFER	22	0,027876	16		81,01575
164	CONFRONT	22	0,027876	16		81,01575
165	REGION	39	0,049416	95		80,65153
166	RECONSTRUCTION	24	0,03041	23		80,25586
167	IT'S	113	0,143179	762	0,051729	79,49614
168	BRUTAL	22	0,027876	17		79,42526
169	BATTALIONS	16	0,020273	3		79,06425
170	RECRUITS	16	0,020273	3		79,06425
171	ALL	270	0,34211	2726	0,185058	78,82361
172	HUSSEIN'S	17	0,02154	5		78,22294
173	COMBAT	21	0,026609	15		77,77919
174	CLEAR	55	0,069689	216	0,014663	76,81812
175	YET	76	0,096298	401	0,027222	76,29173
176	HATRED	21	0,026609	16		76,17031
177	ARABIA	18	0,022807	8		75,97974
178	KILLERS	17	0,02154	6		75,50716
179	FORCE	50	0,063354	183	0,012423	74,69382
180	FELLOW	31	0,039279	61		73,48818
181	COUNCIL	37	0,046882	96		73,19556
182	BELIEVE	57	0,072223	245	0,016632	72,60889
183	THAT'S	72	0,091229	382	0,025933	71,7653

184	SENATOR	27	0,034211	44		71,13978
185	SAUDI	23	0,029143	27		70,85528
186	SO	213	0,269887	2055	0,139507	70,62894
187	PATRIOT	15	0,019006	4		70,22795
188	SERVING	24	0,03041	32		69,84389
189	THOUSANDS	27	0,034211	46		69,46827
190	HONOR	26	0,032944	42		68,82174
191	DANGEROUS	29	0,036745	57		68,79276
192	UNDERSTAND	46	0,058285	169	0,011473	68,475
193	WEAPON	20	0,025341	18		68,46219
194	ATTACKED	24	0,03041	34		67,86601
195	CAPTURED	23	0,029143	30		67,61636
196	WE'LL	31	0,039279	70		67,44478
197	THEM	176	0,223005	1606	0,109026	67,38326
198	SHARE	39	0,049416	121		67,27451
199	NOW	141	0,178657	1171	0,079495	67,04594
200	BRING	37	0,046882	109		66,53073
201	INSURGENTS	13	0,016472	2		65,87986
202	ACROSS	60	0,076024	295	0,020027	65,70802
203	W	25	0,031677	41		65,64924
204	ZARQAWI	11	0,013938	0		65,5355
205	SUNNIS	11	0,013938	0		65,5355
206	QAEDA'S	11	0,013938	0		65,5355
207	COUNTRIES	51	0,064621	218	0,014799	65,34505
208	SAFE	32	0,040546	80		64,99197
209	MUST	96	0,121639	663	0,045009	64,88307
210	TYRANT	14	0,017739	4		64,75736
211	UNIFORM	26	0,032944	47		64,7391
212	TOGETHER	58	0,07349	281	0,019076	64,63554
213	TRAINING	53	0,067155	239	0,016225	64,09817
214	BRINGING	25	0,031677	43		63,98962
215	SPEECHES	18	0,022807	15		63,33222
216	HARM	20	0,025341	22		63,32441
217	GOVERNMENTS	30	0,038012	71		63,26669
218	CAMPS	21	0,026609	26		63,20612
219	CIVILIANS	15	0,019006	7		62,57624
220	POLICE	43	0,054484	162	0,010998	62,51305
221	SUDAN	13	0,016472	3		62,32198
222	YOU'RE	57	0,072223	286	0,019416	60,91195
223	REBUILD	15	0,019006	8		60,48206
224	SOLDIERS	30	0,038012	76		60,36462
225	DEMOCRACIES	12	0,015205	2		60,2189
226	HISTORY	55	0,069689	274	0,018601	59,28552
227	BRAVE	16	0,020273	12		58,33483
228	TAKE	84	0,106434	573	0,038899	57,96277
229	DUTY	26	0,032944	57		57,65613
230	NOT	361	0,457414	4334	0,29422	57,59972

231	THERE'S	43	0,054484	178	0,012084	56,96239
232	TAKING	41	0,05195	162	0,010998	56,91833
233	ACTED	19	0,024074	24		56,67619
234	COMING	46	0,058285	204	0,013849	56,65785
235	JUSTICE	35	0,044348	118		56,28641
236	VITAL	22	0,027876	38		56,1805
237	NEED	73	0,092496	467	0,031703	55,86614
238	SERVE	33	0,041813	105		55,7505
239	GRATEFUL	18	0,022807	21		55,59851
240	NEW	154	0,195129	1439	0,097689	55,52876
241	RESPONSIBILITY	29	0,036745	79		55,36077
242	FBI	16	0,020273	14		55,33101
243	BE	414	0,524569	5177	0,351448	55,19649
244	GUARDSMEN	11	0,013938	2		54,58184
245	HATEFUL	12	0,015205	4		53,91616
246	BATTLEFIELD	12	0,015205	4		53,91616
247	CAPABLE	21	0,026609	36		53,84807
248	WAY	112	0,141912	926	0,062863	53,75784
249	DEFEATED	14	0,017739	9		53,55952
250	DESTROY	18	0,022807	23		53,41492
251	AHEAD	30	0,038012	90		53,17086
252	BECAUSE	120	0,152049	1031	0,069991	52,94109
253	CHEMICAL	27	0,034211	71		52,89605
254	AMBITIONS	13	0,016472	7		52,28406
255	FORWARD	34	0,043081	121		52,11124
256	MESSAGE	28	0,035478	79		52,05781
257	GOING	80	0,101366	566	0,038424	51,86138
258	STRONG	42	0,053217	187	0,012695	51,50698
259	DEMANDS	26	0,032944	68		51,13734
260	MILLIONS	21	0,026609	40		50,74373
261	COMMANDER	20	0,025341	35		50,70716
262	THOSE	113	0,143179	965	0,06551	50,53276
263	ALLY	13	0,016472	8		50,3761
264	MUSLIM	13	0,016472	8		50,3761
265	THREATEN	14	0,017739	11		50,26085
266	DESERVE	16	0,020273	18		50,18756
267	LEAD	37	0,046882	150	0,010183	50,0641
268	KANSAS	15	0,019006	15		49,34394
269	ISLAMIC	12	0,015205	6		49,20512
270	GIVE	57	0,072223	337	0,022878	49,05997
271	OPERATIVES	10	0,012671	2		48,97288
272	LIBERATION	14	0,017739	12		48,77205
273	BETTER	58	0,07349	349	0,023692	48,66898
274	ENFORCE	13	0,016472	9		48,62352
275	HUNDREDS	21	0,026609	43		48,59924
276	MORE	210	0,266086	2284	0,155053	48,50304
277	ADVANCE	22	0,027876	49		48,29108

278	SEEK	24	0,03041	61		48,17838
279	QAIDA	8	0,010137	0		47,6619
280	SHIA	8	0,010137	0		47,6619
281	SADDAMISTS	8	0,010137	0		47,6619
282	WELCOME	22	0,027876	50		47,65997
283	ON	513	0,650009	6887	0,467534	47,46687
284	MEN	74	0,093763	527	0,035776	47,42022
285	EFFORTS	35	0,044348	142		47,32104
286	CONSTITUTION	21	0,026609	45		47,24697
287	MARINE	21	0,026609	45		47,24697
288	SECONDLY	9	0,011404	1		47,22245
289	MADRID	9	0,011404	1		47,22245
290	DEFIED	9	0,011404	1		47,22245
291	LEGION	12	0,015205	7		47,21581
292	VOTE	26	0,032944	76		47,03556
293	CIVILIAN	15	0,019006	17		46,90517
294	MANY	113	0,143179	1000	0,067886	46,5621
295	I'VE	43	0,054484	215	0,014596	46,14318
296	STRENGTHEN	13	0,016472	11		45,49519
297	PREVAIL	13	0,016472	11		45,49519
298	PROLIFERATION	12	0,015205	8		45,40789
299	RESOLUTIONS	12	0,015205	8		45,40789
300	ENSURE	19	0,024074	37		45,31804
301	ECONOMY	32	0,040546	125		44,9244
302	DECISION	35	0,044348	150	0,010183	44,71688
303	WORK	104	0,131776	906	0,061505	44,44961
304	INSPECTORS	11	0,013938	6		44,08727
305	LIBYA	11	0,013938	6		44,08727
306	GOAL	28	0,035478	97		43,96427
307	POWER	61	0,077292	406	0,027562	43,82786
308	GOT	71	0,089962	520	0,035301	43,26988
309	EXTREMISTS	10	0,012671	4		43,24354
310	EVIL	24	0,03041	71		43,00998
311	ENFORCEMENT	17	0,02154	30		42,90145
312	ACT	47	0,059552	270	0,018329	42,12319
313	FALLUJAH	7		0		41,70407
314	NATIONAL	60	0,076024	408	0,027698	41,61314
315	RIYADH	8	0,010137	1		41,48729
316	LOYALISTS	8	0,010137	1		41,48729
317	CONGRESSMAN	14	0,017739	18		41,42779
318	INTERNATIONAL	38	0,048149	188	0,012763	41,30059
319	SECTARIAN	10	0,012671	5		41,00404
320	JOIN	22	0,027876	62		40,93733
321	GOOD	92	0,116571	788	0,053495	40,8619
322	SERVICE	39	0,049416	199	0,013509	40,8221
323	STAY	30	0,038012	121		40,80083
324	PALESTINIAN	12	0,015205	11		40,80019

325	LASTING	12	0,015205	11		40,80019
326	SOVEREIGNTY	12	0,015205	11		40,80019
327	CORPS	17	0,02154	33		40,62376
328	PLOT	16	0,020273	28		40,5651
329	OUTLAW	11	0,013938	8		40,50653
330	MURDERERS	9	0,011404	3		40,43681
331	KILLED	26	0,032944	92		40,05576
332	HAVEN	16	0,020273	29		39,77823
333	TACTICS	13	0,016472	16		39,22959
334	PLEDGED	10	0,012671	6		39,03381
335	IRANIAN	10	0,012671	6		39,03381
336	PRAY	11	0,013938	9		38,94927
337	STRIKE	18	0,022807	41		38,9371
338	SOMEBODY	20	0,025341	54		38,43093
339	KILL	24	0,03041	82		38,14684
340	FULLY	23	0,029143	75		38,0611
341	DEFEATING	8	0,010137	2		37,86259
342	BIN	8	0,010137	2		37,86259
343	BIOLOGICAL	18	0,022807	43		37,71894
344	COMMITMENT	21	0,026609	62		37,69301
345	ARAB	14	0,017739	22		37,59148
346	LIVE	38	0,048149	203	0,013781	37,53495
347	BEEF	11	0,013938	10		37,51465
348	FIGHTERS	11	0,013938	10		37,51465
349	CHOOSE	21	0,026609	63		37,218
350	WOMEN	87	0,110235	758	0,051458	37,16788
351	SUCCEED	13	0,016472	18		37,16482
352	DIGNITY	14	0,017739	23		36,72815
353	SEEN	46	0,058285	287	0,019483	36,5755
354	STOP	32	0,040546	152	0,010319	36,48794
355	HARBOR	13	0,016472	19		36,20459
356	HUNT	15	0,019006	29		35,92986
357	TOTALITARIAN	9	0,011404	5		35,89241
358	LIBERATED	9	0,011404	5		35,89241
359	ISLAM	9	0,011404	5		35,89241
360	BOMBINGS	7		1		35,78012
361	BLACKMAIL	7		1		35,78012
362	SADDAM'S	6		0		35,74628
363	REJECTIONISTS	6		0		35,74628
364	MOSQUE	6		0		35,74628
365	AFGHANISTAN'S	6		0		35,74628
366	GROUND	31	0,039279	146		35,69654
367	NATO	10	0,012671	8		35,68195
368	MEET	30	0,038012	138		35,48215
369	STRENGTH	24	0,03041	89		35,4121
370	UNITS	21	0,026609	67		35,39522
371	INSTITUTIONS	25	0,031677	97		35,32745

372	COME	73	0,092496	603	0,040936	35,09666
373	YOU'VE	24	0,03041	90		35,04132
374	ACHIEVE	21	0,026609	69		34,52736
375	SOCIETIES	15	0,019006	31		34,51632
376	REFORM	23	0,029143	84		34,42259
377	DEADLY	14	0,017739	26		34,3271
378	BEFORE	91	0,115304	836	0,056753	34,23653
379	OPPRESSED	10	0,012671	9		34,23
380	NATION'S	20	0,025341	63		34,06898
381	RETREAT	12	0,015205	17		33,93153
382	DIFFICULT	29	0,036745	135		33,84011
383	DECISIVE	11	0,013938	13		33,7881
384	WASHINGTON	36	0,045615	202	0,013713	33,32067
385	FORGET	19	0,024074	58		33,20644
386	SPREAD	20	0,025341	66		32,76132
387	HOPEFUL	9	0,011404	7		32,42028
388	MULTINATIONAL	7		2		32,37811
389	TYRANTS	7		2		32,37811
390	HAMAS	7		2		32,37811
391	THUGS	7		2		32,37811
392	CITIES	25	0,031677	106		32,30126
393	PROTECTING	12	0,015205	19		32,09565
394	GOVERNING	12	0,015205	19		32,09565
395	GENERATION	21	0,026609	75		32,08094
396	PENNSYLVANIA	13	0,016472	24		31,98351
397	STEPS	22	0,027876	83		31,9373
398	BEST	52	0,065888	380	0,025797	31,81459
399	IMPORTANT	56	0,070956	426	0,02892	31,79175
400	DECISIONS	21	0,026609	76		31,69447
401	OPPORTUNITY	25	0,031677	108		31,67006
402	THEY'VE	15	0,019006	36		31,3331
403	SUPPORTING	12	0,015205	20		31,24073
404	CONFIDENT	13	0,016472	25		31,23646
405	LEADERSHIP	22	0,027876	85		31,2155
406	LOSE	19	0,024074	63		30,99592
407	MISSIONS	9	0,011404	8		30,94657
408	LEJEUNE	8	0,010137	5		30,86052
409	REBUILDING	8	0,010137	5		30,86052
410	GENERATIONS	15	0,019006	37		30,74889
411	ACTIONS	21	0,026609	79		30,56874
412	CANNOT	34	0,043081	195	0,013238	30,53876
413	RESPONSIBILITIES	13	0,016472	26		30,5168
414	PLAN	32	0,040546	176	0,011948	30,42361
415	JOINED	20	0,025341	72		30,33162
416	KEEP	40	0,050683	258	0,017515	30,2144
417	CONFIDENCE	15	0,019006	38		30,18029
418	CHALLENGES	15	0,019006	38		30,18029

419	INAUDIBLE	6		1		30,10902
420	BLAIR	6		1		30,10902
421	PERIL	6		1		30,10902
422	COMMITTED	18	0,022807	58		30,0877
423	AGO	39	0,049416	249	0,016904	29,93132
424	CAPABILITIES	11	0,013938	17		29,78928
425	TAL	5		0		29,7885
426	MARGINALIZE	5		0		29,7885
427	BALI	5		0		29,7885
428	QUANTICO	5		0		29,7885
429	FACILITATORS	5		0		29,7885
430	MUSHARRAF	5		0		29,7885
431	EXTREMISM	5		0		29,7885
432	ALITO	5		0		29,7885
433	LEGIONNAIRES	5		0		29,7885
434	OSAMA	5		0		29,7885
435	TIMETABLE	5		0		29,7885
436	DIPLOMACY	9	0,011404	9		29,60579
437	STABILITY	14	0,017739	33		29,60263
438	FOUNDATIONS	10	0,012671	13		29,44207
439	LETHAL	8	0,010137	6		29,1667
440	GEORGE	29	0,036745	153	0,010387	29,10607
441	A	1444	1,829655	23247	1,578156	28,95102
442	NEIGHBORHOODS	11	0,013938	18		28,91807
443	ACTS	22	0,027876	92		28,83653
444	YIELD	10	0,012671	14		28,43752
445	DC	10	0,012671	14		28,43752
446	HONORED	10	0,012671	14		28,43752
447	ASK	29	0,036745	156	0,01059	28,38699
448	COMPASSION	9	0,011404	10		28,37652
449	NEIGHBORS	16	0,020273	48		28,35589
450	FRIENDS	32	0,040546	186	0,012627	28,21054
451	GROW	19	0,024074	71		27,83261
452	TONY	12	0,015205	25		27,47625
453	HISTORIC	11	0,013938	20		27,29867
454	FOUGHT	13	0,016472	31		27,27394
455	PROSPERITY	9	0,011404	11		27,24228
456	SOUTHEAST	9	0,011404	11		27,24228
457	CHALLENGE	18	0,022807	65		27,22113
458	FUNDING	16	0,020273	51		26,98813
459	DECADES	16	0,020273	51		26,98813
460	MOURN	6		2		26,95766
461	DISRUPT	6		2		26,95766
462	RESPONSIBLE	20	0,025341	83		26,42215
463	LOVED	19	0,024074	75		26,39906
464	MARKETS	17	0,02154	60		26,24971
465	IDEOLOGIES	9	0,011404	12		26,19006

466	OVERSEAS	9	0,011404	12		26,19006
467	TRAGEDY	12	0,015205	27		26,1665
468	ASIA	13	0,016472	33		26,11865
469	MURDEROUS	7		5		25,9253
470	ABU	7		5		25,9253
471	MILITIA	7		5		25,9253
472	AGGRESSIVE	11	0,013938	22		25,82169
473	STAKE	10	0,012671	17		25,75767
474	FEAR	28	0,035478	158	0,010726	25,71672
475	JUST	105	0,133043	1122	0,076169	25,69007
476	DETERMINED	22	0,027876	103		25,50439
477	DO	132	0,167254	1510	0,102509	25,45651
478	MINISTER	18	0,022807	70		25,3782
479	CHIEF	21	0,026609	95		25,30349
480	SECRETARY	21	0,026609	95		25,30349
481	SOCIETY	36	0,045615	243	0,016496	25,27147
482	SURE	38	0,048149	265	0,01799	25,24986
483	CHAOS	9	0,011404	13		25,20943
484	GROWS	9	0,011404	13		25,20943
485	BORDERS	11	0,013938	23		25,12991
486	GLOBAL	17	0,02154	63		25,0982
487	PURSUING	10	0,012671	18		24,95791
488	OVERCOME	10	0,012671	18		24,95791
489	ISRAEL	12	0,015205	29		24,94811
490	KIND	44	0,055751	335	0,022742	24,93627
491	JOBS	22	0,027876	106		24,67108
492	LIBERATE	6		3		24,60215
493	DISSENT	6		3		24,60215
494	WILLING	16	0,020273	57		24,49769

APPENDIX F

Obama-corpus keyword list generated by *WordSmith Tools*

N	Key word	Freq.	%	RC. Freq.	RC. %	Keyness
1	OUR	1185	1,504953	1156	0,078477	3955,735
2	WE	1439	1,827534	2885	0,195852	3398,539
3	IRAQ	391	0,496571	48		2034,947
4	WAR	469	0,595631	538	0,036523	1463,296
5	THAT	1615	2,051054	11641	0,790266	1028,838
6	TO	2735	3,473457	26215	1,779643	949,1437
7	WILL	531	0,674371	1845	0,125251	835,5904
8	AND	2749	3,491237	28003	1,901024	804,7322
9	AMERICA	225	0,285751	197	0,013374	779,3706
10	QAEDA	120	0,1524	0		715,6165
11	SECURITY	178	0,22606	121		670,6282
12	AFGHANISTAN	113	0,14351	11		600,7202
13	TROOPS	121	0,15367	46		529,7715
14	THIS	648	0,822962	4081	0,277045	511,9087
15	PRESIDENT	213	0,270511	468	0,031771	472,8638
16	US	253	0,321311	788	0,053495	436,4167
17	HAVE	576	0,731521	3740	0,253895	433,7901
18	PEOPLE	287	0,364491	1052	0,071417	429,6874
19	MUST	232	0,294641	663	0,045009	428,4014
20	AL	135	0,17145	152	0,010319	424,039
21	AMERICAN	221	0,280671	660	0,044805	394,2823
22	WORLD	233	0,295911	750	0,050915	391,0681
23	NUCLEAR	118	0,14986	137		365,8468
24	PAKISTAN	69	0,08763	7		365,4434
25	COUNTRY	158	0,20066	328	0,022267	363,4006
26	OBAMA	58	0,07366	0		345,8379
27	THREATS	69	0,08763	13		341,0833
28	NEED	175	0,22225	467	0,031703	340,0782
29	TERRORISTS	67	0,08509	17		316,6596
30	MILITARY	125	0,15875	223	0,015139	314,1764
31	IS	955	1,212852	9333	0,633584	309,6918
32	TERRORISM	69	0,08763	24		307,7243
33	STRATEGY	85	0,10795	71		299,2422
34	IRAQIS	51	0,06477	1		294,3155
35	IRAQI	66	0,08382	25		289,1495
36	I	743	0,943612	6795	0,461288	285,9021
37	WEAPONS	75	0,09525	61		266,4746
38	DIPLOMACY	51	0,06477	9		254,3062
39	UNITED	134	0,17018	406	0,027562	236,2326
40	AFGHAN	44	0,05588	4		235,2325
41	THAT'S	129	0,16383	382	0,025933	231,5911
42	IRAN	50	0,0635	20		216,4553

43	CAN	274	0,347981	1736	0,117851	213,9334
44	THREAT	65	0,08255	68		210,3495
45	BIN	37	0,04699	2		205,0423
46	FORCES	74	0,09398	110		204,713
47	IN	1598	2,029464	20367	1,382643	199,1135
48	SUPPORT	101	0,12827	272	0,018465	194,896
49	WE'VE	63	0,08001	76		192,0873
50	MUSLIM	39	0,04953	8		190,485
51	CANNOT	86	0,10922	195	0,013238	186,9741
52	INTELLIGENCE	53	0,06731	44		186,9664
53	MCCAIN	32	0,04064	1		181,9388
54	ALLIES	49	0,06223	36		180,0762
55	STATES	131	0,16637	525	0,03564	179,8577
56	EXTREMISM	30	0,0381	0		178,8716
57	TALIBAN	30	0,0381	0		178,8716
58	SECURE	50	0,0635	40		178,6416
59	AMERICANS	85	0,10795	206	0,013985	176,7541
60	FIGHT	66	0,08382	106		175,5226
61	IRAQ'S	36	0,04572	9		170,5492
62	TERRORIST	48	0,06096	41		167,6434
63	WE'LL	55	0,06985	70		163,7509
64	ARE	462	0,586741	4371	0,296732	162,7245
65	CONGRESS	74	0,09398	165	0,011201	162,6395
66	HOMELAND	31	0,03937	4		160,3739
67	NOT	457	0,580391	4334	0,29422	159,9584
68	PEACE	58	0,07366	87		159,7192
69	WE'RE	65	0,08255	127		155,0149
70	MAKE	147	0,18669	751	0,050983	154,2036
71	ISLAM	30	0,0381	5		150,684
72	WHO	292	0,370841	2346	0,159262	149,7655
73	ADMINISTRATION	62	0,07874	122		147,2381
74	SENATOR	44	0,05588	44		144,9386
75	FREEDOM	51	0,06477	72		144,6775
76	UNDETERMINED	24	0,03048	0		143,0955
77	THE	4042	5,13335	62351	4,232788	139,902
78	MORE	280	0,355601	2284	0,155053	139,1586
79	WHAT	267	0,339091	2137	0,145073	137,9844
80	MUSLIMS	31	0,03937	11		137,6762
81	EXTREMISTS	27	0,03429	4		137,5582
82	SHOULD	140	0,1778	757	0,05139	136,6527
83	S	134	0,17018	702	0,047656	136,212
84	A	1679	2,132334	23247	1,578156	132,5118
85	GLOBAL	46	0,05842	63		132,3925
86	STRENGTHEN	30	0,0381	11		132,3294
87	FAMILIES	55	0,06985	107		131,4953
88	FUTURE	71	0,09017	202	0,013713	131,4544
89	ATTACKS	39	0,04953	37		131,0832

90	NEW	202	0,256541	1439	0,097689	130,0438
91	LADEN	30	0,0381	12		129,8662
92	TODAY	76	0,09652	240	0,016293	129,5066
93	COMMUNITIES	39	0,04953	39		128,4662
94	WHY	106	0,13462	481	0,032653	127,7018
95	NATIONS	59	0,07493	137		126,2631
96	TERROR	32	0,04064	19		125,4247
97	CHALLENGES	38	0,04826	38		125,1718
98	CLEAR	71	0,09017	216	0,014663	124,7203
99	STAND	55	0,06985	117		124,5425
100	HAS	271	0,344171	2298	0,156003	123,9144
101	AGAINST	117	0,14859	596	0,04046	123,1516
102	KNOW	143	0,18161	848	0,057568	123,0491
103	COMBAT	29	0,03683	15		118,0065
104	NOW	171	0,21717	1171	0,079495	117,7775
105	THANK	43	0,05461	69		114,398
106	CIVILIAN	29	0,03683	17		114,0761
107	VETERANS	28	0,03556	15		112,8895
108	INSURGENCY	21	0,02667	2		111,8259
109	DEMOCRACY	37	0,04699	46		111,3155
110	DO	197	0,25019	1510	0,102509	110,8499
111	TIME	192	0,24384	1453	0,098639	110,6979
112	FIGHTING	41	0,05207	64		110,6438
113	IT'S	128	0,16256	762	0,051729	109,5199
114	NATION	53	0,06731	130		109,2901
115	END	93	0,11811	433	0,029395	108,8487
116	GOVERNMENT	93	0,11811	434	0,029463	108,5641
117	BECAUSE	152	0,19304	1031	0,069991	106,3562
118	VIOLENCE	45	0,05715	91		105,1219
119	TAKE	106	0,13462	573	0,038899	103,4806
120	PROGRESS	44	0,05588	89		102,7699
121	JOBS	47	0,05969	106		102,5244
122	COUNTRIES	64	0,08128	218	0,014799	102,2482
123	PAKISTANI	18	0,02286	1		99,58916
124	KEEP	68	0,08636	258	0,017515	98,44638
125	PROTECT	39	0,04953	72		96,11452
126	REDEPLOYMENT	16	0,02032	0		95,39546
127	OSAMA	16	0,02032	0		95,39546
128	DEFEAT	28	0,03556	26		94,86725
129	SO	231	0,293371	2055	0,139507	94,63114
130	TOGETHER	69	0,08763	281	0,019076	93,18922
131	TONIGHT	31	0,03937	39		92,77027
132	BE	457	0,580391	5177	0,351448	92,45895
133	COMMITMENT	36	0,04572	62		92,22732
134	LEAD	51	0,06477	150	0,010183	92,01594
135	BERLIN	26	0,03302	22		91,1029
136	HELP	75	0,09525	340	0,023081	90,43616

137	OF	2140	2,717805	32273	2,190899	89,7054
138	BRIGADES	15	0,01905	0		89,43307
139	BUT	395	0,501651	4347	0,295102	88,49844
140	BAGHDAD	16	0,02032	1		87,89318
141	RESPONSIBILITY	38	0,04826	79		87,27897
142	WANT	92	0,11684	512	0,034758	86,41631
143	EVERY	91	0,11557	513	0,034826	84,00275
144	POLICY	63	0,08001	261	0,017718	83,61201
145	THESE	169	0,21463	1384	0,093955	83,22964
146	ENEMIES	21	0,02667	12		83,19547
147	ALL	273	0,346711	2726	0,185058	82,8548
148	SACRIFICE	20	0,0254	10		82,09567
149	VOTE	36	0,04572	76		81,9015
150	PARTNERSHIP	21	0,02667	13		81,32751
151	JUST	145	0,18415	1122	0,076169	80,07591
152	EFFORTS	46	0,05842	142		79,84763
153	ASKSAM	13	0,01651	0		77,50835
154	EBOOKS	13	0,01651	0		77,50835
155	CYBER	13	0,01651	0		77,50835
156	THOSE	129	0,16383	965	0,06551	75,9752
157	BUILD	33	0,04191	69		75,52511
158	ON	552	0,701041	6887	0,467534	75,28639
159	PROSPERITY	19	0,02413	11		74,9987
160	THINK	94	0,11938	587	0,039849	74,93921
161	SEEK	31	0,03937	61		73,60977
162	PREVENT	31	0,03937	62		72,89753
163	CONTINUE	42	0,05334	132		71,83999
164	PLAN	48	0,06096	176	0,011948	71,7534
165	AFGHANS	14	0,01778	2		71,62231
166	ABROAD	26	0,03302	39		71,58978
167	DN	12	0,01524	0		71,54602
168	ASP	12	0,01524	0		71,54602
169	CONFRONT	20	0,0254	16		71,45003
170	NO	199	0,252731	1872	0,127083	70,98383
171	WASHINGTON	51	0,06477	202	0,013713	70,81191
172	REGION	36	0,04572	95		70,48673
173	STRIKES	21	0,02667	20		70,47657
174	CONVENTIONAL	27	0,03429	46		69,57584
175	WARS	25	0,03175	37		69,29752
176	LEADERSHIP	34	0,04318	85		69,1837
177	OPPOSED	30	0,0381	62		69,15389
178	LET	62	0,07874	301	0,020434	69,12807
179	REJECT	21	0,02667	22		67,91109
180	AM	59	0,07493	279	0,01894	67,82674
181	BIPARTISAN	15	0,01905	5		67,4603
182	COMMANDER	24	0,03048	35		67,01118
183	FOUGHT	23	0,02921	31		66,69029

184	EFFORT	41	0,05207	139		65,76535
185	NATO	16	0,02032	8		65,6758
186	REBUILD	16	0,02032	8		65,6758
187	THOUSANDS	26	0,03302	46		65,62622
188	SUNNI	11	0,01397	0		65,58372
189	GTMO	11	0,01397	0		65,58372
190	DETAINEES	11	0,01397	0		65,58372
191	INSTEAD	48	0,06096	194	0,01317	65,31736
192	ISRAEL	22	0,02794	29		64,45267
193	NATIONAL	71	0,09017	408	0,027698	63,8307
194	THEY	304	0,386081	3416	0,2319	63,24603
195	CIVIL	32	0,04064	84		62,89372
196	FOREIGN	50	0,0635	219	0,014867	62,58831
197	FOR	684	0,868682	9229	0,626524	62,42445
198	MISGUIDED	13	0,01651	3		62,37826
199	LET'S	32	0,04064	85		62,35555
200	AMERICA'S	29	0,03683	67		62,26152
201	TOUGH	30	0,0381	73		62,19649
202	INTERNATIONAL	46	0,05842	188	0,012763	61,89544
203	DANGEROUS	27	0,03429	57		61,42382
204	I'VE	49	0,06223	215	0,014596	61,2196
205	WHERE	117	0,14859	932	0,06327	60,98111
206	COUNTER	24	0,03048	42		60,9449
207	ASPIRATIONS	15	0,01905	8		60,54594
208	BRING	35	0,04445	109		60,31521
209	COST	43	0,05461	169	0,011473	60,15837
210	LEADERS	34	0,04318	103		59,91777
211	IRANIAN	14	0,01778	6		59,6609
212	TIMETABLE	10	0,0127	0		59,62144
213	COUNTERTERRORISM	10	0,0127	0		59,62144
214	CONSEQUENCES	27	0,03429	60		59,45888
215	CITIZENS	30	0,0381	78		59,37039
216	RECOGNIZE	30	0,0381	78		59,37039
217	ASK	41	0,05207	156	0,01059	59,18866
218	FOCUS	36	0,04572	119		59,02005
219	ISRAELIS	11	0,01397	1		58,80379
220	SAFE	30	0,0381	80		58,29097
221	STRIKE	23	0,02921	41		57,81045
222	WHEN	219	0,278131	2292	0,155596	57,74276
223	BELIEVE	51	0,06477	245	0,016632	57,56678
224	CIVILIANS	14	0,01778	7		57,46601
225	ENSURE	22	0,02794	37		57,08721
226	THEIR	250	0,317501	2735	0,185669	57,08267
227	ALLIANCES	12	0,01524	3		56,84634
228	VIOLENT	23	0,02921	43		56,2716
229	CUTS	23	0,02921	43		56,2716
230	STRONGER	20	0,0254	29		55,99893

231	SERVE	33	0,04191	105		55,87054
232	ENERGY	38	0,04826	142		55,80406
233	GOING	82	0,10414	566	0,038424	55,69422
234	PROLIFERATION	14	0,01778	8		55,46254
235	LAUNCH	16	0,02032	14		55,39786
236	CHANGE	54	0,06858	282	0,019144	55,0845
237	FORGE	13	0,01651	6		54,43425
238	MEET	37	0,04699	138		54,43275
239	DONE	51	0,06477	257	0,017447	54,37589
240	STRONG	43	0,05461	187	0,012695	54,23721
241	SUSTAINED	16	0,02032	15		54,01452
242	QAEDA'S	9	0,01143	0		53,65919
243	GUANTANAMO	9	0,01143	0		53,65919
244	DRONES	9	0,01143	0		53,65919
245	PALESTINIANS	14	0,01778	9		53,61878
246	ECONOMY	35	0,04445	125		53,5962
247	IDEALS	15	0,01905	12		53,58669
248	EXPAND	15	0,01905	12		53,58669
249	INFRASTRUCTURE	18	0,02286	23		53,48843
250	INVEST	18	0,02286	23		53,48843
251	DETENTION	10	0,0127	1		53,02358
252	CHENEY	10	0,0127	1		53,02358
253	BORDER	20	0,0254	33		52,42922
254	ENGAGE	17	0,02159	20		52,39104
255	YEARS	120	0,1524	1046	0,071009	51,506
256	PARTNERSHIPS	12	0,01524	5		51,46957
257	SECTARIAN	12	0,01524	5		51,46957
258	RESOLVE	17	0,02159	21		51,2872
259	DIPLOMATIC	17	0,02159	21		51,2872
260	I'M	74	0,09398	508	0,034486	50,72268
261	MISSIONS	13	0,01651	8		50,4312
262	QUESTION	50	0,0635	264	0,017922	50,29647
263	TARGETED	16	0,02032	18		50,25348
264	TORTURE	16	0,02032	18		50,25348
265	WAGE	17	0,02159	22		50,22599
266	HISTORY	51	0,06477	274	0,018601	50,16979
267	SPEECHES	15	0,01905	15		49,40618
268	COMPREHENSIVE	19	0,02413	32		49,26436
269	COMMANDERS	12	0,01524	6		49,25631
270	WAGED	10	0,0127	2		49,01624
271	WORLD'S	23	0,02921	54		48,8524
272	REDUCE	28	0,03556	86		48,79795
273	FACTIONS	13	0,01651	9		48,67839
274	POLITICS	32	0,04064	116		48,33916
275	FORCE	40	0,0508	183	0,012423	47,73475
276	DRAWDOWN	8	0,01016	0		47,69696
277	AGO	47	0,05969	249	0,016904	47,07431

278	PURSUE	18	0,02286	30		46,93404
279	COSTS	34	0,04318	136		46,74475
280	HOPE	38	0,04826	171	0,011609	46,18605
281	POLITICAL	63	0,08001	416	0,028241	46,02911
282	CENTURY	49	0,06223	275	0,018669	45,49479
283	SHORES	12	0,01524	8		45,45862
284	CASUALTIES	12	0,01524	8		45,45862
285	CHOICE	34	0,04318	141		45,06985
286	WITH	517	0,656591	7034	0,477513	44,86032
287	BATTLE	24	0,03048	68		44,56618
288	TYRANNY	11	0,01397	6		44,13408
289	ISLAMIC	11	0,01397	6		44,13408
290	GOAL	28	0,03556	97		44,06426
291	FAILED	26	0,03302	83		43,89724
292	DANGERS	15	0,01905	20		43,71209
293	SUPPORTING	15	0,01905	20		43,71209
294	SURGE	14	0,01778	16		43,68139
295	SAFER	14	0,01778	16		43,68139
296	FORWARD	31	0,03937	121		43,66076
297	NETWORKS	21	0,02667	51		43,59431
298	PART	73	0,09271	543	0,036862	43,43105
299	NEARLY	35	0,04445	155	0,010522	43,2894
300	FLU	10	0,0127	4		43,28643
301	LIVES	34	0,04318	147		43,1506
302	HOME	67	0,08509	478	0,03245	42,97929
303	JUDGMENT	23	0,02921	65		42,79257
304	ACT	47	0,05969	270	0,018329	42,26592
305	POWER	60	0,0762	406	0,027562	42,12237
306	ENDING	15	0,01905	22		41,76337
307	SHIA	7		0		41,73476
308	BARACK	7		0		41,73476
309	PHASED	8	0,01016	1		41,52212
310	STOCKPILES	8	0,01016	1		41,52212
311	DESERVE	14	0,01778	18		41,48494
312	CARE	40	0,0508	207	0,014052	41,26781
313	CREATE	29	0,03683	113		40,91171
314	PALESTINIAN	12	0,01524	11		40,8502
315	SENATE	23	0,02921	69		40,8476
316	ACTION	38	0,04826	191	0,012966	40,63883
317	RENEW	9	0,01143	3		40,47556
318	WILLING	21	0,02667	57		40,27404
319	KILLED	26	0,03302	92		40,14815
320	HEALTH	40	0,0508	214	0,014528	39,56078
321	RELEASES	12	0,01524	12		39,52455
322	AUTO	14	0,01778	20		39,48369
323	GIVE	52	0,06604	337	0,022878	39,13761
324	TAKING	34	0,04318	162	0,010998	38,74133

325	MIDDLE	38	0,04826	199	0,013509	38,62278
326	INTERESTS	25	0,03175	89		38,39254
327	CONFLICT	29	0,03683	121		38,20062
328	GENERATION	23	0,02921	75		38,14433
329	CAN'T	44	0,05588	260	0,01765	38,02879
330	BATTLEFIELD	9	0,01143	4		38,02745
331	BILLIONS	9	0,01143	4		38,02745
332	DEFEATING	8	0,01016	2		37,89719
333	HUMBLED	8	0,01016	2		37,89719
334	BENCHMARKS	8	0,01016	2		37,89719
335	DEMOCRATS	21	0,02667	62		37,77052
336	FOLKS	16	0,02032	32		37,62222
337	HOPEFUL	10	0,0127	7		37,31558
338	BEST	55	0,06985	380	0,025797	37,28788
339	ADMINISTRATION'S	13	0,01651	18		37,21758
340	OIL	25	0,03175	93		36,86693
341	PURSUIT	14	0,01778	23		36,78412
342	BORDERS	14	0,01778	23		36,78412
343	STOP	32	0,04064	152	0,010319	36,59257
344	FAITH	25	0,03175	94		36,49715
345	SOLUTION	21	0,02667	65		36,36839
346	OCCUPATION	13	0,01651	19		36,25712
347	TRILLION	11	0,01397	11		36,23072
348	TRUE	37	0,04699	200	0,013577	36,10722
349	HOW	110	0,1397	1068	0,072503	36,05336
350	ARMED	15	0,01905	29		35,98881
351	REBUILDING	9	0,01143	5		35,93069
352	LAW	51	0,06477	345	0,023421	35,81892
353	AWLAKI	6		0		35,77258
354	GLOBALIZATION	6		0		35,77258
355	ENCHANTED	6		0		35,77258
356	DARFUR	6		0		35,77258
357	LADIN	6		0		35,77258
358	LUGAR	6		0		35,77258
359	MILITIAS	6		0		35,77258
360	U	67	0,08509	528	0,035844	35,67037
361	IDEOLOGY	16	0,02032	35		35,59096
362	EAST	27	0,03429	113		35,45364
363	SAY	69	0,08763	554	0,037609	35,37664
364	FROM	323	0,410211	4222	0,286617	34,97202
365	HUSSEIN	12	0,01524	16		34,9693
366	INVASION	12	0,01524	16		34,9693
367	HELPING	17	0,02159	42		34,87533
368	VALUES	33	0,04191	168	0,011405	34,74345
369	ACHIEVE	21	0,02667	69		34,60323
370	EDUCATION	41	0,05207	247	0,016768	34,4624
371	OPPORTUNITY	26	0,03302	108		34,40585

372	DESTRUCTION	14	0,01778	26		34,38237
373	DON'T	82	0,10414	723	0,049082	34,26337
374	CHOOSE	20	0,0254	63		34,14187
375	LETHAL	9	0,01143	6		34,09366
376	HEARTS	12	0,01524	17		33,98014
377	COALITION	12	0,01524	17		33,98014
378	CRITICAL	23	0,02921	86		33,754
379	FACE	52	0,06604	370	0,025118	33,50966
380	TRUST	22	0,02794	80		33,13584
381	WIN	22	0,02794	80		33,13584
382	DOLLARS	22	0,02794	80		33,13584
383	OBLIGATION	12	0,01524	18		33,03972
384	DICK	10	0,0127	10		32,93691
385	BASED	43	0,05461	276	0,018737	32,8541
386	RECLAIM	8	0,01016	4		32,83717
387	LEVERAGE	8	0,01016	4		32,83717
388	POSE	11	0,01397	14		32,74511
389	TROOP	11	0,01397	14		32,74511
390	INVESTMENTS	17	0,02159	46		32,67706
391	CHRYSLER	7		2		32,40832
392	MY	170	0,2159	1956	0,132786	32,37302
393	AGREE	19	0,02413	60		32,36761
394	REACH	24	0,03048	98		32,31841
395	PROMISE	17	0,02159	47		32,15799
396	REFORM	22	0,02794	84		31,65067
397	ULTIMATELY	17	0,02159	48		31,65023
398	IT	516	0,655321	7410	0,503039	31,44842
399	BUSH	50	0,0635	361	0,024507	31,39861
400	CRISIS	19	0,02413	63		31,06443
401	HUNDREDS	16	0,02032	43		30,90964
402	DIPLOMATS	11	0,01397	16		30,75121
403	BROADER	11	0,01397	16		30,75121
404	THERE	173	0,21971	2028	0,137674	30,65394
405	CAPACITY	19	0,02413	64		30,64503
406	RESPECT	24	0,03048	104		30,38422
407	ISSUE	36	0,04572	217	0,014731	30,23392
408	CHALLENGE	19	0,02413	65		30,23279
409	ALSO	118	0,14986	1247	0,084654	30,15034
410	DRONE	6		1		30,13509
411	RESPONSIBLY	6		1		30,13509
412	PRIORITY	13	0,01651	27		29,87344
413	CAPABILITIES	11	0,01397	17		29,8335
414	TOWARDS	11	0,01397	17		29,8335
415	WHO'VE	5		0		29,81042
416	ISN	5		0		29,81042
417	DEPLOY	5		0		29,81042
418	ERADICATE	5		0		29,81042

419	ARSENALS	5		0		29,81042
420	PAKISTAN'S	5		0		29,81042
421	ARAB	12	0,01524	22		29,68807
422	STABILITY	14	0,01778	33		29,65626
423	GLOBE	10	0,0127	13		29,48286
424	COURAGE	13	0,01651	28		29,20328
425	MARINES	8	0,01016	6		29,20036
426	SACRIFICES	8	0,01016	6		29,20036
427	VA	8	0,01016	6		29,20036
428	COMPROMISED	8	0,01016	6		29,20036
429	FASCISM	8	0,01016	6		29,20036
430	MONTHS	35	0,04445	212	0,014392	29,1861
431	MILLIONS	15	0,01905	40		29,14349
432	COMMON	37	0,04699	233	0,015818	29,11265
433	SUCCEED	11	0,01397	18		28,96206
434	SADDAM	12	0,01524	23		28,93722
435	SOLDIERS	20	0,0254	76		28,9047
436	HERE	77	0,09779	710	0,048199	28,87045
437	WITHOUT	61	0,07747	509	0,034554	28,84188
438	MISSION	19	0,02413	69		28,6516
439	AFRICA	15	0,01905	41		28,61743
440	STABLE	13	0,01651	29		28,55578
441	MARSHALL	10	0,0127	14		28,47807
442	SYRIA	9	0,01143	10		28,41362
443	SPEAK	27	0,03429	138		28,28693
444	CAPTURE	11	0,01397	19		28,13281
445	YEAR	81	0,10287	771	0,05234	27,99005
446	CHIEF	22	0,02794	95		27,95583
447	FRAMEWORK	13	0,01651	30		27,92963
448	GROW	19	0,02413	71		27,89924
449	ABOUT	181	0,22987	2196	0,149079	27,84557
450	MA'AM	8	0,01016	7		27,69823
451	I'LL	32	0,04064	189	0,012831	27,6741
452	MISTAKE	14	0,01778	37		27,37887
453	LASTING	9	0,01143	11		27,27914
454	ADDRESS	21	0,02667	89		27,2164
455	DEBATE	21	0,02667	89		27,2164
456	WEALTHIEST	6		2		26,98349
457	INSURGENTS	6		2		26,98349
458	UPHOLD	6		2		26,98349
459	RASH	6		2		26,98349
460	ACCOUNTABILITY	6		2		26,98349
461	EQUIP	6		2		26,98349
462	RIGHT	72	0,09144	665	0,045144	26,8824
463	HATE	14	0,01778	38		26,8485
464	BILLION	27	0,03429	144		26,80895
465	COME	67	0,08509	603	0,040936	26,66033

466	BUSINESSES	16	0,02032	52		26,60933
467	SEND	18	0,02286	67		26,52834
468	RESOURCES	21	0,02667	92		26,27664
469	DECISIONS	19	0,02413	76		26,11994
470	ISOLATE	7		5		25,95481
471	STABILIZE	7		5		25,95481
472	BATTLES	11	0,01397	22		25,86475
473	STAKE	10	0,0127	17		25,79752
474	PARTNERS	12	0,01524	28		25,59262
475	KEEPING	17	0,02159	62		25,535
476	JOB	36	0,04572	243	0,016496	25,37229
477	FINISH	15	0,01905	48		25,27316
478	STRAIN	9	0,01143	13		25,24583
479	SECURED	8	0,01016	9		25,12606
480	INVESTING	8	0,01016	9		25,12606
481	YEMEN	8	0,01016	9		25,12606
482	KOREA	13	0,01651	35		25,08074
483	PEACEFUL	10	0,0127	18		24,99752
484	RESTORE	10	0,0127	18		24,99752
485	CHICAGO	16	0,02032	56		24,94902
486	RECONCILIATION	6		3		24,62774
487	RECRUITS	6		3		24,62774
488	VOTED	13	0,01651	36		24,56078
489	BIO	5		1		24,50783
490	EMBOLDENED	5		1		24,50783
491	CAUCUS	5		1		24,50783
492	MISTRUST	5		1		24,50783
493	PRINCIPLED	5		1		24,50783
494	READINESS	5		1		24,50783
495	ESCALATION	5		1		24,50783
496	CHUCK	5		1		24,50783

Items used for metaphor analysis

Hero	Clusters	Villain	Clusters	Victim	Clusters	Purpose	Work and Business
(United States of) America		enemy(-ies)		people		protect	effort(-s)
United States		regime(-s)		American people		defend	cost(-s)
world			Iraqi regime	Iraqi people		freedom	price
civilized world			Taliban regime	Afghan people		liberty	
free nations			Iranian regime	citizens		peace	
ally(-ies)		Saddam Hussein		innocent adj. n.			
coalition		Bin Laden		free Iraq			
coalition forces		Al Qaeda					
security forces		dictator(-s)					
	Iraqi security forces	tyrant(-s)					
	Afghan security forces	tyranny					
		terror					
			war on terror				
		terrorist(-s)					
		terrorism					
		evil					
		brutal					
		hunt					
		weapons					
			weapons of mass destruction				
		killer(-s)					
		kill					
		killing(-s)					
		murder					
		murderer(-s)					
		murderous					

APPENDIX H

War euphemisms extracted from the four euphemisms dictionaries

The Official Politically Correct Dictionary and Handbook 1992	Rawson's Dictionary of Euphemisms and Other Doubletalk 1995	Bloomsbury Dictionary Of Euphemisms 2000	How Not To Say What You Mean: A Dictionary of Euphemisms 2002
air support	action	agent(-s)	air support
collateral damage	advance	sir support	collateral damage
cooperation	air support	sir strike	conflict
destabilize	casualty(-ies)	casualty(-ies)	confrontation
engage the enemy	cleanse	collateral damage	conventional
executive action	collateral damage	conflict	cooperation
friendly fire	conflict	confrontation	counter-attack
interdict(-ion)	defense	cooperate(-ion)	counter-insurgency
neutralize(-ation)	deliver	counter-insurgency	defense
preemptive counterattack	demise	device	emergency
preemptive strike	device	defense	freedom fighters
selective strike	ethnic cleansing	ethnic cleansing	friendly fire
soft targets	experience	freedom fighter	incident
strategic	fall	free world	intervention
visit a site	free world	friendly fire	limited action
	freedom fighter	incident	preemptive action
	friendly fire	intelligence	preemptive strike
	international	interdict(-ion)	protect
	intelligence	limited action	self-defense
	interrogation	preemptive strike	soft target
	investigate(-ion)	redeployment	special
	liberate(-ion)	special	strategic
	limited action	strategic withdrawal	security
	loved one/-s	surgical strikes	tactical
	loss	soft target	volunteer
	neutralize(-ation)	source	withdrawal
	operation	tactical	
	operative		
	peacekeeping		
	personnel		
	preemptive strike		
	protection		
	resource		
	redeployment		
	remove		
	selective strike		
	soft targets		
	special		
	strategic		
	surgical strike		

	tactical		
	tool		
	troubled		
	unit		
	volunteer(-s)		
	withdrawal		

APPENDIX I

Abstract in German (Zusammenfassung)

Die vorliegende Arbeit untersucht die politische Sprache die George Bush und Barack Obama von 2001 bis 2013 in einigen Reden betreffend den Angriff von 9/11 und der nachfolgenden Kriege angewendet haben. Das Ziel der vorliegenden Arbeit ist das Bewusstsein über die manipulative Anwendung der Sprache in amerikanischen politischen Reden zu schärfen. Deshalb behandelt die Arbeit quantitativ und qualitativ, unter Verwendung von Korpuslinguistik und der kritischen Diskursanalyse, auffällige Fürwörter, Modalverben, Metapher und Euphemismen, und untersucht ihre Frequenzen, Muster und manipulative Anwendungen. Genauer, die Arbeit versucht Korrelationen zwischen den oben genannten Sprachgegenständen zu finden, kommentiert die manipulative Anwendung von den Sprachgegenständen, und suggeriert wer von den beiden Präsidenten welche manipulative Anwendung bevorzugt. Zum Schluss weist die Arbeit darauf hin wie die Öffentlichkeit die Präsidenten wahrnehmen könnte. Die Ergebnisse offenbaren einerseits einige Korrelationen zwischen Pronomen und Modalverben, und anderseits Korrelationen zwischen Metaphern und Euphemismen. Die oben genannten Sprachgegenstände werden für folgende Zwecke angewendet: positive Selbstdarstellung und negative Darstellung von anderen, als „Gesichtsschutz", Einschüchterung, und Rechtfertigung von Kriegen. Es scheint als ob Bush sich meistens auf negative Darstellung von anderen und Einschüchterung und Rechtfertigung von Kriegen konzentriert, während Obama hauptsächlich auf „Gesichtsschutz" und positive Selbstdarstellung ausgerichtet ist. Außerdem, die Öffentlichkeit könnte Bush als direkter, verwegener, formeller und persönlicher wahrnehmen, während Obama als sozialer, höflicher und professioneller wahrgenommen werden kann. Grundsätzlich, die Ergebnisse deuten darauf hin, dass Bush sich mehr mit der Außenpolitik beschäftigt, während Obama mehr auf die Innenpolitik fokussiert ist. Das spricht dafür, dass die Ergebnisse von den Kriegsreden, die Obama als Senator gehalten hat, beeinflusst wurden, da diese Reden, die eingeführt wurden um mit der Größe des Bush-Korpus übereinzustimmen, die Hälfte des Obama-Korpus bilden. Daher könnten zukünftige Forschungen, die auch die aktuellsten Präsidentschaftsreden von Obama einschließen, zu neuen Ergebnissen führen.

APPENDIX J

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