

Hillary R. Clinton's political rhetoric

Linguistic and rhetorical analysis of a political speech



Michela Giordano
Dept. of Humanities, Languages and Heritage
University of Cagliari
mgiordano@unica.it

POLITICAL DISCOURSE

- ◉ Discourse: language used within a particular social and ideological context (written, oral, multimedial-images, sounds, volume, body language, intonation, gestures)
 - ◉ Political discourse: language used by and among politicians and by the system of media
- 1) Hillary Clinton: object of discourse, topic and target of mass media discourse
 - 2) Hillary Clinton: subject of discourse, producer of speeches and advocate for human rights and women's rights

RHETORIC AND POLITICAL LANGUAGE

- ◉ Negative and pejorative connotation that rhetoric has acquired in the course of the centuries (Beard 2000:36; Mortara Garavelli 1988:7-8)
- ◉ Nowadays many scholars contend that the different linguistic and rhetorical aspects that orators use to write their speeches can be skillfully and proficiently combined in various manners and consequently **“(t)he overlapping of diverse rhetorical strategies creates a powerful interplay that ensures persuasive political communication”** (Charteris-Black 2005:5).
- ◉ Rhetoric is firmly linked to discourse in the political arena and the protagonists within it. For centuries, politicians have been utilizing rhetorical strategies to make their points and to outline their positions on significant issues relevant to their countries.

HILLARY CLINTON'S POLITICAL RHETORIC (1)

- HC: subject of discourse, producer of speeches and advocate for human rights and women's rights



- HC's disadvantage: her public role + involvement in American politics
- certain media coverage adds fuel to the fire of existing, harmful gendered stereotypes

HILLARY CLINTON'S POLITICAL RHETORIC (2)

○ HC's communication strategies: **brave efforts to respond to the social gendered stereotypes and media's prejudicial perspectives**

- 1) attempts to show that she can be either tough or soft according to the context
- 2) ambitious and assertive acceptance of the challenges she faced in dealing with the gender stereotypes and human rights prejudices

CHAMPIONING HUMAN RIGHTS

- ◉ In 1995: as first lady, a speech on global women's issues at a United Nations conference in Beijing (*Remarks to the U.N. 4th World Conference on Women*)
- ◉ 2009-2013: as Secretary of State, championed women's social, political and economic rights around the world
- ◉ In the beginning of her term in 2009: created the position of United States Ambassador-at-Large for Global Women's Issues. Aim: to ensure that women's issues are fully integrated in the U.S. foreign policy
- ◉ Visited more countries than any other secretary of state (112), visiting women's projects, businesses and activists

It is a violation of human rights when babies are denied food, or drowned, or suffocated, or their spines broken, simply because they are born girls.

It is a violation of human rights when women and girls are sold into the slavery of prostitution for human greed -- and the kinds of reasons that are used to justify this practice should no longer be tolerated.

It is a violation of human rights when women are doused with gasoline, set on fire, and burned to death because their marriage dowries are deemed too small.

It is a violation of human rights when individual women are raped in their own communities and when thousands of women are subjected to rape as a tactic or prize of war.

It is a violation of human rights when a leading cause of death worldwide among women ages 14 to 44 is the violence they are subjected to in their own homes by their own relatives.

It is a violation of human rights when young girls are brutalized by the painful and degrading practice of genital mutilation.

It is a violation of human rights when women are denied the right to plan their own families, and that includes being forced to have abortions or being sterilized against their will.

POLITICAL RHETORIC IN 2016 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS CAMPAIGN

◉ INCLUSION

◉ CONSTRUCTION

◉ COOPERATION

◉ EXCLUSION

◉ DESTRUCTION

◉ CLOSURE

Hillary Clinton

Donald Trump

CLINTON: INCLUSION

- Well within hours I said I was sorry about the way I talked about that because my argument is not with his supporters, it's with him and the divisive campaign he has run and the inciting of violence at his rallies and the very brutal kinds of comments about not just women, but all Americans. All kinds of Americans. And what he said about African-Americans and Latinos, about Muslims, about POWs, about immigrants, about people with disabilities, he's never apologized for. So I do think that a lot of tone and tenor... I am proud of the campaigns Bernie Sanders and I ran. We ran a campaign based on issue, not insults. He is supporting me 100% because we talked about what we wanted to do. We might have had differences and we had a lot of debate, but we believed that we could make the country better and I was proud of that.

TRUMP: EXCLUSION

We need strong borders. In the audience we have four mothers of - I mean, these are unbelievable people that I've gotten to know over a period of years whose children have been killed, brutally killed, by people that came into the country illegally. You have thousands of mothers and fathers and relatives all over the country.

They're coming in illegally. Drugs are pouring in through the border. We have no country if we have no border... The single biggest problem is heroin that pours across our southern borders. Just pouring and destroying their youth. It is poisoning the blood of their youth and plenty of other people. We have to have strong borders. We have to keep the drugs out of our country. Right now, we're getting the drugs, they're getting the cash. We need strong borders. We need absolute, we cannot give amnesty. Now, I want to build the wall. We need the wall.

CLINTON: CONSTRUCTION

The central question in this election is really what kind of country we want to be and what kind of future we'll build together. Today is my granddaughter's second birthday, so I think about this a lot. First, we have **to build an economy** that works for everyone, not just those at the top. That means we need new jobs, good jobs, with rising incomes.

I want us to invest in you. I want us to invest in your future. That means jobs in infrastructure, in advanced manufacturing, innovation and technology, clean, renewable energy, and small business, because most of the new jobs will come from small business. We also have to make the economy fairer. That starts with raising the national minimum wage and also guarantee, finally, equal pay for women's work.

I also want to see more companies do profit-sharing. If you help create the profits, you should be able to share in them, not just the executives at the top.

And I want us to do more to support people who are struggling to balance family and work. I've heard from so many of you about the difficult choices you face and the stresses that you're under. So let's have paid family leave, earned sick days. Let's be sure we have affordable child care and debt-free college.

TRUMP: DESTRUCTION

She talks about solar panels. We invested in a solar company, our country. That was a disaster. They lost plenty of money on that one.

You are going to approve one of the biggest tax cuts in history. You are going to approve one of the biggest **tax increases in history**. You are going to drive business out. Your regulations are a disaster, and you're going to increase regulations all over the place.

Well, first I have to say one thing, very important. Secretary Clinton is talking about taking out ISIS. "We will take out ISIS." Well, President Obama and Secretary Clinton created a vacuum the way they got out of Iraq, because they got out -- what, they shouldn't have been in, but once they got in, the way they got out was a disaster. And ISIS was formed.

Hillary Clinton has been after this for years. Obamacare was the first step, Obamacare is a total disaster and not only are your rates going up by numbers that nobody's ever believed, but your deductibles are going up.

DATA (1)

- ◉ “*Remarks in Recognition of International Human Rights Day*”
- ◉ Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, December 6, 2011
- ◉ retrievable from the USA government website <http://www.state.gov>
- ◉ 3746 words, 37 paragraphs

DATA (2)

- ◉ The speech under investigation is part of a *corpus* including several speeches and remarks on women and human rights delivered by the former Secretary of State Hillary Clinton during her tenure from 2009 to 2012.
- ◉ The corpus is the object of an ongoing research concerning the relationship between language, gender and power and the implications that the political rhetorical style and the discursive practices of a woman in politics can have in the context of human rights, gender inequality and women's empowerment (Giordano 2012).

LGBT (LGBTQ-LGBTQI-LGBTQ+- LGBTQI+)

- ◉ Initialism for Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual and Transgender community
- ◉ To emphasize a diversity of sexuality and gender identity-based cultures; sometimes used to refer to anyone who is non-heterosexual
- ◉ A self-designation; adopted by the majority of sexuality and gender identity-based community centers and media in the U.S. and other English-speaking countries

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL SPEECHES (1)

- ◉ Overall organization of speeches: the various sections of a speech, the particular composition and organization that political speeches tend to have.
- ◉ *dispositio* in Latin: the structure of the speech and explains the rhetorical devices put into practice in writing the speech:
 1. *exordium or proemium*
 2. *narratio*
 3. *argumentatio*
 4. *epilogus or peroratio or conclusio* (Mortara Garavelli 1988:61).
- ◉ A simpler distinction provided by Bollettieri Bosinelli (1986:108-115)
 - 1) opening
 - 2) body
 - 3) epilogue.

ORGANIZATION OF POLITICAL SPEECHES

- ◉ The opening is the initial part of the speech, the preamble or opening remarks, which includes the Latin *captatio benevolentiae*, i.e. a particular strategy used by the politician to obtain the audience's attention and favour, “to capture benevolence or ingratiate the audience” (Bollettieri Bosinelli 1986:108). The second part of the *dispositio*, or the **body**, is the central part of the speech, incorporating the *narratio* and the *argumentatio*, which are the most significant strategies used by politicians to illustrate their arguments. It is the part where a list of arguments can usually be found.
- ◉ The final part, or **epilogue**, includes the **final perorations** of the speech where the politician usually utters memorable expressions calling the audience to action. For the greatest effect to be achieved, the key points and key passages in the speech will have to be crucially and skillfully arranged.

Dispositio	Headings/topics	Para-graph (s)
Opening	Introduction and salutation	1
	Presentation and history of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights	2, 3, 4, 5
	Statement of the purpose of the speech Introduction to the analysis of important issues related to the question of LGBT people's rights	6, 7, 8
Body	1 st issue: some have suggested that gay rights and human rights are separate and distinct	9, 10, 11
	2 nd issue: whether homosexuality arises from a particular part of the world	12, 13, 14
	3 rd issue: people cite religious or cultural values as a reason to violate or not to protect the human rights of LGBT citizens	15, 16, 17
	4 th issue: the prejudices convincing us that homosexuality is a disease and can bring about crime	18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23
	5 th issue: the continued denial of rights to minorities who, left alone, will never be able to achieve political and social change	24, 25, 26, 27
	Invitation to support human rights: to the leaders of countries where there is discrimination, to people of all nations, to LGBT people worldwide	28, 29, 30
	Presentation of human rights policy within foreign policy issues in Obama administration; announcement of the Global Equality Fund launch	31, 32, 33
Epilogue	Peroration and Conclusions: Hillary R. Clinton pledges support for those who advocate human rights, for those who have started the march toward equality and justice; elicitation of response and action	34, 35, 36, 37

IDENTIFYING THE INTERNAL SUMMARIES AND TRANSITIONS

To move from one to another of the three major parts of a speech (i.e. opening, body, and epilogue), transition can be signalled through statements that summarize what has been said in the previous part and point the way to the next. Therefore, after identifying the various parts in the speech and the paragraphs devoted to the various topics dealt with, it is useful to identify which sentences might represent an internal summary of previous topics or paragraph(s) and a transition to the following one.

A

B

This weekend, we will celebrate Human Rights Day, the anniversary of one of the great accomplishments of the last century. (par. 1)

In most cases, this progress was not easily won. People fought and organized and campaigned in public squares and private spaces to change not only laws, but hearts and minds. (par. 5)

Today, I want to talk about the work we have left to do to protect one group of people whose human rights are still denied in too many parts of the world today. (par. 6)

So in that spirit, I want to talk about the difficult and important issues we must address together to reach a global consensus that recognizes the human rights of LGBT citizens everywhere. (par. 8)

The first issue... (par. 9)

The second issue... (par. 12)

The third... (par. 15)

The fourth issue... (par. 18)

A fifth and final question... (par. 24)

Now, we must go further and work here and in every region of the world to galvanize more support for the human rights of the LGBT community... (par. 28)

I know that the thoughts I've shared today involve questions on which opinions are still evolving. (...) We are called once more to make real the words of the Universal Declaration. Let us answer that call. (par. 37)

Transition from par. 1 to par. 2, from Salutation to History of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights

Summary of History of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (par. 2, 3, 4, 5)

Transition from History of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to statement of purpose

Transition from statement of purpose to analysis of the 5 issues related to LGBT people's rights

Transition from one issue to the following one.

Transition from the listing of issues to the invitation and request to support human rights

Summary of previous topics, transition to elicitation of response and action.

TASKS (SPEECH ANALYSIS-CLASS ACTIVITY)

- 1) Find the fundamental idea of human rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.
- 2) Find info on the current status of LGBT rights in the U.S.
- 3) Find the 5 fundamental issues related to LGBT people's rights.
- 4) What are the most common violations of gay rights?
- 5) How can progress be achieved?
- 6) What is HC's message to LGBT people around the world?

KEYS

1) FIND THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEA OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE *UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS*

- **Par. 3:** It proclaims a simple, powerful idea: All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. And with the declaration, it was made clear that rights are not conferred by government; they are the birthright of all people. It does not matter what country we live in, who our leaders are, or even who we are. Because we are human, we therefore have rights. And because we have rights, governments are bound to protect them.

2) FIND INFO ON THE STATUS OF LGBT RIGHTS IN THE U.S.

- **Par. 7: I speak about this subject knowing that my own country's record on human rights for gay people is far from perfect. Until 2003, it was still a crime in parts of our country. Many LGBT Americans have endured violence and harassment in their own lives, and for some, including many young people, bullying and exclusion are daily experiences. So we, like all nations, have more work to do to protect human rights at home.**

3) WHAT ARE THE 5 FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES RELATED TO LGBT PEOPLE'S RIGHTS?

- ◉ 1st issue, par. 9, 10, 11: some have suggested that gay rights and human rights are separate and distinct
- ◉ 2nd issue, par. 12, 13, 14: whether homosexuality arises from a particular part of the world
- ◉ 3rd issue, par. 15, 16, 17: people cite religious or cultural values as a reason to violate or not to protect the human rights of LGBT citizens
- ◉ 4th issue, par. 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23: the prejudices convincing us that homosexuality is a disease and can bring about crime
- ◉ 5th issue, par. 24, 25, 26, 27: the continued denial of rights to minorities who, left alone, will never be able to achieve political and social change

4) WHAT ARE THE MOST COMMON VIOLATIONS OF GAY RIGHTS?

Par. 11: It is violation of human rights when people are beaten or killed because of their sexual orientation, or because they do not conform to cultural norms about how men and women should look or behave. It is a violation of human rights when governments declare it illegal to be gay, or allow those who harm gay people to go unpunished. It is a violation of human rights when lesbian or transgendered women are subjected to so-called corrective rape, or forcibly subjected to hormone treatments, or when people are murdered after public calls for violence toward gays, or when they are forced to flee their nations and seek asylum in other lands to save their lives. And it is a violation of human rights when life-saving care is withheld from people because they are gay, or equal access to justice is denied to people because they are gay, or public spaces are out of bounds to people because they are gay. No matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we are, we are all equally entitled to our human rights and dignity.

5) HOW CAN PROGRESS BE ACHIEVED?

- ⦿ **Par. 18:** progress starts with honest discussion
- ⦿ **Par. 21:** progress comes from changes in law
- ⦿ **Par. 23:** progress comes from being willing to walk a mile in someone else's shoes

PROGRESS...

N Concordance

1 the conversation, not to avoid it. But progress comes from changes in laws.
2 make progress towards rights for all. **Progress** starts with honest discussion.
3 Every time a barrier to **progress** has fallen, it has taken a cooperative effort
4 embraced the change. Finally, **progress** comes from being willing to walk a mile
5 history teaches us about how we make **progress** towards rights for all. Progress
6 has been secured. In most cases, this **progress** was not easily won. People fought
7 many nations have made great progress in making human rights a human reality.
8 understanding, and humility. Even though **progress** on this front is not easy, we
9 done to secure that commitment, that reality, and **progress** for all people. Today,

(Remarks in Recognition of International Human Rights Day”, December 6, 2011)

(WordSmith Tools)

6) WHAT IS HC'S MESSAGE TO LGBT PEOPLE AROUND THE WORLD?

- ◉ Par. 30: ... to LGBT men and women worldwide, let me say this: Wherever you live and whatever the circumstances of your life, whether you are connected to a network of support or feel isolated and vulnerable, **please know that you are not alone. People around the globe are working hard to support you and to bring an end to the injustices and dangers you face.** That is certainly true for my country. And you have an ally in the United States of America and you have millions of friends among the American people.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR PRAGMATIC FUNCTION (1)

- ⦿ “(d)iscourse analysts have focussed frequently on the way in which pronouns are used in subtle ways to denote or enact power relations and solidarity relations” (Bax 2011:169)
- ⦿ Pronouns used in political discourse are primarily sociolinguistic in nature as they reflect **formality or informality, status, solidarity, power, class and sex.**

PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR PRAGMATIC FUNCTION (2)

- They also carry pragmatic implications since their use can reflect the speakers' intentions and the degree of their personal involvement and concern. Politicians tend to use them to
 - a) include themselves in a group or distance themselves and the audience
 - b) background or foreground responsibility and accountability for a certain policy
 - c) show personal participation in and commitment to a new political strategy or course of action (Wilson 1990:46)

PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND THEIR PRAGMATIC FUNCTION (3)

- ◉ When looking at pronominal forms used by politicians, Wilson (1990:61) considers three main pragmatic functions:
 1. **Self-referencing**, to mean the way in which speakers choose to portray themselves in relation to the topic of the speech and addressees, utilizing *I* or *we*;
 2. **Relations of contrast**, to mean “the way in which speakers make use of the pronominal system to compare and contrast others on a negative/positive scale”, utilizing for example *him* or *her* in reference to political opponents in a campaign or predecessors in office;
 3. **Other Referencing**, to mean the use of third person pronouns to refer to individuals and groups who do not belong to the category of speaker or addressee.

POSITIONING

- ◉ Other authors have pointed out additional qualities of personal pronouns, such as their *subtlety* and *pervasiveness* in political speeches.
- ◉ Halmari (2005:126) explains that “(a)s a persuasive strategy, the choice of personal pronouns is a **subtle and clever way to guide the thinking of the audience**. It is a subtle strategy, but because of the frequency of occurrence of personal pronouns, they successfully penetrate throughout the speech”.
- ◉ Additionally, other scholars identify *positioning* as one of their main characteristics and purposes in a speech: according to Chilton and Schäffner, “pronouns and the meaning associated with them **give a kind of map of the socio-political relationships implicit in a discourse**”, since they “have a special function in **producing a social and political space in which the speaker, the audience and others are positioned**” (1997:216).

SELF-REFERENCING

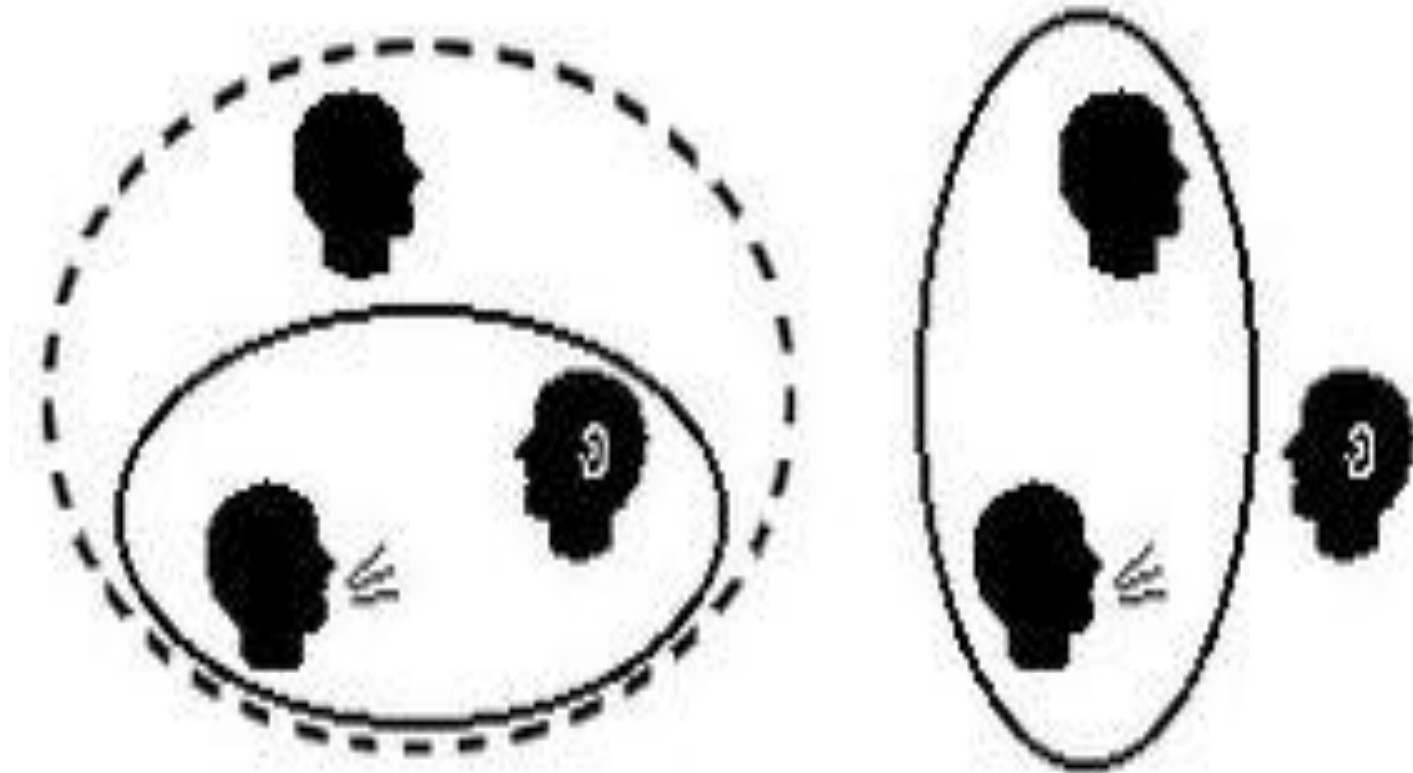
The 1st person singular forms ‘I/me/myself/mine’ and plural forms ‘we/us/ourselves/ours’

- ◉ The first person singular forms *I/me/myself/mine* indicate the clear personal involvement of the speaker. When leaders use this *self-mention* strategy in a speech, their aim is to strengthen the image they want to give of themselves as someone determined and resolute, capable of leading the country or a party, and fully able to tackle any political or social issues that arise. Nevertheless, the frequent use of *I/me/myself/mine* can have negative implications when things go wrong, resulting in the loss of the speaker’s credibility and doubts concerning his/her reliability.

PLURAL PRONOUN FORMS

WE/US/OURSELVES/OURS

- ◉ **responsibility and blame can be shared** when something goes wrong or when a given policy is not working properly
- ◉ also used by politicians when they want to show that **they are in touch with the citizens/electors**, asking for their approval and appealing to their sense of solidarity in certain situations.
- ◉ However: it can generate a variety of possible interpretations concerning who the **intended referents** might be.
- ◉ Fairclough and Wodak (1997: 274), distinguish between an ***inclusive we*** (including the audience and the general population, *we human beings, we members of this society*) and an ***exclusive we*** (including the speaker but excluding the listener, i.e. *we who govern this country*).
- ◉ The referents of the pronoun *we* can change and accordingly it constitutes a key persuasive resource in political discourse. The identity of *we* is often vague and only a thorough and intensive reading of the speech can help distinguish between the use of *inclusive we* and *exclusive we*.



Inclusive 'we' includes the addressee (that is "we" means "you and I").

Exclusive 'we' excludes the addressee (that is "we" means "he/she and I, but not you").

WordSmith Tools

er dit eejul. Or words to that erect
ot the voters." Or words to ditto ditto
appearances or words spoken dire
ou could play on words keep using
ssential focus on words and the wor
given five sets of words, and asked
he beginnings of words, and the, the
about the kind of words you use. No
assage or set of words is assigned
big dictionary of words and synonym
ggins's choice of words in defeat. H
low what kind of words do you think
primarily men of words." To put it n
olicitor a form of words to cover you

fragment of concordance

Concord

... for finding all instances of a word or phrase.

KeyWords

... helps find salient words in a text or set of texts.

WordList

... lists the words in your text(s) in alphabetical and frequency order.

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word # Sent Sent Para Para				Sect Sect		File	Date	%		
				. #	. Pos	. #	. Pos	. #	. Pos				. #	. Pos
1	and whether we know it, or whether we acknowledge it, they are our family,			1.275	56	28	0	74		0	74	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	33%
2	, where we come from, or who we are , we are all equally entitled to our human			1.184	52	16	0	83		0	83	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	31%
3	are, or even who we are. Because we are human, we therefore have rights.			303	15	3	0	02		0	02	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	8%
4	free and equal in dignity and rights . We are called once more to make real			3.751	78	2	0	50		0	50	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	98%
5	. 33) I am also pleased to announce that we are launching a new Global Equality			3.270	56	10	0	69		0	69	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	86%
6	the humanity of others. Yet, while we are each free to believe whatever we			1.962	90	4	0	61		0	61	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	52%
7	live in, who our leaders are, or even who we are . Because we are human, we			300	14	18	0	99		0	99	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	8%
8	look like, where we come from, or who we are , we are all equally entitled to our			1.182	52	14	0	81		0	81	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	31%
9	and identity, and fundamental to who we are as people. And likewise, for most			1.771	79	22	0	70		0	70	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	47%
10	rights. 16) In each of these cases , we came to learn that no practice or			1.613	73	8	0	12		0	12	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	43%
11	and dedicated, and deserve all the help we can give them. We know the road			3.390	59	36	0	89		0	89	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	89%
12	free to believe whatever we choose , we cannot do whatever we choose, not in			1.971	90	13	0	70		0	70	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	52%
13	though progress on this front is not easy , we cannot delay acting. So in that spirit, I			782	36	11	0	81		0	81	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	21%
14	we choose, we cannot do whatever we choose , not in a world where we			1.975	90	17	0	74		0	74	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	52%
15	we are each free to believe whatever we choose , we cannot do whatever we			1.969	90	11	0	68		0	68	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	52%
16	gay. No matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we are, we are all			1.177	52	9	0	76		0	76	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	31%
17	we engage humbly with those with whom we disagree in the hope of creating			2.306	09	39	0	05		0	05	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	60%
18	. 24) A fifth and final question is how we do our part to bring the world to			2.323	10	10	0	22		0	22	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	61%
19	actions, and so they carry on. But when we do act, we send a powerful moral			2.550	23	4	0	49		0	49	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	67%
20	, whose lives will be shaped by the work we do today. I come before you with			3.795	80	27	0	94		0	94	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	99%
21	for the dignity of all persons, and as we engage humbly with those with whom			2.299	09	32	0	98		0	98	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	60%
22	of us, the bonds of love and family that we forge are also vital sources of			1.788	80	15	0	87		0	87	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	47%
23	grappled with intolerance and inequality . We fought a brutal civil war over slavery.			3.620	71	2	0	19		0	19	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	95%
24	than \$3 million to start this fund, and we have hope that others will join us in			3.345	58	14	0	44		0	44	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	88%
25	toolkit to help improve their efforts. And we have created a program that offers			3.146	49	3	0	45		0	45	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	82%
26	on this topic over the years, as we have devoted more thought to it,			3.455	64	21	0	54		0	54	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	90%
27	, we therefore have rights. And because we have rights, governments are bound			312	16	4	0	11		0	11	11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	9%

N	Concordance	Set Tag	Word # Sent Sent Para Para				Sect Sect				File	Date	%	
			. # . Pos	. # . Pos	. # . Pos	. # . Pos	. # . Pos	. # . Pos						
1	how it applied to the LGBT community. They also weren't thinking about how it		880	41	2	0	79			0	79	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	23%
2	way or, too often, even join in the abuse. They are denied opportunities to work		581	28	2	0	80			0	80	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	16%
3	are out of bounds to people because they are gay. No matter what we look like		1.167	51	44	0	66			0	66	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	31%
4	care is withheld from people because they are gay, or equal access to justice is		1.141	51	18	0	40			0	40	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	30%
5	to justice is denied to people because they are gay, or public spaces are out of		1.154	51	31	0	53			0	53	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	30%
6	are separate and distinct, but, in fact, they are one and the same. Now, of		845	39	18	0	44			0	44	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	23%
7	. They are all ages, all races, all faiths; they are doctors and teachers, farmers		1.257	56	10	0	56			0	56	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	33%
8	rights are not conferred by government; they are the birthright of all people. It		277	13	17	0	76			0	76	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	8%
9	lives were once narrowed by injustice, they are now able to live more freely and		456	22	20	0	55			0	55	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	13%
10	know it, or whether we acknowledge it, they are our family, our friends, and our		1.278	56	31	0	77			0	77	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	34%
11	ways, they are an invisible minority. They are arrested, beaten, terrorized,		545	26	2	0	44			0	44	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	15%
12	. Well, these notions are simply not true. They are also unlikely to disappear if		1.896	87	2	0	95			0	95	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	50%
13	parts of the world today. In many ways, they are an invisible minority. They are		540	25	5	0	39			0	39	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	15%
14	calls for violence toward gays, or when they are forced to flee their nations and		1.108	50	40	0	07			0	07	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	29%
15	is treated as lesser or the other, whether they are women, racial, or religious		1.461	65	16	0	60			0	60	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	38%
16	human rights respected, no matter who they are or whom they love. 36) There is		3.568	68	27	0	67			0	67	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	93%
17	, and forced to suppress or deny who they are to protect themselves from harm.		602	28	23	0	01			0	01	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	16%
18	and belong to every society in the world. They are all ages, all races, all faiths; they		1.249	56	2	0	48			0	48	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	33%
19	the racial desegregation of our military. They argued that it would undermine unit		2.128	02	2	0	27			0	27	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	56%
20	streets where people live, the schools they attend, the factories, farms, and		2.928	38	33	0	27			0	27	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	76%
21	gay people can't or don't commit crimes. They can and they do, just like straight		2.828	34	2	0	27			0	27	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	74%
22	consequences for their actions, and so they carry on. But when we do act, we		2.545	22	37	0	44			0	44	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	67%
23	. This fund will help them record facts so they can target their advocacy, learn how		3.302	57	10	0	01			0	01	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	87%
24	. And so the delegates went to work. They discussed, they wrote, they		161	8	2	0	60			0	60	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	5%
25	or don't commit crimes. They can and they do, just like straight people. And		2.831	34	5	0	30			0	30	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	74%
26	of their sexual orientation, or because they do not conform to cultural norms		1.029	48	22	0	28			0	28	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	27%
27	do, just like straight people. And when they do, they should be held accountable,		2.839	35	4	0	38			0	38)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	74%

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WORDLIST 1st presidential debate 2016 Get more space

noun (905 items | 3,638 total frequency)

Lemma	Absolute Frequency ?	Lemma	Absolute Frequency ?	Lemma	Absolute Frequency ?
1 trump	107 ...	14 tax	34 ...	27 ISIS	20 ...
2 Clinton	101 ...	15 Donald	33 ...	28 Lester	20 ...
3 country	86 ...	16 deal	32 ...	29 kind	19 ...
4 people	72 ...	17 business	30 ...	30 president	19 ...
5 holt	66 ...	18 company	29 ...	31 police	18 ...
6 job	56 ...	19 way	28 ...	32 Obama	18 ...
7 thing	55 ...	20 question	28 ...	33 Holt	18 ...
8 year	46 ...	21 money	27 ...	34 Iran	17 ...
9 Secretary	45 ...	22 community	26 ...	35 law	17 ...
10 Trump	45 ...	23 time	26 ...	36 minute	17 ...
11 lot	41 ...	24 Mr.	24 ...	37 war	16 ...
12 Interruption	39 ...	25 world	23 ...	38 problem	16 ...
13 CLINTON	36 ...	26 fact	22 ...	39 plan	16 ...

Rows per page: 50 1-50 of 905 < 1 /19 >

CONCORDANCE

1st presidential debate 2016

Get more space

simple country 86 (4,221.89 per million)

Navigation icons: search, download, print, zoom, etc. KWIC dropdown menu.

Details Left context KWIC Right context

1	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 rou, Lester, and thanks to Hofstra for hosting us. </s></s> The central question in this election is really what kind of	country	we want to be and what kind of future we'll build together. </s></s> Today is my granddaughter's second birthday,
2	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 | to be with you. </s></s> We're going to have a debate where we are talking about the important issues facing our	country	. </s></s> You have to judge us, who can shoulder the immense, awesome responsibilities of the presidency, who
3	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 orkers. </s></s> You have up to two minutes. </s></s> TRUMP: Thank you, Lester. </s></s> Our jobs are fleeing the	country	. </s></s> They're going to Mexico. </s></s> They're going to many other countries. </s></s> You look at what China
4	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 er. </s></s> Our jobs are fleeing the country. </s></s> They're going to Mexico. </s></s> They're going to many other	countries	. </s></s> You look at what China is doing to our country in terms of making our product. </s></s> They're devaluing
5	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 re going to Mexico. </s></s> They're going to many other countries. </s></s> You look at what China is doing to our	country	in terms of making our product. </s></s> They're devaluing their currency, and there's nobody in our government to
6	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 /s></s> And we have a very good fight. </s></s> And we have a winning fight. </s></s> Because they're using our	country	as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other countries are doing the same thing. </s></s> So we're losing our !
7	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 ve a winning fight. </s></s> Because they're using our country as a piggy bank to rebuild China, and many other	countries	are doing the same thing. </s></s> So we're losing our good jobs, so many of them. </s></s> When you look at wha
8	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 k very, very much forward to doing it. </s></s> We have to renegotiate our trade deals, and we have to stop these	countries	from stealing our companies and our jobs. </s></s> HOLT: Secretary Clinton, would you like to respond? </s></s> Cl
9	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 </s></s> In fact, it would be the most extreme version, the biggest tax cuts for the top percent of the people in this	country	than we've ever had. </s></s> I call it trumped-up trickle-down, because that's exactly what it would be. </s></s> T
10	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 ring back millions of jobs for Americans. </s></s> How are you going to bring back the industries that have left this	country	for cheaper labor overseas? </s></s> How, specifically, are you going to tell American manufacturers that you hav
11	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 llars, with some of the greatest assets in the world, and I say that only because that's the kind of thinking that our	country	needs. </s></s> Our country's in deep trouble. </s></s> We don't know what we're doing when it comes to devalu
12	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 est assets in the world, and I say that only because that's the kind of thinking that our country needs. </s></s> Our	country	's in deep trouble. </s></s> We don't know what we're doing when it comes to devaluations and all of these countr
13	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 ountry's in deep trouble. </s></s> We don't know what we're doing when it comes to devaluations and all of these	countries	all over the world, especially China. </s></s> They're the best, the best ever at it. </s></s> What they're doing to us
14	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 d a movement. </s></s> They should have been doing this for years. </s></s> What's happened to our jobs and our	country	and our economy generally is -- look, we owe \$20 trillion. </s></s> We cannot do it any longer, Lester. </s></s> HO
15	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 g in bigger numbers than ever. </s></s> And what you do is you say, fine, you want to go to Mexico or some other	country	, good luck. </s></s> We wish you a lot of luck. </s></s> But if you think you're going to make your air conditioners c
16	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 re going to make your air conditioners or your cars or your cookies or whatever you make and bring them into our	country	without a tax, you're wrong. </s></s> And once you say you're going to have to tax them coming in, and our politic
17	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 ause we will be making investments where we can grow the economy. </s></s> Take clean energy. </s></s> Some	country	is going to be the clean- energy superpower of the 21st century. </s></s> Donald thinks that climate change is a hc
18	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 <s> HOLT: Mr. Trump? </s></s> TRUMP: She talks about solar panels. </s></s> We invested in a solar company, our	country	. </s></s> That was a disaster. </s></s> They lost plenty of money on that one. </s></s> Now, look, I'm a great believ
19	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 is of energy, but we're putting a lot of people out of work. </s></s> Our energy policies are a disaster. </s></s> Our	country	is losing so much in terms of energy, in terms of paying off our debt. </s></s> You can't do what you're looking to d
20	<input type="checkbox"/>	doc#0 alanced budget... </s></s> TRUMP: He approved NAFTA, which is the single worst trade deal ever approved in this	country	. </s></s> [Interruption] CLINTON: Incomes went up for everybody. </s></s> Manufacturing jobs went up also in the

SELF-REFERENCING

- ◉ The findings reveal the use of the pronoun *I* to introduce certain types of **hedging phrases or expressions** such as “*I am talking about*”, “*I speak about this subject*”, “*I ask you to consider this*” before proceeding with more authoritative and resolute statements (that would sound too abrupt without a soft introduction).
- ◉ This might be indicative of Hillary R. Clinton’s desire to establish a constructive, sympathetic and equal relationship with her audience, rather than asserting the superiority and authority of her position. The expressions “*I know*” and “*I want to talk about*” humbly introduce controversial and sensitive topics such as those concerning LGBT community’s rights, and enable Hillary R. Clinton to seek support and sympathy from the audience in order to embark upon solving problems together. This is evident from the sentence “*So I come here before you with respect, understanding, and humility*” in paragraph 8.

SELF-REFERENCING

1st person singular pronouns *I/me/myself/mine* and their pragmatic use in the speech under scrutiny:

- ◉ I want to thank... (par. 1)
- ◉ Today I want to talk about... (par. 6)
- ◉ I am talking about gay, lesbian... I speak about this subject... (par. 7)
- ◉ Now, raising this issue, I know, is sensitive... (par. 8)
- ◉ So I come before you... I want to talk (par. 8)
- ◉ How would it feel if it were a crime to love the person I love? How would it feel to be discriminated against about **myself** that I cannot change? (par. 23)
- ◉ I ask you to consider this... I am not saying that (par. 28)
- ◉ I say supporting human rights... (par. 29)
- ◉ I am also pleased to announce... (par. 33)
- ◉ Many people including **myself**... (par. 34)
- ◉ And I quote... (par. 35)
- ◉ I know that the thoughts I've shared today involve questions... I come before you with great hope and confidence (par. 37)

SELF-REFERENCING

1st p. p. pronouns *we/us/ourselves/ours*

WE THE HUMAN POPULATION

- **We** will celebrate Human Rights Day... (par. 1)
- **we** would prevent future atrocities... (par. 2)
- what country **we** live in, who **our** leaders are, ... (par. 3)
- **we** have left to do to protect... (par. 6)
- **we** cannot delay acting... **we** must address together (par. 8)
- **We** have come to recognize... (par. 9)
- **we** understood that **we** were honoring... (par. 10)
- No matter what **we** look like, where **we** come... (par. 11)
- whether **we** know it, or whether **we**... (par. 12)
- **we** came to learn that no practice... (par. 16)
- to who **we** are as people... the bonds of love and family that **we** forge... (par. 17)
- about how **we** make progress... (par. 18)
- while **we** are each free to believe whatever **we** choose, **we** cannot do... (par. 19)
- **We** need to ask ourselves... applies to all of us as **we** reflect... (par. 23)
- how **we** do our part... **we** know the names of brave... **we** will never know... (par. 24)
- when **we** see denials... when **we** do act, **we** send a powerful moral message (par. 26)
- **We** know the road ahead... as **we** have devoted... (par. 34)
- **We** are called once more to make real... the work **we** do today... **we** will travel it successfully together (par. 37)

Inclusive we

SELF-REFERENCING

1st p. p. pronouns *we/us/ourselves/ours*

WE AMERICANS

- ⦿ So **we**, like all nations, have more work to do to protect human rights at home (par. 7)
- ⦿ ... **we** saw how it strengthened our social fabric in ways that... (par. 22)
- ⦿ **We** fought a brutal civil war over slavery (par. 36)

Inclusive we

SELF-REFERENCING

Exclusive we

WE WHO GOVERN (THIS COUNTRY)

- A step toward what **we** hope will be the creation of a special rapporteur... (par. 27)
- In Washington, **we** have created a task force at the State Department... **we** will provide every embassy with a toolkit... **we** have created a program that offers... (par. 31)
- **we** are launching a new Global Equality Fund... **We** have committed more than... **we** have hope that others will join us... (par. 33)



OTHER REFERENCING

Other referencing: 3rd person plural pronoun ‘they’

- ◉ The third person plural *they*, which “is often used in politics to define ‘the other’, the political or military enemy, the opposite party in an electoral campaign, the opposition in a government, the guilty party to be blamed for some reprehensible, culpable action” (Giordano 2012: 98).
- ◉ It can also be used as a distancing strategy, when the speakers try to distance themselves and the government they are representing from other purportedly blameworthy groups.
- ◉ In this speech, there are 37 occurrences of the pronoun *they*: it is first used to refer to **the delegates** from six continents who gathered together between 1947 and 1948 to draft the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, subsequently ratified on December 10th, 1948.
- ◉ Later in the speech the pronoun *they* is used to refer to **the invisible minority, the LGBT people who are victims of violence and abuse** the world over and who are experiencing the same level of discrimination that other marginalized groups (such as women and the racial or religious minorities cited in the speech) are subjected to on a daily basis.

The pronoun *they* refers to: DELEGATES

- ◉ They discussed, they wrote, they revisited... they incorporated suggestions and revisions (par. 2)
- ◉ They also weren't thinking about how it applied to indigenous people or children... (par. 9)

The pronoun *they* refers to: LGBT people

- ◉ They are an invisible minority. They are arrested, beaten, terrorized... They are denied opportunities... forced to suppress or deny who they are... (par. 6)
- ◉ because they do not conform... when they are forced... because they are gay... (par. 11)
- ◉ they are all ages... they are doctors... they are our family... (par. 12)
- ◉ they can and they do... (commit crimes) and when they do they should be held accountable... (par. 28)
- ◉ the treatment they receive every day... the schools they attend... and offices where they work... (par. 29)

The pronoun *they* refers to: ABUSERS

- ◉ ... that sends the message to those deniers and abusers that they won't suffer any consequences for their actions, and so they carry on (par. 26)

The pronoun *they* refers to: MARGINALIZED GROUPS

- ◉ members of these groups... they share a common humanity... (par. 9)
- ◉ whether they are women, racial, or religious minorities... (par. 14)

2ND PERSON PLURAL PRONOUN YOU

- Some paragraphs in the speech are intended as an invitation and exhortation to support respect for human rights. Hillary R. Clinton directly addresses three categories of people, the leader of the countries “*where people are jailed, beaten, or executed for being gay*” (par. 28), the people of all nations and then the LGBT men and women worldwide.

The pronoun *you* refers to: **LEADERS OF COUNTRIES**

- To the leaders of those countries where people are jailed, beaten, or executed for being gay, I ask **you** to consider this: leadership means... (par. 28)

The pronoun *you* refers to: **PEOPLE OF ALL NATIONS**

- the actions **you** take, the ideals that **you** advocate, can determine whether human rights flourish where **you** are (par. 29)

The pronoun *you* refers to: **LGBT PEOPLE**

- Wherever **you** live and whatever the circumstances of your life, whether **you** are connected... please know that **you** are not alone... People around the globe are working hard to support **you**... And **you** have an ally in the United States of America and **you** have millions of friends among the American people. (par. 30)

N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word # Sent Sent Para Para				Sect Sect				File	Date	%	
				. #	. Pos	. #	. Pos	. #	. Pos	. #	. Pos				
1	. The actions you take, the ideals that you advocate, can determine whether			2.950	40	9	0	49			0	49	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	77%
2	communities. 6) Now, there is still, as you all know, much more to be done to			485	23	8	0	84			0	84	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	13%
3	the globe are working hard to support you and to bring an end to the injustices			3.014	42	11	0	13			0	13	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	79%
4	must help lead this effort, as so many of you are. Their knowledge and			2.353	11	14	0	52			0	52	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	62%
5	and vulnerable, please know that you are not alone. People around the			3.001	41	42	0	00			0	00	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	78%
6	whether human rights flourish where you are. 30) And finally, to LGBT men			2.959	40	18	0	58			0	58	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	77%
7	the circumstances of your life, whether you are connected to a network of			2.985	41	26	0	84			0	84	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	78%
8	an end to the injustices and dangers you face. That is certainly true for my			3.025	42	22	0	24			0	24	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	79%
9	That is certainly true for my country. And you have an ally in the United States of			3.035	44	3	0	34			0	34	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	79%
10	ally in the United States of America and you have millions of friends among the			3.046	44	14	0	45			0	45	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	79%
11	minority, being LGBT does not make you less human. And that is why gay			991	46	20	0	90			0	90	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	26%
12	worldwide, let me say this: Wherever you live and whatever the circumstances			2.975	41	16	0	74			0	74	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	78%
13	places are your domain. The actions you take, the ideals that you advocate,			2.945	40	4	0	44			0	44	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	77%
14	, beaten, or executed for being gay, I ask you to consider this: Leadership, by			2.757	31	20	0	56			0	56	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	72%
15	will travel it successfully together. Thank you very much. 5 5			3.822	82	3	0	21			0	21	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	100%
16	religious beliefs. So I come here before you with respect, understanding, and			767	35	7	0	66			0	66	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	21%
17	by the work we do today. I come before you with great hope and confidence that			3.801	81	5	0	00			0	00	)11-clean.txt	nag/08 00:00	99%

REPETITION AND REDUNDANCY

- ◉ **Repetition** is one of the most common strategies in political discourse since it **draws listeners' or readers' attention towards certain structures, topics and concepts** that the speaker wants to raise awareness of and clarify.
- ◉ Repetition is an effective means of **aiding memorization** and enables the speaker to capture the audience's attention, **plead for their support and elicit their political participation and active response.**
- ◉ One of the ways to achieve this is **the use of lists**, in particular the *three-part list* or *tricolon*, which serves as a 'claptrap' (Atkinson 1984, cited by Charteris-Black 2005:5), **prompting applause and approval from the audience.**

THREE-PART LISTS

- ◉ In his work *The Linguistics of Political Argument*, Partington states that

“(t)wo occurrences of a phrase structure are sufficient to set up an expectation that there will be a third. The slight change renders the third item emphatic (and probably, more than incidentally, highlights the speaker’s own rhetorical skill)” (2003: 215).

THREE-PART LISTS

- ◉ High impact that the three-part structure acquires in spoken and *written-to-be-spoken* texts
- ◉ By stressing and reiterating key concepts and ideas in groups of three, tricolons have the effect of **embellishing even superficial linguistic structures through the use of *rhyme* and *alliteration* that provide rhythm and thus aid memorization.**
- ◉ Phonetic features and sonic effects very often contribute to delivering the message both effectively and agreeably; **statements presented in groups of three are inclined to make speakers' arguments particularly appealing and attractive.**
- ◉ “although oratory appears to consist of one lengthy ‘turn’ from only one speaker, it relies for its success on its ability to **interact with the audience**” (Bax 2011:178).

Identify the various types of lists and their pragmatic use in the speech in question.

Lists of NOUNS

- ⦿ Governments, organizations, individuals (par. 2)
- ⦿ not only laws, but hearts and minds (par. 5)
- ⦿ that commitment, that reality and progress for all people (par. 6)
- ⦿ with respect, understanding and humility (par. 8)

Lists of VERBS

- ⦿ They revisited, revised, rewrote (par. 2)
- ⦿ have been repealed, have been abolished, has been secured (par. 4)
- ⦿ people fought and organized and campaigned (par. 5)

ADJECTIVES and ADJECTIVE-NOUN combinations

- ⦿ in the political, economic and social lives (par. 5)
- ⦿ all ages, all races, all faiths (par. 12)
- ⦿ they are our family, our friends, and our neighbors (par. 12)
- ⦿ for our people, our nations, and future generations (par. 37)

SYNTACTIC PARALLELISMS

- ⦿ they discussed, they wrote, they revisited (par. 2)
- ⦿ What we look like, where we come from, who we are (par. 11)

THREE-PHRASE LISTS

- ⦿ the full measure of liberty, the full experience of dignity, the full benefits of humanity (par. 4)

BINOMIALS

- ◉ honor and pleasure (par. 1)
- ◉ Rights and freedoms (par. 2)
- ◉ humanity and dignity (par. 2)
- ◉ suggestions and revisions (par. 2)
- ◉ a simple, powerful idea (par. 3)
- ◉ equality and dignity (par.7)
- ◉ violence and harassment (par. 7)
- ◉ bullying and exclusion (par. 7)
- ◉ difficult and important issues (par. 8)
- ◉ their families and communities (par. 16)
- ◉ fears and concerns (par. 18)
- ◉ freedom of expression and freedom of belief (par. 19)
- ◉ tolerance and respect (par. 23)
- ◉ denials and abuses (par. 26)
- ◉ deniers and abusers (par. 26)
- ◉ isolated and vulnerable (par. 30)
- ◉ injustices and dangers (par. 30)
- ◉ brave and dedicated (par. 34)
- ◉ dialogues and debates (par. 34)
- ◉ personal and professional relationships (par. 34)
- ◉ intolerance and inequality (par. 36)
- ◉ great hope and confidence (par. 36)

OTHER RHETORICAL DEVICES

CONTRASTIVE PAIRS

- ◉ public squares and private spaces (par. 5)

LONGER LISTS

- ◉ they are arrested, beaten, terrorized, even executed (par. 6)
- ◉ racial, religious, tribal or ethnic minority (par. 10)
- ◉ they are doctors and teachers, farmers and bankers, soldiers and athletes (par. 12)
- ◉ the rights of women, indigenous peoples, racial minorities, children, people with disabilities, immigrants, workers, and on and on (par. 36)

ANAPHORA and EPIPHORA

- ◉ **it is a violation of human rights** (par. 11)
- ◉ **because they are gay... because they are gay... because they are gay** (par. 11)
- ◉ **Leadership, by definition, means being out in front of your people... It means standing up for the dignity of all your citizens... It also means ensuring that all citizens are treated as equals...** (par. 28)

LGBT AND POLITICAL METAPHORS

- ◉ Aims:

- 1) to uphold Secretary of State's personal vision and the American government's position on the issue
- 2) to win as much support as possible
- 3) to take advantage of emotional appeal, to gain the audience's attention and motivate them

- ◉ metaphors enable people to gain a better understanding of **political ideologies or social values**, which may be complicated, hard to be accepted and shared

- ◉ metaphors from several semantic fields: science and medicine, religion, sport, war, journeys, catastrophes, good and evil, old and new.

METAPHORS IN POLITICS

- ◉ Metaphors used in politics belong to different semantic fields: science and medicine, religion, sport, war, journeys, catastrophes, good and evil, old and new.
- ◉ De Landtsheer (2009:59-78) distinguishes between lower power metaphors, such as those belonging to the semantic fields of *everyday life, family, space, path, nature and animals*, and higher power metaphors, such as those evoking *disaster, violence, war, sport, drama, disease and death*.
- ◉ De Landtsheer asserts that lower power metaphors tend to be favoured by speakers opting to focus on political and ideological content, whereas the higher power metaphors are preferred by speakers seeking to achieve a hard-hitting, persuasive style.
- ◉ No matter what semantic field is involved, **metaphors serve to transmit ideology by appealing to our emotions**: metaphors are thus seen as “an important means of conceptualizing political issues and in constructing world views” (Charteris-Black 2004:47-48).

THE METAPHOR OF SILENCE

- ◉ Voice vs silence: inclusion vs exclusion
- ◉ *Silence*: absence of voice and sound, non-participation, lack of importance and lack of power
- ◉ *Exclusion* from dominant cultural and disciplinary traditions
- ◉ *Silencing*: *censorship*, *discrimination* and *marginalization*
- ◉ *Voice*: speech, *social inclusion*, strength and resolution to defend one's own rights

THE JOURNEY METAPHOR

- ◉ A trail that politicians go along together with their people
- ◉ **People: invited to participate actively, to contribute to the development of the country, to the success of a certain policy, or to the achievement of justice, equality and progress**
- ◉ **Political activity = a journey**
- ◉ **Personal achievements or successes, personal struggles or efforts: a “we’ve done this together” achievement, a collective effort to get through tough periods and attain success and progress**

JOURNEY & PATH

N	Concordance
1	. So there's a lot to do . It's an exciting journey , and if you decide to take it ,
2	Asia are at the beginning of your own journey . I know that there are still many
3	I've mentioned have only started their journey toward democracy within the last
4	tried to be covered up . So we know the journey that is necessary to move from
5	and it was the beginning of an epic journey that has taken us together and
6	about . You've begun your own personal journey . And in some cases , you've had
7	right for you as you continue your own journey of leadership and service . Thank
8	somewhere , and we are all on the same journey , and the sacrifices made by so
N	Concordance
1	that's great news . But we still have a long way to go . We know that when
2	honest with ourselves – there is still a long way to travel . According to the
3	my tenure . I recognize that there is a long way to go for our country and our
4	dangerous conditions . She has come a long way , and we stand in solidarity with
5	have made great progress , but there is a long way to go . Women are still the

THE BARRIER METAPHOR

- ◉ Journeys may be stopped or delayed by impediments, obstacles or complications that hinder advancement and progress
- ◉ To reach the common destination, the difficulties and burdens must be borne/carried together
- ◉ There must be solidarity and unity; hardships are to be expected going through adversities collectively, to achieve goals and objectives
- ◉ **Solidarity, union, participation and progress:** frequently used in American political discourse along with the ideas of nation, government, party, community, and family

WAR AND FIGHTING METAPHORS

- ◉ *War* and *fighting* involve physical contest
- ◉ Politics: confrontational, antagonistic and aggressive
- ◉ **Fields and battlefields, weapons, strategies and front lines, winners and losers, enemies, opponents and allies**
- ◉ Politics: a defensive struggle for social values (**change, justice, freedom and equal rights**) for which both **personal sacrifice and collective efforts** are fundamental
- ◉ **Violent practices against marginalized groups, prejudices, misconceptions and stereotypes are enemies that hinder/obstacle progress worldwide**

METAPHOR: SILENCE/VOICE (INCLUSION/EXCLUSION)

- ◉ They are **denied opportunities** to work and learn (...) and **forced to suppress or deny who they are** to protect themselves from harm (par. 6)
- ◉ **silencing of voices and views** that would strengthen communities (par. 14)
- ◉ for as long as LGBT people are **kept in shadows** (par. 14)
- ◉ so when any part of humanity is **sidelined**, the rest of us cannot **sit on the sidelines** (par. 25)

METAPHOR: JOURNEY

- ◉ **Step by step...** (par. 4)
- ◉ **History teaches us about how we make progress towards rights for all** (par. 18)
- ◉ **willing to walk a mile in someone else's shoes** (par. 23)
- ◉ **a step toward** what we hope will be the creation of a special rapporteur (par. 27)
- ◉ **We know the road ahead will not be easy. A great deal of work lies before us.** (par. 34)
- ◉ **the march towards equality and justice has continued** (par. 36)
- ◉ **No matter how long the road ahead we will travel it successfully together** (par. 36)

METAPHOR: BARRIERS AND OBSTACLES

- **barriers** that once **prevented** people from enjoying the full measure of liberty (par. 4)
- individuals whose lives were once **narrowed by injustices** (par. 5)
- **obstacles standing in the way** of protecting (par. 8)
- Every time a **barrier to progress has fallen**, it has taken a **cooperative effort** from those on both sides of the **barrier** (par. 25)

METAPHOR: CONFLICT (FIGHT/WAR/COMPETITION)

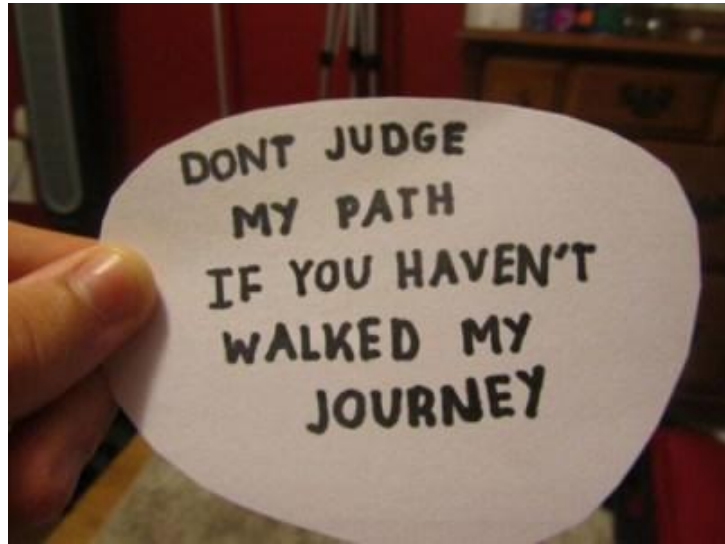
- People **fought** and **organized** and **campaigned** (par. 5)
- Even though progress **on this front** is not easy, we cannot delay acting (par. 8)
- We came to learn that no practice or tradition **trumps** the human rights that belong to all of us (par. 16)
- In the **fight** for women's rights... The **fight** for racial equality... **Combating** Islamophobia or anti-Semitism... And the same is true with this **struggle** for equality (par. 25)
- The story of the United States is the story of a nation that has repeatedly **grappled** with intolerance and inequality... We **fought** a brutal civil war over slavery. People from coast to coast **joined in campaigns**... (par. 36)



*Thank you
for your
attention!*

Michela Giordano
mgiordano@unica.it

“walk a mile in someone else’s shoes”



(Remarks in Recognition of International Human Rights Day, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, December 6, 2011)

“...progress comes from being willing to walk a mile in someone else's shoes. We need to ask ourselves, “How would it feel if it were a crime to love the person I love? How would it feel to be discriminated against for something about myself that I cannot change?” This challenge applies to all of us as we reflect upon deeply held beliefs, as we work to **embrace tolerance and respect for the dignity of all persons**, and as we engage humbly with those with whom we disagree in the hope of creating greater understanding.” (par. 22)

The “invisible minority”

*“In many ways, they are an invisible minority. They are arrested, beaten, terrorized, even executed. Many are treated with contempt and violence by their fellow citizens while authorities empowered to protect them look the other way or, too often, even join in the abuse. They are denied opportunities to work and learn, driven from **their** homes and countries, and forced to suppress or deny who **they** are to protect themselves from harm.” (par. 6)*

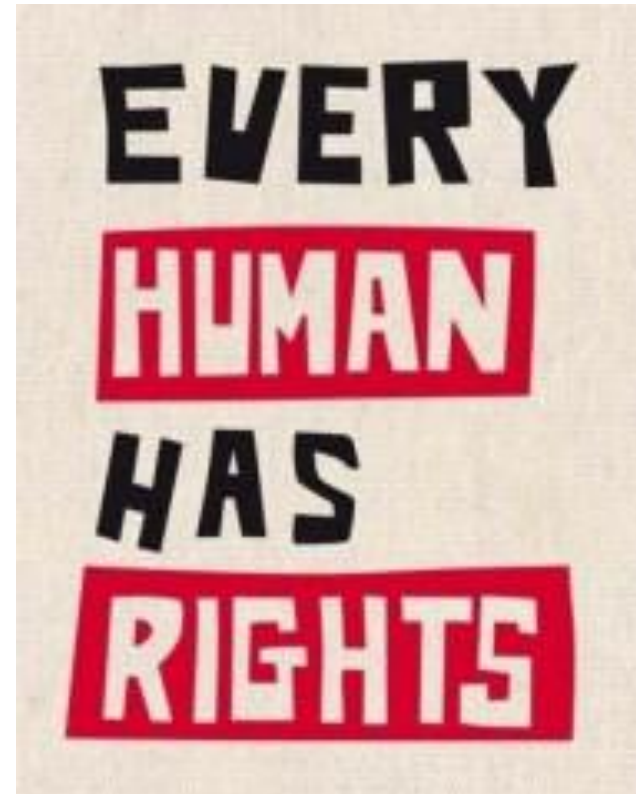


(Remarks in Recognition of International Human Rights Day”, December 6, 2011)

“you have millions of friends among the American people”

*“And finally, to LGBT men and women worldwide, let me say this: **Wherever you live and whatever the circumstances of your life, whether you are connected to a network of support or feel isolated and vulnerable, please know that you are not alone. People around the globe are working hard to support you and to bring an end to the injustices and dangers you face. That is certainly true for my country. And you have an ally in the United States of America and you have millions of friends among the American people.**” (par. 29)*

(Remarks in Recognition of International Human Rights Day”, December 6, 2011)



“It is violation of human rights when people are beaten or killed because of their sexual orientation, or because they do not conform to cultural norms about how men and women should look or behave. It is a violation of human rights when governments declare it illegal to be gay, or allow those who harm gay people to go unpunished.

It is a violation of human rights when lesbian or transgendered women are subjected to so-called corrective rape, or forcibly subjected to hormone treatments, or when people are murdered after public calls for violence toward gays, or when they are forced to flee their nations and seek asylum in other lands to save their lives.

And it is a violation of human rights when life-saving care is withheld from people because they are gay, or equal access to justice is denied to people because they are gay, or public spaces are out of bounds to people because they are gay.

No matter what we look like, where we come from, or who we are, we are all equally entitled to our human rights and dignity.” (par. 11)

(Remarks in Recognition of International Human Rights Day”, December 6, 2011)

“progress comes from changes in laws”

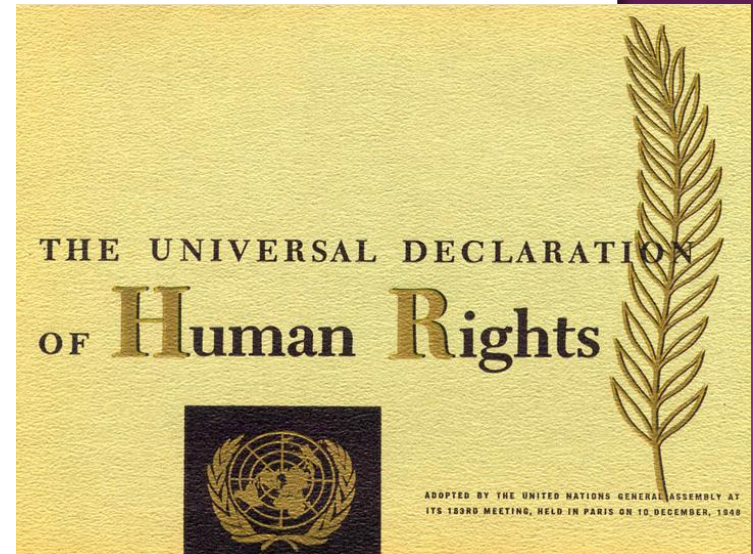
“But progress comes from changes in laws. In many places, including my own country, legal protections have preceded, not followed, broader recognition of rights. Laws have a teaching effect. Laws that discriminate validate other kinds of discrimination. Laws that require equal protections reinforce the moral imperative of equality. And practically speaking, it is often the case that laws must change before fears about change dissipate.” (par. 20)

(Remarks in Recognition of
International Human Rights Day,
December 6, 2011)



“All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights”

“(…) All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. And with the declaration, it was made clear that rights are not conferred by government; they are the birthright of all people. It does not matter what country we live in, who our leaders are, or even who we are. Because we are human, we therefore have rights. And because we have rights, governments are bound to protect them.” (par. 3)



(Remarks in Recognition of International Human Rights Day, Palais des Nations, Geneva, Switzerland, December 6, 2011)

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