

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches : A Critical Discourse Study

Asst. Prof. Rana Abdul Settar Abid

Dept. of English, College of Arts, University of Basra

Prof. Dr. Majeed Hameed Jassim

Dept. of English, College of Education for Human Sciences,
University of Basra

Abstract:

The present study is set out to investigate the forms of stance-taking used in political speeches. These forms are to be examined in terms of their lexical and grammatical forms, semantic and discoursal functions and social significance in disposing the speaker's ideology and position. Hence, a number of Hillary Clinton's important political speeches are selected to be studied according to Fairclough's (1995) Dialectical-relational approach of CDA, Biber, et al.'s (1999) Lexico-grammatical framework, and Martin and White's Appraisal Framework (2005).

Key Words : Stance, lexico-grammatical, appraisal, CDA, political speeches .

صيف اتخاذ المواقف في خطابات هيلاري كلينتون السياسية :

دراسة في التحليل الناقد للخطاب

أ.م. رنا عبد الستار عبد

□ جامعة البصرة - كلية الآداب - قسم اللغة الانكليزية

أ.د. مجيد حميد جاسم

□ جامعة البصرة - كلية التربية للعلوم الإنسانية - قسم اللغة الانكليزية

ملخص البحث:

تسعى الدراسة الحالية الى تقصي انواع التراكيب اللغوية و جدواها والتي اعتمدها هيلاري كلينتون لأخذ المواقف في خطابات السياسية. اعتمدت منهجية التحليل على انموذج فيركلف (1995) لتحليل الخطاب الناقد والذي ينطوي اولا على التحليل اللغوي لهذه التراكيب بالاعتماد على الاطار المعجمي - النحوي للمواقف (بايبر و يوهانسون و ليتش و كونراد و فينجان، 1999) و من ثم دراسة دلالة هذه التراكيب في تكوين الخطاب السياسي بالاعتماد على نظرية التقييم الخطابى لأنموذج مارتن و وايت (2005).

الكلمات المفتاحية : صيغة اخاذ المواقف ، الاطار المعجمي - النحوي ، نظرية التقييم الخطابى ، التحليل الناقد للخطاب ، الخطاب السياسي .

1. Introduction

Language has proved to be the most prominent tool that politicians use in their struggle for power and dominance. Chilton and Schäffner (2002 : 3) report that “*political activity does not exist without the use of language. It is true that other behaviours are involved, for instance, physical coercion. But the doing of politics is predominantly constituted in language*”. Language is manipulated in a way to affect people’s ambitions and fears to the extent that may lead them eventually to accept false statements as true postulates (Thomas and Wareing, 1999 : 30).

Because of its significance in the political field, language has attracted the attention of both of the political scientists and linguists or discourse analysts. The former have tried to examine the effects of the political decisions on society through the language or discourse used, while the latter are more preoccupied with how politicians use language to influence the public so as to achieve certain objectives (Schäffner, 1996 : 201). Political discourse can be spoken or written texts and constructed in various types of genres such as speeches, parliamentary debates, interviews, editorials or commentaries in newspapers or social media, press conferences, etc.

Political speeches represent the most common genre that politicians resort to in different situations and for purposes of internal and external communication. In this context, Chasteris-Black (2018 : 12) views the political speech as “*an orderly sequence of words delivered by an individual*” on a certain occasion to address either a “*physically present audience*” or “*a wider, remote audience via a range of communication media*”. He even presumes that the major purpose of political speeches is to convince the audience of a certain policy throughout satisfying their moral and social needs. One of the strategies that politicians have been found to heavily depend on in persuading their addressees is stance. Furthermore, stance has been examined as a correlate to identity. Hence, the present study is based on the hypothesis that stance-taking adopted in political speeches has its unique linguistic structures and discursal functions which are in one way or another related to the specific nature of the texts it is used in, i.e. the political speech. Stance-taking in these texts is primarily represented in epistemic linguistic forms,

The research questions attempted to be answered here are the following :

1. What are the lexico-grammatical forms dominant in Hillary Clinton’s political speeches?
2. What are the discursal functions of the dominant lexical and grammatical forms of stance in Clinton’s speeches?
3. How are these forms and functions related to Hillary Clinton’s overall political ideology?

2. Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), although nowadays its practitioners prefer to call it Critical Discourse Studies (CDS), is an interdisciplinary method of text and talk analysis that appeared and established itself as an influential approach in the discourse studies at the end of the 1970s. It is known as the approach that makes use of the social theory in language studies so as to examine how text and talk can be manipulated in representing, producing and reproducing the social inequality in different fields of life and especially the political one. Accordingly, the political discourse, with all its genres, has been the major source in which analysts investigate the relationship between language, ideology and power.

Norman Fairclough proves to be an important figure in CDA, and his approach that is known as the dialectical-relational one has been widely adopted by researchers in analyzing different aspects of language use in the public speech. Fairclough's approach is a three-dimensional framework which is highly influenced by Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics. The first dimension involves a micro-analysis of discourse as a text and examines its linguistic features in terms of vocabulary selection, grammar, cohesion and text-structure. The second dimension is concerned with the meso-level of analysis that involves matters of "*text production, distribution, and consumption*" and their variability under the impact of social factors (Fairclough 1992 : 78). In other words, this level of analysis examines the relation between the linguistic resources of the text and the context in which they are used. Finally, the macro-level of analysis, which represents the third dimension, views discourse as a sociocultural practice (Fairclough, 1998 : 113) and considers the text as a communicative event that includes different contextual levels related to the wider context of institutional practice within society and culture (Fairclough, 1995 : 62). These dimensions cover three corresponding stages of critical analysis: text description, interpretation, and explanation.

3. The Concept of Stance :

Stance has been the topic of sustained research interest in different discourse types. Du Bois (2007 : 139), in this context, confirms the importance of stance in communication when stating that the most important thing we do with words is to take stance. Stance has been viewed from two different angles, which are going to be seen in this study that they are, in fact, complement each other. The most influential view is made by Douglas Biber who has repeatedly referred to stance as the linguistic expressions of the speaker/writer's "*personal feelings, attitudes, value judgements or assessment*" (Biber, et al., 1999 : 966). In this approach, stance is studied according

to its structural forms that may include the use of particular words, grammatical structures, tense, aspect, etc. In other words, this approach works mainly on identifying the speaker/writer's relation to what s/he produced.

The second approach concentrates on the idea that stance shows up in interaction rather than being "*primarily situated in the minds of individual speakers*" (Kärkkäinen, 2006 : 700). According to this perspective, Du Bois (2007 : 163) demonstrates that stance is

a public act of social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communication means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field.

Thus, any instance of stance is considered to be an activity that the addressers usually take or do in any interaction, and it comprises four components :

- the stance taker ("social actor");
- the stance marker ("overt communication means");
- the stance object ("evaluating objects, any salient dimension of the sociocultural field"); and
- stance function ("positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects").

In the same vein, Johnstone (2009 : 30-31) states that "*stance is generally understood to have to do with the methods, linguistic and other, by which interactants create and signal relationships with the propositions they utter and with the people they interact with*". Instead of being a subjective single-speaker activity in the former approach, stance-taking becomes to be viewed as an intersubjective one.

3.1. The Lexico-grammatical Framework

As for the stance markers, Biber, et al. (1999) have built their lexico-grammatical framework of stance depending on a heavy quantitative base that helps us identify certain forms that can be used to identify stance, but not their textual or contextual functions. Biber's lexico-garmmatical framework of stance simply assumes that stance is represented through lexical and grammatical markers. In terms of the lexical markers, Biber, et al. (1999 : 968) talk about the value-laden word choice that include : evaluative adjectives (e.g., It's *disappointing*); evaluative verbs (e.g., I *admire* their position); and evaluative nouns (e.g., there is a real *possibility*). Value-laden words can either be used to denote the attitudinal state of the speaker/writer or their evaluation of some object or behaviour. The problems with the lexical markings of stance are represented in the fact that they have a pure semantic content, which makes identifying what they exactly refer to require

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

being familiar with the context in which they are used as well as the shared background between the addresser and the addressee. Moreover, Biber (2006 : 89 - 90) admits that it is difficult to “*identify a closed set of words used to convey specific attitudes and evaluations*” as there are “[M]any of the most common words in English are evaluative and used for lexical expression of stance”.

Biber (2006 : 88) considers the grammatical markers of stance to be the overt ones as “*a distinct grammatical structure is used to express stance with respect to some other proposition*”. Five grammatical constructions have been recognized to express stance in English, and they are : stance adverbials, modals, stance complement clauses, stance noun plus prepositional phrase constructions, and premodifying stance adverbs. Yet, only the first three ones are found to be commonly used in communication (Englebretson, 2007 : 17), and hence the present study will be limited to examine them.

In their classification of the adverbials in English, Quirk, et al., (1985 : 440) mention that disjuncts are the adverbials that “*express an evaluation of what is being said either with respect to the form of communication or its meaning*”. Siepmann, et al. (2008 : 127-28) label the disjuncts as Stance Adverbials and categorize them into three types:

- Epistemic, which “*express the writer's comment on some aspect of the truth of the proposition expressed by the relevant clause*”, like *actually, evidently, perhaps, sort of*, etc.
- Attitude adverbials that “*express the writer's opinion about the content of the clause*”, such as *amazingly, hopefully, unfortunately*, etc.
- Style adverbials, which “*form a rather special class. They express the writer's view regarding the actual formulation of the sentence which follows*”, like *according to, in brief, generally*, etc.

Modals and semi-modals have been regarded as the most common grammatical construction used in expressing stance, although they do not express it as explicit as adverbials especially with the first person subject (Biber, et al., 1999 : 980). They further arrange modals into two major categories: (1) intrinsic (or deontic modality) that refers to events or actions that humans directly control, and it involves meanings related to permission, obligation or volition; (2) extrinsic (or epistemic modality) that indicates “*the logical status of events or states*”, and they include meanings expressing the assessment of certainty or likelihood, possibility, necessity or prediction (Biber, et al., 1999 : 485 – 86).

Finally, the stance complement clauses consist of two parts : a verb, an adjective or a noun that represents the controlling element in expressing stance, and the proposition found in the complement that-clause or to-clause, e.g.,

He is certain they are right.

The epistemic adjective (certain) is the controlling element that displays the speaker's level of certainty towards the proposition which is contained in the complement that-clause.

3.2. The Appraisal Framework

Burns, et al. (2014 : 283) explain that the Appraisal framework is “*an approach to exploring and explaining the way language is used to evaluate, to adopt stances, to construct textual personas and to manage interpersonal positioning and relationships*”. It is developed by J. R. Martin and his associates (Martin, 2000; Martin and Rose, 2003; and Martin and White, 2005) basing on the interpersonal function of language originated in Halliday's *Systemic Functional Linguistics*. In the interpersonal function of language, Halliday (1971 : 91) presumes that “*the speaker is using language as a means of his own intrusion into the speech event*”. This happens when the speaker/writer expresses his/her opinions and attitudes, evaluating a thing or a behaviour, ... etc. in order to set up a communication relationship with the audience through informing, questioning, greeting, persuading, and the like.

The Appraisal framework is said to systematically analyse language resources adopted for expressing emotions and attitudes (**Attitude**), the sources of evaluation and the play of voices within and across texts (**Engagement**), as well as the amplification of both Attitude and the degree of Engagement (**Graduation**). Each of these three essential pillars are further classified as follows :

1. Attitude : Martin and White (2005 : 42) explain that attitude “*is the system of meanings that maps feelings as they are constructed in English texts*”. This semantic system comprises resources for expressing **Affect** – which is concerned with the positive or negative feelings of the individual; **Judgement** – which deals with the attitudes towards a behaviour that pertains to either a social esteem or social sanction; and **Appreciation** – which involves evaluating an object or a phenomenon. White (2015 : 19) demonstrates the difference between these three subcategories in the following examples :

1. I like that picture.

2. That is a beautiful picture.

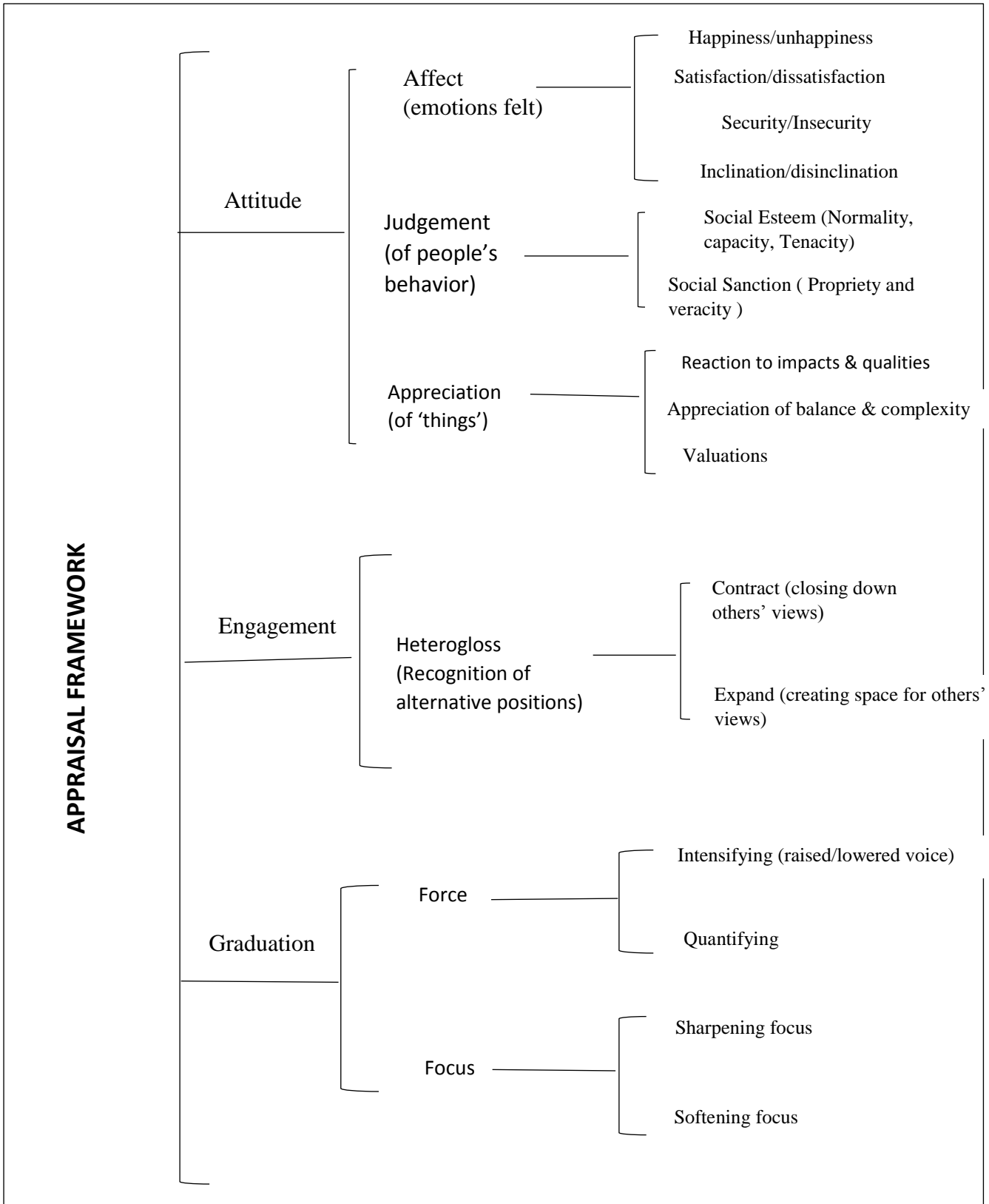
The first sentence grounds the evaluation in terms of the reaction of the speaker, while the second sentence grounds the evaluation in the ‘objective’ properties of the evaluated phenomenon itself. Moreover, the second sentence focuses on the positive feeling towards the object (picture) which involves its aesthetic value, and this is known to be **appreciation**.

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

2. Engagement refers to “*those meanings which in various ways construe for the text a heteroglossic backdrops of prior utterances, alternative viewpoints and anticipated responses*” (Martin and White, 2005 : 97). In other words, engagement deals with the semantic resources that the speakers/writers manipulate in order to show their positions to the others’ viewpoints, whether they agree or disagree with them. Consequently, the engagement system includes two subcategories; **Contract** through which the speakers/writers either disclaim the others’ viewpoints throughout using negation and concession or proclaim them through concurrence (e.g., of course, obviously), pronouncing (e.g., I contend) or endorsing (e.g., As X has shown ...). **Expand** concentrates on those resources that provide an opening or a dialogic space for other alternative positions or outside voices. It has two semantic groups: entertain and attribution. Entertain refers to the meaning of likelihood. It is achieved through the use of modal verbs (e.g. may, might), adverbs (e.g. probably, perhaps), besides using some mental verbs (e.g. I think, I believe), while attribution is achieved through the direct and indirect reported speech and thought.

3. Graduation : “*By means of the graduation resources, speakers/writers can scale up or down the strength of their stances and evaluation*” (Martin and White, 2005 : 135). The two subcategories grouped under graduation are : (1) **Force** – which is concerned with the positive and negative assessment of the degree of intensity and amount. Assessment of the degree of intensity is related to qualities (e.g., extremely foolish) and processes (e.g., This slightly hindered us). Assessment of amount is related to the features of entities that involve size, weight, strength, number, time and space (e.g., a large problem, many worries). (2) **Focus** – which deals with up-scaling (i.e., sharpening) a specification (e.g., a real father) so as to indicate a prototypicality, or with down-scaling (i.e., softening) a specification to refer to a “*marginal membership in the category*” (e.g., They are kind of crazy) (Martin and White, 2005 : 137).

*Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study*



4. Research Methodology

4.1 Method and Data

The study adopts Fairclough's CDA approach (1995) that, as stated earlier, comprises three essential steps. Step one involves a linguistic analysis of the texts selected. In this case, a corpus study is based on Biber, et al's (1999) Lexico-grammatical classification of stance markers, which have been examined twice; manually and then by using the Wordsmith software (version 8). Step two is concerned with a discourse analytic method of the semantic functions of the prevalent stance markers identified. Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework is to be adopted here. Finally, step three involves connecting the meanings of stance markers employed in the texts with the speaker/writer's ideology.

As for the data of the study, it consists of five political speeches that Hillary Clinton delivered during the long period that she held a political position in the American political institutions, whether in the presidency as the First Lady or as a Senator in the Congress. These speeches are as follows :

1. Remarks to the U.N. 4th World Conference on Women Plenary Session, Sept. 5, 1995-Beijing, China.
2. Progress since 9/11, June, 8, 2006 - Committee hearing, U.S. Senate, New York
3. The War in Iraq, Feb. 7, 2007- Washington, D.C.
4. Wall Street Housing Crisis, December 5, 2007
5. Address at the 6411st Meeting of the United Nations Security Council, Oct. 26, 2010 – United Nations Security Council, New York.

As it is clear from the list of Clinton's speeches that they tackled different subjects and were delivered in different occasions and dates. The aim of this variability in topics is to find out the dominant stance markers that Hillary Clinton used to adopt in her speeches regardless of the topic that she was discussing, which would help us identify the ideology that she was trying to reflect throughout the dominant type of stance markers she used. The speeches selected are found on <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/speeches/>

4.2 Results and Discussion

The corpus of the study that consists of five of Hillary Clinton's speeches was examined and tagged manually in the first instance to identify the tokens of stance-taking according to the lexico-grammatical framework of Biber (1999, 2006) to pinpoint the stance markers used in

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

them. Second, an electronic search using Wordsmith software (version 8) was carried out to ensure that all the instances present in the texts had been identified. Wordsmith helps recognize the markers and count them for the results which are interpreted according to the discourse model of analysis (Martin and White's Appraisal Framework, 2005).

The stance markers identified in the corpus are arranged in Table (1) according to their frequency of occurrence. Hence, the value-laden words (adjectives, verbs, and nouns) come first with the highest frequency, i.e. 264 (31%), followed by the modals which registered 220 times (26%). Stance clauses come third with 199 times (23%), and finally, the stance adverbials that registered 176 occurrences (20%).

Table (1) : The Distribution of the Stance Markers found in the Corpus

Type of Stance Marker	Number of Occurrences	Percentage
Value – Laden Words (Adjectives, main verbs and nouns)	264	31%
Modals	220	26%
Stance clauses (Adjective/verb/noun + clause)	199	23%
Stance Adverbials	176	20%
Total	859	100%

These four different markers of stance-taking are to be explained in details as follows :

- Stance Adjectives

Table (2) shows the total number of the adjectives used in Clinton's five political speeches under investigation here. So, 226 adjectives are used, divided into 188 lexical adjectives (i.e. within the value-laden words) and 38 adjectives used within clauses (i.e. within the grammatical markers of stance).

Table (2) : The number of Stance Adjectives Used in the Corpus

Total No.	Value-Laden Adjs.	Stance Adj.+ a clause
226	188	38

*Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study*

It is important to pinpoint the semantic shades of these adjectives so as to arrive at a reasonable justification for the dominance of this formulation over Clinton's political speeches. Table (3) exposes these types, and it is clear that the dominant type is the adjectives of evaluation which scored the highest number of frequency of occurrence whether as a lexical marker or as a grammatical one such as: *right, real, necessary, important* and many others. This reflects that the evaluative adjectives are what Clinton mainly used to express her judgement of people, things, or behavior when they will be analysed according to the Appraisal Framework.

Table (3) : The Forms of Stance Adjectives Used in the Corpus

	Certainty	Attitude	Emotion	Evaluation	Likelihood	Ability/ Willingness	Difficulty
Value-laden Adjs	11	--	5	165	2	1	4
Stance Adj+clause	3	1	8	16	1	9	--
Total	14	1	13	181	3	10	4

- Stance Verbs

As for the stance verbs, Table (4) displays that their total number is (202) verbs divided into 62 verbs used as lexical markers and 140 verbs used as the grammatical ones, i.e. followed by 'that' or 'to-clauses'.

Table (4) : The number of Stance Verbs Used in the Corpus

Total No.	Value-Laden Verbs	Stance verb+ a clause
202	62	140

Table (5) presents a detailed categorization of these 202 stance verbs according to Biber's (2006) classification. The dominant category of verbs used is the one that expresses desire/intention/decision. This shows clearly Clinton's tendency to express throughout verbs what she has planned or intended to accomplish whether through the political post she was taking up of in case she won the presidential race, e.g.,

We *need* to inform the Iraqi government in no uncertain terms that there are consequences, that we will take funds away from their troops, not from our troops. (The War in Iraq speech)

*Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study*

This is supported by the frequency of the speech acts verbs like say, call, pledge, promise, etc., which come next on the list of the most commonly used verbs in Clinton's speeches, e.g.,

I pledged \$17 million to help prevent and respond to sexual and gender-based violence. (Address at UN security Council, Oct.26, 2010)

Moreover, to seem convincing to her addresses, Clinton tended to show herself certain of what she said or believed in. This is shown from the frequency of the certainty verbs which come third in the table below, e.g.,

We *know* that that is still not happening. And we *know* that, *unfortunately*, there is not yet the will either in the Democratic Republic of the Congo itself, in the United Nations, or in the international community to help bring about an end to impunity. (Address in the UN Security Council, Oct.)

Table (5) : The Categories of Stance Verbs Used in the Corpus

	Certainty	Attitude	Likelihood	Speech Acts	Cognition/ Perception	Desire/Intention/ Decision	Causation/Modality/Effort
Value-laden Verbs	15	16	5	15	2	8	1
Stance Verb+ clause	17	11	21	23	--	45	23
Total	32	27	26	38	2	53	24

- Modals

Political discourse analysts often connect the use of modality with the expression of power, authority, attitude and commitment. Kress and Hodge (1977 : 39) explain that modality expresses the speaker/writer's level of authority in terms of the utterance produced. Fairclough (2001 : 105) calls this expressive modality and contends that there is another level of authority reflected through modality which is associated with the relation between the speaker/writer and the addresses. In political discourse analysis, these two levels are perceived to complement each other.

Table (6) exposes the frequency of the modal verbs used by Hillary Clinton. The numbers obviously state that the epistemic (extrinsic) meanings of the modals have scored more frequencies than those of the attitudinal (intrinsic), except

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

for the meaning of ability. It is mentioned above that the epistemic modals refer to the speaker's knowledge about and commitment to the issue being discussed. So, it seems that Clinton aims to show herself knowledgeable and confident of what she displays in her speeches, while showing feelings and attitudes would definitely not make her audience have complete faith in what she is saying or what she can do, e.g.

What we are learning around the world is that if women are healthy and educated, their families *will* flourish. If women are free from violence, their families *will* flourish. If women have a chance to work and earn as full and equal partners in society, their families *will* flourish. And when families flourish, communities and nations *will* flourish. (Women's rights speech, 1995)

As for the modal verb (can), it is clear from the table below that Clinton uses it to reflect ability more than possibility. Clinton was careful in more than one occasion in her speeches to refer to what she or the Democratic party she belongs to can accomplish if she was elected a president for the United States, for instance:

We *need* to change our tax code to reward middle class families and by doing so, we *can* get money into the pockets of tens of millions of people who will spend it. (Wall Street housing crisis speech, Dec. 5, 2007).

Moreover, the ability to shade meaning was reflected when Clinton talked in such a way to inspire her audience and remind them of what they can do, e.g.,

And let us heed the call so that we can create a world in which every woman is treated with respect and dignity. (Women's rights speech, Oct. 5, 1995)

The use of the modals *may* and *might* to imply mainly possibility indicates the meaning of entertain within engagement, according to the Appraisal framework, that opens the space for other points of view in discourse, but does not give them the same value position as that of the authorial voice. For instance,

More and more economic forecasters and even just families across America worry we *may* face an economic set of issues that will stall growth even more. (Wall Street Housing crisis speech, 2007)

Table (6) : The Distribution of Modals in the Corpus

The Modal	Intrinsic meaning	occurrences	Extrinsic meaning	occurrences	Total
Will	volition	26	Prediction	48	74
Can	ability	34	Possibility	7	41
Would	volition	14	Prediction	16	30
Should	obligation	9	Necessity	11	20
Must	obligation	8	Necessity	7	15
May	permission	0	Possibility	12	12
Have/has/had to	obligation	7	Necessity	5	12
Could	ability	7	Possibility	2	9
Might	permission	0	Possibility	5	5
Had better	obligation	0	Necessity	2	2

- Stance Adverbials

They represent the least frequently used markings of stance by Clinton, as only (176) stance adverbs were found in her political speeches, representing only 20% of the all the four types of stance-taking markings. Table (7) presents the most frequently used stance adverbials in Clinton's speeches. The numbers state clearly that the epistemic type of the stance adverbials is the one that is commonly used. Epistemic stance adverbials are generally used by the speakers/writers so as to comment on the content of the main clause. They involve sub-classes that indicate: doubt and certainty, actuality and reality, source of knowledge , and limitation. Epistemic adverbials of certainty (viz. *certainly*, *never*, *always*, *obviously*, and *clearly*) are more commonly used than the other types so as to reflect the addresser's certainty or assessment of the truth of a statement and qualify her attitude towards expressed knowledge (Coates,1983:127), e.g.,

If I had been President in October of 2002, I would have never asked for authority to divert our attention from Afghanistan to Iraq, and I *certainly* would *never* have started this war. (The war in Iraq speech, Feb. 7, 2007).

Using two epistemic adverbials of certainty in the same sentence shows Clinton's strong conviction that the decision of Bush's administration of going to the war in Iraq is perfectly wrong; a decision that she would never have made it if she had been elected a president.

Only three epistemic adverbials referring to actuality have been found to be frequently used by Clinton. They are: *actually*, *really*, and *indeed*. Actuality and

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

reality adverbs comment on the status of the proposition as real life fact (Biber, et al. 1999 : 854) which is clearly reflected in the following example:

Nearly four years ago, our President rushed us into war in Iraq, a war now longer than American involvement in World War II, which next month will *actually* exceed the length of our own Civil War. (The war in Iraq speech, Feb. 7, 2007).

What has to be noted here is Clinton's use of the adverb (*just*) in a way that makes it belong to two categories of stance adverbials: epistemic and style. Being an epistemic stance adverbials, it is used to indicate limitation, similar to (*only*), mainly to emphasize what has been said before as from the following example we can expect that Clinton was telling her audience real stories of women who have been mistreated, e.g.

Now, these are *just* a few of the stories, and everyone here could stand up and tell even more. These are the stories of what women around the world do every day to confront injustice, to solve crises, propel economies, improve living conditions, and promote peace. (Address to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women - March 12, 2010).

Another use for the adverb (*just*) is as a style stance adverb to be similar in meaning to the style stance adverbial (*simply*), e.g.,

Now, I hope everyone will voluntarily agree to these steps, because we cannot fail at this. The costs are *just* too high. (Wall Street Housing Crisis - Dec. 5, 2007).

Style stance adverbials comment on the manner of conveying the message (Biber, et al., 1999 : 857; Biber and Conrad, 2000 : 60), as it is clear from the above example. In the same way, the style stance adverb (*honestly*) is used.

Table (7) : The Distribution of the most Frequent Stance Adverbials in the Corpus

Stance Adverbial	Occurrences	Type
Just	16	Epistemic & Style
Very	16	Epistemic : Intensity
Only	13	Epistemic: limitation
together	13	Attitudinal : Evaluation
certainly	9	Epistemic : Certainty
Fully	8	Epistemic : Intensity

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

Like	7	Epistemic : Doubt
never	7	Epistemic : Certainty
actually	5	Epistemic : Actuality
kind of	5	Epistemic : Doubt
simply	5	Epistemic: limitation
as - clauses	5	Epistemic : Source
particularly	4	Epistemic: limitation
especially	4	Epistemic: limitation
always	4	Epistemic : Certainty
unfortunately	4	Attitudinal : Evaluation
really	3	Epistemic : Actuality
obviously	3	Epistemic : Certainty
Comment Clauses (I think/I believe /we know)	3	Epistemic : Source
probably	2	Epistemic : Doubt
clearly	2	Epistemic : Certainty
desperately	2	Attitudinal : Evaluation
honestly	2	Style
importantly	2	Attitudinal : value judgement
indeed	2	Epistemic : Actuality
woefully	2	Attitudinal : Evaluation

Analysing the above lexical and grammatical markings of stance discorsal functions according to Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal framework reveals that Clinton mainly depends on using the adjectives to express attitude. However, the major number of adjectives used are evaluative ones, which comprises expressing judgement in terms of Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Framework, whether when she is judging herself or other people, e.g.

1. I'm *prepared* to consider giving legal protection to servicers and others who administer these loans and who do the right thing by balancing the interests of homeowners, the investors, and our economy. (Wall Street housing crisis speech) (Judgement : capacity).
2. programs that give *hard-working* women access to credit so they can improve their own lives and the lives of their families. (Women's Rights, Oct. 1995) (Judgement : Tenacity)
3. The work that commenced from the very moment the first plane hit was *hazardous* and *difficult*, and for as long as nine months, you had first responders, trade and construction workers and others who were working amidst the dust and the fog and the smog; a toxic mix of debris, smoke and chemicals. (Progress since 9/11 speech) (Affect : insecurity; Appreciation : composition)
4. I will be introducing legislation that I think offers a *better* alternative. (The war in Iraq speech) (Appreciation : valuation)

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

5. I am *delighted* by her appointment and am very *grateful* for her commitment and the excellent presentation that she has already delivered. (Address at the Security Council , Oct. 26, 2010). (Affect : happiness).

The congruent form for the expression of Attitude is adjectival, but as a discourse semantic system, attitude can also be expressed by a range of grammatical structures like the adverbials as in Conrad and Biber's (2000) corpus study and verbs of attribution such as in Hunston's (1995) study. According to the Appraisal Framework, the examples set above concerning the overuse of verbs of certainty reflects security while those ones related to the use of the modal verb (can) to indicate ability more than possibility refer to judgement of capacity. Moreover, it has been stated above that modal verbs like *may* and *might* have been used by Clinton to show the degree of engagement in her speeches, i.e. how she had opened the dialogic space in her speeches to other viewpoints, but did not give them the same value as her own opinions.

As for graduation, viz. grading the attitude, Clinton had primarily depended on intensifying the force of her attitudes. This has been done throughout the use of the adjective (*real*), e.g.

Even though America voted for a new direction in Iraq, even though the majority of Senators oppose escalation in Iraq, we cannot get the Republicans to allow us to take a symbolic vote to condemn the escalation, much less a real vote to stop it. (War in Iraq speech)

Clinton's intensifying of the attitude as a quality has been majorly achieved through the addition of a pre-modifying intensifier. Table (7) shows that the adverb (*very*) has scored the highest number of occurrence, e.g.

I was very grateful that we were able to secure \$12 million dollars in December of 2001 to establish the World Trade Center Worker and Volunteer Medical Screening Program at Mount Sinai. (Progress since 9/11 speech, June 8, 2006).

It has been noticed that Clinton's expression of attitude has been mainly given from an individual "I"- perspective and sometimes from a collective "we"-perspective. This use presents Clinton in certain roles by making "I" or "we" the subject of particular verbs which belong to semantic fields associated with feeling, speaking, and action. In the data analyzed, "I" was used as a subject of a large number of verbs such as (*think*), (*believe*), (*hope*), (*understand*), (*appreciate*), and (*know*). These usages position Clinton as a truthful speaker, on the one hand, and as a woman of action, on the other hand.

The analysis of modality features shows that Clinton's discourse in the speeches selected includes a large number of strong obligational and epistemic modalities which are realized through the use of modals. These are exemplified in the use of “will” and “would” to express her predictions about what will happen; “can” and “could” to refer to the actions she and the party she belongs to are able to achieve; These modality features, as Halliday (1985) remarks, are significant techniques for expressing argument and opinion since they allow the speaker to express ideas with certain degrees of certainty and to present judgments and attitudes toward what he/she commits himself/herself to. So, this usage in the speeches analyzed can be seen as constituting a strong identity for Clinton. This identity is gained through her position and through US authority. In addition, it can be interpreted as a means for powerfully claiming political authority. This finding about the use of modalities agrees with that of Aisyah (2012) who observes that the use of modal verbs and evaluation in Clinton's discourse is strategic. It also agrees with that of Klanicová (2013) who asserts that Clinton's statements are always strong, confident and emphatic.

What has been presented above shows Clinton as she intends the American people to see her as a strong, independent woman who firmly believes in all the people's rights, especially women and minorities of their rights in freedom and decent life. In the end, her own views are in harmony with the ideology of the political institution she belongs to, namely, the American Democratic part. In this context, and at a Democratic primary debate in June 2007, in response to the question of whether Clinton would describe herself as a liberal, she said, *“I consider myself a modern progressive, someone who believes strongly in individual rights and freedoms, who believes that we are better as a society when we're working together and when we find ways to help those who may not have all the advantages in life get the tools they need to lead a more productive life for themselves and their family. So I consider myself a proud modern American progressive, and I think that's the kind of philosophy and practice that we need to bring back to American politics”*.

5. Conclusions

The corpus analysis of Hillary Clinton's political speeches shows a clear dominance of the evaluative lexical items, especially the adjectives in expressing her attitudes and positions concerning the main issues dealt with in the selected texts. The second place goes to the modals, while the stance adverbials scored the least number of frequency of occurrences. This can be ascribed to the fact that political speeches are genres of discourse that have to be persuasive as they are usually delivered to an audience with the aim of affecting their own beliefs and tendencies and attempting to alter them in the direction that best serves the speaker's, in our case, it is the politician's interests. Hence, the use of evaluative adjectives and verbs in this type of

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

discourse would definitely have its effect on the addressees when the speaker displays her/his stance in relation to the issues being dealt in the speeches.

It is found out that Clinton has used an effective style represented in the use of the above mentioned lexical and grammatical forms in a way that shows her as an influential, strong and confident politician to her supporters. This has been clearly exposed in the type of stance verbs she used, the modals shades of meaning as well as the kinds of stance adverbials dominant in her speeches, which all reflect her certainty of what is said, predicted and claimed to be able to achieve.

The dominant use of the epistemic markers whether on the level of value-laden words or the grammatical items has represented Clinton's status of knowledge and confidence. The engagement formalizations Clintons adopted showed her tendency to incorporate the others' opinions, but she does not give them the same importance as her own views and attitudes. She opens the dialogic space for other attitudes, but she was careful not to let them take the same approval as her own positions. In this way, engagement shows a stance of certainty. The types of stance markers and their discursual functions found to be dominant in Clinton's political speeches have stemmed from what she, as an American politician, believes in. And this proves how the use of particular stance markers can reflect the ideology of people, especially in the political field.

References :

- Aisyah, S. S., (2012). *Expression of Modality and Evaluation in Hillary Clinton's Speech*. An MA thesis. Retrieved from: <http://a-research.upi.edu>
- Biber, D., Johansson, S., Leech, G., Conrad, S. , and E. Finegan, (1999). *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London : Pearson Education Limited.
- Biber, D., (2006). *University Language: A Corpus-based Study of Spoken and Written Registers*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Burns, A. R., Matarazzo, O., and Lucia Abbamonte, (2014). "Corpus Linguistics and the Appraisal Framework for Retrieving Emotion and Stance – The Case of Samsung's and Apple's Facebook Pages". In S. Bassis et al. (eds.), *Recent Advances of Neural Network Models and Applications, Smart Innovation, Systems and Technologies*. Switzerland Springer International Publishing, pp: 283-293.
- Charteris-Black, J., (2018). *Analysing Political Speeches: Rhetoric, Discourse and Metaphor*. (2nd edition). New York : Red Globe Press.
- Chilton, P. and C. Schaffner, (2002). "Introduction: Themes and principles in the analysis of political discourse" In Chilton, P. and C. Schaffner (eds.) *Politics*

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

as Text and Talk : Analytic Approaches to Political Discourse. Amsterdam : John Benjamins.

- Coates, J., (1983). *The Semantics of Modal Auxiliaries*. London : Croom Helm.
- Conrad, S., & D. Biber, (2000). Adverbial Marking of Stance in Speech and Writing. In S. Hunston, & G. Thompson (Eds.), *Evaluation in Text: Authorial Stance and the Construction of Discourse*, (pp. 56-73). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Du Bois, H. D., (2007), “The Stance Triangle”. In Englebreston, R. (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp : 139 – 182.
- Englebretson, R., (2007). “Grammatical resources for social purposes: Some aspects of Stancetaking in Colloquial Indonesian Conversation”. In Englebreston, R. (ed.), *Stancetaking in Discourse*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp : 69 – 110.
- Fairclough, N., (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge : Polity Press.
- Fairclough, N., (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London and New York : Longman.
- Fairclough, N., (2000). *Language and Power* (2nd ed.). New York: Longman.
- Halliday M.A.K., (1971). 'Language in a Social Perspective'. *The Context of Language (Educational Review*, University of Birmingham. 23.3). pp.165-188.
- Halliday, M. A. K., (1985). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. London : Edward Arnold.
- Hunston, S., (1995). “Evaluation and organization in a sample of written academic discourse”. In Coulthard, M., (ed.) *Advances in Written Text Analysis*. London: Routledge, pp : 191-218.
- Johnstone, B., (2009). “Stance, Style, and the Linguistic Individual”. In A. Jaffe (ed.) *Stance : Sociolinguistic Perspectives*. London : Oxford University Press, pp: 29 – 52.
- Kärkkäinen, E., (2006). “Stance Taking in Conversation: From Subjectivity to Intersubjectivity”. *Text and Talk Journal*, Vol. 26(No. 6), pp : 699-731.
- Klanicová, E., (2013). *Genre Analysis of TV Interview Based on Gender Differences*. Master’s diploma thesis. Retrieved from http://is.muni.cz/th/210318/ff_m/DT_final_version.pdf
- Kress, G. & B. Hodge, (1977). *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge.

Stance-taking in Hillary Clinton's Political Speeches :
A Critical Discourse Study

- Martin, J.R., (2000). "Beyond exchange: Appraisal systems in English". In S. Hunston and G. Thompson (eds.) *Evaluation in Text*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 142–75.
- Martin, J.R., and D. Rose, (2007). *Working with Discourse: Meaning beyond the Clause*. London: Continuum.
- Martin, J.R., and P. White, (2005). *The Language of Evaluation: Appraisal in English*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Quirk, R., Greenbaum, S., Leech, G., and J. Svartvik, (1985). *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*. London : Longman.
- Schäffner, C., (1996). "Editorial: Political Speeches and Discourse Analysis". *Journal of Current Issues in Language and Society*, Vol.3, pp: 201-204.
- Siepmann, D., Gallagher, J. D., Hannay, M., and Lachlan Mackenzie, (2008). *Writing in English: A Guide for Advanced Learners*. Dischingerweg : Narr Francke Attempto Verlag GmbH & Co. KG.
- Thomas, L., and S. Wareing, (1999). *Language, Society and Power: An Introduction*. London : Francis & Taylor Group.
- White, P. R. R., (2015). "Appraisal Theory". *The International Encyclopedia of Language and Social Interaction*, 1–7. Retrieved from: doi:10.1002/9781118611463.wbielsi041